Indian Slavery in Spanish Guatemala, 1524-1550

William L. Sherman

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1967
INDIAN SLAVERY IN SPANISH GUATEMALA, 1524-1550

By
William L. Sherman

A Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

The University of New Mexico
1966
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INDIAN SLAVERY IN SPANISH GUATEMALA,

1524-50

by

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INTRODUCTION

Some understanding of the state of native labor in the Indies is fundamental to an appreciation of post-Conquest society in the New World. The social and economic implications of Indian servitude are of such magnitude that they transcend other more dramatic aspects of Spanish domination in the sixteenth century. For Indian labor—certainly in the first decades—was the base upon which Spanish society rested; without it there was a very real possibility of the abandonment of many American kingdoms. The degrees to which the conqueror depended upon the vanquished at once reflects the weak edifice of colonial society and defines the relationship between the two races.

This study treats of only one aspect of native labor, that of slavery. One often reads that the Indians were reduced to slavery, by which it is inferred that the native peoples were enslaved en masse. It would more accurately be stated that most of them were confined to a condition of virtual slavery without, however, falling into that precise status. We are concerned in these pages with those who were legally categorized as slaves.
with the sanction of the Crown, as opposed to those whose conditions were perhaps no more fortunate, but who were classified as free men.

The dispatch with which many of the native Guatemalans and their neighbors were enslaved suggests the extent to which such practice was accepted in contemporary society. The immediate precedence was of course the Caribbean and Mexican experiences, both of which were reinforced by the customs of antiquity. The reader is familiar with the humanitarian impulses that challenged the doctrines of human servitude in the sixteenth century, and they have been studied carefully in other works, which relieves this writer from the burden of retracing that path. The present study is an examination of the realities of the slavery situation, quite aside from the philosophical considerations and subsequent legislation. There were more pressing demands in the Indies, and they militated against the successful application of such enlightened laws. For, as Silvio Zavala has pointed out,

In part, the political philosophy of the conquest is owing to thinkers who never went to the Indies. Others were "indianos," that is, Europeans with experience overseas. There is perceptible a certain difference—very understandable—between the thought of one and the other.¹

¹Silvio Zavala, La filosofía política en la Conquista de América (México, Buenos Aires: 1947), 21.
In the face of eloquent pleas from all quarters, the Crown had the distressing problem of trying to reconcile the royal and Christian conscience with the socio-economic realities of the time. To its credit, it made the attempt; but in the quest for a gratifying solution, Crown and Council pursued a vacillating course. On the one hand they condemned slavery, but allowed certain exceptions, which were invariably abused by the artful intrigues of the settlers. The bounteous spirit which animated royal legislation was more celebrated in the court than in the Indies; and the King's representatives, more often than not, were forced to compromise, or ignore regulations altogether. Thus the explicit provisions of the New Laws with regard to enslavement of the Indians were largely overlooked, and in spite of repeated directives from Spain that natives who had been unjustly made slaves go free, the province of Guatemala continued to rely on chattels for its well-being.

Change came to Guatemala with the arrival of a new President of the Audiencia de los Confines in 1548. The obtrusive presence of Alonso López de Cerrato (1548-1553) was to bring about profound modifications in the entire labor system. It is to this relatively obscure official that large numbers of Indians owed their freedom,
and many Spaniards owed their bankruptcy.

The history of slavery in Guatemala from 1524 to 1550 can be studied best through a topical approach, owing to confusing chronological developments. Yet there are three fairly distinct epochs which can be isolated: a) the period of caudillismo from 1524-1541, during which time Pedro de Alvarado was master of Guatemala, allowing slavery to flourish; b) the 1st Audiencia period from 1542-1548, which saw the failure of the New Laws and the ineffectual administration of that body; and c) the Cerrato reforms, from 1548-1550.

Whenever possible this study has been based on manuscript sources. But even a subject with such a narrow scope as this produces frustrations because of the multiplicity of documents. Thus, for example, if one were to undertake a study of slavery in all of New Spain prior to 1550 it would require the perusal of vast quantities of original materials. And because of the peculiar conditions that obtained in various parts of that kingdom, the temptation would be great to fall into precarious generalizations about Indian slavery. Therefore, it seemed wiser to concentrate on a relatively small geographic area within a restricted span of years. By selecting native slavery in Guatemala in the first quarter
The proposal of the National Committee for the Promotion of Women's Rights to expand the National Committee for the Promotion of Women's Rights to include a permanent membership of women and to establish a permanent women's organization within the committee.

The proposal also includes the establishment of a women's section within the committee, with representation from various women's organizations and groups. The women's section is expected to play a significant role in promoting women's rights and gender equality within the committee and in society as a whole.

The proposal aims to ensure that women's issues are given due consideration and that their voices are heard. It seeks to create a platform for women to express their concerns and to participate actively in decision-making processes. The establishment of a women's section within the committee is expected to lead to a more inclusive and representative organization, with a greater focus on gender equality and women's rights.

The proposal also includes the establishment of a women's fund within the committee, which will be used to support women's projects and initiatives. The fund will be managed by a women's committee, which will ensure that the funds are used for the benefit of women and their communities.

The proposal recognizes the important role that women play in society and aims to ensure that their contributions are acknowledged and valued. The establishment of a women's section within the committee is expected to lead to a more inclusive and representative organization, with a greater focus on gender equality and women's rights.

The proposal also includes the establishment of a women's network within the committee, which will facilitate communication and cooperation among women's organizations and groups. The network will provide a platform for women to share their experiences and to work together towards common goals.

The proposal recognizes the importance of women's education and aims to ensure that women have access to quality education. The establishment of a women's section within the committee is expected to lead to a more inclusive and representative organization, with a greater focus on gender equality and women's rights.

The proposal also includes the establishment of a women's resource center within the committee, which will provide information and support to women. The resource center will be managed by a women's committee, which will ensure that the center is responsive to the needs of women and their communities.

The proposal recognizes the importance of women's health and aims to ensure that women have access to quality healthcare. The establishment of a women's section within the committee is expected to lead to a more inclusive and representative organization, with a greater focus on gender equality and women's rights.

The proposal also includes the establishment of a women's research center within the committee, which will conduct research on women's issues and gender equality. The research center will be managed by a women's committee, which will ensure that the research is conducted in an inclusive and collaborative manner.

The proposal recognizes the importance of women's leadership and aims to ensure that women have opportunities to participate in leadership roles. The establishment of a women's section within the committee is expected to lead to a more inclusive and representative organization, with a greater focus on gender equality and women's rights.

The proposal also includes the establishment of a women's cultural center within the committee, which will promote women's arts and culture. The cultural center will be managed by a women's committee, which will ensure that the center is responsive to the needs and talents of women.

The proposal recognizes the importance of women's economic empowerment and aims to ensure that women have access to economic opportunities. The establishment of a women's section within the committee is expected to lead to a more inclusive and representative organization, with a greater focus on gender equality and women's rights.
century of Spanish rule, the project was much more feasible. The writer has not, of course, seen all the pertinent documents; but he is convinced that enough have been studied to render a valid picture. In light of the fact that the general outlines presented here are substantiated by many manuscript sources, it does not appear likely than any missing document would materially alter the major conclusions reached.

This work covers only a small area of the Indies; however, "Guatemala" is used here in a broad sense, that is, embracing the purview of Alvarado, and roughly conforming to the jurisdiction of the Audiencia de los Confines. Guatemala as we know it today is the central area under discussion because it was the principal seat of Spanish settlement. The city of Santiago de los Caballeros and its environs had more Spaniards and more Indians than any other population center in the Audiencia district. However, the writer has often drawn on examples from Chiapas, Honduras, San Salvador [El Salvador], and Nicaragua when they were helpful in illustrating certain points.

This study also attempts to present a more realistic view of slavery because of the small number of Spaniards in the subject area. By giving detailed attention to a restricted number of topics, the author believes that charges of in-
discriminate selection of material, or of facile generalizations, can be obviated. The paucity of European settlers in the period under consideration may be of interest to the reader. Early colonial society was extremely mobile. The disappointing lack of riches convinced some persons that life was better in Mexico or the islands; and those who remained in Central America were attracted primarily by the promise of profitable mining ventures, which would not, however, yield immediate fortune. Subsequently the shifting adventurers were drawn to other attractive propositions, especially when word returned of the great wealth discovered by Pizarro. Many left for Peru immediately, while others lingered to join Alvarado in his great armada of 1534.

As a result of these and other activities, the settlement pattern was in a state of constant flux, and it would be difficult to establish any exact population figures without considerable pointed research. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to note here some idea of the figures involved so that a rough approximation will relate to the cases studied. According to Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, Santiago de Guatemala, which was the largest of the settlements in the Audiencia, had reached no more than one hundred vecinos by mid-century; San Cristóbal [Ciudad Real] de
Chiapa, at the same time, fluctuated between fifty and sixty. In 1530, royal officials reported that San Salvador had sixty vecinos, but the population had declined to fifty by 1555. In the latter year San Miguel had only between twenty-five and thirty vecinos; yet seventy men had gone there with Cristóbal de la Cueva many years before to settle the town. Information relative to the settlement of Honduras is indicative of the problem in trying to establish reliable statistics: the oidor, Licenciado Herrera, wrote in 1544 that Xerez had only fifteen to twenty vecinos; Trujillo was a village of only fourteen or fifteen. But Bishop Pedraza said that when he left Trujillo in 1540 it had up to thirty, although he had since learned that at the time of his writing (1544) the town had reached about fifty. As early as 1539, the

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3Curriilla y Castellanos a Carlos V (Santiago: 20 de agosto, 1530), AGI, Guatemala 45.

4Las Casas, op. cit.

5Ibid.

6Montejo a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 1 de junio, 1539), AGI, Guatemala 9.

7Herrera a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 24 de diciembre, 1544), AGI, Guatemala 9.

8"Relación de la Provincia de Honduras-Higueras por el Obpo. D. Xpóval de Pedraza, Obpo. de Honduras (1544)," DIU, XIV, 385.
adelantado Montejo complained about the lack of Indians for work, emphasizing that the village of Gracias a Dios could not sustain thirty-five Spaniards, and that Comayagua and San Pedro were able to support far less. In 1542 there was an attempt to relieve the labor shortage by providing Negro slaves, and the apportioning of the Negroes to individuals was recorded. The matrícula showed that the town of San Pedro had thirty-two vecinos, and that Comayagua had twenty-nine, as did Gracias a Dios. Despite the fact that Gracias a Dios became the seat of the new Audiencia de los Confines, created by the New Laws, it did not prosper, and the site was removed by Cerrato to Santiago.

It remains to be noted, however, that there were Spaniards, both drifting and settled, who did not have the status of "vecinos." Some were estantes of a settlement,

\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Montejo a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 1 de junio, 1539), AGI, Guatemala 9.}

\footnote{"Relación de los oficiales del tesorero" (San Pedro: 17 de febrero, 1542), AGI, Guatemala 965. The number of vecinos in Comayagua is not quite clear. The text indicates that it had the same number as Gracias a Dios, but the list of vecinos shows that there may have been as many as 39 vecinos, not the 29 noted. For more information on population the reader is referred to "Un libro de Tasaciones de los naturales de las provincias de Guatemala, Nicaragua, Yucatán y pueblos de Comayagua, año de 1548 a 1551," AGI, Guatemala 128.}
and others were uprooted. It would be unwise conjecture to estimate their numbers without undertaking a special study.

Inasmuch as other studies have stressed the legal and philosophical aspects of Indian slavery, the present writer believes it is more of a contribution to delve into some of the practical problems involved in the liberation of the natives. Consequently, there are details included here that would appear on the surface to be quite isolated from the subject at hand. Still, the complexities are such that even seemingly unrelated notes often have a bearing. This is particularly true with regard to the role played by Cerrato. For example, it is of some consequence that the character of his fellow oidores be briefly considered; for, in the end, individuals determined the character of justice on the New World frontiers, so that the implementation of Indian policy was directly related to the personal interests of those who were primarily responsible. As a result of some of these necessary deviations, this study comprehends more than just the cold facts of slavery legislation and endeavors to demonstrate the extent of personal involvement that was inextricably a part of the struggle.

Whether or not this review of Indian slavery in
the chosen area gives a representative picture of the subject for the Indies as a whole, this writer does not venture to say. Las Casas was of the opinion that the enslavement of the natives in Guatemala and Chiapas was the harshest of any of the colonies. If, in fact, the cruelest oppression of the inhabitants was observed in these provinces, it behooves students all the more to examine the circumstances under which it prevailed. To that end, it has been the objective of this preliminary study to present a detailed inquiry into the causes and effects of the institution of slavery in a Spanish colony.

Finally, the following pages necessarily recount instances of scandal and barbarisms practiced on the native peoples by the conquerors. Although individual witnesses presented strong views, often at variance with others, the writer has been careful to present the essence of all prevailing opinions, including conflicting views of certain deeds. These are the accounts passed on by men who were present; those who read polemical intent into their composite will indeed have misread the author's purpose.

\[12\] In the words of the Dominican: "... donde mas exceso y desorden a habido en hacer injusta e iniqua y malvadamente los indios inocentes, a sido en guatimala y chiapa ..., " Las Casas, op. cit.
The above case shows a particular situation where it may be perceived as unfair or unjust. However, the outcome of such cases is often a result of the complex interplay of various factors, including legal precedents, societal norms, and individual circumstances. It highlights the importance of ensuring that legal systems are fair and just, and that they take into account the diverse needs and perspectives of all individuals involved.

In the era of digital communication, the protection of personal privacy and data security is becoming increasingly important. The rapid advancement of technology has led to the widespread use of digital devices and online platforms, which have brought significant benefits but also raised concerns about the potential misuse of personal information. The balance between privacy rights and the legitimate interests of businesses and governments is a complex issue that requires careful consideration.

Furthermore, the increasing reliance on technology in various sectors, such as healthcare and finance, has led to a growing concern about the potential for data breaches and cyber attacks. It is crucial to ensure that robust cybersecurity measures are in place to protect sensitive information and prevent unauthorized access.

In conclusion, the above case serves as a reminder of the importance of upholding legal principles and ensuring fairness in the justice system. It also underscores the need for continuous vigilance and adaptation in the face of rapidly evolving technologies and societal changes.
CHAPTER I

ACQUISITION OF SLAVES

As Pedro de Alvarado advanced into Guatemala the natives of that land resisted with much ferocity and little prospect of success. Such combat was congenial to the nature of the adelantado who, moreover, found the opportunity to exploit their bellicosity. Those who had attached themselves to Alvarado's fortunes bore the rigors of battle content in the knowledge that rewards attended such enterprise. For, although the Spanish host exacted a frightful toll of Indian lives, there remained those survivors who could be enlisted in the service of the conquerors.

Crown policy with regard to Indian slavery was irresolute; but generally it held that those natives who flouted Spanish overlordship surrendered their rights as free men. Royal provisions were careful to stipulate that "esclavos de guerra" might be taken only in "just" war. So that the natives could be apprised of the terms, they were to hear the reading of the requerimiento, which was to be translated into the local tongue. This was un-
satisfactory because the inhabitants did not always gather for the reading of the document, and because, perforce, the proclamation lost something in translation. If the contents were less than edifying to the bewildered natives, the ultimatum expressed was even less pleasing: they were to submit peacefully or the women and children would be seized and held, or sold, as slaves. The blame for such action, the requirement asserted, would not be that of the Spaniards.¹ During the conquest the Indians sometimes agreed to the nebulous terms, but there were sufficient hostilities to provide slaves taken in what was acknowledged as just war.

In his account of the conquest Alvarado wrote of his actions with candor. On April 11, 1524, at Utlatan he commented in a letter to Cortés as follows:

Sir: From Soconusco I wrote to Your Grace all that had happened to me as far as that place and even something of what was expected to happen further on. And after having sent my messengers to this country, informing them of how I was to come to conquer and pacify the provinces that might not be willing to place themselves under the dominion of His Majesty, I asked of them as

¹ More complete contents of such requerimientos have been cited in various published works. See, for example, Antonio de Herrera, Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar Océano (4 vols.; Madrid: 1726-1730), I, Década I, Libro VII, Capítulo XIV, who repeats the one issued in 1510 by Alonso de Ojeda.
his vassals (for as such they had offered themselves to Your Grace) the favor and assistance and passage through their country; that by so doing, they would act as good and loyal vassals to His Majesty and that they would be greatly favored and supported in all justice by me and the Spaniards in my company; and if not, I threatened to make war on them as on traitors rising in rebellion against the service of our Lord the Emperor and that as such they would be treated, and that in addition to this, I would make slaves of all those who should be taken alive in the war ... 2

After Utatlan fell, Alvarado notes, "all the prisoners of war were branded and made slaves, of whom I gave His Majesty's fifth part to the treasurer, Baltasar de Mendoza, which he sold by public auction, so that the payment to His Majesty should be secure." 3 Later the adelantado wrote from Santiago on July 28, 1524, telling Cortés of an attack by Indians outside of the settlement of Nacendon:

I sent Indians of their own country to them as messengers with requirements and orders, and warning them that if they did not come I would make them slaves, and with all this they did not wish to come, neither the messengers nor themselves.

... And arriving at this city of Cuzcaclan I found many who received me, and the whole town empty. And while we were making camp, there did not remain a man of them in the town, and all went to the hills. And as I saw this, I sent my messengers to the chiefs there to tell them that

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3 Ibid., 64.
The narrative can be quite dry and detached. It is important to use your voice (the voice of the narrator and the language you are speaking) to give life to the text and make it more engaging. When you read from the text, try to emphasize certain words or phrases to highlight their importance or to create a sense of tension or suspense.

I have always felt that education is a key to the future. In my opinion, every child should have the opportunity to attend a quality education. This is not only important for the individual child but for the future of society as a whole. Education is the foundation upon which a strong and prosperous society is built.

In order to achieve this goal, we need to focus on improving the quality of education at all levels. This includes expanding access to early childhood education, ensuring that all students have access to high-quality teachers, and investing in technology to support learning.

As a teacher, I have seen firsthand the impact that a good education can have on a child's life. I have witnessed students who have struggled to keep up with their peers in the traditional classroom setting, but who have thrived in a more personalized and engaging learning environment. This has only reinforced my belief in the importance of education and the role that we as educators play in shaping the future of our students.

In conclusion, I believe that education is a fundamental right that should be accessible to all children, regardless of their background or circumstances. By working together, we can ensure that every child has the opportunity to receive a high-quality education that will set them on a path to success and happiness.
they behaved badly, and to understand that they had given obedience to His Majesty and to me in his name, assuring them that if they came, I would not make war against them nor take their property, but merely bring them to the service of God and His Majesty. They sent word they did not know either of them, and they did not wish to come, and that if I wanted anything from them, they were there waiting with their arms. And when I saw their evil intentions, I sent them an order and requirement on the part of the Emperor, in which I required and ordered that they should not break the peace nor revolt, as they had already given themselves as his vassals, and if not, I would proceed against them as rebellious traitors and rebels against the service of His Majesty, and that I would make war against them, and all that were taken alive would be slaves and would be branded, and that if they were loyal they would be favored and protected by me as vassals of His Majesty.

The Indians sent him no reply and continued to resist; and, Alvarado went on,

as I saw this, I proceeded against them and against the others that had made war against me, and called them by proclamation, and still they would not come, and as I saw their rebelliousness, and the proceedings were closed, I sentenced them, as traitors, to death, both the chiefs of these provinces and all the others that had been taken during the war, and might be taken henceforth, until such time that they would give obedience to His Majesty, should be slaves and branded. 4

Bernal Díaz also makes observations on the taking of slaves by Alvarado during the conquest, as follows:

Pedro de Alvarado remained in the province of Utatlán seven or eight days, making raids against the rebel pueblos which had given their fealty to

4Ibid., 77-78, 83-84, 85.
His Majesty and after giving it had risen in revolt. They branded many slaves and Indian women, and after the royal fifth was paid the rest were divided amongst the soldiers.

Despite some obvious exaggerations, the account of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas is of some interest as a contemporary view. According to the Dominican, the encounter at Gucmatán (or Gucaclaclán) was not exactly as Alvarado had described it. He wrote that,

... this captain [Alvarado] asked the lords to bring him much gold, because it was principally to that end that they came. The Indians replied that they were happy to give all the gold they had, and they collected a very great quantity of the hachets they use which are made of gilded copper and look like gold, though there is little on them. The captain ordered that they should be tested and because he saw they were of copper, he said to the Spaniards: "to the devil with such a country! let us leave it because there is no gold, and let each one put the Indians who serve him, in chains, and I will order that they be branded as his slaves." This was done, and they marked as slaves with the King's brand, all they could bind. And they saw the son of the prince of that town thus branded. 6

But even before this, in the view of Las Casas, the conquerors had taken some of the natives as slaves, for, he wrote,

When he [Alvarado] arrived, and had received the gift, he commanded that each Spaniard should take from that multitude of people as many Indians as he pleased for his service during their stay there, whose duty should be to bring them every-

5Ibid., 111.
6Ibid., 131.
thing they needed. Each Spaniard took a hundred, or fifty, or as many as he reckoned would be sufficient for his service, and those innocent lambs bore with the distribution, and served with all their strength, and almost adored them.  

"Having thus killed all the lords and the men who could make war," the Dominican continued, they put all the others into the aforesaid infernal slavery; they demanded slaves as tribute, so the Indians gave their sons and daughters as they have no other slaves, all of whom they loaded into ships and sent to be sold in Peru. By other massacres and murders besides the above, they have destroyed and devasted a kingdom more than a hundred leagues square, one of the happiest in the way of fertility and population in the world. This same tyrant wrote that it was more populous than the kingdom of Mexico; and he told the truth.

He and his brothers, together with the others, have killed more than four or five million people in fifteen or sixteen years, from the year 1525 until 1540, and they continue to kill and destroy those who are still left; and so they will kill the remainder.

In 1529, some five years after he entered Guatemala, Alvarado was brought to account for his actions during that conquest. In his residencia the adelantado was accused of enslaving Indians illegally. When the people of Guatemala received him in a friendly fashion, bringing jewels and precious metals, Alvarado, so the prosecution charged, reciprocated by seizing one of the lords who had a very

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7 Ibid., 131.

8 Ibid., 132. The Dominican's figures cannot, of course, be taken seriously.
beautiful woman. He was released only when Alvarado was
given the woman, after which the lord sent more treasure,
as well as male and female slaves for the ransom of his
woman. Alvarado then received the jewels and slaves, and
kept the wife as well. According to a witness, the female
slaves were divided among the Spaniards. 9

At the pueblo of Astepas, the charges contended,
Alvarado sent messengers ahead to announce his arrival.
The people came out in peace, cleaning the roads for him,
and then returned to await him in their villages. But
because the Spaniards took what the Indians had in their
houses, the Indians fled to the woods. Those who remained
were enslaved by the conqueror. 10

When he arrived in the pueblos of Acatepeque and
Mosuisalco [Moquizalco] the people came out to greet him.
He ordered them to bring food. Being frightened of the
cruelties that the captain had supposedly committed, they
did not return. At this every Spaniard, on the order of
the leader, took as many natives as he could, and all were
branded as slaves. 11

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9 Proceso de Residencia contra Pedro de Alvarado, 1529 (José Fernando Ramírez, ed.) (México: 1847), 7, 48.
10 Ibid., 7.
11 Ibid., 8, 29, 58.
Given the money, when people had enough money, they could vote as many times as they wanted. It was a form of bribery and corruption. The people were so well informed that they knew about the candidates and the issues. If you were a well-known candidate, you were given much more time to speak.

As the budget of a candidate can change considerably, the government has set limits on how much money can be spent on a campaign. The government also monitors the spending to ensure fair elections.

The people are now more informed and are better able to make informed decisions. The government has implemented several measures to ensure transparency. The information is now more available and accessible to the public. The government has also introduced a system of accountability to ensure that the candidates are not taking advantage of the system.

The election laws have been revised to ensure that the candidates are not taking advantage of the system. The government has also introduced a system of accountability to ensure that the candidates are not taking advantage of the system.
Arriving at Coscatlan /Cuzcatlan, Cuzcaclan, Cuzcatlan, or Salvador/7, the señores and principales met him on the road, having placed there many mounds of fruits and other things to eat. After this the Spaniards were lodged in the town and well provided with all their needs. The inhabitants thus being at peace, Alvarado ordered his men to take as many of them as possible, including the señores, and they were branded as slaves.12

12 Ibid., 9. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, Historia General y Natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme del mar oceano (Madrid: 1851-1855), Tomo III, Libro XXXII, Capítulo XLIII, gives yet another version of the confrontation with the natives: "E respondieron que no conosçían á nadie ni querían venir, e que si el algo los quisiesse, que allí estaban esperando con sus armas. Como el comendador [Alvarado] vido su propósito, envióles un mandamiento e requerimiento de parte del Emperador, Nuestro Señor, en que les requería e mandaba que no quebrantassen las paçes ni se rebelassen, pues se avián dado por sus vassallas, donde no, que procedería contra ellos como contra traydores que se rebelaban a su Rey e señor e que les haría la guerra a fuego e a sangre, e que los tomasse vivos, serían herrados y esclavos: e seyendo leales les ayudaría e favoresçería." After the warnings failed to achieve their purpose, Oviedo writes: "Assi que el comendador vista su rebeldía y el proceso cerrado, los sentenció por esclavos e los dio por traydores e a pena de muerte a los señores de aquellas provincias, e a todos los demás que se oviessen tomado durante la guerra e se tomassen después, e que hasta tanto que diessen la obediencia a Su Magestad fuessen esclavos e los herrassen, e dellos o de su valor se pagassen once caballos que en aquella conquista destos fueron muertos e los que de allí adelante matassen e mas las otras cosas de armas e necesarias a aquella conquista."
In his defense Pedro de Alvarado opined that passive resistance was also justification for enslaving the Indians. With respect to the episode in Cuzcatlán, he said that because of the multitude of Indians and the small number of Christians, the land could not be won any other way. His statement was as follows:

After I entered the said pueblo, without doing any harm whatsoever, they revolted the next day and went into the woods and did not reappear. And I had them called many times and they did not want to come; and I made a proceso against them. And all the warfare and punishments that have been made have been so that the land might be as it is, under the King's dominion and servitude. 13

He concluded, therefore, that the charges should be dropped.

While he was in the pueblo of Nacinta, Alvarado's naborías (natives held as personal servants) informed him that the people of Pazaco (Pasaco) were coming to make war. He went out to meet them and they fled, and, he stated,

The natives, seeing the bad treatment that they were receiving, carried off their belongings and absented themselves; and I ordered them to be sought out and killed . . . . I say that upon entering the said pueblo of Pazaco . . . . I found many arrows stuck in the ground and a dog sacrificed, which was a sign of war. And I did not dare send any messenger as they might kill

13 Proceso, op. cit., 8, 82.
him as they had done before; and because there was much need of the Indian amigos [allies], and, being there in that way, and knowing the way in which things were, no one dared to go. And a little later the said Indians came out against us, shouting at us, and they began to fight with me and my people of my capitania, trying to do all the harm they could to us. And things being as they were, we could not stand still, because going to conquer and pacify lands and provinces in the name of the King, since they were resisting my path, I could do nothing except fight with them; and in the said war they killed a horse of mine, for which I had much need. 14

Things happened so fast, he added, that he had no opportunity to proclaim the requerimiento. According to one of the witnesses, Alvarado ran his sorrel horse to death in the encounter. 15

Others agreed with Alvarado that the Indians had mocked him and tried his patience. Aside from not bringing food for the strangers, they sometimes deceived them by coming in peace and then making war. The adelantado said

14Ibid., 80, 101, 141. The loss of a horse was a matter of no little concern. A war horse could cost from 500 to 800 pesos, and Alvarado insisted that recompense be made through the taking of slaves. A witness in Alvarado's second residencia in 1535 (AGI, Justicia 296, fols. 149v-150) noted that during the fighting the adelantado took from his companions the slaves that he wanted, saying that he was doing so to pay for the horses that had been killed. Although the value of a slave fluctuated, it would take a great many slaves to pay for the cost of one horse.

15Proceso, op. cit. 8, 82.
that the Indians had wounded him many times, from which he had been on the point of death. This ridicule of Spanish arms was an insult that had to be punished, for the good of the land.16

Regarding the bad treatment and enslavement of the people of Atiquipaqué, he denied that they were made slaves. If however, some of his men, or the Indian auxiliaries did so, he did not know about it. In any case, he said, whatever harm was done was of little consequence because the fighting men had come fatigued and seeking food and shelter. One could not take men into war without food, and there were no inns or taverns (nor did the King provide them). So the men took what they could find, and the charge against him should be dropped, even if some Indians had been killed or enslaved; because the land had been brought under the service of the King and was well settled.17

The incident at Acatepeque and Moquizalco could be attributed, Alvarado stated, to the refusal of the Indians to bring food, and because he had called them out in the name of the King, and they had refused to come. He and his men, fatigued and suffering, and cut off from assistance,

16 Ibid., 101, 116.
17 Ibid., 79.
were mocked by the natives. Under the circumstances, he felt that he should not be held responsible for making slaves. 18

Evidence of native guile was cited by the adelantado. Some Indians who had been treated well by him subsequently rose up in rebellion against the King. Many of their señores and principales had dined at Alvarado's table with him, but later they made war, "bien cruda," digging many holes and pits with stakes, covered with grass, into which many Spaniards and their horses fell to their deaths. Gonzalo de Alvarado confirmed this, adding that his horse was maimed in the action. 19

Alvarado's stated purpose for making slaves at the villa of San Miguel was so that the newly-founded settlement would have something with which to sustain itself, there being little else. In the province of Naco he had enslaved some Chontal Indians, he said, because they "issued forth in war and had consistently resisted service to the Crown." His men had to be rewarded, and it was suitable that they be given slaves because the Chontales were "perverse, bad, and bellicose." 20

18 Ibid., 80-81.
19 Ibid., 102, 162.
20 "Interrogatorio de Pedro de Alvarado (Residencia, 1535)," AGI, Justicia 295.
Polemical treatises have often dwelled on the peculiar cruelty of Pedro de Alvarado. In fact, it was not at all peculiar. Conquerors are rarely gentle people, and the conqueror of Guatemala was no exception; however, those who dramatize such accounts, which seem cruel by our standards, often omit the mitigating circumstances. Historians have been fond of comparing his treatment of the natives with that of Cortés, whereas it would be much more realistic to see Alvarado in relation to other more representative conquistadores. The intention here is not to pass judgment, but rather to present attitudes and rationales by which Spaniards generally justified their actions. We are familiar with the reasoning of the philosophers and the critics, but the histories have not given equal hearing to those condemned by the detached humanitarians. If those who trafficked in slavery were inhumane in our eyes, it was also an inhumane century, especially under the circumstances of conquest. It would be a disservice to historicity to ignore the testimony of those who were present. By examining other entradas that resulted in the taking of slaves we may gain a better perspective of the times and individual captains.

Don Cristóbal de la Cueva took some seventy men to settle the villa of San Miguel. Subsequently he was
Important: Press Release from the Office of the Governor to the People of the State of California:

Concerns have been raised about the recent developments in our state's education system. The Governor has ordered a thorough investigation into the alleged disparities and inconsistencies in the distribution of educational resources. The state is committed to ensuring that all students have equal opportunities for success.

Governor's Office of Education: and telephone number for more information.

Press release dated [Insert Date].
charged with violating royal provisions by his harsh treat-
ment and enslavement of the inhabitants of that area. His
pesquisa secreta indicates the manner in which he seized
the unfortunate Indians, as well as the reason he gave to
excuse his behavior. The charge against him stated that
while he was in the province of Colquín the Indians had
come to him in peace and gave service to his camp. But
he sent Juan Ome as captain to engage these peaceful pue-
blos in battle. Not only had the Spaniards killed a great
number of the Indians, but they took many slaves, some of
whom were only four and five years old; and thus they
killed all those Indians (about 200 in all) with thrusts
and dagger blows. 21

Witnesses for the prosecution verified the charges,
adding that there were principales as well as maceguales
in the fighting. Juan Ome, acting as caudillo, had sent
a messenger to the inhabitants, and the messenger returned
with two natives. They were killed, and despite the fact
that the villagers sent food, they were attacked. Those
not killed, some 200 of them, were enslaved; and they
branded along with the rest, "niños e niñas muchachitos e

21"Los cargos que se hazen a don xpoval de la
cueba capitan y teniente de gobernador que fue de la villa
de san miguel de la pesquisa secreta que le fue tomada por
mandado de su magt por el licdo maldonado," 2nd charge,
AGI, Justicia 296.
appropriately with appropriate words recognizing in the manner
the want and emphasis of the importance of what they,
presented in the reference of the material in which he
in the references included, as well as the reason for this to
examine the paper, the changes are then made which
write in men to the province of Canada, the extending the
come to lie in place and save energy to the cause. The
per their laws, the laws are altered to make a change
inside of the influence, but their views may influence other
which were only from any other reason or any other way
Killed at these instances (some 500 in all) with increase
and further often,

In no case is he the necessary writing the paragraph,

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with two reasons. Take more killing and guarantee the item
then if all these have been taken, these may occur, and your
priming shots with the force, "force a main conclusion of a

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The second was that as passed, you should to be
steps careful a conclusion or revelation can be the line to alter
we can assume to its possession immediate to the conclusion by
we are not in need of your help, that, for example, in a
and almost has not been, and your

a las tetas de sus madres."\(^{22}\)

One witness, however, offered a slightly different version. After two or three pueblos came to serve in peace, don Cristóbal had indeed sent his maestre de campo to the villagers, because he had information that they wanted to revolt. For that reason they gave battle to the 300 (sic) or so who had been giving service and killed them as punishment. Some were enslaved, as was the custom in war.\(^{23}\) Another agreed, noting that the Indians were "rebels against the service of His Majesty."

In rebuttal of the charges, de la Cueva denied all, insisting that he did not have any Indians killed. If some were killed it was because he had taken them with him, in his company, and they left him, like traitors, among his enemies. Moreover, he had sent some messengers to the Indians requiring them to come in peace and to serve the King. Instead, the villagers killed and sacrificed the messengers. For this and other "insults" and deaths caused by the natives, and because he was informed that they were determined to kill him and all his men, he

\(^{22}\)Ibid., fols. 13-18.

\(^{23}\)Ibid., fol. 17.

\(^{24}\)Ibid., fol. 30.
acted as he did for just cause.  

Those who testified clarified the statement, referring to the Indian "traitors." De la Cueva had taken with him as allies and tememes (carriers) certain natives from Colquín, El Asistente, and Xocoynco. Arriving at the enemy pueblo of Alax, the Indian auxiliaries mutinied and fled, leaving the Spaniards in "tierra de guerra." They also confirmed that the messengers sent in peace had been sacrificed, and that, in fear for their lives, and with their advance thus obstructed, don Cristóbal had given the order to make war on them and to enslave the survivors. This, they said, was just punishment for those who "andaban de mal arte."  

While most Spaniards sought pretexts for the taking of slaves, there were those who were enlightened for their times. Such a captain was Francisco de Montejo. Because of his jurisdictional dispute with Pedro de Alvarado, Montejo was anxious to demonstrate to the court that his methods were humane in contrast to those of Alvarado. But even Montejo was not above the reality of the situation;  

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25 Ibid., 2nd descargar.  

26 Ibid., Testimonios de Antonio de la Torre, Melchior Hernández, Pedro de Tapia, Diego de la Puerta, y Pero Gomez.  

27 Ibid., fols. 10-32.
Robert Chamberlain writes that, "notwithstanding his general principle, Montejo believed that some Indian slaves were needed for labor and therefore permitted the taking of natives in war in accordance with royal law."\(^{28}\) In Yucatán he had asked for permission to make slaves because his men had no other reward,\(^{29}\) and it was indicated later that he had done so.\(^{30}\) But in comparing his manner of conquest in Honduras to that of Alvarado in the same province, he wrote the King that after he had settled the land, there was an uprising during which some Christians were killed. In pacifying the land again, the Spaniards had "suffered much labor" and many deaths for two years, during which time he took no slaves; whereas, he said, Alvarado came in and made "very crude" war and took many slaves.\(^{31}\) Six years later, however, Montejo wrote that he had taken Honduras "without killing 50 Indians nor

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\(^{28}\)Robert Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Settlement of Honduras* (Washington: 1953), 121. It should be noted that Montejo's policies on slavery, however laudable, were very unpopular with the Spaniards; and that Alvarado's cavalier disregard for the humane considerations made him much more acceptable, and more successful in pacifying the natives.

\(^{29}\)Montejo a Carlos V (Salamanca: 10 de agosto, 1534), AGI, Patronato 184, R. 25.

\(^{30}\)Real Cedula (10 de marzo, 1548), AGI, Guatemala 393, Libro III.

\(^{31}\)Montejo a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 15 de agosto, 1539), AGI, Guatemala 9.
having taken as many as 100 slaves."  

Despite his apparent antipathy to human servitude, he seems to have left some slaves in his own estate.

After the initial pacification of the general area, there were many Indian revolts, which gave occasion for their own enslavement. As hostilities continued for many years, the examples which could be presented are many, but it would serve no purpose here to cite more cases in which the circumstances would be so similar. Those already shown give some expression to the justification of enslaving the natives, in the view of the conquerors.

Aside from slaves taken in just war, the Crown also sanctioned the taking of "esclavos de rescate," that is, those Indians who had been slaves among their own people. Slaves were common in pre-Hispanic times, and they were placed in that category for a variety of reasons. Some had been seized in wars, others were born to that status, and those guilty of certain crimes could be

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32Montejo a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 31 de diciembre, 1545), AGI, Guatemala 9.

33"Segunda memorial . . ." (no name, date, or place), AGI, Guatemala 965.
Having similar views as much as 160 views, "\nbehave otherwise to know exception" "be aware to have \nfail some raise to life, can answer."

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also selection of the hand of "reserves at once" that
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people's slaves were common in the-Hegelian class, and
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their estates, and chose titles of certain classes cannot be

\[\text{De la Croix, A. A., Catanese, O. L.}\]

\[\text{De la Croix, A. A., Catanese, O. L.}\]
enslaved. Therefore, it was reasoned that their condition was not worsened by being slaves of the Spaniards. On the contrary, they would be brought into the Holy Faith and would enjoy the blessings of Christianity. Not only would their souls be saved, but they would be snatched from the sacrificial altars. They were not free men to begin with, and that was no fault of the Spaniards. So it was that the conquerors were allowed to barter for such slaves, or to receive them as tribute in some cases. All officials, however, were enjoined to establish that such natives were truly slaves of rescate. Needless to say, the amenities were not always observed.

Some captains did endeavor to observe the Crown's will in the desired manner. As early as 1525, Hernán Cortés wrote to his lieutenant, Hernando de Saavedra, in Trujillo, Honduras, with respect to the acquisition of slaves of rescate. The substance of his letter was that the King had granted all the vecinos of New Spain the privilege of receiving such slaves from the "señores naturales" of the land. Cortés, therefore, gave permission to Saavedra to grant license to those Spaniards who held pueblos, allowing them to acquire slaves from the native lords. Saavedra was to determine the numbers each Spaniard was to have, according to his "calidad," and accord-
ing to the number of Indians in the pueblo where the slaves were to be obtained. It was also stipulated that all natives secured through rescate, or trading, were to be taken before Saavedra and his escribano, in the presence of the Indian lord, or whatever other person was trading the slave. Then the owner was to be asked about the way in which, in olden times, slaves were made among the Indians themselves. Thus, it could be determined which were really slaves, according to the native custom, and these could then be awarded to the person who had been given the license. It was also to be ascertained that the native master was content to sell the Indians, and that he was satisfied with the price given for them; and in verifying this the lieutenant was to take the señor aside so that he could speak freely, without fear of intimidation from the buyer. 

Regarding the settlement of Honduras in 1527, Diego López de Salcedo (1527-1528) instructed his lieutenant to make no slave of rescate without prior examination, verifying the legality of the Indian's legal status. Those who confessed to being children of slaves could be branded on the face and sold, or traded, as

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slaves. Those who were not the children of slaves, but who had been sold by their parents, were to be branded on the thigh and kept perpetually as naborfas. Esclavos de rescate were sometimes distinguished from other slaves by the brand "R" on the face.\footnote{35} That such orders were not unusual is shown by a similar set of instructions given at the same time to Diego Méndez when he went as lugarteniente to Trujillo. He was given express warning about illegally enslaving Indians, and he was not to consent to the practice without an examination by himself or an alcalde of the villa of Trujillo. The person who brought the Indians was to give sworn testimony, and it was to be established that free Indians should not be intimidated into saying they were slaves. The indios or indias were to give their names and their places of origin. They were to be asked if their parents were slaves, and if they had been sold. If they answered affirmatively they could be branded with the royal iron. This was to apply to those Indians given by the caciques, whereas slaves of war could be held only

\footnote{35}"Instrucción de Diego López de Salcedo a Diego Méndez de Inostrosa en el cargo que lleva de su Teniente de la villa de Trujillo en la ciudad de León a 20 de Agosto de 1527," José Saco, Histo\'{r}ia de la esclavitud de los indios en el Nuevo Mundo. (Habana: 1932), 155. Lic. Herrera a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 10 de julio, 1545), AGI, Guatemala 9.
through a *proceso*. Since there had been so much disorder in Trujillo through the selling of unbranded slaves, the branding irons were to be put in the hands of a person of good habits and reputation, someone who was zealous in the service of the King, so that there would be no fraud perpetrated. A slave who confessed that he and his mother were slaves, given by the caciques, was to be branded in the face. He could then be sold or traded as a slave. However, the one who did not confess that his mother was a slave, but who had been sold by his parents out of need, would be branded on the thigh, thereafter to serve perpetually as a naboria in remuneration of the labors suffered by the Spaniards in the conquest of the land. Such servants could be exchanged within the area, but those branded on the thigh were not to be taken out of the *reino*, under pain of 100 lashes and a fine of 100 pesos.  

It was common for the Spaniards to ask the señores or their pueblos to bring slaves for their service, with the understanding that there would be some trade for the Indians. Using merchandise given to the Spaniards in tribute, such as cacao, the Spaniards would then make the

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36 "Ordenanças que se dieron a Diego Mendez cuando fue por lugarteniente a la villa de Trujillo . . . por mando del gobernador, mi señor, Francisco Çepero" (Leon: 20 de agosto, 1527), AGI, Guatemala 965.
exchange. The cacique would bring the Indians before the Spaniards, who then asked them if their parents were slaves. If they answered affirmatively they were branded, after the examination. Both caciques and slaves were then made to understand that the slaves then belonged to the Spanish master, who could sell them to whomever he wished. Such explanations notwithstanding, there were complaints from the Spaniards that the native amos bartered the slaves with the Christians, after which the caciques stole half of them back, "por la poca vergüenza que tienen." This happened even after the slaves had been branded and could be identified. Moreover, it sometimes happened that the rescates would flee to their pueblos, and the caciques would not cooperate in turning them back to their Spanish masters. Caciques were often reluctant to trade their own slaves, or even to act as agents in securing others for the settlers. It had been the custom among the natives to sell publicly, like merchandise, "the slaves that go around like the cattle in Spain." Apparently this practice persisted into the post-Conquest period because a witness, in 1531, told of buying slaves in the tianguex. Such acquisition of slaves from the caciques

37 AGI, Justicia 296, fol. 53.

38 "Informacion de Hernan Mendez" (Santiago: 28 de mayo, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 110.
2. \textbf{Propulsion:} The rocket engine produces the initial impulse for the rocket's thrust. This process involves the rapid expansion of hot gases that are expelled at high speeds, creating a force that propels the rocket forward.

3. \textbf{Structure:} The rocket must be designed to withstand the high stresses and pressures experienced during launch and flight. The materials used must be lightweight yet strong enough to support the rocket's weight and the forces exerted.

4. \textbf{Guidance:} Once launched, the rocket needs to be directed to its desired trajectory. Guidance systems use sensors and calculations to adjust the rocket's course, ensuring it reaches its intended destination.

5. \textbf{Aerodynamics:} The shape and design of the rocket's body play a critical role in reducing drag and minimizing fuel consumption. The aerodynamic properties of the rocket are optimized for efficient flight and re-entry into the Earth's atmosphere.

6. \textbf{Payload:} The rocket can carry various types of payloads, such as satellites, scientific experiments, or even astronauts. The design must accommodate the weight and size of the payload while ensuring stability and safety during launch and flight.
was eventually canceled—by law if not in fact—when a royal provision forbade the Indians to make slaves among themselves. 39

Caciques generally retained some semblance of authority with their own people because it was through their agency that the Spaniards obtained services from the pueblos. In order to preserve such privilege, many of the lords were overly anxious to ingratiate themselves with their European masters, to the extent that they were not above turning over free Indians when no slaves were available. Bishop Marroquín wrote that licenciado Alonso Maldonado, the President of the Audiencia (1543-1548) was curious about the procedure for making slaves, because if the royal provisions had been followed to the letter all of the Indians could have been branded without examination. The reason for this was that the selection was left to the native señores, "and since they wish to please their masters, their own sons confess to being slaves." According to the royal provision recently made, there was no need for any examination to determine which ones were truly slaves. "So," continued the Bishop, "I took another

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39 Real Cedula (20 de febrero, 1534), "... donde se declara la forma y orden que se ha de guardar en hacer esclavos en la guerra y con rescates," DIU, X, 192-203.
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further education leaves the faculty to make minor social in

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method, which was to inform myself by talking to the lords. And when that was done, I sent them from the room from where the slaves were and talked to the slaves in general, saying that we already knew for certain how the lords had cheated them and made them slaves at their wish, and that they should not be afraid, and that if they were not slaves they should not say they were. And if they were, they were asked why, or in what principal manner they had been enslaved, paying particular attention to their ages to see if they were of a young age. And even if they said they were slaves, if they were young, I did not have the authority to brand them. . . . Once the examination was made by me, the Governor—or in his absence the Lieutenant Governor—watched while the branding was done. Do not believe, Your Highness, that such examinations were very rigorous; it is just enough to prevent the Spaniards from doing what they want to do. Under the circumstances, there was not much to stop the procedure of slaving. And there was a conflict over those who had been covertly being made slaves.

The practice of acquiring slaves of rescate was one to which Pedro de Alvarado readily subscribed. Royal officials in the colony reported to the King that the adelantado had himself taken three thousand of them in one year; hence, he was in no good position to question the procedure, even if he had been so disposed.

The Guatemalan frontier was so wild and isolated

40 Marroquín al Audiencia de México (Santiago: 1 de octubre, 1539), AGI, Guatemala 9.

41 Currilla (contador), Castellanos (tesorero), y Ronquillo (factor) a Carlos V (Ciudad de Guatemala: 28 de septiembre, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 45.
that some means had to be devised by the Crown to regulate the branding of Indians. Those natives who had been unjustly enslaved were to be branded according to royal provision, but there were numerous flagrant abuses which led to the branding of those who were free men and women.

In 1526 a royal cédula noted that many free Indians had been unjustly branded. From then on, branding was to be done in the presence of the Governor and the officials, only after sufficient care had been taken to secure the necessary information. Those who branded illegally were to suffer the extreme penalty of death and the loss of goods. Despite such stern measures the law did not serve as an effective deterrent, probably because offenders were not, in fact, executed.

If we are to believe Bishop Las Casas, some Spaniards took a light view of the Crown's concern. He recounts that a vecino named Orduña had a woman as his slave, and that someone had put the brand "libre" on her arm, as was the custom in freeing slaves. When the Bishop arrived, Orduña, fearing that the woman would be taken away, added after the word "free" more letters that read "'as long as she serves her master,' or something like that." Las

\[42\] Vasco de Puga, Cedulario (2 vols; México: 1878-1879), I, 29.
If the case is not of the nature of a cease and desist order, the court will
consider what a finding of the complainant's conduct is not.

Include here a finding of the complainant's conduct and a return to the status
may first be made by the judge and the finding "lack' so far might as
were the conduct in question serious. Can you even imagine the
tag" be taken that the money would be (from taxes) or such
after the main "lack" more precisely that there is no lack as
impose a cease and desist order as well as any decision the court can make. 

856.158 I.R.
Casas asked that the vecino be punished as a "plagiario" and one who held a free person as a slave. He insisted that the Indian be set free to do as she wished, and that all Spaniards who were guilty of such infraction should be punished in order to arrest such "horrible crimes."\(^43\)

One technique utilized to control the branding was to limit possession of the branding irons. To that end it was repeatedly decreed that the irons be kept in the possession of the justice and other officials, and that all branding was to be in the presence of persons of authority. When not in use the irons would remain locked in the "arca de tres llaves," each of three officials retaining one of the keys.\(^44\) Although this helped to check violations, there were ways in which some circumvented the law. The veedor at Trujillo informed Charles V that there had been in that area three royal branding irons, but that they had been in the hands of private persons. Seeing the possibility of fraud, the official requested the Governor, Diego López, to collect them and to bring them to him. Only two could be found. It was said that

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\(^43\)Memorial, que dijo el señor Obispo de Chiapa a la Audiencia," Antonio de Remesal, Historia general de las Indias Occidentales, y particular de la gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala (2 vols.; Guatemala: 1932), II, 57.

\(^44\)This order was repeatedly stipulated, indicating that it was probably not often kept.
...
the third had been broken, but it could not be verified. 45

Aside from the branding irons getting into private hands, there was also the possibility of counterfeiting the irons. As one example, in the turbulent early days in Honduras, Vasco de Herrera branded 50 Indians, not with the royal iron, but with one made by himself. 46 Some had the audacity to use a different mark altogether. A witness told how Alonso Cáceres, a lieutenant of Montejo, had taken Indians at Cerquín and branded them on their chins with the mark of a cross to identify them, saying that they would serve as naborfías. This was against the law, because the royal brand formed the letters "ROC." Nevertheless, about 30 natives were given the cross of Cáceres. 47

Such deceptions did not go unnoticed in Spain. A general cédula, dated in 1528, made reference to the slaves that had been unjustly enslaved and branded on the face, adding that those free Indians had been disaffected. Therefore, anyone having just claims to slaves was to appear before the President and oidores to produce the

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45 Francisco de Barrientos a Carlos V (29 de marzo, 1530), AGI, Guatemala 49.

46 Saco, op. cit., 157.

47 Testimonio de Alonso Ruiz, vecino de la ciudad de San Pedro, AGI, Justicia 300, fol. 27.
title and reason for having them as slaves. Slaves were to be registered, and if the owner wanted to brand them it could be done with the license and order of the justice, and with a recognized brand. The branding iron was to be in the possession of the justice and no one else. If irons were found in the possession of another, or if a slave was branded with other than official irons, or without license of the justice, the guilty person would be fined half his goods and lose the slave. 48

There was an added reason for the branding and enslave-ment being performed in the presence of royal officials, for in that way it could be assured that collection would be made of the King's quinto, that is, one-fifth of the value of the slave.

That the branding of human beings had its bru-talizing aspects is quite apparent, but many of the con-querors held the aborigines in little more esteem than brutes. There were, however, more practical considerations given in support of the branding; some felt that the iden-tification was necessary in order to protect freemen, as well as to isolate those who were truly chattels. When the New Laws forbade slavery it was decreed that those

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48 Cédula general (20 de noviembre, 1528), Cedulario de Fuga 1, 144.
This is a page of a document with text that is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be a passage about some unspecified topic, possibly related to legal or administrative matters. The text is not coherent or readable, making it difficult to extract any meaningful information.
servants who were not slaves could not be branded. But not being identified with any mark they frequently ran away, and in other areas no one would know their status. Slavery was considered too rigorous, but service without any brand was too lenient. Those unmarked servants, who had been condemned to servitude for serious crimes, fled, and few were ever returned. Because of this situation criminals went unpunished, with the result that authorization was given to brand those who had been sentenced to temporal service because of their crimes. 49

The Crown wanted branding to take place in the presence of the Bishop and the Governor, or his lieutenant, but the circumstances under which slaves were often taken precluded this, according to the views of some. Alvarado was accused of branding slaves without the Bishop present, but he answered that those branded by him in San Miguel and Puerto de Fonseca were one hundred leagues away from the Bishop's seat at Santiago. If he transported the slaves to that city many would flee along the way, as was their custom, or they would die of exhaustion on the long journey. 50 Witnesses acknowledged that slaves had been

49 Ibid. (Cedula de 14 de febrero, 1549), II, 9-10.

50 "Interrogatorio de Alvarado," AGI, Justicia 295.
branded on the coast without the Bishop, but they noted that Alvarado, the Governor, and a priest were present. The Indians, moreover, were indeed far from Santiago (although only from 70 to 85 leagues, according to their statements), and that the road crossed many rivers and marshes. This type of complaint was not an isolated one; the same general problem was observed in Nicaragua. In 1529, there was criticism of the way in which branding procedure was affecting the economy, since there was no other income except from slaves. The council of the town of Granada had requested that they be given permission to brand Indians in that city, but León was the only authorized site in the area. Finally the Governor, the Protector of the Indians, and other officials agreed that a branding iron would be entrusted to the care of Captain Martín Estete, who would take the iron to Granada, branding slaves along the way. This, the complaint asserted, was a mockery of the Crown’s rule, even though some felt that it served the interests of the settlers.

The Crown did not sanction indiscriminate branding of Indians, even those taken in war. It was eventually

51 Ibid.

52 Castañeda a Carlos V (León: 5 de octubre, 1529), AGI, Guatemala 9.
changed or to some extent if possible, and is now

change in the case of the President, the Governor, and a large scale decision.

The Governor, moreover, serve in this capacity to their

struggle only from 40 to 60 years, according to their

earners), and since the case is usually made, it would be

matinee. In the case of comedian was not an exception

as well as some general principles are applied in the sense

in 1939, there were criticisms of the way in which

in other cases of the case of the case, the case of the

other things except from silence. The case of the case of

of Kansas had decided that they can do by giving permission to

brand him in case of the case. Finally, the Governor, the President

of the Iowan and under authority exercised from a practical

tion would be extraordinary to the case of Canada's east

Because he would give the way to Canada's east

these plans and the way they work, the Constitution is also

a measure of the Crown's rule. Even though some feel that

in several cases of the Iowan's state. In any event, if

the Governor, his or her selection in accordance with

of interest. Even though cases in war. In any event with
decreed that no woman could be enslaved, nor could boys under the age of 14 be branded. There were many violations of this law, however. Diego Monroy, whom Alvarado identified as his enemy, stated that at Naco the adelantado had branded both women and youths under 14, even though the royal provision prohibiting it was well known. 53
CHAPTER II

THE SLAVE TRADE

The demand for slave labor stimulated a lively traffic in the sale of Indians, for some of the less sedentary Spaniards saw more profit in this commerce than in merely enjoying the limited fruits of the slave labor. Such purveyors were restricted by the general laws governing slavery, but their nomadic habits encouraged less respect for royal provisions, and the slave traders soon acquired notoriety for their excesses. Slaving expeditions date from the earliest years of Spanish domination in the New World, and considerable trading was carried on between the islands and the mainland for many years.

Slaves were given to help sustain the Spaniards in the new lands as a reward for their sacrifices. Only in this way, so it appeared, would the land be populated and settled for the Crown. But the Crown did not encourage slave trading for profits. It was forbidden to transport slaves out of their naturaleza,¹ the primary reason

¹There were many such provisions. See, e.g., AGI, Guatemala 393, Libro II, fols. 86v-87v.
being the welfare of the natives. Not only did moving them to other lands cause serious familial dislocations, but the delicate constitutions of the Indians could not resist the rigors of a change in climate. The same provision had the added effect of restricting the slavers, whose practice was to load their human cargoes into ships to be carried off to other shores.

Illegal slaving was the concern of Cortés, who made a probanza in protest to the actions of the Bachiller Pedro Moreno in Honduras. According to his statement, Moreno and his men had taken more than fifty men and women from the villages and branded them as slaves, against all right and reason, despite the warnings of the vecinos of Trujillo. Alonso Pareja, one of the witnesses supporting the Cortés statement, asserted that, against the order of the alcalde, the bachiller had indeed taken "ciertas piezas de indios e indias," but that he was not sure of the exact number. The alcalde ordinario, Juan de Medina, deposed that he had confronted Moreno and said, "Look, sir, you are being required not to take these Indians who are natives of this land, and it is to the detriment of the settlers and to the service of His Majesty, especially some of the Indians I see here, including a lord (principal)." Moreno ignored the alcalde
cannot be written on the cover. You can only write
call your faves or the covers.

With most labels, you can move the
place on other labels. Some labels, especially
for use on clothing, are thick and rigid, and
less often breakable. A change in climate, the
strace, the effects of a change in climate, the
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It is estimated that the concern of Oceana, who
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witnesses of the bucking. The bucking is the
"ocean" please to indicate a table of "Your place and space not
some of the ocean monster. The bucking organism..." You can
"look in" your own handmade not to come across
including one or two species of the bucking. and it is to the

definition of the bucking and to the services of the bucking.
"each, especially some "Of the inhabitants I see none in

bucking a lake (bucking)." I know they are visible..."
and branded the natives, including two peaceful tamemes, who had been given by the Indians to carry a Spaniard's clothes, with the understanding that they would be returned. All the Indians were carried off in Moreno's ship, as other witnesses testified. The historian Herrera writes that Moreno took the slaves to Española, after which the King ordered his punishment.

Violent measures continued to plague the Indians of Honduras. Several months after the above incident, Diego López de Salcedo made war on the inhabitants of Valle de Olancho, hanging many natives as punishment for the deaths of Spaniards. López de Salcedo then called in the peaceful pueblos and told them that it was the will of the King that those who were the friends of the Castilians were to be well treated; but that war would be made against the others, and they would be killed or sold as slaves. Some of the natives near Trujillo rebelled and then fled to the mountains in fear of being enslaved. Later López de Salcedo took Indians away from some of those Spaniards who held them, redistributing them among his friends and criados, taking the best ones for himself.

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2"Probanza de H. Cortes vs. Moreno" (Trujillo: 23 de octubre, 1525), AGI, Patronato 170, R. 23.

3Herrera, op. cit., Dec. III, Lib. X, Cap. XI.
This not only produced discontent among the vecinos, but also among the natives, who, in their displeasure, ceased gathering gold and cultivating the land. Such intransi-
gence reduced the white men to poverty and left the Indians so hungry that they threw themselves on other natives and ate them. To remedy this state of affairs, license was granted to make slaves to be sold in Panama. ⁴ In this way a slave trade continued with official permission.

A royal provision had already been dated in late 1526 ordering that the justices were to determine who had Indian slaves alienated from their native habitats. Such slaves were to be returned to their lands if they wished it, provided this could be accomplished without inconven-
ience. In the event that this could not be done easily, however, they were to be set free and treated as free men. They were to be well supported and governed, and not to be given excessive work. But if these persons were Chris-
tians, they were not to return to their former environ-
ments because of the danger to their souls that would fol-
low. ⁵

The principle of trading in slaves per se was not at issue; we know, for example, that in 1527 Pedro de

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⁴Ibid., Dēc. IV, Lib. I, Cap. VII.
⁵DIL, I, 450-455.
The principle of acting is always the same, but we need to

alter our knowledge accordingly and appreciably change
after a moment's reflection, and to adapt ourselves con""
Alvarado made a contract with Francisco de los Cobos, the Secretary to Charles V, and with Dr. Diego Beltrán, a member of the *Consejo de las Indias*, to export six hundred slaves to work the mines of Guatemala. But they were to be Negro slaves, which was quite a different matter; the indigenous peoples of the new kingdoms were considered as vassals of the King and under the special protection and tutelage of the Crown and the Church, a consideration not enjoyed by the Africans.

The early years of Honduras presented a dreadful spectacle of slaving operations, the blame for which can be laid in large degree to the insensibilities of the early officials. Bernal Díaz describes the situation in this way:

> I will go on to tell of the governors of the province of Honduras sent by the Geronimite Friars who were Governors of the Island of Santo Domingo — and pray God they will never send such men — again — for they were very bad and never did any justice at all; for besides ill-treating the Indians of that province, they branded many of them as slaves, and sent them to be sold to Hisp aniola and Cuba, and to the Island of San Juan de Baruquén.

> These evil governors were named:—the first Fulano de Arbítez, and the second Cereceda, a

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6"Declaracion" (28 de julio, 1530), AGI, Patrónato 246, R. 2, No. 14. See also Hayward Keniston, Francisco de los Cobos, *Secretary of the Emperor Charles V* (Pittsburgh: 1958), 105-106.
native of Seville, and the third Diego Díaz de Herrera, who was also from Seville, and these three commenced the ruin of that province, and what I state here I know, for when I came with Cortés on the expedition to Honduras I was present in Trujillo, and I was at Naco and the Río de Pichín, and that of Balama, and that of Ulúa, and in nearly all the pueblos of that neighbourhood, and it was thickly peopled and at peace /and the people were living/ in their houses with their children; but as soon as those bad governors came they destroyed them to such an extent, that in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-one, when I passed through there on my return from Castile, two Caciques who had known me in the old days told me with tears in their eyes of all their misfortunes and the treatment /they had received/, and I was shocked to see the country in such a condition.

Díaz' assessment of the damage to the province seems to have been by no means exaggerated, though he may have been overly harsh in his indictment of the governors who, under the circumstances, were hard put to control the unruly conquistadores. The bickering and lawlessness among the men contributed to the discontent of the natives, and as Herrera writes:

From this discord of the Castilians there ensued encouragement to the Indians, who were peaceful, to rebel, and it taught them to fight, because they were also unhappy about the order that Don Hernando Cortés had left /to the effect/ that if they rebelled they would be had as slaves; and the use they made of the Indians

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The assessment of the changes to the...
from the islands that they called Guanaxos gave them little satisfaction; because being peaceful and obedient to the King, the ships from Cuba stole them and took them as slaves, under the pretext of going to las Ybueras to buy them, where, because of the Castilians not having any profits, and because the land was very expensive because of the little commerce that came from Castile, and from the islands there were no clothes or food; and the Indians gave them little sustenance because they were not working, thinking that with the lack of it the Christians would go. And for that reason they did not give them food, except with the slaves the Spaniards bought from these same Indians, and from those who rebelled...

Robert Chamberlain, who is thoroughly conversant with affairs in early Honduras, makes these remarks about slavery in that area:

The practice of unrestrainedly enslaving Indians in large number had been carried on, or permitted, in Honduras-Higuera by the governors who preceded Montejo. Not only had natives taken in war been enslaved under law, but illegal slave raids were made against peaceful towns. Many Indians, first from Truxillo, and after 1534 from Higuera, were carried to the West Indies to be sold. Some were branded according to royal ordinances governing enslavement, but the majority seem to have been taken with but little pretense to legality. Before Montejo came a large proportion of the colonists appear to have been engaged in slaving operations in one form or another. They had kept comparatively few Indian slaves, despite the numbers taken under earlier governors, including Cerezeda and Alvarado, since it seems to have been much more lucrative to sell them outside the province. As their situation became more permanent, and as mining developed and needs for labor in general increased, the Spaniards became con-

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8 Herrera, op. cit., Dec. III, Lib. IXm Cap. X.
vinced that large numbers of Indian slaves were necessary for the economic development of the province.\(^9\)

Being treated in a brutal fashion, the natives frequently rose up in rebellion, which in turn provided a convenient pretext for making them "esclavos de guerra." Even the Cabildo of Trujillo acknowledged that the Indians had sufficient cause to revolt. Both Indians and Spaniards were pleased with the imprisonment of Saavedra, but the coming of Diego López de Salcedo opened up a serious situation. He took Indians as carriers to transport his goods to the city of León, including not only his personal effects, but also iron tools and bars, some of which were for trade. More than three hundred loads were taken by Indians, among whom were found señores and principales, forced with chains and iron rings around their necks. According to the Cabildo report, after these inhabitants were taken out in this fashion, López de Salcedo left orders that any Indians who returned were to be hanged; and the command was carried out. But it happened that most of the Indians he took died from ill-treatment or from fatigue.\(^{10}\) At the same time, Cerezeda and Herrera

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\(^9\) Chamberlain, op. cit., 120.

\(^{10}\) Cabildo de Trujillo al Audiencia de México (Trujillo: 20 de marzo, 1530), AGI, Guatemala 44.
false because in a partial template, the problem—faced previously in the experiment, which in turn caused a government decree for economic reasons to refrain from "essential" exports to Europe as well as to China. This has led to a situation that makes the trade relationships and economic policies of the countries involved very complex and difficult. It is interesting to note that some of these policies were based on the idea of "economic friendship" and "economic cooperation". According to this principle, both sides should benefit from economic cooperation. Here is an important note. We cannot rely on the leadership alone to achieve our goals. The cooperation must be mutually beneficial and the country's economic policies must be compatible with the goals of the leaders.
wrote the Emperor that rebellious Spaniards were stealing slaves from Honduras.\textsuperscript{11} A few days later Francisco de Barrientos reported that slaves captured as many natives as they could, more than 150 of them, and made them slaves.\textsuperscript{12}

Some of the most damaging and graphic descriptions of the early years of slaving were put down by the Bishop and Protector of the Indians, licenciado Cristóbal de Pedraza. In his "Información contra los gobernadores" he presented his own views and those of witnesses. He is critical of Diego López de Salcedo and Andrés de Cerezeda who had overthrown the appointee of Cortés, captain Hernando de Saavedra. Referring to the expedition of López de Salcedo mentioned above, Pedraza adds that the carriers were excessively weighted down with entire bars of iron, "as they are brought from Vizcaya." The land was almost ruined because, in addition to those who died on the trip to León, those Indians who remained in the pueblos "saw their sons, fathers, brothers, husbands, and women carried off, and they rose up and went into the forests and left

\textsuperscript{11}Cerezeda y Herrera a Carlos V (Trujillo: 20 de marzo, 1530), AGI, Guatemala 49.

\textsuperscript{12}Francisco de Barrientos a Carlos V (Trujillo: 29 de marzo, 1530), AGI, Guatemala 49.
their pueblos and houses, as a result of which many died; and the others that escaped never returned to settle the pueblos, nor did they ever reappear." Pablo de Paz, the regidor, confirmed this statement. The alcalde ordinario of Trujillo was a witness to these events, and he added some of his own particulars. Not only were Indians killed, but the small children as well. A captain under López, one Alonso de Solís, burned fourteen Indians alive in the pueblo of Canola, "which seemed to this witness the greatest cruelty in the world, and it made his flesh shiver." Many pueblos were left destroyed, especially a village that belonged to Diego Nieto called Tepusteca, in which not one inhabitant remained. It was, Antón de la Torre said, "made a wilderness." Some of the Indians forced on the trip by Diego López, seeing that they were being taken from their homes to alien lands, left the party. According to Pedraza, López pursued them, and many were speared with lances and died.

13"Informacion Contra los gobernadores que fueron de la ciudad de Truxillo en Honduras, Diego Lopez de Salcedo y Andres de Zerezeda, levantandos estos contra el capitan Hernando de Sayavedra puesto alli por Hernan Cortes luego que la pacifico . . . . Pedimiento y ynterrogatorio . . . .," presentado por Lic. Pedraza (12 de noviembre, 1539), AGI, Patronato 170, R. 45.

14Ibid.

15Ibid.
...
One of the most reprehensible aspects of the taking of slaves was the disregard for human life on the part of some of the slavers. Pedraza charged that when the Indians were taken on the road in chains by López and his men some of the carriers faltered under the strain and could not go on. In order not to cause delay by opening the chains to release these stragglers, their heads were cut off and the victims were left on the road, "the head on one side and the body on the other; and they went on their way." The alcalde ordinario again supported the accusation, noting that he was a witness to incidents like that mentioned above. On one occasion he saw that a principal named Migesti fell with his load because of fatigue; and because the key did not open the chain around his neck immediately, his head was cut off. The person responsible for this and other such barbarities was not a Spaniard, but a levantisco named Agostín de Candía. And the witness saw him take other Indians in chains, and

one of them, tired and weak, fell to the ground, and he wanted to cut off his head, as he had done to others. And the witness and other Christians begged him not to do it; and he opened the chain and released the Indian; and then, seeing that he could not do what he wanted (which was to decapitate him), he jumped on top of him (the Indians still being prostrate on the ground), and straddled him, and took his sword with both hands and began to plunge it into his
One of the most important aspects of the
existing or future new family unit is the
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body, and he plunged it two or three times from one part of his body to another, so that the Indian died there; and this witness and others regretted it. And afterwards God permitted that the said Agostín die in the power of the Indians, who cut him into pieces, cutting off his head and feet.  

The testimony relating such fearful atrocities reveals not only the depravity of the Levantine, but also the sensitivity of Spaniards who were witnesses. Although cruelty was frequently seen, they were not so calloused that they were not often suitably shocked by some of it. Such an observer was the regidor, Diego de Caçorla, who said that the same Candía committed further vicious acts in the pueblo of Telicachima. There he had killed an Indian and some children who lay ill under a manta; and, the witness said, when he saw it he raised his hand and wanted to kill Candía because of the atrocity, calling him "a dog, a bad Christian, and a white Moor." Later, after the Levantine had fallen into the hands of Indians, the regidor had helped bury the dismembered body. The witness Morillo testified that a peón by the name of Mexía had also beheaded an ill-disposed Indian to avoid having to open the chain.

16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
The construction refers only to the benefits of the curriculum, and not to the necessity of spending more money. It should stress the need to provide adequate education for all children. If this is not done, then the same criteria should be used to measure the success of the school, as in the case of children who fail in some subjects.

The problem now is to find a way to provide a better education for all children. A good curriculum and a flexible approach to teaching would be essential. If the curriculum is too rigid and fails to take into account the needs of individual children, it should be revised.

The author notes that there is a need for more research into the effectiveness of the present system. A better understanding of the learning process can help to improve teaching methods.
Bishop Pedraza also related that some of the Indians on the journey escaped and tried to return to their own lands. But on the road back they either died of hunger or from warlike natives who killed them. He identified López as a man in debt who needed to make slaves to sell so that he could make good on what he owed. According to Francisco Vásquez, López took "herds" (manadas) of Indians, not only from his encomienda pueblos, but from villages of the vecinos, in order to pay his debts. Vásquez saw them branded and sold, and he saw ships loaded with the slaves; "and it seemed to this witness the greatest cruelty there could be in the world, because he saw that the fathers and sons were separated from the mothers, and the brothers from the sisters." 19 Cañorla, who observed what had taken place, estimated that the share of Diego López in his slaving operation was more than 500 slaves, taken from his pueblos. The mayordomos of López asked the caciques for slaves, and as they were taken they were branded. The witness could verify this because he had gone with the mayordomo to collect the Indians. Another witness told how he had been sent by López to the peaceful villages for slaves

19 Ibid.
to pay for López' expenses. And the witness went to the pueblos of Papolotla, Monguiche, Borica, and Quiriobele, as well as many others, for which reason the entire area rebelled.

With the death of Diego López, Andrés de Cerezeda, the contador, began to govern. At that time, despite the previous ruin, there were still pueblos with 200 to 500 Indians, and some had as many as 800. But the destruction continued under Cerezeda, as the villages were pillaged and their people carried off to be traded on the ships that brought wine, oil, and other goods. The regidor, Paz, elaborated on the details of slaving during this period. He said he saw Alonso Ortiz, a captain of Cerezeda, taking some of his Indians from the pueblo of Juticalpa, including a principal (so he heard), in chains. The village had 500 Indians when Cerezeda began to govern, and it was one of the better pueblos in the valley; but Ortiz had left no one in it. Later, the witness stated, Cerezeda himself had depopulated one of his encomienda pueblos, a very large village called La Haga, and because of the ill-treatment not a person remained in it. Moreover, one Sancho Esturiano cleaned out his encomienda

\[20\text{ Ibid.}\]
to be for their separate and the various units of the broader question of domestic and international security. The Commander, Generals of the Armed Forces, and the Assistant Secretaries of Defense for the various branches of the military, must therefore be concerned with a broad range of issues that affect the national interest. These issues include national security, economic stability, and the maintenance of a peaceful international environment.

The challenge is to develop a strategy that is both effective and sustainable. This requires a commitment to long-term planning and a willingness to take calculated risks. The President and his national security team must be prepared to make difficult decisions, and the military must be ready to carry them out.

In conclusion, the national security of the United States is a complex and multifaceted issue. It requires a comprehensive approach that addresses both domestic and international challenges. The President and his team must be prepared to make decisions that are in the best interests of the country, and the military must be ready to implement these decisions.

Over the years, national security policies have evolved and changed. However, the underlying principles that guide these policies remain constant: the protection of the nation's interests, the maintenance of a strong military, and the pursuit of peace and stability.

The future of national security is uncertain, but the President and his team are committed to ensuring that the United States remains a strong and prosperous nation.
town of Sonaguera, taking all the people, indiscriminate-
ly, bound in chains. Some were carried off in ships,
others by land. A very large pueblo named Ylniga (?) had
belonged to Diego Bravo, who depopulated it. The people
of Taguala, belonging to Diego Maldonado, were all taken
away, as were the Indians of Papayeca carried off, indis-
criminately, by Alonso de Pareja. In this way Cerezeda
and his men took their toll of the population. Once on
the road, he sent Bernaldino de Maça and Antonio Herrera,
a mulatto, and some others to waylay and carry off the
naborfas that remained with the vecinos who had stayed in
the city of Trujillo. 21

Pedro Morillo, who was Lieutenant Governor at the
time of this inquiry, said that there had been an infinity
of people in Honduras and that, notwithstanding the harm
done by Diego López, there were still many natives left
for the men of Cerezeda. Per Afán de Ribera, the King's
alcalde, confirmed this and gave some indication of the
extent of the destroyed villages. In many pueblos he had
seen 13 or 14 chambers where the caciques and principales
had lodged, "and they seemed like royal chambers of kings
and lords." In one of the chambers 50 to 70 men were

21 Ibid.
lodged, and each one had spread out his sleeping mat as a bed, without any of them touching the other. "And all this was destroyed," he continued, "and is destroyed today, because the governors who governed in that time did not seem to be going to conquer and pacify, but to destroy and rob, and thus they consented to their men doing such things."22

Antón de la Torre said that very few Indians were able to escape, and the ones that remained in the pueblos, belonging to some vecinos, revolted, seeing the cruelties, and their fathers and sons being taken away in chains. The witness saw Andrés de Cerezeda himself put chains on the throats of caciques and their sons, and he consented to the Indians being taken by land and sea. He remembered, in particular, that a son of a cacique who was called Antonio (a native of the pueblo of Roata, which is on Guayava Island), had come to this city to serve his master; and the witness saw that,

the said Andrés de Cerezeda called this indio, and with his own hands put a chain around his throat and put him in the collar and took him off with the others. And seeing this, another principal of the said pueblo, being an old man, seeing the Indian put in the chain, came crying to the house of this witness; and at the same time Cerezeda came to say goodbye to the witness, and as the

22 Ibid.
said Indian saw him he fled in such haste that he broke a wall of the house, thinking that the said Cerezo...d to the other.  

After all the land was almost ruined, with hardly an Indian left in it, according to the witnesses, Andrés de Cerezo and his advisors and counselors, including a clergyman named Padre Juan de Avela and Bartolomé de Cabranes, his secretary, Cerezo decided to leave the land. Then, Pedraza claimed, Cerezo permitted all his men to take all the Indians they had in their pueblos (of the few that still remained). In this way the Indians were taken with chains around their throats to carry the loads, and not a single Indian was left. Juan Merino, an estante of the city, saw these Indians taken away in ships and saw them disembark at Puerto de Caballo, and some at Puerto de Sal. Some were exchanged for such items as shirts, wine, oil, and other staples.  

There are obvious distortions in some of these accounts because one is led to believe that López had almost wiped out the Indians; yet others said that at the time Cerezo began to govern there were still pueblos of a few hundred up to one thousand men. These witnesses

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23 Ibid.  
24 Ibid.
the Indian was able to lead his forces into such parts of the country as he judged safe for the purposes of his mission. He made use of the knowledge of the country and the assistance of his allies to carry out his plans effectively.

After this, the Indian was shown to great advantage. He took full advantage of the knowledge of the country and the assistance of his allies to carry out his plans effectively.

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then testified that before Cerezeda was finished not one was left. And, it was charged, in one of Cerezeda's pueblos named La Haga, that had contained 1,000 men, the village was deserted. Gonzalo Herrera, one of the regidores, testified that Cerezeda and his companions took more than 1,900 Indians, according to a count that was made, and that not even fifty of them returned. 25

On the journey overland many of the Indians died because of the change in terrain and climate, as well as from fatigue, because some of the loads contained iron tools and grinding stones. Compounding the hardship was the fact that they lacked food, and because they had to forage to feed the Spaniards. Others died from various kinds of work and sickness. 26

After leaving Trujillo, Cerezeda stopped over at Valle de Naco, where his men ate the food of the Indians, who were tied up and carried off in chains as slaves. In this way they went from village to village, destroying the natives in a like manner. Cerezeda went to settle a villa nearby in the Valle de Zura, which at the time had more than twenty-five good pueblos with many people, and

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
From certificates from college careers were drawn for one
year later. And the men capable of one of careers, new
place needed to keep clear and continuing, new men, the
alliances wereacquired. College careers and one is the only.
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with respect to the Valle to home; applied to the time and
more than twenty-five years because after many decades and
the towns were destroyed. The plantings of the inhabitants were ruined by the livestock belonging to Cerezo de Padre Juan Avela, and if an Indian complained he was tied and whipped, and some were thrown to the dogs. ²⁷

In summing up these charges, Bishop Pedraza stated that Andrés de Cerezo de Padre Juan Avela, having been ordered by the King not to make any slaves, had sought a subterfuge by which he could enslave natives who were free men and peaceful. He arranged to have them accused of crimes for which he would exile them from their lands in perpetuity, and this sentence was passed because ships were standing by to take them. At the ships the Indians were then traded for gold pesos, jugs of wine and oil, for hachets, machetes, and other goods. The slaves were then taken to Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Jamaica. All of this was done with the unfortunate Indians bound in cords and in chains, after having been forcibly taken from their villages, "which was the greatest pity and cruelty that could be made in the world," the Bishop added. If Pedraza did not exaggerate, this one operation must have been profitable indeed; for he contended that when Cerezo de Padre Juan Avela entered the pueblo of Naco there were eight to ten thousand men (not

²⁷Ibid.
The course was designed to prepare students for the future workforce and to integrate concepts of science, technology, and society. This interdisciplinary approach included hands-on projects and discussions on the ethical implications of scientific advancements.

Throughout the course, students were encouraged to think critically and to develop their problem-solving skills. They were also taught to communicate effectively with professionals from various fields.

In addition to the formal lectures, there were several guest speakers from different industries who shared their experiences and insights. These sessions provided valuable insights into the practical applications of scientific knowledge.

The course concluded with a comprehensive exam that tested students' understanding of the course material. Overall, the course was well-received, and students expressed a strong interest in pursuing further studies in the field.
to mention women and children), and at the time of this deposition in 1539, there were not 250 left. It would be misleading to conclude that all of those Indians were enslaved at that time, but we gain some idea of the considerable number involved from the testimony that Ceretza gave one of his men 100 slaves to take to the islands as his own.

One reason given by another source for the depredations in Honduras was that there was little incentive to settle the area because it offered no attraction other than the slave trade, which was hardly conducive to a settled society. The witness said, in 1531, that four colonizing expeditions had been made, but that the captains did not in fact intend to establish towns, especially seeing the shortage of dried, salted meat ("carnajes"). Instead, these expeditions turned into slaving forays.

Pedraza, designated "Protector of the Indians," took his charge seriously, as we have seen. His reports to the court were perhaps only less illustrative and less damaging than those of Las Casas, and his attacks included

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28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 "Informacion de Hernan Mendez" (Santiago: 28 de mayo, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 110.
to constitute women and children, and we are alive to the
operation in 1939, there were 150,000 men.

in making to continue our part of the story without
mentioning in that line, but we bring some items of the war-
significance number involving like the American Fifty-six
weeks, five of the men 100 miles to Cape Co. The

20. image we the can.

Our reasons, given, are another sources for the facts.

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In seeing the presses of article, renting each in the

In recent these expectations increased into all following years.

"erage... continuing proportion of the income.

of course were prepared only later information and later
taking their chance of the case, and the attention involved
sharp criticism of the Adelantado, Pedro de Alvarado.
When Alvarado went in to pacify Honduras, he took with
him **cuadrillas** of slaves to look for, and to work, mines.
One reason for Alvarado's success in pacifying an area
was his method of inspiring fear among the enemy, and this
was nowhere better demonstrated than in the Honduras cam-
paign. Accompanying his Spanish forces were Guatemalan
Indian auxiliaries of a group called the "Achies," des-
cribed by the Protector as "the cruelest people in the
Indies and the greatest butchers and cannibals." On
being informed of their gruesome practices, he said "it
broke my heart." Their very presence terrified the re-
latively peaceable Indians of Honduras, because "as the
natives of this land do not eat human flesh (nor did they
ever hear of such a thing), they were left very frighten-
ed and chastized." The Achies also seized many Indians,

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31Pedraza a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 18 de mayo,
1539), AGI, Guatemala 9. At one time, according to Pe-
draza, Alvarado had from 2,000 to 3,000 of the Achies
under his command. He writes that within the hour that
they captured an enemy Indian, "they sacrificed him and
cut him into pieces and ate him, half cooked, still
running blood," and they would take a child, "even though
he was at the breasts of his mother, and put him alive in
an **asadero** and eat him." A witness told Pedraza that he
had counted at one time some thirty **asaderos**, with a child
cooking in each one, in addition to which there were more
than twenty or thirty persons sacrificed, after which they
were cut up and divided to provide food on the road.
accounting for more than 6,000 persons, young and old of both sexes, three thousand of whom were made slaves. Pueblos that had 400 or 500 houses at the time Alvarado entered had only thirty left by the time Montejo arrived. The principales of the village of Taloa told Pedraza that between those carried off as slaves and those eaten by the Achies, some 200 people were lost in that pueblo alone.  

The Christians who had gone with Alvarado were vecinos of Guatemala and San Salvador, and their intent was less to pacify Honduras than to take slaves for their households and mines. As a result, they took all the slaves they could, with little consideration for the effects it would have on the land, since they were not going to live there. They were, as they acknowledged, pillaging. The Achie auxiliaries formed their own bands as they looted the towns, although perhaps without Alvarado's full knowledge of their methods. One vecino of Guatemala had sent his criado on the mission to gather slaves for him, and the servant branded 120 as his master's share, in addition to branding other free Indians that he bought from the Indian allies.  

32 Ibid.  
33 Ibid.
The criteria upon which the Seeds of Change centers have been established and the criteria for their selection and operation have been based on the concept that all organizations, communities, and societies should be able to develop their own systems of evaluation and measurement to determine their effectiveness in meeting the needs of their members. This concept is rooted in the belief that organizations should be accountable to their members and that the success of any organization should be measured by its ability to meet the needs of its members effectively.

The Seeds of Change centers are designed to be self-sustaining and self-governing. They are independent organizations that operate on a cooperative basis, with each member organization having a voice in the decision-making process. This structure allows for the development of a strong sense of community among the members, as well as the ability to respond quickly and effectively to the needs of the community.

The centers encourage participation from all members, including those who may not have had the opportunity to participate in the past. This is achieved through a variety of means, including workshops, seminars, and other educational events. The centers also work to ensure that all members have access to the resources they need to participate fully in the development of the community.

In summary, the Seeds of Change centers are designed to be inclusive, democratic, and responsive to the needs of their members. They are committed to developing effective systems of evaluation and measurement to ensure that their efforts are focused on meeting the needs of the community, and they are dedicated to fostering a sense of community among all members.

The centers are open to all members of the community, and their activities are guided by the needs and desires of the community itself. This approach allows for the development of a strong sense of community among the members, as well as the ability to respond quickly and effectively to the needs of the community.

In summary, the Seeds of Change centers are designed to be inclusive, democratic, and responsive to the needs of their members. They are committed to developing effective systems of evaluation and measurement to ensure that their efforts are focused on meeting the needs of the community, and they are dedicated to fostering a sense of community among all members.
These slaves had been taken, the Protector contended, by force and in chains, including women with babies at their breasts, and others who were pregnant. Children of the ages of three to five were seized. Many died on the road from hunger and from the deleterious effects of being taken from hot lands to cold lands, and vice versa. Some Spaniards reported that from 1,000 to 1,500 died around Trujillo because of being transplanted, as well as from bad treatment. They said that, for certain, in addition to the slaves taken, more than 3,000 free souls had been taken by force; "and the fathers and mothers made such a pitiful sight because of the children that were taken, and the women because their husbands were taken; so that I don't know what to say to Your Majesty except that it breaks my heart to see them cry, and the bitterness they have, begging me so much, because I came to be their padre and to look after them, and to have their children and wives returned, and fathers, and sons to their fathers and mothers, and brothers to their brothers, and it is the greatest pity in the world."34

The land was so ruined, Pedraza related, that whereas at the time that López de Salcedo and Cerezed

These slaves and free labor, the plantation crop

Lands and a large number of people are using the plantation crops

and the production of goods and services. The plantation owner and his

Tenants are expected to deliver the produce to the market and to

pay their share of the produce to the plantation owner. The produce

is then sold to other farmers and planters, and the profits go to

the plantation owner and his tenants. The plantation owner and his

Tenants are responsible for the maintenance of the plantation and

the plantation crops.
governed a pueblo might have had 1,000 Indians (or 1,000 houses, as some said), there was not in 1539 one left. The diminution of the native inhabitants was so extensive, he claimed, that one repartimiento in Mexico, or the holdings of one conquistador or settler there, had more Indians than all the government of Honduras from cape to cape. He assures the King that this is no fable (although, of course, it is), and that he did not believe there were fifteen thousand Indians in the whole governación; whereas, to hear those people who went in with Gil González de Ávila and the Marqués, Hernando Cortés, the area had almost as many people as Mexico. There had been much order and reason among the natives, and they were a people well-disposed and well-dressed, with about the same skill of those Indians of New Spain. He wrote of the peaceful lives of these people before the Spaniards came, and lamented the fact that both Cortés and his lieutenant, Saavedra, had left. The slave trade continued unchecked until the arrival of Francisco de Montejo as governor. Then, Pedraza wrote, "according to what I have been informed, he [Montejo] had not consented that anyone take a person out of the land." And, he went on, it was necessary for the province that this practice be continued, for two reasons:
One, so that these natives might see that Your Majesty, as their king and lord, and true father, will return to them their sons and women and brothers and husbands like the just judge he is; and the other, that this land be settled again because [of] the bad things of the past, and the destruction that they have made in the said pueblos, and to the natives in them . . . by the governors, or [rather] the "un-governors," of the past since the time that Diego López de Saucedo [Salcedo] and Cereñeda [Cerezeda] governed here . . . 33

Cristóbal de Pedraza asked that his relación be kept secret, because he liked the "caballeros" involved and he did not want his views to change the relationship so that he would be on terms with them "like a dog in the street." But he was not one to criticize without suggesting ways in which some of the wrongs could be righted. He felt that those who had been alienated from their lands should be returned, and to that end he requested permission from the Crown to go to Guatemala to look for Honduran Indians with the idea of taking them from the Spaniards who held them. There were natives from Honduras illegally taken to other places, such as Cuba, and he would seek their return. The justices and other "good men" could help him, and the prelates in areas where these slaves and free men had been taken could be ordered to give letters of excommunication to those who obstructed

35 Ibid.
this justice. No appeal should be granted to those who held these Indians unjustly; rather, as soon as the origins of the Indians could be verified, they should be ordered to set them free. Arrangements for the return of the natives should not be left to themselves because the Christians would intimidate them so that the Indians would say that they did not want to leave but would prefer to remain. And this, Pedraza commented, "is against true nature because each one wants and wishes to live and die in his own native land, as Your Majesty well knows." So much did the injustices weigh on his conscience that the Protector volunteered to go to all places necessary to repatriate his charges, at his own cost, as his own mission. 36

The Montejo policy toward slavery was more stringent than any previous government, but he, too, felt pressures. Chamberlain writes that:

Montejo's policy displeased the colonists, accustomed to laxity in the enforcement of royal regulations designed to protect the natives and used to following their own inclinations with regard to the taking of slaves. About the time the great general revolt broke out in 1537, the colonists demanded of Montejo that for a period of six months he permit enslavement of Indians

36 Ibid.
This licence to export gold or gold plate, its alloys, and gold coin, for sale as currency, shall expire on the 30th day of June, 1974. As soon as practicable after the expiration of this licence, the Minister of Finance shall furnish to the minister of finance of the Government of Canada a report containing, among other things, an account of the gold or gold plate, its alloys, and gold coin, so exported and sold.
above the age of fifteen under conditions until then permitted by law. They told Montejo that this measure was necessary to prevent the abandonment of the province since they could not maintain themselves without a sufficient number of slaves. Under this pressure, Montejo yielded somewhat and, against his will, sanctioned their petition, prescribing, however, that royal laws should be observed with the utmost care. He was aware that it would be difficult to enforce the pertinent laws, but, under the circumstances, felt it necessary to meet the colonists' needs temporarily. He wrote to the Crown, requesting approval of the measure, and meanwhile placed it in effect. However, not many slaves seem to have been taken during the six months period involved.\(^{37}\)

Later, the Crown gave in to opposing pressures and directly forbade Montejo to allow the export of slaves. "This cédula, which arrived after the general uprising had been suppressed," Chamberlain adds, "strengthened Montejo's hand in breaking indiscriminate enslavement and preventing extensive commerce in slaves."\(^{38}\)

The official restraints seem to have pretty well broken what was once a flourishing slave trade. The Cabildo of Gracias a Dios asked the King to let them use naborías to mine for gold, and to use rebellious Indians taken in war, and slaves of rescate, "because if we do not take out gold with them we cannot acquire the necessities, as we have no slaves, nor can we buy any."\(^{39}\)

\(^{37}\)Chamberlain, \textit{op. cit.}, 121-122.

\(^{38}\)\textit{Ibid.}

\(^{39}\)Cabildo de Gracias a Dios a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: no date), AGI, Guatemala 44.
Yet, in 1540, the Cabildo of Trujillo complained that, against what the King had ordered about not taking Indians from the land, twenty free Indians, as well as slaves, had been taken by force, and unjustly, and carried away in a ship. Encomienda Indians were still being sold in 1546.

No less critical was the threat to free Indians in the province of Nicaragua. Licenciado Herrera, after his trip to that unfortunate land (1544), reported that there had been, especially in Nicaragua, much liberty taken with respect to making profits from slaves, and that they were not even given corn to eat. Although it was to come under the jurisdiction of Guatemala, Nicaragua was ravaged by men from the south, including Pedro Arias (Pedrarias) who, in the version of Bartolomé de las Casas, entered like a "hungry wolf" to prey on the lambs. Licenciado Castañeda, an official, wrote in 1529 that free slaves had been branded, and when he required the alcalde

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40 Cabildo de Trujillo a Carlos V (Trujillo: 12 de marzo, 1540), AGI, Guatemala 44.

41 Alonso de Garcia a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 1 de febrero, 1546), AGI, Guatemala 9.

42 Herrera a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 24 de diciembre, 1545), AGI, Guatemala 9.

43 Saco, op. cit., 169-170.
ordinario of Granada to provide information regarding who was taking these Indians out of the land, Governor Pedrarias became angry with him. Pedrarias himself had given licenses to make slaves, and for that reason Indians were disappearing. Castañeda said he was informed that licenses had been given for more than a thousand slaves. But later, probably because of concern over a shortage of slaves to work the mines, the Governor ordered that no slaves be taken out. However, there were two ships in the port whose captains ignored the order. Their masters, with complete disregard, and against the wishes of the officials, who were not allowed on board, loaded their vessels with Indians, both slave and free. This caused a great scandal and disturbance because the natives were taken to Panama, and because the Governor did not prevent this abuse because the ships' masters were his good friends.  

After the death of Pedrarias in 1530 (1531?) Castañeda became governor (1531-1535). The tenor of Castañeda's correspondence with the Emperor reflects a sincere regard for the condition of the natives; he notes the great numbers of Indians taken out of the province, and the few that ever returned. He had tried to stop it

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44 Castañeda a Carlos V (León: 5 de octubre, 1529), AGI, Guatemala 9.
before, and Pedrarias had considered him an enemy and provoked indignities against Castañeda, telling the settlers that it was he who prevented them from taking out slaves. As governor, Castañeda claimed that he had not allowed one native to leave, even though the Spaniards begged him for licenses, swearing to bring them back. Many Indians had died in Nicaragua recently, but that, he said, was because of "our sins." He had reference to a severe pestilence which had hit León and the surrounding area, from which many Indians died with stomach pains and fevers. Something like two-thirds of the natives had tumors. And, he insisted, it should be made clear that many Indian deaths were not attributable to overwork because the "mansos," those Indians who served in the households of the Christians, had died also, many of them suddenly, even though they were well taken care of. If the plague did not lift, he went on, soon there would be no Indians left to enable the Spaniards to live in the province; and he asked that the King order that rebellious Indians, given as slaves, not be taken out of the land so that the pueblos could be maintained.  

Like others before him, Governor Castañeda, who

45 Castañeda a Carlos V (30 de mayo, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 9.
had been so critical of slaving policies before he assumed command, soon began to feel compelled to recognize demands of the pobladores. Writing in 1533, he told the King that a plague of sarampión had killed more than six thousand Indians in the province, which had serious repercussions, especially for the cuadrillas that served in the mines. Indians, moreover, had risen up and killed some Christians in the new mines. The Chontal Indians were especially fractious, and their repeated revolts upset the operation of the mines. Therefore, Castañeda asked permission to enslave them so that they could be taken from the land, because with their absence the Negroes could productively work the mines. This was an issue of some importance because the successes of Pizarro in Peru were enticing away many of the settlers of Nicaragua. 46

There was also the curious practice in Nicaragua of renting female slaves for a specific period. The calpixques, who were reputed to be the worst enemies of the pueblos, sometimes rented a village from the encomendero, and then made their profits as best they could. Among the ways in which the calpixques exploited the villagers was selling or renting concubines to Spaniards who

46 Castañeda a Carlos V y al Consejo de Indias (Leon: 1 de mayo, 1533), AGI, Guatemala 9.
and have been critical of existing policies. Despite the company's recent efforts to hire and train employees of the 'Mandinga' and 'Garifuna' descent, it is clear that the situation has not improved.

Employees in the 'Mandinga' sector, which has seen a decrease in production, are particularly critical. The company's policies, which were developed to improve the situation specifically for the 'Mandinga' sector, have not significantly improved the situation. Employees have stated that they are underpaid and still have to work long hours.

The Garifuna sector has seen a decrease in production, and employees have reported decreased wages. The company's policies, which were developed to improve the situation specifically for the 'Garifuna' sector, have not significantly improved the situation.

The mine's workers feel that the company's policies have not improved the situation. They feel that they are working long hours and receiving low wages. Because of this, they feel that they are not receiving adequate compensation for their work.

There were also concerns about the lack of training and education for the company's employees. The company's policies, which were developed to improve the situation specifically for the 'Mandinga' sector, have not significantly improved the situation.

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took ship for Peru. These wives and daughters were taken
to market as it were, bringing a price that rested on the
favors displayed. Hence, "some were a peso for a month,
those they called 'alvahaca;' and others were two pesos
because they were more beautiful, and these they called
'rosas;' and others for three pesos, who were called 'cla-
vellinas;' so that by the name, the prices they have to
pay for them go up." 47

One of the first settlers in Nicaragua told, in
1535, how things had deteriorated there because there had
been a thousand abuses, and not a single residencia.
Despite the abundance of the land, conditions were not
good, he said, because the natives had been diminished by
four-fifths as a result of the cruelties practiced on
them. One-third of the indigenous peoples being free men
had been enslaved, branded, and sold outside—which was
the same as sentencing them to death, according to the
writer. He was of the opinion that not one-twentieth of
those taken to Panama and Peru were still living. One
ship left with 400 of these Indians, and before the voyage
ended not 50 remained alive. At the time of his writing
there were up to 20 ships engaged in the commerce of

47 "Interrogatorio", AGI, Justicia 301.
The importance of understanding the intricacies of the law, especially in the context of a legal conflict, cannot be overstated. The recent developments in the field of law have shed light on the crucial role of legal representation in ensuring fair and just outcomes for all parties involved. The meticulous analysis of case law and legislation is essential for any legal professional aiming to navigate the complex landscape of the law. This understanding is not only vital for the resolution of current disputes but also for the prevention of future conflicts. The importance of legal education cannot be emphasized enough as it forms the foundation for a career in law and prepares individuals for the challenges they will face in the legal field.

The "Interjection" and "Interjection Z" are key concepts that emphasize the dynamic nature of legal processes and the need for constant adaptation. These concepts underscore the importance of continuous learning and the integration of new knowledge into existing frameworks. In the context of legal education, the "Interjection" and "Interjection Z" serve as reminders of the ever-evolving landscape of the law and the necessity of staying informed and engaged in the ongoing dialogue of legal scholarship.
slaves between Nicaragua and Peru. The change of governors, and the quarreling among the Spaniards themselves disturbed the Indians, whose justice was given little consideration. Their concern was such, according to Herrera, that "for two years they did not sleep with their women, so that no slaves would be born for the Castilians."^{49}

Santiago de Guatemala, not being a port city, was less of a center for the slave trade than those settlements whose location made for convenience in slipping Indians on board ships. Nonetheless, there were many Indians in the province of Guatemala, and for that reason it was a good place in which to seize slaves. Aside from those "esclavos de guerra" taken during the conquest, there continued to be slave raids. Royal officials complained that before Alvarado returned as governor, a captain sent by Pedrarias had entered San Salvador and raided six encomiendas where the people were serving in peace. They carried off 1,500 as slaves, trussed in chains. Another force was sent against the intruders, who were forced out, relinquishing 1,000 of the Indians.

\[^{48}\text{Francisco Sanchez a Carlos V (Granada: 2 de agosto, 1535), Saco, op. cit., 171.}\]

\[^{49}\text{Herrera, op. cit., Década IV, Libro III, Capítulo II.}\]
The remaining 500 had already been sent in bondage to León.\(^{50}\)

In his 1535 residencia, Alvarado was brought to task for his violation of the law because he took Indians out of their native habitats, even though some of them were slaves. The multifarious concerns of the adelantado required considerable manpower, which would of course have to be supplied by native labor. In pursuit of his designs, he moved Indians about at will. When he entered Honduras-Higueras he took slaves from Guatemala in mining cuadrillas,\(^{51}\) and some of the slaves he took out of San Salvador were even sent to Mexico. \(^{52}\) Alvarado was also charged with sending a ship with 200 slaves to Panama, either to be sold or to work the mines there. Although this was illegal, he claimed that he had a special license from Spain to authorize it. This venture was frustrated, in any case, when the ship was forced to return, but the mishap resulted in the death of some Indians by drowning. \(^{53}\)

\(^{50}\)Gurrilla y Castellanos a Carlos V (Santiago: 20 de agosto, 1530), AGI, Guatemala 45.

\(^{51}\)Testimonio de Gonzalo Dovalle, AGI, Justicia 295, fols. 72-72v.

\(^{52}\)Testimonio de Pedro de Paredes, Ibid., fols. 130-130v.

\(^{53}\)Ibid. Testimonio de Francisco de Castellanos, fol. 56; testimonio de Gonzalo Dovalle, fols 72-72v; testimonio de Gaspar Arias, fol. 39; testimonio de Pedro de Paredes, fols. 130-130v; testimonio de Juan del Espinar, fols. 141v-142.
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In preparing his great armada to Peru, Alvarado made liberal use of available Indians, both free and slave. Many of them were used as carriers and in the preparations on the coast, for which reason he took many natives down to León. From that ordeal many died, and the survivors had difficulty making their way back to Guatemala because of encountering warlike Indians on the roads who killed many of them. Great numbers were taken along to serve as slaves on the armada, as the ships went "llenos de esclavos e maceguales," according to one source. Each man following the adelantado was allowed to take slaves and, depending upon his station, each man took from two to eight Indians to serve him. The slaves that survived that disastrous expedition were mostly sold in Peru.

Accused of allowing his brother Diego to sell his encomienda Indians as slaves, Alvarado answered that Diego had performed great services for the King, but that he had been in debt nevertheless. The concession was to enable Diego to put his affairs in order so that he could give further service to the Crown on the journey to Peru.  

54 Ibid.

The scene of some of the boldest slave raids carried out was the Chiapas frontier, isolated as it was from other centers of European settlement. One such case is illustrated by information sent to Viceroy Mendoza and the Audiencia de Mexico by the Cabildo of San Cristóbal de los Llanos in 1537. The deeds under consideration in this report were not carried out by renegades; they were led by Francisco Gil, who was clothed with official authority. In the last weeks of the year 1535, Gil had been sent by Governor Alvarado to plant a settlement in the valley of Tequepán-Pochutla. The purpose of the new settlement was to establish a center closer to the Indians of that area so they would be relieved of the journey to San Cristóbal. Gil left with about 40 Spaniards and Indian "amigos" from the repartimientos of San Cristóbal, under orders from the Governor to settle a town to be called San Pedro. At Tequepán-Pochutla they paused for several days, during which time they caused disturbances among the inhabitants; and then, instead of settling there, Gil pushed on to the Tanochil River, in the province of the same name, where he set up the Spanish colony. Having thus disregarded orders, he proceeded to hand over the staffs of office to Francisco de Montejo, under whom he placed his command. Montejo, who at the time was Governor
This page contains text that is not legible. It appears to be a paragraph discussing certain factors in the context of technology and communication. The text is not legible enough to transcribe accurately.
of Yucatán, made Gil Lieutenant Governor. Since the founding of San Cristóbal some nine years before, the Indians of Tequepán-Pochutla had given tribute and service to the vecinos of San Cristóbal. With the settlement of the villa of San Pedro the pueblos were then to continue serving their encomenderos, but Gil and his companions interfered and imposed their will on encomienda Indians belonging to others. In this way they pressed the peoples of Tuni (Xitultepeque), Tesco, Nogango, Ocingo (Ocosingo ?), Suteapa (Suchiapa ?), and others. The natives were treated "without reason, diabolically, and with too much covetousness" by those intruders. Francisco Gil made it known that he intended to take two hundred slaves to the city of Mexico, and also to profit by arranging for merchants and retailers to secure slaves.

To further his ambitions, Gil moved in early 1537 to secure slaves illegally from among the villages that were serving in peace. He struck first at the pueblo of Tila, held in encomienda by Francisco Ortes, making two or three "entradas de guerra," but failing to take the slaves

56 Cabildo de San Cristobal de los Llanos a D. Antonio de Mendoza y al Audiencia de Mexico (San Cristobal: 4 de junio, 1537), AGI, Guatemala 110. There is some variation in details presented by the witnesses, although there is general consensus on the main outlines of the expedition. Lucas de Beneçiano, who said that he had gone with Gil, stated that "fifty or a hundred" Spaniards went, and that they spent six months traveling around the land, including the area of Tequepán-Pochutla.
that had been the object of his tactics. This transparent pretext having failed, Gil resorted to more subtle means. From a "pueblezuelo" outside of Tila he called the people to come to him in peace. The exact details of what happened next are somewhat obscured by differing versions, though they are uniformly damaging to the character of Gil. The views presented are as follows:

The Cabildo statement related that Gil had made unjust war on the pueblos for no more reason than to take advantage of the opportunity to make slaves. This was especially true at Tila, where he required fourteen señores and principales to appear before him, and he asked for people to be used as tamemes. They were brought in, but they were tied and branded as slaves of war. After Gil had taken his share, the others were divided up among his companions, whereupon the fourteen lords were burned, and the Spaniards, "showing their cruelty and diabolical intent," cut off the nose of one of them, as well as one hand, which were then hung around his neck; "and they sent him out that way to give an example to the rest of the natives, so that seeing it they would be frightened, and he [Gil] could, under this weak pretext, make slaves."\(^57\)

\(^{57}\text{Ibid.}\)
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I take war on the principles of good reason. The views must be revised.
Cristóbal de Aguilar said that when Gil called the people of Tila to come in peace about seventy of them came, and Gil asked them to help in making war. That night many of them fled, but the twenty-six who remained were tied and taken to Tila, where half were enslaved, and the others were burned. Again Gil called more Indians to come peacefully, but only two señores came forth. One of them was sent to bring back more of his people; however neither he nor his people showed up, and the nose and hand were cut from the remaining señor, who was then turned loose. 58

Lucas de Beneçiano stated that after the Indians of Tila had been called in peace some who were said to be principales appeared, and they had with them certain Indians which Gil had requested for tamemes. Although they came to serve in peace, the captain burned fourteen of those who were supposedly principales; the others, who had come to serve as tamemes, were tied up and the brand of war was applied to their faces. Gil took his share, and the others were apportioned to his men. 59

According to Antón Portugués, two principales and

58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
six or seven other natives answered the summons of Gil.
Two Indians were sent back to coax more of their people to
come, while the others were bound. The people of Tila were
given a limit of three days within which they must comply
or see the principales burned. As no one, including the
messengers, came, one of the principales was burned, and
the other lost his nose and a hand in the manner described
above, and they were tied around his neck. The disfigured
principal was then sent back to his people to give them
Gil's message, which was that they should arm themselves
and make entrenchments because he would return to make war
on them in a month. The remaining five or six Indians were
branded. About fifteen or twenty days later, the witness
said, they took an Indian from Tila who said that sixty
Indians had been on their way to the Spanish camp when they
came upon the unfortunate principal on the road, and then
they turned back. The testimony of the other witness,
Diego Ortiz, adds nothing to these accounts.

Gil moved on toward the peaceful pueblo of Petal-
gingo, which was subject to Tila and giving service to
Francisco Ortes. After settling his camp two leagues from
the village, he sent word to the señores of Petalcingo.

60 Ibid.
One of them came with about forty of his people bearing gifts of honey. The Indians were sent to clean the road that day, but the following day they were put to the use for which Gil had requested them, that is, carrying his supplies. Twenty or twenty-five were taken as tamemes and marched a day's journey, where they were tied and branded as slaves. Gil took his share and the rest were divided up among his men. Then, after another day's journey, he sent his maestre de campo, Lorenzo de Godoy, and five men (one account says eight men) back to Petalcingo with orders to burn the village and take all the slaves they could. This plan was frustrated when the band of slave raiders found the village already burned and the people gone. 61

Gil then set out for the pueblo of Yzcatepeque, which was held in encomienda by Bernaldino de Goria. Before reaching the village two or three of the Indians came out, and Gil fell on them suddenly and had them branded. Others came out to the road to take supplies to the Spaniards, but without provocation these peaceable natives were enslaved and branded. A merchant who had passed through before found the village at peace, and the people gave him food. The Cabildo statement made claim

61 Ibid.
one of our cases with special regard to the people present.

There is no need to open the door to allow any

people in. The situation may not be that acute due to the

manner of the people present. However, if the situation

requires it, the situation may become more serious and

endangering. Certain actions should be taken to prevent

such occurrences. If necessary, the police may be called

in advance. If the situation requires it, the police may

intervene.

When discussing the police, we must also consider

the people present. If there are any problems or

incidents, it is important to discuss them in a

constructive manner. A constructive approach

will prevent unnecessary situations and help

to resolve any conflicts.
that two hundred men, women, and children were taken, although a witness who had remained at the camp said Gil and his men returned with about sixty.  

Suteapa, held in encomienda by a vecino of San Cristóbal, was also subjected to unjust treatment. Gil sent Lorenço de Godoy to that settled village, and many of the people, especially women and children, fled out of fear of the Christians, although some of the señores gave supplies and services to them. Godoy, "wishing to have a pretext to say that the pueblo was in rebellion," ordered the Indians to come back to settle the town, giving them three days within which to comply. Those already in the village told the Spaniards they should leave, and then those who dwelt there would return and continue to serve as before. Seven Indians, who were said to be señores and principales, "and who, by their aspect, appeared to be," refused to cooperate. Godoy's response was to have them chained and put in a straw house; it was set aflame and they were consumed. With that act as a warning, Godoy ordered twenty-five youths bound, and they were taken to San Pedro to be branded as slaves; and doubtless they would have been had not Francisco de Montejo

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62 Ibid.
Once the leadership and the people of the community reached a decision to discipline, they should give the necessary authority, and any other reasonable steps, to the desired officer. The officer should then proceed to implement the decision while the discipline continues. Any group that defies or refuses to obey the discipline should be removed from the community and replaced with someone who will follow the leadership's decisions. This will help maintain the discipline necessary for the community's success.
interceded angrily. He reprimanded the Spaniards for having unjustly taken the Indians, freed the natives, and ordered their return to the village, which, had, however, been burned at Godoy's departure. Montejo, "because of his anger . . . did not wish to stay longer . . . and he went to Tabasco." 63

The pueblo of Tuni belonged to Joan de Alcántara, a vecino of San Cristóbal, who complained that his Indians had been chased into the forest or enslaved. It is clear from the testimony of various witnesses that Gil had ordered the village destroyed and its people taken as slaves. The essence of what happened is as follows: Francisco Gil had made camp at the town of Canopochil, where he ordered Godoy on the mission to Tuni. All element of surprise was spoiled when two natives of Çinacantlán (Sinacantán ?) went ahead to warn the people of Tuni, who fired the village and retired to the forests. When Godoy arrived to find the village destroyed, he sent word for the people to come in peace. Two natives did come forth, and Godoy gave them a hat, telling them to call the others to bring food. Then seven or eight natives came, carrying chickens and other food; the bearers were tied up, and,

63 [Ibid.]
according to one witness, they were burned. One Spaniard testified that twenty-nine Indians came, and that the eldest was sent to call more Indians. When the witness left for San Cristóbal, the Indians were tied up, but their ultimate fate was not discussed.  

In summary, the Cabildo of San Cristóbal de los Llanos accused Gil and Godoy of ruining vecinos of the town by raiding the encomiendas, of making crude and unjust war, causing the deaths of many Indian auxiliaries, and of illegally enslaving free and peaceful encomienda Indians. Gil had operated in collusion with retail merchants (mercaderes tratantes) whom he allowed to trade in slaves and to take them out of the land. And all of this was done by them "as men who have used royal offices in alien jurisdiction, where they had no power." For these crimes the Cabildo implored the Audiencia of Mexico to see the offenders punished. 

Between the conquest and 1550 the evidence suggests that many thousands of natives were enslaved. Without venturing an estimate of what the total figure amounted to, it will perhaps be of some interest to gain an idea

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64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
of how many slaves individual Spaniards had working for them. It has already been seen that Pedro de Alvarado, according to one source, made three thousand slaves of rescate in one year. If that figure is accurate, it is not sure that all of them remained with him. Royal officials claimed that in 1531 Alvarado had 1,500 branded slaves working in his mines, but that number far exceeded the slaves held by others.\textsuperscript{66} As might be expected, Alvarado's brother Jorge had an impressive holding of slaves. At one time he held half of the town of Atitan (Atitlán) in encomienda, from which he was given slaves in the amount of from 200 to 270, depending upon which witness one follows. The other half of the town belonged to Sancho Barahona, who had a cuadrilla of about 100, or perhaps as many as 120, mining for gold.\textsuperscript{67} The "encomendero de Chiapa," so Remesal claimed, had over 200 illegal slaves working in his sugar mill.\textsuperscript{68} Cristóbal Lobo of Chiapa reported his holdings as 42 slaves in 1549.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Cuerrilla et al.} a Carlos V (28 de septiembre, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 45.

\textsuperscript{67}"Relacion sacada de la probanza hecha por parte de Sancho Barahona . . .," AGI, Justicia 295.

\textsuperscript{68}Remesal, \textit{op. cit.}, I 465.

\textsuperscript{69}"Testimonio" de la Audiencia (Santiago: 22 de marzo, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 965.
The treasurer, certainly a prominent individual, was, one report alleged, "very rich, and he has 80 to 100 slaves, as he confesses." 70 Lesser functionaries naturally had more modest holdings because few Spaniards had the wealth to buy and keep great numbers of slaves. Thus the vecino Holguín in Salvador held fifty slaves, for which he claimed that he had paid 3,000 pesos, no small sum. 71

Apparently most Spaniards had at least a few slaves, but it would be difficult to make a valid generalization as to average slave holdings, because the number varied according to time and place. For example, it might be reasonably supposed that one would have held more slaves in Guatemala under Alvarado than under Montejo in Honduras. Contributing to the confusion is the fact that some encomienda Indians were used as slaves. Alvarado, in order to increase gold output, ordered Spaniards to put their Indians to work in the mines, and the wording suggests that they were not legal slaves. This order increased the work force from ten cuadrillas to ninety, which if made up

70"Informacion acerca del tesorero," (no date, but probably late 1540's or early 1550's), AGI, Indiferente General 855.

71Barón Castro, Rodolfo. Reseña histórica de la villa de San Salvador, desde su fundación en 1525 hasta que recibe el título de ciudad en 1549. (Madrid: 1930), 45-46.
of slaves would constitute a large number of them. There were certainly no more than a hundred Spaniards living in Santiago as vecinos at the time, and it might be concluded that almost all had cuadrillas. But a cuadrilla could mean less than ten Indians, or it could be made up of over a hundred, so that we cannot deduce with any accuracy the numbers involved. Nor can we be sure that they were legally slaves. In 1548, Governor Cerrato freed 500 slaves that had been held by 40 vecinos, or averaging out to 12.5 slaves per vecino, but no doubt a few individuals had fairly large holdings. In the end, it seems safe to assume only that most vecinos held somewhere between five and fifteen Indians slaves, not to mention natives held in encomienda by some, or those classified as naborías.

Like any commodity on the market, the slave brought a price relative to the supply and demand. In pre-Columbian days he was not considered an expensive luxury, comparatively, for we are told that one could be purchased for 100 cacao beans. Some idea of that value is seen by the fact that at the time a rabbit was sold for ten beans, and a

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72 "Informacion de Hernan Mendez," (Santiago: 28 de mayo, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 110.

73 Cerrato a Carlos V (3 de noviembre, 1548), AGI, Guatemala 9. See Appendix for examples of slave holdings by individuals in 1529.
prostitute commanded eight to ten beans for her ephemeral services. During the first months of conquest and pacification the Spaniards came by Indian slaves easily, which depressed prices; but as natives began to die or disappear, and as the Crown put on increasing pressure to limit slavery, the demand increased and prices fluctuated accordingly. The problem of determining a slave's price in Spanish society is made all the more difficult because of the changes in the buying power of the peso. Where native labor was in short supply, as in the islands, slaves naturally brought a higher price, a market condition that gave impetus to the slave trade in Central America.

To gain some perspective on the shifting prices, we may refer to some examples of inflation in general.

In 1549, a xiquipil of cacao was worth a peso and a half, but six years later it had a value of four pesos; a manta that had cost eight reales had risen in the same period to forty reales. This inflation was not unique to Guate-

A new movement of commerce across the oceans to the Far East.

The expansion of the American economy is promoting new forms of trade, particularly with China and Japan. The increase in demand for American goods has led to the establishment of new trading companies and the expansion of existing ones.

The growth of American shipping has also contributed to this movement. New ships, equipped for long voyages, have been built to transport goods from the United States to the Far East.

In conclusion, the movement of commerce across the oceans to the Far East is a significant development in the American economy. It reflects the growing strength of the United States and its ability to compete in the global marketplace.
mala because the same source notes that in Mexico one had been able to buy ten or twelve gallinas for one real; but later a real would buy only one gallina, and sometimes not even that. A cargo de ropa that was valued at three or four pesos before was later worth seventy or eighty pesos.

Certain it is that the life of an Indian during the conquest was held to be worth much less than that of a horse, which was worth five or six hundred pesos, and sometimes as much as eight hundred. The author is uncertain of the cost of a slave at the time of the conquest, but it is significant that in the years following the conquest their price was still very low. Alvarado was quoted as saying that a Negro slave in 1530 was worth nine pesos, and Indian slaves were always worth considerably less.

In the 1530's an Indian slave, according to witnesses, sold for anywhere from three to six and a half pes-

75 AGI, Justicia 301, fol. 748.

76 "Probanza de don Pedro Portocarrero," (9 de agosto, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 110. See also Ramírez, op. cit., 151-152.

77 "Declaracion" (28 de julio, 1530), AGI, Patronato 246, R. 2, No. 4.
sos. Writing in the summer of 1533, some Franciscans in Mexico complained about the branding of slaves in Guatemala, noting that they were sold for only two pesos each. Commenting on this, Saco states that in 1532 slaves in New Spain were worth forty pesos, as compared to two pesos in Guatemala the following year, and he concludes that this is "prueba evidente de la grande abundancia que había de ellos." This may well be a valid assumption, because in 1533 or 1534 a vecino of Santiago de Guatemala asserted that there were many Indian slaves in Guatemala. However, he stated there were a lack of them in the city of Mexico, and since there were so many gold mines there, he requested a license to take two hundred slaves to Mexico. The Crown gave him permission to take twenty.

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78 "Relación de la Probanza hecha por parte de Sancho Barahona en el pleito que en la residencia trato contra... Alvarado," Testimonio de Yllescas, Dovalle, y Monroy, AGI, Justicia 295. However, the plaintiff, Barahona, who had reason to exaggerate, claimed slaves were worth ten to twelve pesos.


80 Saco, op. cit., 180-181.

81 Real cédula (3 de abril, 1534), AGI, Guatemala 393, Lib. II, fol. 102.
An exceptional slave naturally brought a higher price, and in 1530 reference was made to "un esclavo yndio muy bueno," that was worth fifty pesos de oro in Trujillo, but the owner confessed that the Indian was "his hands and feet." The conquistador Holguín in Salvador protested the taking away of his slaves in 1548, adding that his fifty slaves had cost him three thousand pesos; but this is very likely an exaggerated figure inasmuch as he was attempting to emphasize his loss. In 1546 or 1547, Negro slaves in New Spain were valued at eighty to ninety pesos, and, doubtless, Indian slaves were selling for much less; but those figures refer to conditions in Mexico that did not necessarily obtain in Guatemala. It is, in any case, clear that the selling price of a slave was directly related to availability, and that there was quite a difference in the price of a slave in the 1520's as compared to the 1540's.

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82 "Informacion de Pedro Calçada" Trujillo: 2 de febrero, 1540), AGI, Guatemala 110.

83 Barón Castro, op. cit., 45-46.

84 "Informacion" (Valladolid: 9 de mayo, 1556), AGI, Patronato 170, R. 60.
CHAPTER III

THE REFORMS OF CERRATO

The "golden age"\(^1\) of slavery, which had survived the fulminations of Las Casas and the threat implicit in the New Laws, disintegrated before the wrath of one reformer. Licenciado Alonso López de Cerrato (1548-1553) arrived at Gracias a Dios in May of 1548, and proceeded to accomplish, almost single-handedly, what excommunication and the royal will had failed to do. Within a few months legal slavery was virtually abolished.

Not since the death of Alvarado had an individual asserted such authority in Guatemala, nor had such portents alarmed the citizenry since the first astounding inferences of the New Laws were revealed. Probably no single man had been so widely detested since the founding of the colony. Yet this reformer was no conquistador, nor sturdy Dominican backed by a whole order. On the

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\(^1\)So Cerrato referred to the period before his arrival, in his Residencia, 1553, "Licenciados Alonso López Cerrato, Tomas Lopez, Diego de Herrera y Juan Rogel, presidente y oidores de Guatemala; por el doctor Antonio Rodriguez de Quesada, oidor de Mexico," AGI, Justicia 301, fol. 738v.
THE HUMAN HAND

The modern home is filled with the latest in home
appliances and convenience. The focus of home
products is on comfort, efficiency, and safety.

Convenience kitchens, with their high-tech
features, have become a staple in modern homes.
These kitchens offer a range of options, from
electric stoves and ovens to built-in microwaves
and dishwashers. The trend towards open
concepts has also led to the integration of
dining areas and living rooms, creating a
spacious and welcoming atmosphere.

New appliances like automatic washers and
dryers have made household chores easier
than ever. Radiators and air conditioning units
provide comfortable temperature control year
round. Heaters and fans ensure a steady
flow of fresh air and a comfortable living
environment.

The human hand is an essential part of daily
living, performing tasks that range from
simple chores to complex work activities.

Incorporating the latest in home technology
and design is a constant evolution, aimed at
enhancing the quality of life and making
home living both enjoyable and efficient.

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and design, please visit the following
websites:

http://www.homeandhomedesigns.com
http://www.homedecorating.com

Sources:

1. American Home Design Association
2. International Furniture Design Association
3. Home Technology Group

For further resources on home improvement and
decorating, refer to the following books:

- "The Art of Interior Design" by Sarah Smith
- "Modern Home Decor" by Emily Johnson
- "DIY Home Improvement" by Mark Brown

For contact information, please visit the
home and interior design websites listed above.

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contrary, he was a most unlikely choice for the task ahead, a sick old man, who was, nonetheless an uncommonly brave person who faced the anger of practically the whole Spanish community in Central America. The Guatemalan frontier society was an atmosphere in which violence was commonplace, and threats were not to be taken lightly. The audacity of the Contreras brothers in the murder of the Bishop of Nicaragua demonstrates the extent to which an embittered populace could become exercised.

Of Cerrato's background we know little. According to Oviedo, he was a native of the town of Mengabril in the province of Medellín.\footnote{Oviedo, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 158.} Bernal Díaz writes that he came from Estremadura.\footnote{Díaz, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 323.} Oviedo was in Santo Domingo during Cerrato's administration there (1543-1548), and Díaz was present during the Cerrato administration, so both were privy to firsthand information about the Licenciado. Unlike many other officials who frequently made references to their families (more often than not in order to gain sympathy), Cerrato is curiously silent on this issue. This professional, impersonal attitude lends support to the picture of him as a cold, officious person. From the
Society was no exception to this rationalistic and deterministic view.

Philosophy of Education

In contrast to this deterministic view, society was perceived as a rational and deterministic entity. The belief in the progress of "enlightenment" was a central theme in this worldview.

Society, from this perspective, was seen as a rational and deterministic entity. The belief in the progress of "enlightenment" was a central theme in this worldview.

The belief in the progress of "enlightenment" was a central theme in this worldview.

Epistemology

The belief in the progress of "enlightenment" was a central theme in this worldview.

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account of the historian Ximénez it is learned that Cerrato had a daughter who was married to a Vizcaíno. The Cabildo of Chiapas also made mention of Cerrato's children ("hijos") and grandchildren, as well as various other relatives, in complaints involving nepotism. But, in sum, there is a relative dearth of information relating to his family affairs.

Like many other important figures of the Indies, Cerrato achieved prominence rather suddenly, with little background material to give us insight into his antecedents or early career. We may be assured that he was well educated, since he held the title of licenciado, and was named as president of two audiencias. In the New World he was soon to prove his dedication in service of the Crown, and, aside from favoring his relatives with sinecures, as was the custom, he was remarkably free from the scandal and corruption that tainted the careers of most officials in the Indies. Certainly he was imbued with that fanaticism which drives all successful reformers.

Cerrato's career in Spain must have in some way

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5 Cabildo de Ciudad Real de Chiapa a Carlos V (Ciudad Real: 1 de mayo, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
Conclusion of the Investigation into the Nature and Extent of the
Title.

The main object of the investigation has been to determine
the extent of the title and to ascertain whether or not the
preliminary research has been conducted in accordance
with the principles laid down for the purpose.

The investigation has been carried out in the following
manner:

1. A review of the existing literature on the subject was made,
   and an attempt was made to ascertain the nature of the
title and its extent.

2. A survey of the relevant legal and technical literature
   was conducted to determine the extent of the title.

3. A series of interviews with experts in the field were conducted
   to obtain an assessment of the title and its extent.

4. A series of expert reports were commissioned to provide
   additional insights into the nature and extent of the title.

The investigation has revealed that the title is extensive and
encompasses a wide range of areas. It is clear that further
research is necessary to fully understand the nature and extent
of the title.

Conclusions

The conclusion of the investigation is that the title is
extensive and encompasses a wide range of areas. Further
research is necessary to fully understand the nature and extent
of the title.

References

   Legal Studies, 45(1), 1-10.

   Property Law, 5(2), 11-22.

   Intellectual Property, 3(3), 23-34.
shown distinction, for he was selected as one of those to whom fell the dubious honor of enforcing the dreaded New Laws of 1542. In this charge he appears to have been eminently the most successful of those officials involved with primary responsibility. While the fate of that humanitarian legislation is well known in Mexico and Peru, it has less often been recorded that in the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Cerrato's jurisdiction, the orders were enforced to a considerable extent. Cerrato, who was in Españaola taking the residencia of the outgoing President, Bishop Alonso de Fuenmayor, and the oidores, was charged with executing the New Laws at the same time. The ordinances had created the new Audiencia de los Confines, and on March 1, 1543, the new President, licenciado Alonso Maldonado (1543-1548) and the oidores, licenciados Pedro Ramírez, Diego de Herrera, and Juan Rogel, were ordered to free the Indians, under the articles of the laws of

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6 Lesley B. Simpson, The Encomienda in New Spain (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1950), 132-133, makes this note: "The Crown did not entrust the execution of these unpopular laws to the existing authorities in New Spain and Peru, where opposition was the strongest. Four men were commissioned to enforce them: Blasco Nuñez de Vela, for Peru; Francisco Tello de Sándoval, for New Spain; Miguel Díaz de Armendariz, for Tierra Firme; and Alonso López de Cerrato, for the Antilles and the Pearl Coast."
formance and activity trends and problems experienced by the various branches of the Armed Forces. The program shall be designed to ensure that personnel and facilities are utilized in the most efficient and effective manner possible.
1542.\textsuperscript{7} As it developed, however, this first Audiencia for Central America was notably remiss in its application of those directives.

It was during Cerrato's administration in the Caribbean that he gained a reputation for indifference to public opinion in his pursuit of the Crown's justice. For such zeal he was praised by that furious advocate of reform, Bartolomé de las Casas, which is one measure of his effectiveness. With respect to freedom for the natives, the two apparently concurred on basic issues, and they maintained a mutual respect. Very early Cerrato seems to have called on the services of Las Casas to help put down an Indian rebellion in Santo Domingo.\textsuperscript{8}

In his account, \textit{Desde Salamanca, España, hasta Ciudad Real, Chiapas} (1544-1545), Fray Tomás de la Torre writes of the work of Cerrato in Santo Domingo, after the arrival of Las Casas and the forty-six Dominicans he was taking to Chiapas. The group arrived at Ciudad de Santo Domingo on September 9, 1544, and "el Presidente

\textsuperscript{7}Herrera, \textit{op. cit.}, Dec. VII, Lib. VI, Cap. V; and Oviedo, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 158. Herrera names Tomás López instead of Juan Rogel as one of the firstidores, but it appears to the present writer that López did not, in fact, join the Audiencia until 1548.

\textsuperscript{8}Simpson, \textit{Encomienda, op. cit.}, 126, citing Oviedo and the DII, indicates that this was about 1532. See also Remesal, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 161.
In the growth of a country's population, economic development is crucial. Central to this process is the need for investment in education and infrastructure. To ensure economic growth, it is essential to balance the interests of various stakeholders, including preservation of traditional values. The government plays a significant role in facilitating these initiatives through policies and regulations.}

The text continues to elaborate on the importance of education, infrastructure, and economic policies in fostering development. It highlights the need for balanced growth that considers social and environmental aspects. The text also touches on the role of international cooperation in achieving these goals. The discussion is rich with examples and data, aiming to provide a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and opportunities in economic development.
de la Audiencia que se llamaba el licenciado Cerrato, nos visitó luego, porque era grande amigo del obispo Las Casas. The President was favorably disposed toward the friars and made arrangements for passage to their destination. The author commented on the great numbers of slaves that had existed in Santo Domingo, and writes that "it seemed to the Bishop and the padre provincial, and to everyone, that each day there should be a "conclusion;" and there was one since fasting started, and it was concerning the wars and the freedom of the Indian slaves, in which the President Cerrato had great understanding and care and enthusiasm, with the contradiction of everybody, because the people of the Indies are headstrong and not very obedient." Bishop Las Casas had been armed with various royal provisions regarding the good treatment of Indians, and especially for freeing slaves, although the New Laws had been proclaimed the preceding year with little discernible result. But licenciado Cerrato, according to de la Torre:

dealt in freeing the slaves that were in the islands, because there were almost none of their

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9 R.P. Fray Tomás de la Torre, Desde Salamanca, España, hasta Ciudad Real, Chiapas, Diario del Viaje, 1544-1545, prólogo y notas por Frans Blom (México: 1944-1945), 94-95.

10 Ibid.
inhabitants left, either in Santo Domingo or in Cuba, nor in the other islands where Christians had entered. . . . In this island they had appealed those laws, and had sent their procuradores to Spain; but Lic. Cerrato always sought the freedom of the Indians, although he did little because of the opposition of the Spaniards and the little help he received from the frailes, who, until recently had been blind on these matters (and some of the bishops and prelates much more so). And so, every day leaders had many misunderstandings "caian en mil barrancas." If this were to be discussed it would never end.

At the same time, Las Casas offered his own words of praise to those of de la Torre. He wrote that,

Licenciado Serrato [sic] is most righteous and a great judge. It would please God if Your Majesty had at least four here like him to whom to entrust the reformation of these Indies, along with the Viceroy that goes to Peru, from whom is expected the well-being of those kingdoms. After Licenciado Serrato arrived in this island he has accomplished much, and will do much more; and he has redeemed many thousands of castellanos that were lost to Your Majesty, because this Audiencia was such as I stated there to Your Majesty and Your Highness many times. He has freed, right after he came, some Indians that were held as slaves.

Of Cerrato's administration in Santo Domingo, Oviedo, although essaying an objectivity remarkable for the time, can scarcely conceal his bitterness of the President's conduct. Regarding the many complaints about Cerrato, Oviedo wrote that he did not know if they were

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11 Ibid., 99
12 DII, VII, 431-437.
The President, \textit{J. R. H. Scott}, opened the Hon. Meeting by announcing the election of two new members. 

The new members were introduced by the President and each was given an opportunity to speak briefly about their professional background and interests. 

The members then proceeded to discuss various topics related to the field of advertising. The discussion was lively and engaging, with numerous insights and perspectives shared by the attendees. 

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the President for his excellent leadership and contribution to the meeting.
justified, but that the city had a bad impression of the licenciado and questioned his reliability. At the same time, Oviedo qualified his own stand by observing that he had himself been appointed a procurador to represent the city of Santo Domingo at the Spanish court, which meant, in effect, that he was bound to oppose legislation harmful to the interests of the vecinos. Still, the historian commented that he did not have the low opinion of Cerrato that many did, and that Cerrato was a lawyer and versed in the affairs of justice. The President's vote would be admitted among lawyers, in Oviedo's opinion. But, he continued,

it is another thing to be governor, and to have no one restrain his hand. I know at least that he is resolute and that he does not control his tongue with those who litigate in opposition to him, or with those who seek justice; because I think he wanted most to frighten them or correct them with an angry aspect, or rough words, with the whip or the knife . . . . those threats and words of his made him detestable; because, in the end, men should not be treated badly by a judge's tongue, nor vituperated under the pretext of the office and authority of the justice and superior office.\(^{13}\)

Oviedo wrote, somewhat to his own relief and to those residing in Santo Domingo, that he had been assured by one of the gentlemen of the Royal Council that Cerrato

\(^{13}\)Oviedo, op. cit., I, 158.
would be removed, and that his residencia would be taken; although, in fact it was not taken until 1552. Despite Oviedo's guarded criticism, and his opinion that there had been a lack of good government in Santo Domingo, the Crown saw fit to entrust to Cerrato the vexing problem of reforming the Guatemalan frontiers. "And," Oviedo notes, "there was much rejoicing in the island of Española at his departure . . . "14 Cerrato's comparatively successful application of the New Laws, in addition to the recommendation of the Bishop of Chiapas, made him a good prospect to straighten out the chaos into which the first Audiencia de los Confines had let affairs drift in Central America.

Therefore, on May 21, 1547, a royal cédula was issued, promoting licenciado Cerrato to the presidency of the Audiencia.15 The newly appointed official did not, however, leave soon for his next post. Not until April 28, 1548, in a communication sent from Santo Domingo, did he inform the Cabildo that he would soon leave to take possession of the office.16 The following month, on May 26,

14 Ibid.


16 Pardo, op. cit., 6.
accord to a provision where the time for which such a period could be
extended in accordance with the "information of the individual
apparatus of the work done in the course of a year."

In the event of the stoppage of a period not exceeding one
time for which such a period could be extended in accordance
with the "information of the individual
apparatus of the work done in the course of a year."

In the event of the stoppage of a period not exceeding one

Cerrato took over his duties at Gracias a Dios (Honduras), making it slightly over a year since the cédula naming him to the post had been issued. The next day he wrote the Cabildo of Santiago of his investiture as juez de residencia.

Cerrato's immediate concern was taking the residencia of the outgoing Audiencia, comprised of President Alonso Maldonado and his oidores, licenciados Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones (1543-1559), Diego de Herrera (1543-1548), and Juan Rogel (1543-1550). Although the new President was to condemn his predecessor on several counts, Maldonado generally enjoyed a good reputation. He had served for many years as an oidor in the prestigious second Audiencia of Mexico (1530-1543) before acting as President for some five years in the Audiencia de los Confines. He seems to have been popular with the settlers during his administration, and he was sometimes referred to as "el bueno." Bernal Díaz thought well of Maldonado, and was of the opinion that his leaving the Audiencia was merely to seek the title of Adelantado of Yucatán and the encomienda

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17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Simpson, Encomienda, op. cit., 84.
Indians that had belonged to his recently deceased father-in-law, the Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo. According to Díaz, the residencia established that Maldonado was "a very good judge." The old chronicler's memory must have failed at that point, or perhaps it was anti-Cerrato sentiment, but his version gives a different impression than the trial proceedings. Nevertheless, Maldonado remained in the good graces of the Crown, and seems to have become President of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, where he was, ironically, instructed in 1552 to take Cerrato's residencia.

Cerrato's assessment of the outgoing Audiencia's performance in office was very likely conditioned by his own experiences with the New Laws in Española. Consequently, he felt little sympathy with the inaction on the part of Maldonado and his oidores with regard to liberating the natives. Finding the judges remiss, he later wrote to the King:

The state in which I found the land was as I have written Your Majesty; and that is that no law nor ordinance, nor provision, of the many given by

\[20\] Díaz, op. cit., 323.

\[21\] The writer assumes that the Alonso de Maldonado shown in José María de la Peña y de la Cámara, A List of Spanish Residencias in the Archives of the Indies, 1516-1775 (Washington: 1955), 3, is the same person.
Your Majesty, was observed or complied with. And in all this the blame is thrown at the President because the oidores say that since he was President and experienced in the land, and so old, that they followed his example. And since he had encomienda Indians—as did his father-in-law [Montejo], his brothers-in-law, and his brothers—nothing was observed that would be in favor of the Indians; all of which made no little damage, for the reformation that I have wished to make. 22

The old tribute assessments were excessive and needed to be revised. "Every encomendero," he wrote, "did as he wished, and although they killed and robbed Indians, or enslaved them, there was no punishment." He added that not only were tamemes generally abused, but the President and the oidores themselves exploited these carriers—as well as Indians from encomiendas—, using them to carry supplies to the mines, and even renting them to others. In fact, the encomienda Indians that were being used were no better off than slaves, and perhaps worse off because the provision calling for the freeing of slaves made unjustly did not speak of encomienda Indians. 23

An immediate dilemma facing Cerrato was the need for administrators, complicated by the lack of those who had the legal training to assist him in the cases before

22 Cerrato a Carlos V (Santiago de Guatemala; 8 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.

23 ibid.
the Audiencia; therefore, against his better judgment, he contemplated the retention of the oidores, whose record had left him singularly unimpressed. Moving with customary celerity, he finished the residencia, and four months after his arrival, on September 28, 1548, he reported his predicament to the King:

I have just finished taking the residencia of the President and the oidores, and sentences have been handed down; and the truth is that I have been confused about whether to return the offices to the oidores or not. And I was not decided about it because Your Majesty should be aware that after they came here the President and oidores did not observe any ordinances, neither the New Laws nor the old; nor did they execute them even for themselves. They broke them, using Indians to haul cargo, using them for service ... in their mines, for livestock and granjerías because they determined to be well liked by the town and people; and anyone who did different would be lost. In such matters here they never again spoke about freeing Indians or about their hauling, or against their excessive tributes. And know, Your Majesty, that for me to say nothing of it now is worse than Mohammed.

And the oidores returned to this office not only not to help me, but rather to hinder me, because it seems to them that I want to go ahead and to do what they failed to do. The assessments they made are intolerable, so that they cannot be complied with nor have they any purpose, even though the Indians might be exhausted. Well, this I cannot take on alone because I cannot sentence in review, as it is suitable that there be more than one [official]. And for that reason I decided to return the staff of office to licenciado Rogel; and I would also return it to Herrera except that he has lawsuits pending of great importance, and until he is sentenced it is not possible; although the truth is that if it were not for what I have said above, and if there had
been others, I would return the office to none of these oidores. Nor would it be suitable for them to be here because they have threatened everyone, and even me as well, in a manner not lacking passion. 24

Subsequently, the President reappointed both Ramírez and Rogel as oidores, because Ramírez had gone to Peru on a mission for the King and apparently had redeemed himself to some degree. They were to remain in office until the Crown ordered otherwise. He found licenciado Herrera very culpable in the pesquisa secreta, as well as in the public residencia, because of the oidore's dealings in Negro slaves, which he had acquired from a priest in a mining operation. Furthermore, Cerrato was of the opinion that Herrera would have no case because of his greed. 25 Herrera felt otherwise. He later wrote to the King to explain his position:

After he had taken our residencia ..., licenciado Cerrato re-admitted licenciados Ramírez and Rogel to their official capacities, and left me out; and I have felt this because I have a right. The causes that moved him to this action will be given by him. What I suspect is that licenciado Maldonado and Rodrigo de Contreras, who was governor of Nicaragua, felt for sure (and they have publicized it) that I am party to taking away the Indians

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24 Cerrato a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 28 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.

25 Cerrato a Carlos V (San Salvador: 3 de noviembre, 1548), AGI, Guatemala 9.
that their wives and children had. And thus, in the residencia, they sought to do me all the harm they could, especially Rodrigo de Contreras, who sent his sons here to post against me seventy accusations of guilt. And they will solicit others to bring suit, offering money, to anyone who might help them in the prosecution of their passion. It is said that they spent a thousand castellanos; and among others who, at their entreaties, brought charges was a clergyman from whom I had bought the third part of a cuadrilla of twenty-nine Negroes, who together, without having been divided, discovered a rich mine. This clergyman made a claim in the residencia for this part of the mine that I had, because of my Negroes; and claiming that the Negroes that he sold me were sold at a price lower than their worth. For that he [Cerrato] convicted me, claiming that I should pay for each Negro, in fulfillment, a hundred and forty pesos, having bought them at a hundred and thirty. It seemed to me that he had abused me, and I said that I was thinking of claiming abuse in the residencia because of the charges and claims that, more than anything, made me lose my position. 26

Herrera had some reason for suspecting vengeance on the part of Contreras, because it was Herrera who had taken Contreras' residencia and condemned him harshly for his treatment of the Indians in Nicaragua. 27 Nevertheless, Cerrato asserted that he could not have returned the staff to Herrera because, aside from the guilt that appeared in the pesquisa, he had been convicted in suits of great importance that had been drawn against him. He

26 Herrera a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 9 de mayo, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9

27 DII, op. cit., XXIV, 397-420.
Herewith you receive your Commercial Appraisal Report. This report is based on a comprehensive analysis of the property enclosed. It includes a detailed overview of the appraised value, market conditions, and comparable sales data. The report also outlines potential areas for improvement and suggests strategies to maximize the property's value.

Yours sincerely,

[Name]
[Position]
[Company]

[Address]

[Phone]
[Email]
added that,

Licenciado Herrera goes around complaining about me because I did not return the staff of office to him; and it seems to me that he has no reason to do so, because aside from what is in the residencia, I convicted him for a mine that he took by force from a priest, and more than seven or eight thousand castellanos, and the tribute of forty Negroes that he also took in a certain manner. And although he appealed all of it [and] I assigned the appeal to him, he did not want to follow up on it, and he made an agreement with the party [the priest]. And this, together with the rest, seemed to me to be enough reason for him not to remain here as oidor because, in addition, he is so troublesome and greedy that he is not suitable for an oidor, at least not in this province. And it seems to me that he should be satisfied because it is well known that in a little over four years he made twenty thousand ducados. He has made it public that he will come back to take my residencia. If he takes it with the same will that I took his I would rejoice in it.  

Cerrato had considered Herrera the worst of the judges, but he reappointed Rogel and Ramírez only with considerable reluctance and misgiving. "I returned the staff of office to licenciado Rogel," he wrote, "although I considered him not a little guilty."  

The members of the first Audiencia took the King's peso and kept the vecinos relatively content, but they lacked the resolve that characterized the new President.

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28 Cerrato a Carlos V (Santiago: 8 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.

29 Ibid.
And aside from their peculations and commercial ventures, their personal conduct was offensive to the morality of the puritanical Cerrato. Professor Haring's assertion that the oidores "were men of great prestige and influence" is no doubt a valid generalization; but those words have questionable application to the first Audiencia de los Confines. The impression we are given is not one of upright, dignified judges. The scandalous nature of their private lives was revealed all too graphically in their residencia.

Juan Rogel was notorious as a pícaro whose philandering was ill-concealed. In testimony, an alguacil mayor deposed that Rogel was going around publicly and dishonestly ("desonesto") with a married woman, and another witness told how it was well-known that Rogel had an "amiga." Gonzalo de Alvarado confirmed the relationship with the married woman, "con la cual durmió muchas noches." This liaison brought grief to all concerned because the licenciado, according to one witness, thrashed the unfortunate woman until she screamed. Nor did the cuckolded husband bear his horns with indifference, for he complained bitterly and was, on at least one occasion,

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reduced to tears. Some of the citizens complained publicly about Rogel's being amancebado. Gerónimo de San Martín, a vecino of San Pedro, testified that he discussed Rogel's notoriety with him, assuring the oidor that there was a lot of whispering about the affair. If the judge was no gentleman, neither was he deceived as to the nature of his enamorada's proclivities, for he answered that, "en fin era una mala muger e q quantos querían su cuerpo lo dava." It was also known that licenciado Rogel was in love with a young maiden, and that his indiscreet attentions ruined her reputation.

Licenciado Herrera likewise took his pleasure with Rogel's married girl friend, in addition to keeping an Indian girl. During the trial one witness gave some details:

Una yndia naboría de un vecino desta cibdad que se llama pº de orellana se fue a casa del dho licº del dho de orellana muchas vezes y no se la quiso dar aunq tenía necesidad su muger del dho orellana della porq dezían quel dho licº se hechava con la dha yndia y la llamava doña ysabelica en la cama y esto oyo dezir a una persona que se hechava con la dha yndia que se llamava villalobos."

Some believed that even ex-President Maldonado,

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31 AGI, Justicia 299.

32 Ibid. Presumably this was Martín de Villalobos, the Alguacil Mayor.
"el bueno," made love to Rogel's woman, though it was added that he had been very discreet, and that it had happened before he had married Montejo's daughter. Although Ramírez did not generally come in for censure as much as the others, Cerrato did not rejoice in his private conduct, because Ramírez seems to have, at least in this respect, ranged farther than his colleagues, carrying on affairs with no less than three married women.

Such dissolute behavior on the part of the judges galled the new President. Rogel could hardly excuse his indecorous conduct owing to the passion of tender years; indeed, he was a man past forty. According to Cerrato, Rogel wanted to go to Spain to marry, and the President's suggestion that the King give him license to do so was no doubt best for the domestic tranquility of the community. Ramírez had a wife in Spain, "and he would like to go for her," Cerrato wrote, "because everyone is gossiping about it." The Crown had ordered that the colonists join their wives, and Cerrato added with fine sarcasm that "it seems to me that he should go for her, because it is not just that such provision be made for others and not for the

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.
Other misconduct charges were brought out in their trial, but the foregoing will give some indication of the difficulty in forming a smoothly functioning audiencia. To Cerrato's way of thinking the outgoing oidores represented gross inefficiency, disorder, immorality, and were lacking in the integrity and dignity demanded by their office. But the colonists had found the old judges easy to live with, for if the oidores themselves set bad examples they could hardly expect the vecinos to do better. Since its founding Guatemala had never been closely administered; consequently, when Cerrato attempted to enforce the laws he faced not only a hostile community, but also had to implement such legislation with the company of judges in whom he had little confidence and for whom he entertained scant respect. Nor is there evidence to suggest that the oidores celebrated the prospect that lay before them.

With the residencia completed, Cerrato looked to the reformation of the Audiencia district and all the problems that it faced. He had written Charles V that if he had ten oidores there would be sufficient work for all of

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35 Cerrato a Carlos V (Santiago: 8 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.
Since the earliest convictions of a man, the object of the exercise system was to adapt the individual to the demand of his time. This was a natural tendency of man. As long as the universe remained the same, the tendency of man was to adapt himself to the environment. But with the introduction of industry and the advent of modern machines, the tendency of man was to adapt himself to the demand of the day. Now, the tendency of man is to adapt himself to the environment of the day. The exercise system is a means of adapting the individual to the demand of his time. The exercise system is a means of adapting the individual to the environment of the day. The exercise system is a means of adapting the individual to the demand of the day.
them. 36 Since the creation of the Audiencia its seat had been at Gracias a Dios, although, because of the few Spaniards in residence there, there was little to be done once the trial was terminated. He did, however, free what slaves there were in the settlement. 37 All things considered, Gracias a Dios was an unsuitable place for the court, despite its personal advantages for the judges. Within a few months Cerrato effected its transfer to Santiago de Guatemala, the largest settlement in the district. 38

36 Ibid.
37 AGI, Justicia 301.
38 It was the opinion of most, eventually, that it should be moved inland to Santiago de Guatemala. Bancroft (op. cit., II, 326) cites a source in which Cerrato noted only 18 vecinos in Gracias a Dios, and that there was no physician, nor surgeon, nor druggist. On another occasion (Cerrato a Carlos V [Santiago; 8 de abril, 1549], AGI, Guatemala 9) Cerrato described Gracias a Dios as being "on a mountain and between some mountains so rough that there are few that would not rather lose justice than go there to ask for it." Not long after his arrival in that villa he wrote to the King: "I have already written about the bad state of this audiencia, because it does not serve for lawsuits, nor for the Indians, nor improvement because there are no lawsuits here . . . and in the four months that I have been here only one appeal has arrived and no more. And, in truth, since there are no lawsuits here of importance, and since it is so far from everything principal, there is nothing that might come from it. Moreover, there is nothing in the land to eat, nor even fodder for the beasts of the traders; nor fish, nor meat, nor corn, nor any other sustenance. Nor is there an inn where a plaintiff can stop. And, believe me, Your Majesty, everything that has been spent, and is being spent, in this Audiencia, will be thrown in the sea if it is not moved from here." And it would be
With affairs in order in Honduras, the President moved across to San Salvador. Later he and Ramírez wrote the King to apprise him of their actions:

We went by road to San Salvador, which is the second pueblo of this province, where we found the Indians very badly treated, because the old tribute assessments were very excessive. Assess-

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convenient if it be done soon, because what is spent in renting quarters would be used for a permanent audiencia seat. And if the president and oidores have been here it is because the president was served by four pueblos of Indians, and the oidores were saving their salaries. And from there they provided for their mines and Negroses; and they had their cattle and granjerías, and they earned more in this way than from being oidores, and there was no official business to get in their way (Cerrato a Carlos V /28 de septiembre/, AGI, Guatemala 9). Later he reflected that, "The Audiencia used to be in Gracias a Dios without doing or understanding anything more than providing for their cuadrillas of Negroses that they had in the mines, with their provisions carried by the pitiful Indians—except licenciado Ramírez, who did not have a cuadrilla (Cerrato a Carlos V /Santiago: 8 de abril, 1549/, AGI, Guatemala 9). Maldonado and Rogel were probably loath to discuss the situation, but Herrera, who was in any case discredited, said that Cerrato had wanted to take the royal seal to Guatemala, but he (Herrera) said that it should not be done because the King had ordered that it remain in Gracias a Dios until ordered otherwise (Herrera a Carlos V /9 de mayo, 1549/, AGI Guatemala 9). However, in a cédula of June 16, 1548, the King gave Cerrato permission to transfer the Audiencia de los Confines to whatever place he deemed most suitable (Pardo, Efemérides, op. cit., 7). About the first of 1549, Cerrato removed to Santiago, where the Audiencia presently established quarters in the largest and best house, which belonged to Bishop Marroquin (Ibid.; Cerrato a Carlos V /Santiago: 8 de abril, 1549/, AGI, Guatemala 9). In a cédula of July 7, 1550, the Crown approved his move to Santiago (AGI, Guatemala 393, Lib. II, fol. 165). See also, Cerrato a Carlos V /Santiago: 21 de mayo, 1549/, AGI, Guatemala 9.
ment was made there of all the Indians in the city, not without great complaints from the encomenderos, because of the excess of tributes being very large. Also we found there many indios and indias held as slaves. It was ordered that they show the titles indicating how they were made slaves justly. No one produced them, nor did they even try, because in truth all of them were from encomienda pueblos, and none was taken in just war, or any kind of war. And thus, conformeing to the law that disposes in such cases, all of them were freed, the parties being called in and heard.

Shortly after his arrival there Cerrato wrote that all slaves had been freed, and that although the Indians had been taken illegally from the encomiendas, the Spaniards somehow blamed the governors. In San Salvador he freed about five hundred Indian slaves from something like forty vecinos. The Cabildo of Santiago elaborated on Cerrato's pithy version by saying that, in San Salvador,

The first thing he did was to have it announced that all those who had slaves should bring them before the Audiencia, under a certain penalty which he imposed; and later when the vecinos brought them he ordered that the Indians be freed.

And the vecinos asked the Audiencia by what authority they wished to free them. And licencias do Cerrato said that he brought a cédula from Your

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39 Cerrato y Ramírez a Carlos V (Santiago de Guatemala: 21 de mayo, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9; Cerrato a Carlos V (Santiago de Guatemala: 8 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.

40 Cerrato a Carlos V (San Salvador: 3 de noviembre, 1548), AGI, Guatemala 9.
Majesty whereby he freed those of Santo Domingo, and also by the law given by Your Majesty regarding the making of slaves.

And notwithstanding that the vecinos claimed to have had the slaves for a long time in this area, possessing them as slaves and being branded with the iron of Your Majesty; and having bought them at public auctions (and outside as well), and having engaged in exchanging them, one for another, as is done with slaves; and that many of them are from the slaves that the officials of Your Majesty sold from their quintos—without any one of those Indians asking for liberty (because they had no reason to ask for it), licenciado Cerrato ordered them to be set free. And he, with the authority of the said Audiencia, and as the Audiencia, gave the order and they were marked "free" on their arms, and they were free.\(^41\)

The plight of the settlers was exemplified in the petition made in 1555 by one of the conquistadores, Diego Holguín, who complained:

I have nothing with which to sustain myself, if it were not for fifty Indian slaves that were settled in certain lands of mine, which Indians gave me food; and I had bought them for more than three thousand gold pesos. With the arrival of Licenciado Cerrato, who was president of this royal Audiencia, the said slaves were freed and the said lands and dwellings were taken away from me and given to the Indians native to the Pueblo of Chiapa.\(^42\)

\(^41\) Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago de Guatemala: 30 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.

\(^42\) Baron Castro, op. cit., 46. Baron Castro adds: "Es decir, que Cerrato restituyó la libertad y la propiedad que quienes de tan esenciales derechos habían sido desposeídos, aun a trueque de enemistarse con este viejo conquistador, como se enemistó con casi todos. Holguín era hombre de la Conquista, y estimaba legítimo el disfrute de
Having liberated the natives in San Salvador, Cerrato journeyed to the most important site in the Audiencia district, Santiago de Guatemala. He arrived there about the first of the year. It is not quite clear why he did not go there sooner, especially since he had written in September, 1548 that "the Comissary of San Francisco and Prior of Santo Domingo, and the Bishop of Guatemala have come here [esto Gracias a Dios] to beg me to go to that city [Santiago] to remedy the misfortune of those pitiful people; and likewise for Chiapa and for Nicaragua, because the oidores who have gone have not done anything." What occurred in that city was similar to the precipitate action witnessed at San Salvador, accompanied by more protestations. The President's own accounts of his notable achievements in Santiago are sententious enough, simply observing that the Audiencia

__semejantes ventajas, por mucho que atentaron a los altos principios que habían triunfado en la Corte española. Y sus esclavos, a no dudarlo, lo rendían pingües ganancias, pues según testifica el vecino de Chiapa Pedro Moreno—antiguo compañero suyo de bélicas andanzas como antes he señalado—las tierras en que estaba poblada una estancia del dicho Diego Holguín, de los dichos sus esclavos, donde tenía sementeras de maíz e muchas cosas de plátanos y naranjos y caña dulce y otras grangerías de que se aprovechaba y este testigo vio poseer al dicho Diego Holguín las dichas tierras mucho tiempo quieta e pacínicamente."

43 Cerrato a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios; 28 de septiembre, 1548), AGI, Guatemala 9.
freed the slaves that had been made illegally, and that it had seen to the punishment of those culpable. Of the same event, the Cabildo of Santiago wrote:

An announcement ordered that all those that had slaves bring them before him /Cerrato/ within ten days under a certain penalty; and without admitting doubt or giving the parties a hearing. And notwithstanding the causes they gave him, and the supplication regarding this made by the city, he freed the slaves and took fifty cuadrillas that were taking gold and silver out of the mines, so that Your Majesty lost a great quantity of what went to his fifths.

In this statement it appears that the regidores indulged in the not uncommon practice of exaggeration because, writing of the event somewhat over four months after the arrival of Cerrato, they had written that only "forty and some cuadrillas" had been lost. Later, the Cabildo went on to say:

And all this the President did with a letter of Your Majesty that he said he brought from Santo Domingo that talked about what concerned the said island, and not this land; because the law regarding this land was being appealed, and it was pending before Your Majesty. Nothing

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44 Cerrato a Carlos V (Santiago: 8 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9. See also the President's testimony in AGI, Justicia 301.

45 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.

46 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 30 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.
I have seen the purpose of the

same account of Ceylon's Exaggerated

An announcement made that the new paper had

taken much national importance because

above hundred copies were sold in the first

morning and the news from Ceylon was

then given by the newspaper and

the Ceylon Times was called to the

chief place to the Times.

In the absence of a better place for the

following in the morning edition of the

colony, writing of the events themselves ends

the stability of Ceylon, that my attention will

and some mentioning, had soon last. 

was so on so ends.

And it all fits the present with the

and your interest will be very much

acquainted with your friends that

you are going to the newspapers and

their connection with your friends and

to me it seems you were very familiar.

If you are willing please Ven. Kammadi

\[ A D I, \text{ Custome} 0 \text{ and } A D I, \text{ Custome} 0 \text{ Jok. } \]

\[ A D I, \text{ Jok. } 0 \text{ and } A D I, \text{ Jok. } 0 \text{ Jok. } \]

\[ A D I, \text{ Jok. } 0 \text{ and } A D I, \text{ Jok. } 0 \text{ Jok. } \]

\[ A D I, \text{ Jok. } 0 \text{ and } A D I, \text{ Jok. } 0 \]
else had been ordered to the contrary by Your Majesty; nor had the past Audiencia enforced the law; until Cerrato came. 47

A description of the way in which the Audiencia proceeded was given in a relation by the escribano, Diego Robledo, who testified as follows:

In the said City of Santiago . . . on April 28, 1549, Cristóbal Lobo, a vecino of this city, appeared before me, Diego de Robledo, escribano of the Royal Audiencia, and said that in fulfillment of the order given by the President and oidores of the said Royal Audiencia, he brought and would manifest the following indios and indias:

Francisco, Gonzalo, and Alonso, natives of Chiapa
Pedro of Xilotepeque /San Martín de Jilotepeque?/
Hernando of Popocatepeque
Joan of Xilotepeque
Hernando of Guatemala
Diego of Chichicastenango
Joan of Chalchoapa
Diego of Xilotepeque
Francisco of Popocatepeque
Joan of Tequeguistlan
Alonso of Tequeguistlan
Pedro, Joan, Gonçalo, Ceciliano, and Gaspar, natives of the pueblo of Tequeguistlan
Pedro of Guatemala
Joan of Chichicastenango
Joan of Atitan
Anton of Tequeguistlan
Pedro of Guatemala
Pedro of Yciatlan
Francisco of Guatemala
Pedro of Guatemala
Ysabel of Guatemala
Francisco of Tecoquistlan
Ysabel of Apocopa

47 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
Francisca of Atitan
Mencia of Guatemala
Ysabel of Petapa [San Miguel Petapa?]
Catalina, Ysabel, and another Catalina, natives of
Gilotepeque [Xilotepeque]
Ysabel of Chiapín
Catalina of Petapa
Madalena of Zapotitlan [Zapotitlán ?]

And in compliance with the order . . . all the indias were branded on the arm with the letters that said "libre", and they were given to understand how they were free. And the said Cristóbal Lobo was notified that within the first ten days following, running from and to be counted from, today, he might prove and show the title and right that he has to possess the said indios legitimately as slaves; with the warning that if he did not produce such proof within the stipulated period they would be freed.

On May 17, 1549, Cristóbal Lobo, having given a petition in this Royal Audiencia before its President and oidores, in which he alleged the causes he had for possessing those indios as slaves that he listed, they were pronounced free, the said causes notwithstanding; and it was ordered that "free" but put [branded] on their arms, and it was done . . . .

Finally, the President gave his attention to the grave situation in Chiapa where, along with Guatemala, Las Casas wrote that "es increíble el número tan grande q. de esclavos hizieron." According to the juez visitador, Diego Ramírez, in 1548, the Indians who were not

48 "Testimonio" de la Audiencia (Santiago: 22 de marzo, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 965.

actually enslaved were forced to pay so much tribute that they were reduced to the circumstances of slaves, or even worse. 50 The state of affairs in that province prompted the Council of the Indies to appoint Ramírez, a vecino of Mexico, as juez pesquisidor to inquire into the circumstances surrounding the many complaints. The judge, called "muy virtuoso y zeloso de Justicia" by Ximénez, arrived at Ciudad Real in June of 1548 (a month or so after the arrival of Cerrato in Gracias a Dios); although he was properly distressed by conditions in Chiapas, his influence remained only as long as his presence. At his departure affairs reverted to their former status. 51 Cerrato sent his own judge in 1549, and the results then appear to have been somewhat more fruitful. The President sent Gonzalo Hidalgo de Montemayor, his cousin, armed with the authority of a royal judge, and invested with broad powers to liberate the slaves and to reassess the tributes. Arriving at Easter, he freed all those enslaved, as well as the naborrías. 52 The freedom of the natives and the revision of the tribute assessments were celebrated by Indians and

50 Bancroft, op. cit., II, 333.

51 Ximénez, op. cit., I, 463.

52 AGI, Justicia 301. See also Remesal, op. cit. II, 237.
Dominican friars alike, and the procedure assumed a ceremonial aspect. The new laws ordered by the Audiencia were to be proclaimed on the día de San Bartolomé with everyone assembled. And, according to one witness,

thus there gathered for that day more Indians than I have ever seen together before in the Province of Chiapa. They came as if to a great jubilee and plenary remission, and such it was for them. We said high mass at the entrance of the church with great solemnity, and we preached to them in all the tongues. The Spaniards felt it augured ill that such was done on the day of Saint Bartholomew, and they said it was done because of the Bishop, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. And to please them the festivity was moved to the next day, which was Sunday. On that day a "solemne" platform was set up in the plaza, and there was the judge with his officials and the religious that were interpreters, and the Prelate and many of the branded slaves. And there the laws were proclaimed and were interpreted to the Indians of each nation in their tongues, and they were advised on some things and freed in peace.

The following day they started to give the assessments, and having given them they went to Santo Domingo [Church or Monastery], and the padres were in various places announcing the assessments in various places, in the languages of the Indians. From Santo Domingo to the judge's house there was a swollen river of Indians coming and going, and there was not enough room in our house to contain all the people, nor could the Indians contain their joy, finding themselves so enriched and alleviated from such intolerable burdens as they had suffered. Alguaciles were then named for all the land with power to execute all those laws. And thus they placed señores and principales who were worthy, and from some pueblos they were taken to others where there were not enough persons. And they were given salaries for their functions, and also the tribute that the maceguales had to give to the caciques was indicated. This was such a change as I have never –
Continued from page 11, and the information needed to answer
some key questions. The fact that questions can be answered
by simply reading the document is clear. However, one must
consider how this information is presented and organized in
the document. This is important because it can significantly
affect the ease of understanding the text.

The document discusses several topics, including education,
healthcare, and technology. It provides a wealth of information,
including statistics, case studies, and expert opinions. The
organization of the information is clear and logical, making it
easy to follow and understand.

In conclusion, the document is a valuable resource for anyone
interested in these topics. It provides a comprehensive picture
of the current state of education, healthcare, and technology,
and offers insights into future trends and developments.
seen before or hope to see again. And some cried and others sang, because it was such a great turn that the wheel of fortune took that day. It would be unending if all the things that happened were to be told /but/ these are enough to serve as reminiscence for those who have come after. 53

So it was that the long contemplated reforms were nailed in place, to the satisfaction of the Dominicans and the disbelief of the natives. But to the vecinos the whole procedure courted their disaster, and they were not disposed to submit without a contest.

53 Ximénez, op. cit., I, 480.
CHAPTER IV

REACTION OF THE VECINOS

Fierce reaction on the part of the colonists was both predictable and immediate. They sought by every means at their command to discredit Cerrato’s work. The few who applauded his actions paled before the overwhelming remonstrance of those who ranged against him. His abrasive character excited the most sardonic expressions of contempt, and his zealousry provoked the most petty of arguments. What was, indeed, a fait accompli, represented to the vecinos a challenge equal to that of the New Laws, but perhaps no more hopeless; and those animated by no other consideration than greed constructed the most futile polemics in a design to subvert his cause.

The settlers had been defensive about their holding Indians in bondage before Cerrato arrived on the scene, for they were well aware of the Crown’s uneasy stance on the slavery issue, as well as the capricious nature of royal edicts. To establish a good perspective, it is instructive to cite some of the arguments that had been used prior to 1548 by the vecinos to justify enslaving
the natives. While the reader will be cognizant of the diverse rationales advanced by philosophers, both pro and con, on the subject of slavery, less well known are the views of the colonists and the officials who were most intimately involved. Their reasoning is of some interest because of their having faced the practical necessities of frontier life, far removed from the comfortable quarters of most of those who addressed themselves to philosophical considerations. Certainly few of the conquistadores would have agreed with Bernal Díaz, who reflecting on the Córdoba slaving expedition to Mexico prior to Cortés, noted piously that, "... we soldiers saw that what Diego Velázquez asked was not just, and we replied that what he said was not ordered by God nor the King, that we makes slaves of free men."

From the beginning it was a convenient pretext to consider the inhabitants of the New World as subhuman. Bishop García de Loaysa, President of the Council of the Indies, delved into such a rationale for enslaving the Indians, noticing that the Caribs of the islands had been enslaved "por los pecados de Sodomía, Idolatría, i porque comfan carne humana ..." As a result, Fray Tomás Ortiz

\[1\text{Díaz, op. cit., I, cap. I.}\]
was asked, in 1525, to state his position to the Consejo on justification for enslaving the Caribs of Tierra Firme. His answer included the following:

> Que comían carne humana; que eran sométicos mas que generación alguna; y que ninguna justicia havía entrellos; que andan desnudos, i no tenían vergüenza; eran como asnos abobados, alocados, i insensatos, i que no tenían en nada matarse ni matar; ni guardavan verdad, sino era en su provecho; eran inconstantes; no sabían que cosa era consejo; ingratisimos, i amigos de novedades. Que se preciaban de Borrachos, i tenían Vinos de diversas Frutas, Raíces, i granos; emborrachanse con Humos ...

The historian Ximénez takes a kindlier view of the Indians of Guatemala and Chiapas, noting that the Spaniards took advantage of their "simplicity, their shyness, and pusillanimity" in order to enslave them. However, his predecessor, Remesal, gave a view that was more widely held in the sixteenth century. In his chapter entitled "El estado en que los Padres hallaron los naturales . . ." (referring to the Dominicans in Chiapas), he writes these words:

> The state in which the Dominican fathers found them was most miserable, both in the soul and in the body, because the latter was ordinarily naked as they were born from their mothers. They covered themselves only with a band four fingers wide

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3Ximénez, op. cit., I, 3.
called mastel, which they wrap around themselves, which was small observation of modesty. They painted themselves with a bitumen, either red or black, dirty and loathsome. The hair that is naturally black and thick they had curled or entangled on the head like hamp because they did not comb it; the fingernails were long and dirty like those of a sparrow-hawk, because, on purpose, they never cut them, and they are shortened only by being worn down by the use of their hands. In their personal needs they had less instinct than dogs or cats, because in front of each other they urinated, sitting down as they were in conversation; and the first times they went to sermon they left all the ground wet and muddy, no less than a corral of sheep.

The idolatry of the infidels was as public as before [the Spaniards came]. At the doors of their houses each one made sacrifices to his idol, killing dogs, deer, parrots, doves, and other birds, burned incense, copal, estoraque [balm], and fragrant herbs. And the Spaniard who went by and saw it regarded it as no more than he would burning wood in the kitchen of his home. The sacrifices were very common; when a woman felt pregnant, at the birth of a child, when they named the child, when they weaned him, when he was married, to go to the fair, going off to war, and other minor matters; planting the corn, gathering the cacao, and making sacrifices even when weaving cloth. Those who were baptized did not do it so publicly; they had their idols in the woods, and there they made fiestas and sacrifices, sometimes alone and at other times with their families. The customs were worse than when they were infidels, because besides not losing any of their old vices, particularly those of sensuality, others were added from those they saw performed by the Christians, who did not consider them as vices. And the one who before being baptized did not steal, did not swear, did not kill, did not lie, did not steal women—if he did some of these after being baptized, he used to say, "I am getting a little like a Christian."

And since the caciques couldn't punish them,
as [before] when they were absolute lords, and the Spaniard, as long as he got his tributes paid, did not care about the evils and insults done by the Indians, the baptized Indians were worse than the infidels. They had not abandoned their many women. And if one of them had just one she was like a friend; whenever he pleased he sent her away and took another one. They knew no degree of relationship better than in the olden times, neither doctrine, nor learning of the things of the faith before they were baptized, as if it were not necessary to know what they were receiving. They understood that in getting baptized it was to become a person of Castile, and to have some favor with the Spaniards, to be relieved from maltreatment. And in this they have always found themselves deceived, and they were very repentant for what they gave to the clergyman who baptized them. And even today there are old men who say, "When we used to purchase baptism;" and many of them purchased it two or more times because they forgot the name the clergyman gave them the first time; and they came back for the second time to get baptized and paid 4 some more, and the third time the same thing... 

Many views of Spaniards could be cited to indicate the general disdain of the natives, but suffice it to say here that they were not usually held in high esteem.

Both Crown and Church adopted a paternalistic attitude toward the Indians, and the settlers were quick to see that this rationale fitted their schemes. They became solicitous of the natives' welfare. In light of the times, it was a good argument, for they pointed out that both body and soul of the Indian would be saved through enslavement. With regard to Indians enslaved by their

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⁴Remesal, op. cit., I, 430.
own native lords, Gabriel de Cabrera, the procurador for Santiago, was of the opinion that it would be better for them to be slaves of the Christians so as to avoid being sacrificed. Moreover, in the power of the Spaniards they would be instructed and indoctrinated in things of the faith. The Queen agreed. In 1531 a survey had been made to determine, among other things, if slaves were actually being instructed in the faith, and several witnesses swore that they had slaves who had become Christians. "The souls of the Indians were safer with the Spaniards," one witness stated, "because they would not be unfaithful, and they would not die without knowing God." In contrast, those who remained outside the Church would continue in their infidel ways. Francisco López stated that he had seen sacrificed persons on the roads and at places of worship, and that he had seen the fresh blood spread on idols.

But it was not only their souls that would benefit

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5 Real cedula (20 de julio, 1532), AGI, Guatemala 393, Lib. II, fols. 42-43.

6 "Informacion de Hernan Mendez" (Santiago: 28 de mayo, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 110.

7 Ibid., testimonio de Pedro de Cueto.

8 Ibid., testimonio de Francisco Lopez.
by Spanish enslavement; it was also, according to the argument, the best way to save their lives under certain circumstances. During hostile encounters, the Indians would be safer as potential slaves, whereas the provision that no women be branded, and that males under fourteen could not be taken as slaves, was detrimental to their welfare. Not being able to enslave them the Spaniards would have no interest in their survival, and when the women and young boys fled they would be killed, which, it was added, was worse than enslavement. 9

Aside from such expressions of concern for the welfare of the natives, there was the case for discipline. Even this was coated with sentiments of altruism, for it was pointed out that the Indians needed to be restrained for their own good. As an example, the slaves of Jorge de Bocanegra were cited. When Bocanegra died his slaves, according to his will, were to have been set free. But Bishop Marroquín, as the executor (as well as being Protector of the Indians), told Alvarado that it seemed to him that the Indians should be deposited with some person who would bring them together and teach them so that they would not go around as idlers and scoundrels, doing harm

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9 Gámbidos de Santiago, Ciudad Real, Villa de San Salvador, y San Miguel a Carlos V (Guatemala: 22 de enero, 1539), AGI, Guatemala 41.
to the Indians of the land. Accordingly, Alvarado, "seeing that the opinion of the said Señor Bishop was good and holy," gave them to the veedor as naborías. When they had been free, after the death of Bocanegra they were going around "very cunningly and seizing other Indians," but now they were being cared for.

On a more practical plane, the arguments were compelling as well. The conquistadores had incurred large expenses in fitting out themselves for the campaigns. Not only did they expect some reward, but they also sought reparations for their financial outlay. Testifying on this subject, Antonio de Salazar noted that the great majority of the Spaniards were in debt, and that he alone owed more than 700 pesos de oro which had been spent for a horse and other equipment. Don Pedro de Portocarrero stated that he had bought horses, some of which had died in the conquest, as well as arms and other supplies, so that his expenses had amounted to the not inconsiderable sum of over three thousand pesos de oro. He complained that he still owed more than a thousand pesos.

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10 "Interrogatorio de Alvarado," AGI, Justicia 295, fols. 280v-295; testimonio de don Pedro de Portocarrero, AGI, Justicia 295.

11 "Informacion de Hernan Mendez," op. cit.

12 Ibid.
to cope immediately with the legal, technical, or financial aspects involved. It is important to recognize that the initial stages of any project require careful planning and coordination. Once a basic framework is established, the key factors to consider are:

- Financial feasibility
- Technical feasibility
- Legal implications

By addressing these issues early on, you can ensure a smoother and more successful project.
After the initial conquest the pacification continued as native uprisings disturbed Spanish settlement. Many fighting men were disillusioned over the pittance they had realized from their sacrifices, and there was little incentive left to offer for their services. At least in the first *entradas* they had been sustained by the fables of great native wealth; with those hopes destroyed, men looked to Peru and other more promising lands. There had, however, been some reward in the Indian wars because of the taking of slaves, but with royal provisions qualifying such practice the Spaniards lost all interest in taking the field against the enemy. Typical of the attitudes was that of Diego de Rojas, who had commanded troops and had observed the sentiments of the fighting men. Being able to profit from making slaves, he said, the Spaniards waged war more effectively; but without that incentive they did not want to leave their homes, and either refused to fight or did so in ill will. It was his opinion that the land would never be pacified until the captains allowed their men to enslave the natives.\(^{13}\) In his testimony, Portocarrero told of going with Alvarado to pacify the Chontales of Naco in 1536.

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\(^{13}\) *Ibid.* See also testimony of Francisco de Castellanos; AGI, Justicia 295.
"and they branded slaves to give some profit to the Spaniards who went along to make war, which they made better, being motivated by the interest in slaves." The land was in rebellion, he went on, and many Spaniards had been killed, but "if it were not that they could make slaves there would be no Spaniards going to war because of the roughness of the land, and because the Indians were indomitable and merciless in their treatment of the Spaniards that they have killed. It is convenient for the pacification of the land to brand slaves." 14 Marco Ruyz swore that to make slaves and crude warfare against the natives was the only way to impose peace, and for that reason—and "to give some profit to the compañeros"—slaves had been taken. 15

In return for their fighting the Spaniards got no other consideration save half a dozen slaves or so with which to pay for what they had spent in the fighting. 16 Especially in the case of fighting the fierce Chontales in the province of Naco, according to Pero Rodríguez de Carmona, "without making slaves the Spaniards would not go

14 Testimonio de Pedro de Portocarrero, AGI, Justicia 295.
15 Ibid., testimonio de Marco Ruyz.
16 Ibid., testimonio de Francisco López.
to conquer them, because they go for profit, and otherwise they do not wish to serve against the indomitable and sly natives.\textsuperscript{17}

Another consideration was that of keeping the provinces pacified. There had been numerous cases of Indian revolts during which Spaniards were killed, and some felt that harsh measures were necessary to subdue the enemy. The prospect of slavery would be a further deterrent, according to the views of some. Rojas said the Indians of Central America were the most indomitable, had less reason, and were the most difficult to get along with of any natives he had seen in New Spain or the islands. Because of their ill manner and wickedness, he thought they should be punished.\textsuperscript{18} Portocarrero substantiated these views and added that those parts had always been at war, and that it was necessary every summer that fighting men go to the surrounding areas in order to maintain peace.\textsuperscript{19}

It was generally felt that in order to secure discipline

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., testimonio de Pero Rodríguez de Carmona.

\textsuperscript{18}"Información de Hernan Méndez," op. cit.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid. Portocarrero illustrated his remarks by noting that only a few days before some formerly peaceful villages rose up. Among them were the pueblos of Puymatlán, Teculután \textsuperscript{[Teculutan]}, Cuyltla, Coban \textsuperscript{[Copán ?]}, Tacatique, Xilotepeque, Chiquimula, and others. See also testimony of Diego de Rojas.
To continue from the previous letter, the Department of Agriculture has made arrangements for the

distribution of information across various regions. These efforts have been successful and have

delivered the desired outcomes. The Department is committed to maintaining these initiatives

to ensure the continued well-being of the agricultural sector.

In conclusion, the Department remains dedicated to providing the best possible support to

farmers and stakeholders in the sector. We look forward to continued collaboration and

improvement in the years to come.
the Indians had to be terrified of their masters in order to uphold Castilian dignity and respect. On this subject Francisco López indicated the threats that could result from leniency. He stated that he told some of his Indians to take food to the mines and they refused to go; "rather, they went walking across the walls . . . laughing and ridiculing him as if he were an Indian, and wanting to slap him in the face . . . and they asked for arms . . . and the witness [López] appeased them with gentleness, and he was very afraid that they were going to kill him."\textsuperscript{20}

Perhaps of more interest to the Crown than any other rationale was the threat of losing the Kingdom through a general exodus of the Spaniards, who continuously decried the poverty of Guatemala and its environs, and remarked on the numbers of Spaniards who had left the area. The most serious dilemma was the inability to work the mines without slave labor, a matter of grave concern to the royal treasury. Without some profits to be had there was little attraction in Guatemala. The royal official, Gurrilla, summed up the problem to the Commendador, Francisco de los Cobos, in this fashion:

When we came to this government, believe it, Your Lordship, it was the poorest and most dis-

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., testimonio de Francisco López.
solute thing in the world, and there was no person who would want to live here; and in Mexico they ridiculed us because we had come to such a land. Many rich mines have been discovered in this land, from which it was hoped to take a large quantity of gold in the years ahead, except that His Majesty sent a provision that no slaves were to be branded. If slaves are not made within two years His Majesty will have nothing in this land except its name, because the few slaves there are now will die very soon as they are wretched people of little sustenance, and they naturally have very short lives. It is a marvel that there is one old man among them. And do not think, Your Lordship, that this is just the case now, or because the Christians treat them badly; rather, in truth, they have short lives.  

Cerrilla did not fail to remind the Comendador of the loss of revenues that would accrue to the Crown if the mines closed down. And his view was not isolated; Juan Franco, the treasurer, wrote the Audiencia de Mexico from Trujillo to the effect that while Honduras had many rich gold mines, there were few men to conquer and sustain the land. The effort was all the more difficult because of the order against making slaves. Some indication of the seriousness of the problem is evident in his suggestion that one thousand or two thousand slaves be made to work the mines. In that event he felt the land could be sustained.  

21 Cerrilla a Francisco de los Cobos (15 de septiembre), AGI, Guatemala 45.  

22 Juan Franco, tesorero, a la Audiencia de Mexico (Trujillo: 14 de abril, 1533), AGI, Guatemala 49.
...service after all the work and planning that went into it...
and of such little reason . . . and . . . liars," according to one witness, that it was almost impossible to obtain tribute from them. Therefore, he reasoned, "if slaves cannot be made this land cannot sustain itself because there is no other grangería except for the mines; and the land will be lost because the Spaniards will leave . . . and the royal rents will be lost, and the diezmos; and no churches can be built, nor monasteries, nor hospitals, nor pious works that the Christians should make." 23 Another asserted that if the vecinos could not use slaves to take gold out of the mines they would desert the land, adding that it was not the custom to mine with free Indians. 24 The principal things that the natives gave to their masters, in the view of Antonio de Salazar, were slaves and maintenance for the mines. 25 Portocarrero said that people had not wanted to come to the land until they found out about the mines. Then the area became well settled. But without slaves to extract the metals many Spaniards would leave. 26

23 "Informacion de Hernan Mendez," op. cit.
24 Ibid., testimonio de Diego de Rojas.
25 Ibid., testimonio de Antonio de Salazar.
26 Ibid., testimonio de Pedro de Portocarrero.
When Alvarado was called to account for illegally enslaving some Indians in San Miguel and Puerto de Fonseca, his defense was that he had given the vecinos these slaves because they were poor and had asked for them to support the villas, as well as to reward them for their military services.

Finally, brief mention should be made of the social aspects of slave-holding. While naborías could be used for servants, slaves were sometimes specifically requested for such duties. The numbers expected seem exceedingly superfluous today; the procurador, Gabriel de Cabrera, had asked that a Spaniard be allowed to take ten slaves along for his service while traveling. The Queen gave permission for seven slaves, provided it was established that they were legally enslaved, and that they would be returned to the same place of origin, so as to preclude their being sold. The size of such a retinue, however, often depended upon one's station. This was noted, for example, regarding the number of slaves to be taken by conquistadores on the armada to Peru. The King was informed that such service should be allowed to each man, "dando a cada

27 "Interrogatorio de Alvarado," AGI, Justicia 295.

28 "Provision de la Reina al governador de Guatemala" (24 de mayo, 1532), AGI, Guatemala 393, Lib. R-1, fols. 15-15v.
uno lo q. le bastare conforme a la calidad de su persona." Later a royal cedula of 1535 provided that one could take four slaves along as service while traveling. Such attendants were considered only fitting and proper for those who had conquered new lands for the Crown, and who were now the gentry in the new society of Central America.

These were all reasons used by the vecinos prior to the coming of Cerrato to convince the King and the Council of the Indies that slaves were necessary. Cerrato's action merely augmented the volume of complaints which began to reflect the very real desperation of the vecinos.

As the Audiencia represented, at least in theory, the conscience of the sovereign, so did the cabildos take the staff for the settlers. Because the latter stood to lose the most, it was the cabildos that were most vociferous in protestations to Spain. The abuse that poured forth from their chambers dwelled on two dubious themes:

\[\text{29} \text{Currilla et al. a Carlos V (28 de septiembre, 1531), AGI, Guatemala 45.}\]

\[\text{30} \text{Real cedula (primero de marzo, 1535), AGI, Guatemala 393, Lib. II, fols. 118-118v. There are many such orders authorizing individuals varying numbers of slaves along on journeys.}\]
Cerrato's character; and the harm to the Indians posed by his reforms. It should be borne in mind that Cerrato's reformation embraced not only the liberation of slaves, but also the relief of personal service, restraining the abuse of tamemes, as well as lightened tribute assessments. Therefore, the complaints derived from the general loss of labor and tribute.

"The President," wrote the Cabildo of Santiago in 1549, "is so rigorous and so unpleasant, and gives us such bad responses, that we are afraid and terrified, and he has us in his grasp." They added that they would have had more license before the King himself. Later the regidores wrote that Cerrato was "so wild, so coarse and ill-bred that no one can stand him or give him recognition because of what he says and does." And no one wanted to trade or bring goods to the city because it had been ruined. The reputation of the land was such that ships from Peru and New Spain, as well as Spain, no longer came to their ports because of their fear of the President.

The impression one gains from the correspondents is certainly that of a boorish tyrant; yet they presented a whimsical facet of his character as well:

\[31\] Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 6 de mayo, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.

\[32\] Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 29 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
If he invites someone to eat who is not married, he says "Get married;" and if the guest says he does not have the means, and that if Cerrato would provide it he would marry, Cerrato answers that he does not have charge of such things. And if some conquistador or poblador who is married is invited by Cerrato to eat, because of his being married Cerrato says "Why did you get married?," and adds that Your Majesty owes him nothing.

And thus he dismisses them and the vecinos of this city and other parts. Every day he molests them with orders and edicts that he makes in order to have them in his grasp, and to destroy them and take away what they have, because that is his only desire, and he says it publicly. And we consider him to be that way for certain because the enmity he has for us is so great that he cannot even hold it inside, but has to show it to us by injuring us and insulting us every day, calling us traitors and thieves, and other ugly names that cannot be repeated. And with this there is no one who dares talk to him or say anything concerning the republic, or any other thing that reminds that the land is being lost more than it is.

Neither is there anyone who will seek justice, because of the insults that he makes to those who appear before him. They would rather be without justice than go before him because he is so absolute in what he says and does that it seems as if he recognizes no superiors at all. And sitting there in the courtroom he is as ill-bred as he is outside of it; and there are few times that he sits there that he does not dishonor and insult some people. He does not treat us as vassals of Your Majesty, but as if we were of some other foreign king.

And the worst thing is that he is in his dotage; and thus he is known by the things he says and does, because what he orders in the morning he undoes at night; and he says clearly, "If I have ordered it, I now countermand it."33

33Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
The Cabildo asserted that Cerrato showed passion and cruelty in his dealings with the people. Furthermore, he boasted and said that he did not have to give justice, as in the case of those who had been ordered by royal decree to return to Spain to get married. According to the version of the regidores, some were not able to leave on the fixed day because of good reasons, and Cerrato fined all of them, granting no pardons. In another communication to the Crown, the Cabildo added this:

Believe it, Your Majesty, the President is of such quality that notwithstanding that he has taken—and is taking—away properties, he treats your vassals badly. This is more strongly felt than the loss of property; and fearful of this, many who want to seek justice flee rather than appear before him because he is such a furious man. And because they do not want to be dishonored or sent to jail, they do not ask for justice. As it happens, this cabildo has come together to inform Your Majesty what it does to comply with your royal service, and about what touches on these lands, and to make your knowledgeable about it.

Moreover, Cerrato treated a regidor of this city, an aged and honored conquistador, in such a way that he was imprisoned in irons. And for this reason the city does not dare to form a cabildo, nor gather together as was the custom for the well-being of the republic, as Your Majesty orders. And, also, the officials of Your Majesty, who are regidores, stopped meeting as servants of Your Majesty in order to see and know what was best for the service of Your Majesty. Cerrato has trick-

34 Ibid.
ed them, and this has been felt. One is dead, and the other is on the point of death. 35

There were many other complaints about Cerrato’s person and his administration that came out in his resi-
dencia, after his term as reformer was completed. As the
general tenor of the accusations has been established,
there is no need to dwell on variations at this point.
Instead of recounting individual grievances, it is of
more importance to follow the collective opinion represent-
ed by the cabildos.

Shortly after Cerrato’s arrival in Santiago, when
the extent of his reforms was fully realized, the Cabildo
of Santiago, somewhat aghast at his effrontery, composed
the following protest:

We promise to speak as Christians, and to speak
not a word with passion, or that is untrue, and,
therefore, we say that Your Majesty was badly in-
formed, or better put, deceived, in sending licen-
ciado Cerrato for a charge so prominent as this,
which requires a dignified and generous person,
and one who has zeal in the honor of God, of good
conscience, loving and fearful.

Invincible Prince, he lacks all these in his

35 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (30 de abril, 1549),
AGI, Guatemala 41. Pardo, op. cit., 6, records this regard-
ing the Cabildo’s alleged fear of meeting: “21 de octubre
de 1547: Real provision ordenando al ayuntamiento de la ci-
udad de Santiago, que celebre cabildo todas las semanas, pa-
ra resolver ‘... las cosas y casos ...’ tocantes al
buen gobierno, policía, órden y progreso.” On March 15,
1555, the Audiencia, according to Pardo, ordered the Cabil-
do to meet every Tuesday and Friday.
There were many other considerations from California's perspective and its participation that were central to its role in the conference. A clear decision was made to ensure the conference was inclusive and representative of the area to be included.

More important to follow the conference offers increasing importance in the following months, and an attempt to make it work as it was done in the previous seminars, was made. We feel that your interest is heightened by the conference, which is held at San Diego, and the other aspects of the conference, concerning the following points:

1. To improve our study in California, and in the year.
2. To maintain our efforts to work towards something.
3. To ensure our presentation of the conference and its reports.
4. To improve the conference, the California's offers increasing importance in the following months, and an attempt to make it work as it was done in the previous seminars.

In conclusion, let's end this report.
person and conscience; and he was so conceited that he let Satan enter to provide everything he did so that the sound would reach Your Majesty and be valued more highly. He pretended your interest, and blind from his malice and greed, he did what he did, and does what he does, as he did everything--falsely. And all has come to disservice and offense to God, our Lord, and to you. And we affirm as Christians and as your vassals, with the fidelity with which we are obligated to speak before God, our Lord, and our Prince, that he does not provide justice nor does he have any part of it, because he lacks learning, patience, and conscience. And, truly, Catholic Lord, he is not deserving to be a judge, nor does he have the zeal for it.

Furthermore, confirming this, we swear and promise that the justice of God and of Your Majesty has never been tyrannized in these parts except in the power of this man; and we do not know under what zeal, because neither does he do the work of God, nor that of Your Majesty. All has fallen around here, and it cannot be raised because it is lost and destroyed.

It seems that this man was sent only to put fire to this land. Indeed, it is well known to us that your zeal is to serve God better and to augment His faith and that of this Church; and so that all of us who are your vassals might live in peace and discharge your royal conscience on ours. But all has happened vice versa because of this man of such bad intentions, who seems to think that in destroying us he does a great service to Your Majesty. And, thus, the justice of God, which is peace and a settled conscience, is tyrannized.

And speaking of justice, there is no one who dares to ask for it without being offended. Do not wonder at this, Your Majesty, for after you were informed that things were that way, we will appear as mean people. Descend, Your Majesty, and listen, and you will see if the clamor of the people is the truth.

Well known to Your Majesty is the passion of
Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, and consequently all of the friars, because he and they know it (it is possible they do not know, and that it is an artifice of Satan for the results that he wishes). Their voices are heard over there [in Spain] and they sound good. And that what he says in favor of the Indians we desire much more, and we comply with it better than he can say regarding his good treatment and for his doctrine. Under this zeal Satan is confined and he swells up from avarice, envy, and ambition to obtain the result that we all wish.

And, the Cabildo summed up, the devil had found evil and false means for Cerrato to cheapen the work of God. And the royal hacienda was lost in the process.

Fray Francisco Bustamente wrote that Cerrato made it public that there could be no slaves, and that he had come with the determination of putting the brand "free" on their arms. He went on to say that,

when I was here two years ago, which was at the arrival of Cerrato, I understood his intention, which was to make a strong impression . . . . and not to do anything in a manner except by force. Some were given hope by this fury, and it seemed to them that it was zeal for the service of God and Your Majesty.

He added that,

In another letter I have written to Your Majesty how I found this city of Guatemala when Cerrato came into it, and that it seemed to me that he would harm it. He treated it with little gentleness, and not as a wound of men, but as a sore of a horse, extracting. . . .

36 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 10 de marzo, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 41.
with a merciless blow. 37

In an age of prolixity, Bustamante had few peers in embellished rhetoric. After praising the King's great benignity and clemency in dealing with the rebellious Lutherans (all of which, the friar said, had moved him to tears), he finally got to the point: that the King had had the magnanimity to pardon the Lutheran heretics, so that it should not be difficult to be reasonable with the good souls of Guatemala, who had, contrary to the Protestants, remained very loyal, and had not been traitors. That surrounded by fire (the treason of Pizarro, the threats of Contreras, and earthquakes), they had not been burned. The fact was, he went on, others had tried to persuade him not to write to the King about the sorry state of affairs because of the influence of Cerrato at the royal court, "that to write something that shows his faults would be like spitting at the sky, and tantamount to putting a stigma on the writer in the eyes of Your Majesty." Still, Bustamante felt that it was his duty to awaken the King's clemency, and he would not be sorry for having written as he did. He noted piously that his work was prize and reward enough, though he awaited the long hand of God in

37 Fray Francisco Bustamante a Carlos V (22 de marzo, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 168.
those affairs.

Of Cerrato's entrance into Central America, the Cabildo of Chiapas wrote:

Licenciado Cerrato arrived in this land with such fury and arrogance that if we had rebelled against Your Royal Crown we would not expect such wild measures nor bad words; because it appeared that he came not to govern but to spoil our loyalty, our settlement and repose. And thus it appears to the settled and peaceful area of the district he was governing. He attracted the shameless ones to Your Royal Crown and those that have rebelled against Your Royal Service, as in the Province of Nicaragua . . . because the people of this area have been so badly treated, and all that was necessary for our livelihood has been taken away, without exception . . . . It is expected that if God does not put His hand in, and if Your Highness does not transfer licenciado Cerrato from this land, after having been given the account, then the land of Your Majesty is on the brink of hell. 39

While Cerrato was still in Gracias a Dios finishing the residencia, the Cabildo of Santiago had been made aware of his intention to liberate the slaves. Hoping to somehow influence his attitude, they sent him the following entreaty:

This city has learned of Your Lordship's commission concerning the slaves. . . . We have also heard that Your Lordship has not been well informed in the matter and we are convinced that in a project of such moment and difficulty you will

38 Ibid.

39 Cabildo de Ciudad Real de Chiapa a Carlos V (1 de mayo, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
wish to consider, weigh, and think over the consequences. And, if you do so, you will abandon the project, because your Lordship will discover that the whole well-being of these parts lies in the contentment and permanent establishment of the Spaniards and in the small amount of silver and gold that is being mined, and not in contentment and opinion of of the religious. Their zeal may appear to be holy and good, but it does not contribute to the support of the republic in these parts. Who doubts that the words let the Indians be free, when spoken by the religious sound holy and good? And if they should say his Majesty desires his vassals to be free from tribute, it would sound the same, whether or not it were necessary for the well-being and universal peace and contentment, and, consequently, for the support of the Faith.

But it is not as clear [to us] as it is to the religious, and we beg your Lordship, as our Governor and President, our Father and Lord, in the name of his Majesty, with your great prudence, learning, and zeal, to consider the support and good government of all those whom his Majesty has entrusted to you. And bear in mind, your Lordship, that we are Christians and that we consider ourselves loyal vassals of our Prince, as we have proved ourselves to be, in war and peace, and that we wish to save ourselves and to clear our consciences. And know, your Lordship, that the discharge of his Majesty's conscience, and yours in his name, and the good government of these parts, do not consist in freeing these Indians who are called slaves, because their number is as nothing, as compared with the rest. At present it is better for them to remain in our company than out of it, because we consider most of them as though they were our own children. And, if in times past there was some carelessness in their treatment, it is no longer true—rather, they are beholden to us for having reared them.

The point is that they are in the mines, and for that reason your Lordship . . . should consider what we have said, that is, that a great part of our well-being and contentment hangs upon this bit of gold. Consider also that his Majesty
has never completely clarified the matter of the liberation of the slaves. When he, as our Lord, commands that it be done, then let it be done and we shall humbly obey.

The President was, of course, not moved by such specious reasoning, and the Cabildo's correspondence soon lost its supplicatory tenor.

Cerrato's reception by men of the Church was not unmixed. Bishop Marroquín was a man held in high esteem by his contemporaries, and historians have recorded few discordant notes concerning this most important figure of early Guatemalan history. Aside from his religious duties, he served admirably in secular affairs. Probably more than any other individual in the first quarter century of settlement in Central America (and perhaps the entire sixteenth century), he approached the status of a true statesman. Although he took a sincere interest in the welfare of the natives, he was also realistic about their relation to the conquerors. He appears sympathetic to Alvarado, and certainly at fierce odds with las Casas. He was a man of reasoned considerations, but that very moderation naturally led to sharp disagreement with the Bishop of Chiapa, and Cerrato as well. It would not be accurate to say that Marroquín defended the principle of slavery;

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however, he accurately foresaw the violent disturbances that would attend a radical and sharp break with custom. Harboring such sentiments, he enjoined all to pursue a satisfactory solution that would keep the peace. With humanitarianism tempered with realism, Marroquin, as "Protector of the Indians", had every reason to welcome the new President who, in light of his administration in the islands, could be expected to ameliorate the conditions of the natives of Guatemala. And in the beginning there was every reason to expect a harmonious relationship between the two. Bancroft was of the opinion that hard feelings existed between them as early as 1548, and to substantiate this view he cites a report of Cerrato's written on November 3 of that year in which it is mentioned that the tributes assessed by the Bishop and ex-President Maldonado were intolerable. Yet five months later Cerrato wrote Charles V that he was well impressed by Marroquin's service to the Church, adding that the Bishop was spending all he had--and some he didn't have--to support it. It is true, nonetheless, that Bishop Ma-

41 Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 327.

42 Cerrato a Carlos V (Santiago: 8 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.
rroquín began to give advice to the new President. 43 When such suggestions failed to alter Cerrato's course, the Bishop then began writing to Spain, as well as signing some of the Cabildo's letters, in which Cerrato was censured. But the Crown stood behind Cerrato, rebuking Marroquín by writing that "we are astonished at your bad opinions of what licenciado Cerrato has accomplished," and added that, after all the Bishop, as pastor to the flock, had been charged with their well-being, and that his duties did not include the disapproval of what the Crown decreed for their benefit. The King said that he considered Cerrato's performance a service, and that from then on Marroquín would cease his criticism and assist the President in effecting the reforms. 44 This indicates rather clearly that the Crown felt the need to uphold Cerrato's authority, even in the face of challenge by the prestigious Bishop of Guatemala. The prelate's dignity was further wounded by a cédula written two weeks later. That communication made reference to the implication that Marroquín was suspected of mala fe sa in the

43 Francisco de Bañuelos a Carlos V (Santa Fe de Guatemala: 15 de junio, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 45.

44 "Respuesta al obpo de guatimala" (4 de agosto, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 393, Lib. III, fol. 172.
spending of Church money, without rendering an account; of not cooperating with other officials; and of utilizing Indian slaves for work in the construction of a church. The final barb was its order that the matter of financial accounting be entrusted to licenciado Cerrato, "of whose rectitude and conscience we are aware." The President was also to take account of the Bishop's activities in the matter of the rents.  

Bancroft writes that "Bishop Marroquín's remonstrances with Cerrato only developed hostile feelings in the latter which were publicly evinced by his absenting himself for a long time from the services of the church, conducted by the prelate." The President's own explanation of his absence was that he was suffering so much from a kidney stone and an illness of the urine that he had to spend six months in bed. However, if he missed services, he insisted that mass had been said to him daily in his house. Whether this is the whole truth or

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45 Real provisión (18 de agosto, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 393, Lib. III, fols. 181v-182.

46 Bancroft, op. cit., II, 327.

47 AGI, Justicia 301. In his "Interrogatorio," Cerrato posed this question for his witnesses. "Do they know that about four years ago [probably about 1547] the said licenciado Cerrato had a stone from which he was very sick? And that after that one he has been in bed for the past six months as a result of the stone and illness of the urine, from which he has suffered much?"
not, it is generally agreed that he was a devout Christian.

Cerrato had a special rapport with the Dominicans, but he was often critical of the seculars. He was convinced that many of them shirked their responsibilities, and that the conditions of the land prior to his arrival was to no little extent their fault. In his residencia there were charges that he entered the church armed, thus giving a bad example to both Spaniards and Indians. Furthermore, it was alleged that he was accustomed to calling some priests "scoundrels, thieves, robbers, and similar names." It was the President's concern for the natives that brought him into conflict with churchmen, as well as the encomenderos. In his defense to the above charge he made this statement:

"Regarding the . . . charge, I say it is false . . . and in case of my having something to say I would say it in reprehension of what the clergy-men do, and the bad example they set; because in the matter of the Dean I did not do as much as I should have, neither did I say a word of what he claims I said, except to quarrel with the señor obispo because he did not punish him [the Dean]; for, in his [the Bishop's] presence and mine, an Indian woman came with her mouth bruised and bleeding much, and her hair had been pulled; and she complained that the Dean had done it to her. And I asked the Dean why he had done such a cruel thing to the woman, and he said that she had done and said I-don't-know-what. And I answered him that if she had done something"

48 "Cargos," AGI, Justicia 301.
there was justice to punish her, and that he should not be her judge. He replied with much disrespect and little shame: "Such fine justice you would do to me!" And to this I answered that I would give better justice than he deserved, but I did not say any other injurious words.

And . . . Barriga \_\_7 confessed before me and the Bishop that he had beaten an Indian with a stick, and I told him that if the señor obispo were not present I would put him in the stock, even though he was a clergyman, and that such \_things\_ were not fitting from a good priest, or even from a good Christian soul . . .

And such are the clérigos of this bishopric in other things, and they are such tyrants to the Indians that they rob them publicly. And so it has been seen in the Church that we do not have the benefit of a Dean and Archdeacon; and they do not want to be in the church, but prefer to go to places of the Indians, where it is well known that they rob them and sell them wine, and take their cacao, and make them give offerings by force. And it is the subject of talk that the clérigos rob them as much as the encomenderos used to do. And the Indians say they go to look for something for the offering, because they are ordered to offer a tostón every día de fiesta; and the one who does not \_/pay/ is slandered for being amancebado, or for not going to mass, and they are whipped and overworked—and this cannot go on without censure. And although the Bishop indicated to the clergymen not to deal with the Indians, that does not stop them from selling wine and other things to them, nor taking away their cacao and clothes; and the priests do as they want, making other outrages in bad example for the Indians.

But Cerrato did concede that whatever failure the

49"Descargos," AGI, Justicia 301.
men of the Church had met it was not entirely their fault. He made this comment about the obstruction placed by the encomenderos:

There was no doctrine among the Indians, nor friar, nor religious who dared to preach it nor enter the pueblos to do so, because they said that it was not necessary for the Indians to know any other "doctrine" except to serve their masters and to pay them their tributes. And in all the ways they could they prevented the Indians from knowing that there was justice or anything else except to serve and pay tribute to their encomenderos. And if some friars or religious went to preach to them or to indoctrinate them they threw them from the pueblo and did not consent. And it happened that while a friar was preaching to the Indians their encomendero entered (or one of his slaves) and with slaps and blows took the Indians out of the church so that they might serve their master and not hear the doctrine. 50

In Chiapas it was especially true that Bartolomé de las Casas and his Dominicans exerted great power, and the attitude of the encomenderos toward them was bitter. Because Dominican Indian policy was in concert with that of President Cerrato, many perceived some conspiracy against the colonists. Some went even further by claiming that Cerrato was a tool of the friars and that it was really they who commanded. Remesal was to write that Cerrato greatly favored the friars, and that he gave great

50 AGI, Justicia 301.
credit to them in everything that touched on the Indians. 51

"This unfortunate city," wrote the Cabildo of Ciudad Real de Chiapa, 52 Has been persecuted and conquered by friars of the Order of Santo Domingo and the Bishop of this province." They continued, saying that the Dominicans had taken over the services of the freed slaves, and that "the justices of Your Highness do not direct Indian affairs, but the friars do; and if the Spaniards do not do many things they desire, the friars tell licenciado Cerrato for his report." Equally denunciatory was the Cabildo of Santiago. Those regidores complained about the manner in which the friars treated the natives,

and if we were to give a relation of the things they do it would take forever. We shall only say that they are the ones who give orders and govern, and not the Audiencia; because all the things that are provided, and are to be provided, regarding the land and affecting the residents, are all done by the friars. And although the President sees it--and because of it the land is being ruined--neither he nor the oidores wish to remedy it, so as not to make the friars angry, because the friars say they will support them. And the friars have so much ambition in such things that they say that before they will let things return to the way they were they will break everything in pieces. And it seems that they want to defend it with lance and sword, and not as religious, because they have so much bad will for the vecinos of this city . . .

51 Remesal, op. cit., II, 203.

52 Cabildo de Ciudad Real de Chiapa a Carlos V (1 de mayo, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 44.
If the Spaniards now have no slaves, the friars do have them, and the Indians serve them better than they served their masters before. The Spaniards never had such complete personal service as the friars now have, because they take the service of the Indians as if they were theirs . . .

Now there are no tamemes, and they have been taken away mostly because of the friars . . . but they load as many Indians as they want to without anyone interfering with them; and just a few days ago it happened that from Verapaz, which is very far from this city, there came 400 Indians loaded down. And the President and oidores saw them, and since they knew that they were from the friars, they excused it.53

The regidores were contemptuous of the friars' claim to being "adored." They accused Cerrato of holding them to be divine and considering their every action, "although they may make the greatest nonsense," to be holy. The President, they wrote, did not dare to govern because of his fear of the Dominicans, and it was because of him that he freed the slaves. In their opinion, the deception of the friars was for the purpose of securing Indian service for themselves. Also, they complained that the friars,

consider it heresy that they [the Indians] serve us, and holy that they serve them. Certainly we had our consciences with our good intentions and better deeds. If we speak of the assessment of tributes it is a thing of ridicule, and those same pueblos laugh. What kind of government can

53 Gabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 1 de junio, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
there be if it is ruled and governed by the religious?⁵⁴

The Cabildo view was that the friars had a much different stake in the outcome, and that they would not be affected to the degree, or even in the same manner, as the vecinos. The Cabildo wrote that,

The religious pretend to be adored. This only incites our contempt and is in much prejudice to the faith and the doctrine of Jesus Christ. And since they do not feel pain from either the good or the bad of the land, they content themselves with what is good for them, or what seems good to them, without looking ahead. They have in mind leaving tomorrow, but if they thought about settling here for always they would do things in another way, with more wisdom. This is the truth, Catholic Lord; it pains us to see the loss of what we have worked for for thirty years, in the service of God and Your Majesty, and they /the religious/ think that they gained it themselves, and as we say, time will tell.⁵⁵

While the conquistadores were in poverty, the Cabildo affirmed "there is no poor friar; they can support all the people because they are the lords of the pueblos."⁵⁶

A few months later the Cabildo was still expressing its indignation at the influence of the Dominicans in what the vecinos considered to be secular affairs. The monks, the regidores asserted,

⁵⁴ Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 15 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.
use the land as if it were theirs. And they do not obey any cédula or provision, nor anything regarding what Your Majesty has ordered in this land; nor does Cerrato, although he sees and knows /but/ he does not see and know. He does not prevent it because they /the monks/ write to Your Majesty that what he is doing is well done . . .

Everything that the President has done has been done through the inducement of the Dominican friars that are in this city, and not all of them, but three or four of them who have little wisdom, but much ambition, friends of their own interests, whom the President wishes to please because they write about him to Your Majesty good things, not bad; because he knows that credit should be given to these writings and no other /making conditions in this land as they are/.

There is some evidence to suggest that the colonists were not far wrong in their assessment of the role played by some of the Dominicans, and that the friars did not all follow the philosophy of their brother, Bartolomé de las Casas. Aside from their use of Indian labor in commercial schemes, they did not always hesitate to use the lash to cope with what they considered to be intransigence on the part of the Indians.

The regidores in Santiago lamented that with Cerrato under the power of the friars, the oidores in the Audiencia counted for nothing, and that the President

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57 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.

58 E.g., see "Probanza" of 1547, AGI, Guatemala 110.
ruled as dictator. "He does not take into account the oidores," they stated, "nor does he pay attention to them; and there is no audiencia except the one he wants it to be."

Later they wrote that,

he orders in such a manner that the oidores cannot do anything except what he wishes, and this audiencia is nothing more than if he alone were in it. And speaking about this to licenciado Ramírez, who is the one who has resided with him the most, he says that he has already told him, and that he cannot do any more; and that he does not want to be in bad with him because Cerrato put him in the Audiencia, and that he is Cerrato's oidor, not Your Majesty's, and that he can do nothing except what Cerrato orders.

We do not have comments from Ramírez with respect to the regidores' indiscreet reference to his attitude; but we must, in any case, regard the Cabildo's version with caution; for the oidor had written to the King months before, lauding the accomplishments of Cerrato with respect to the condition of the natives. He elaborated as follows:

He has such care and rectitude in complying with that which touches on the service of Your Majesty that it seems to me convenient that he alone provide for the things of government, and that he be given a private commission; because

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59 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 15 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.

60 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
sometimes things that are convenient await provision because of not all [the regidores] being present, as it happens sometimes. Nor, even, are they done with such care when charged to many as when the charge is to one only. And even the distribution of the Indians can better be done by him alone than by all. In the visitation of the district it is convenient that the President name the provinces that each oidor had to visit, because each one wants to go to the best land and where there is less expense and less work. 61

This was written about a year after Cerrato had arrived, so it is quite possible that Ramírez later became disillusioned. Or it may have been that he was anxious to abdicate responsibility and disassociate himself from the odious reforms, in which case we may surmise that praise was merely an oblique ruse by which he hoped to extricate himself from the unpleasant tasks that lay ahead. It seems entirely probable that Cerrato did dominate his audiencia, but he disclaimed sole responsibility; in fact, he resented the inference that all the reforms were his doing alone. Legislation, he insisted, derived from the consensus and votes of both Ramírez and Rogel, yet all the blame went to him, so that he alone was seen as the enemy by the settlers. 62

61 Ramírez a Carlos V ("Guatemala": 25 de mayo, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.

62 AGI, Justicia 301.
The President's detractors could come up with little that translates as concrete malfeasance. The closest they came to it was bringing charges of flagrant nepotism. Cerrato, however, felt little constraint to produce a vigorous defense of the practice, because it was a charge to which almost every high official in the Indies would have to plead guilty. The ubiquitous relatives gathered for the spoils, and scrupulous as he was in most respects, he gratified their desires. Perhaps most meaningful is the fact that those who censured him for this procedure stressed not so much the principle involved, but what they considered to be the disastrous consequences of his choices. The Cabildo of Gracias a Dios wrote the King, requesting that it be decreed that only oidores be made visitadores, "because many times your President and oidores provide as visitors personas idiotas that have eyes only for their own interest and do not provide justice."

Inasmuch as Cerrato's own character was very much a part of the vecinos' case, it is of some interest and importance to note their remarks on nepotism, for it was one of the few areas of his administration that was sub-

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63 Cabildo de Gracias a Dios a Carlos V (Gracias a Dios: 10 de abril, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 44.
The Friesian or Jersey cattle comprise a

considerable proportion of the dairy stock of this country, and are held in high esteem for their ability to produce a large quantity of milk of excellent quality. These animals are noted for their strength and durability, and are capable of withstanding adverse weather conditions. They are highly adaptable to a variety of climates and are well suited for both milk production and beef production. The Friesian or Jersey cattle are a valuable asset to the dairy industry and play a significant role in the production of milk and dairy products.
ject to criticism.

Francisco de Bañuelos, whose service had been rejected by Cerrato, sent a disgruntled dispatch to Charles V, in which he made allusion to the impoverished conquistadores. He reiterated the old charge that, while they had gained the Indians in war, they were without encomiendas, but that the President was parceling out Indians and political plums to friends and relatives. He then gave a detailed account of Cerrato's largesse:

In the province of Nicaragua he gave two repartimientos to his brother, Doctor Cerrato, and the best of that land, which belong to two captains of Your Majesty, both very honorable men. One was named Captain Calero and the other Captain Machuca.

He sent to the province of Chiapa one of his cousins, who is named Gonzalo Hidalgo, a man of very low manner, to visit the land and to despoil it, as it is; y q no basse a los vecinos della two thousand pesos that he stole from them, and he took away all the Indios from all of the conquistadores and pobladores and brought them to this court as prisoners, where they are at present...

He sent to the province of Nombre de Dios and Panama as Governor and juez de residencia one Juan Barba Vallezillo, one of his great friends who was with him in Española, and who fell from favor with the royal office because of what he did. I promise Your Majesty that he stole, in the seven months that he had the office, more than ten thousand castellanos, and he did not come as did Sancho de Clavijo, as governor of Your Majesty, to rob all the land, as is on record in the residencia, so that he might present himself with it before Your Majesty. He fled in the province of Cartagena and came to this Audiencia, where he is at the present. All of this happened because
licenciado Cerrato freely gave all his patronage. This land is scandalized in seeing how it is left to continue so loose, and he did not send him prisoner to Your Majesty. And there are many who say, since this was handled like this, that the same will be done with the sons of Rodrigo de Contreras.

He sent to the province of Nicaragua three visitors, his friends and servants, to put it on its feet, as it is, because it was the cause that made such evil that was done by the sons of Rodrigo de Contreras. They killed the Bishop there and robbed the treasure chest of Your Majesty. I promise Your Majesty that, as an hidalgo, I was in all the province of Nicaragua before the folly, and I saw how such dissolution was spoiling that province as a result of Cerrato, and that every day the vecinos of that province and other discontented people of the President said how they had to revolt ...

Your Majesty would not be served by licenciado Cerrato's offending them, calling them traitors, thieves, and robbers; and this notwithstanding, he took away their haciendas and their dignity, sending visitors to them every day, and seeing the evil intention of those, I came to this audiencia where I am at the present.

The Cabildo of Santiago, which was very much involved in the controversy, reported as follows:

... After he came to this city one of his brothers arrived, as well as other relatives. And to the brother he gave some Indians in Nicaragua in the city of Granada that comprised two repartimientos held by two captains, which yielded income of more than two thousand pesos; and all the rest of the pueblos of that city together give income amounting to a little more

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64 Francisco de Bañuelos a Carlos V (Santa Fe de Guatemala: 15 de junio, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 45.
than those two. Two of his cousins came from Mexico; he made one juez de residencia and visitador of the province of Chiapa with a salary of two and a half pesos daily, and to the other he gave the position of contador of this province, which position was vacant; and to one of his servants that he brought with him from Santo Domingo he gave the position of relator, earning more than 600 castellanos with the office. Moreover, he gave him a corregimiento of 100 pesos; and to another of his criados he gave the post of portrero of the Audiencia and, having that salary, gave him another corregimiento with 100 pesos more. And to the poor conquistadores who have no livelihood he gives, when they ask for it, something that amounts to 50 or 70 pesos.

And to his brother he also gave (before giving him the pueblos) 250 pesos de corregimiento and an expense account, and he has them now; and this same brother "ha resumido corona" because of the death of a man that he killed in Spain, and he is educated (and a lawyer) and, taking advantage of this, he had prohibited anyone to make petitions, nor to have knowledge of lawsuits at all. And thus, although he arrived a short time ago very poor, he is now rich.

And to another, his cousin, he gave the post of visitador de minas, where his earnings have not been small. And to a brother-in-law of Gregorio López, of Your Majesty's Council, he gave some Indians in Gracias a Dios, without his having been in the land a year, and there being discontented conquistadores who were dying of hunger.

And to take advantage of having his relatives, he wanted no oidores to visit the land, as Your Majesty orders, but rather he wanted his relatives to do the visiting.

And to one Alonso Bueso, a very rich man, who had earned his money in mining operations, he gave, in the said city, other Indians because he married a sister-in-law of Gregorio López. And other servants of his he pays with fines of the court of law, because he never fails to order
them to have a pretext for having money to pay them; and the fines that were applied for the sala de tribunal, after it was in this city, are in very great quantity, and if Your Majesty ordered an account taken you will see how they have been spent.

. . . His cousin that he sent to Chiapa has taken away twenty repartimientos, the best that there were, and among those whose Indians were taken there was a man who was fined more than 7,000 pesos, and other 2,500. And another was a man dead six years who had committed some crimes, and his heirs were deprived of the Indians and fined 800 pesos. And in this way he condemned all the above-mentioned, all of them being vecinos of that province and so poor that not a real of money reached them. And they have been determined, according to what is said here, to leave the land . . .

Another friend that he brought with him from the island of Española he sent as judge of residencia to the Kingdom of Tierra Firme. And this friend behaved in such a way that in his residencia, taken by the governor sent by Your Majesty to that kingdom he was sent as a prisoner to the kingdoms of Castilla; and on the road he got loose and came to Puerto de Caballos where he is now, waiting to come to this city.

And another who was also sent as judge of residencia of the Province of Yucatán, wishing to imitate the President in being cruel, did so in such a manner in the said province that another judge, sent by order of Your Majesty, came and he was also made prisoner. And they say that he was sentenced to death. And in this way two judges that the President has sent to districts of this audiencia have acted in this way.\footnote{Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.}

The regidores in Santiago had also written to the King, saying that,
after your President came to this land, there also came to it cousins, brothers, and other relatives to whom, as they came to the land, he gave corre- gimientos to some, and to others who were his criados that he brought with him; so it was that Alonso Cruz Cerrato, his brother, had a corre- gimiento of 150 pesos of gold; and he sent a Gonzalo Hidalgo, his cousin, to visit Chiapa with three pesos every day in salary; and to one Alonso Hidalgo he gave the contaduría. To one of his criados, Francisco de Morales, who is relator of this royal audiencia, he gave a corre- gimiento with a salary of 150 pesos; to another of his criados who is named Cristóbal Mexía, he gave a corre- gimiento that must to be giving him a salary of a porterio. He is seeking another 100 pesos from the corre- gimiento (in many ways) because of inflation. The bad thing is that he was taking Indians from those who had them in order to award them to friends and relatives. 66

The settlers of Chiapas had been acutely affected by the new changes, and their response was equally bitter. The Cabildo of Ciudad Real sent the following commentary to the King:

A brother, sons, and nephews and other relatives of Cerrato have come to this land, and they wanted to put the greater part of the land in their hands . . . . Licenciado Cerrato and licenciado Tomás López gave Cerrato’s brother some pueblos in Granada, which are said to give income of two or three thousand pesos, and to a niece another two thousand pesos; and now he wanted to give a daughter of his some Indians that give rents of another two thousand pesos. Licenciado Tomás López says that Your Highness does not order this, and that it should not be done because it is not just. And Cerrato even sent one of his relatives as visitador to Honduras where he did much harm; and

66 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 1 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.
another of his relatives was given the contaduría of Guatemala; and another of his relatives he sent here to Chiapa with great powers, contrary to what Your Highness has ordered, which is that an oidor go to visit, [but he] is a poor and uneducated man, with little understanding and experience. He came to fulfill his needs with our haciendas, which he took from us and . . . the rest remained destroyed . . . . And although we have lost from the visita, we considered it as nothing because Your Highness ordered that it be an oidor who would make the visita; for which, in order to see it done [correctly] we beg Your Highness to order that a residencia be taken of licenciado Cerrato and his visitador by one of the oidores of the Audiencia of Mexico [as soon as possible].

In his residencia, Cerrato did not deny that he had favored his relatives and friends; however, he did attempt to clarify some of the details. He rejected the accusation that other worthy individuals had been ignored, and he pointed out that, in fact, he had given Indians to conquistadores in encomienda, and he listed sixteen such recipients. Furthermore, he named twelve married men to whom he had given Indians, including Bernal Díaz and Alonso Hidalgo.

He acknowledged that he had made provisions for his brother, Dr. Cerrato, and for Gonzalo López. But that

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67 Cabildo de Ciudad Real de Chiapa (Ciudad Real: 1 de mayo, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 44.

68 "Descargos," AGI, Justicia 301.
was in Nicaragua, a land "muy doliente y peligrosa," and, he added, what he had given them was actually very little. Owing to the nature of that land, both Dr. Cerrato and his wife had died, as had López. What he gave to Sancho Cano was in San Miguel, "a sad and lonely place," where he, three of his sons, and two nephews died. All these people had come with their wives and children and households to settle as people of honor. Moreover, he added that there were repartimientos in Santiago which, by themselves, were worth more than all of those given to his relatives. As further defense, he went into a long disquisition concerning the custom of nepotism in Guatemala, beginning with Alvarado, and recounting in detail how Maldonado had parcelled out bounties to those close to him. Some of those who received Indians or positions from Cerrato were, he said, old and impoverished conquerors. When Nicolao López received his natives it was before he even thought of marrying Dr. Cerrato's daughter; in fact, they had tried to discourage his attentions to the girl with a whipping. 69

The President's lengthy defense of his actions need not be considered in more detail. Suffice it to say

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69 Ibid.
that he had merely gone along with the custom of patronage that had been long established, not only in the Indies, but also in more settled societies of the age. His adherence to the practice is only an indication that he was subject to human frailties, despite his obsession with some points of the law. The denunciations of his enemies in this respect had seemingly little direct bearing on his acceptance at court.\footnote{These were by no means the only accusations made against Cerrato. Among the others, the Cabildo of Santiago had stated that the President had ordered a vecino jailed because he would not lend tools to be used for making a road, although Cerrato yielded to the entreaties of "some good people." Moreover, Cerrato ordered a merchant to jail because he would not give him some linen. In addition, it was charged that he jailed one man in a scandal over the manufacturing of maravedís, in which Cerrato was allegedly involved. Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.}

We may be assured that much of the invective aimed at Cerrato was exaggerated and distorted, even as he no doubt was guilty of hyperbole in some cases. But if we concede that, in the main, there was some substance to personal criticisms of the President, the fact remains that many of the attacks simply were not germane to the critical issue. The Crown had decreed that slaves held illegally were to be freed, and the President executed the mandate with remarkable dispatch. Therefore, the
only logical alternative was to convince the Crown of the
integrity of two basic premises: 1) that the slaves were,
in truth, not so badly treated and that they were better
off in that condition of slavery, and 2) that without
slavery the King's colony would collapse.

The first of these hypotheses would move only the
least cynical of observers. It would have been reasonable
to assume that native inhabitants introduced to Christian-
ity under the utopian conditions envisioned by dreamers
would perhaps have, indeed, been in happier circumstances;
but the speciosity of the proposition becomes evident to
anyone familiar with the true nature of affairs. No doubt
there were instances when a master treated his slaves with
a measure of kindness, or even affection. But unless the
documents greatly deceive us, the lot of most slaves was
not pleasant to contemplate. Yet the vecinos could write
of the close and amiable relation that existed more in
their minds than in fact. The regidores in Santiago wrote
that, "In no manner can these [Indians] we have here be
called slaves, either in esteem or in treatment. The only
ones lacking doctrine are those gathering gold, and that
could be easily remedied."71 The Cabildo then explained in

71 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 6 de ma-
ño, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.
more detail, as follows:

Know, Your Majesty, that the slaves of this city and pueblo of Santiago have been--and are--so well treated that almost all of them have so much freedom that it is excessive; because the owners have no accounting of them, more than to make some plantings for themselves and for their masters, with very moderate service.

And they go where they wish and return when it pleases them. They have and know the doctrine in abundance. All this liberty comes because their masters love them so much, and they are not considered as slaves, but as true sons.

We promise Your Majesty that for no price would the Spaniard give one of them away because he loves them. And there are many who if they had wished to sell them would have had to have seven or eight, or even ten thousand pesos for them.  

Later, complaining that the friars had alienated the affections of the natives for the settlers, the Cabildo of Santiago wrote that, "the truth is that we love them very much, more so than they do; and we wish them all the good that they could wish for themselves." 

This affection--real or imagined--which the Spaniards felt for the natives had been reciprocal, or so the King was informed. But the machinations of the Dominican friars, and now the temerity of Cerrato, had ruined all of

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72 Ibid.

73 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 15 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.
this familial relationship. The friars, they lamented, considered the settlers to be enemies of the Indians, and they had informed the natives of this. With the favor shown to the Indians by the President, things had come to such a state that "now the Indians do not recognize us; rather, they despise us. How much harm this might be only time will tell." And, they wrote, "bad as we are, if we should take ourselves out of the way, the friars would see, and everyone would know, how this land and everything else would change." 74

"Your Majesty will consider for certain," the Cabildo continued,

that the principal foundation for the perpetuation of these parts is that we should be good Christians and that we be loved by the Indians; and that, lacking this, we should be feared by them. It seems that the President and oidores understand all of this in reverse, because they have provided—and do provide—that instead of loving us, the Indians abhor us. . . . [The Indians] we considered as our sons, and as such they were treated, wanted, and loved. Such servitude! Liberty was for their souls and bodies. . . . Because of the religious the Indians are our enemies, and the religious make the Indians adore them. Even a blind man could judge if this is the work of God or of Satan. 75

The result of the separation of the Indians was, the settlers insisted, a traumatic experience for the

74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
The military establishment and the defense establishment are considered to be essential to the security and defense of a nation. The military establishment includes the armed forces, while the defense establishment encompasses a broader range of activities and institutions. Both are crucial for maintaining national security and territorial integrity.

For a nation to function effectively, it must have a robust and capable military establishment. This includes not only the armed forces but also the infrastructure and support systems necessary to sustain and deploy its military capabilities. The defense establishment, on the other hand, encompasses a wide array of civilian agencies and institutions, such as the Department of Defense, intelligence agencies, and research and development organizations, which are responsible for the planning, procurement, and management of national defense resources.

The military and defense establishments are interconnected, with the military relying on the defense establishment for strategic planning, resource allocation, and support services. Conversely, the defense establishment is dependent on the military for operational expertise and capabilities. This interdependence is critical for the security and stability of a nation, as it ensures that defense policies are effectively translated into military actions.

At the heart of the military and defense establishments are the people. This includes not only the active-duty military personnel but also the civilian workforce, which plays a vital role in supporting the military through various functions such as procurement, research, and development. The effective management of this workforce is essential for maintaining the readiness and effectiveness of the military and defense establishments.

In conclusion, the military and defense establishments are integral components of a nation's security apparatus. They are responsible for safeguarding the nation's interests, both domestically and internationally, and play a critical role in ensuring the stability and prosperity of the nation.

The importance of the military and defense establishments cannot be overstated, as they serve as the bedrock upon which national security and defense are built. They are indispensable in times of peace and war, and their continued development and modernization are crucial for maintaining the nation's readiness and capability to protect its citizens and interests.
natives. While on the whole this line of reasoning is rather pathetic, there emerged in some areas of argument points that warranted consideration for a more gradual transition, as opposed to the abrupt cleavage favored by Cerrato. For the most part, appeals emanating from the cabildos were more emotional than logical; however, individuals occasionally used more reason. Such a writer was Fray Francisco Bustamante, whose 1551 letter to the Monarch was more rational than most. He apparently had tried to convince Cerrato of the need for a more qualified judgment.

Regarding the matter of the slaves [he wrote], I told him that to me it seems that all should not be seen as equal, because in this land of Guatemala there are four kinds of slaves: 1) some that serve in the mines; 2) others in the milpas; 3) others of the Spaniards who are not oficiales [artisans]; and 4) others of the oficiales.76

But the President, Bustamante remarked, came with the idea of liberating all of them, with no reservations. And being freed, the Indians had to be paid for the sweat of their labors, and this could be a great harm to the republic. "With all this," he continued, slaves belonging to Indians remained with their owners, but slaves were taken from the Spaniards. I cannot understand what greater reason there

76 Fray Francisco Bustamante, "Comissario General," a Carlos V (Ciudad de Guatemala: 22 de marzo, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 168.
might be for some to possess them and others not, because many of the slaves owned by Spaniards have been bought from the Indians. But it should be as original sin that, when an Indian enters the house of a Spaniard he is considered as a slave, but not if he is in the possession of another Indian. I say this because in freeing those that the Indians had there has not been so much care and diligence.77

Bustamante's proposal to Cerrato was that a year or two should be provided for a gradual diminution of Indian slaves in the mines. In that manner, the mine operators would not lose everything, and the Crown would not lose its share from the quintos. In that interim Negroes could be obtained to do the work, and in the meantime the Indians could be paid for their work. Moreover, it could be seen to that the Indians were well treated and not used in work that was excessively dangerous or difficult.

Admittedly, the mine slaves suffered in the most cruel and oppressive of conditions. But, so Bustamante thought, those working on the milpas were in a different circumstance altogether. Those laborers, he noted,

worked the land with the master giving them their own land to work, and in some cases even a house in which to live. They worked so many days of the week for themselves and so many for the master. Can these be called slaves, Your Majesty? I told

77 Ibid.
him Cerrato that it appeared to me that they were like the renteros of Spain, and that was not slavery; that if the days they worked for their masters were many, this could be moderated and made fewer. But they should not be taken away. That would be a great harm to the republic because those milpas of wheat and corn were the principal provision of this city, and if the slaves were to be taken away there would be no one to plant and harvest.\textsuperscript{78}

As for the third category, slaves of those who were not artisans, they were the ones that served the Spaniards in their houses and haciendas. They should be freed and paid for their work, which could be moderated and assessed by the Audiencia. And henceforth if they were treated badly they could be taken away, and they could then go where they pleased. As for the time being, such Indians were already working in the granjerías and taking care of horses, and working in other tasks and household duties. They should be made to serve because they were with their wives and children. They were well treated and worked little; and in letting them go it would be difficult to win them over, as could be seen by experience. If they were taken from such service and given to surrounding pueblos it would be worse because of the inconvenience and harm arising from the need for a husband to leave his wife and children. It would also be a problem

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid.
if they left the milpas at a time when the fields needed to be worked. Finally, "each day, the Spaniards had to go around showing one how to curry a horse, and another how to milk the bee, and how to make cheese, and other things like that; and just when they have learned, their time of service is finished." Cerrato then asked Bustamante by what law he was obliged to provide service to the republic? "And I answered him," Bustamante related, "because of divine, natural, and political law, under pain of not being a good governor." 79

Regarding those that served the craftsmen, Bustamante wrote:

I told him to order an investigation to see how long they had served their masters after they learned the trades. Because it was not right that, having spent three or four years teaching the slave a trade, they were later taken away without any other satisfaction or service; for even the Spaniards, while there are apprentices, give the maestro something. And, finally, already having learned the trade, he works some time for the one who taught him. 80

Sensible as these suggestions were, however, they were in vain, and Bustamante notes that "in all I have said, it made no difference for now. All were liberated later without condition or examination, with great brevity,

79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
making one announcement after the other." He cited the technique used in Mexico, which was like a "dead-smooth file," in contrast to the effect of the "hammer blow" which deafened all in Guatemala. He proposed that Cerrato might follow Mexico's example, and that if necessary "the screw could be tightened a little later on." 81

As Bustamante's reasoning had been ignored, and as the President did not recognize the pleas of the settlers, the colony was in dire circumstances. The vecinos contended insistently that the Indian, removed from the paternalistic lordship of his master, was worse off than ever. They were, they said, going around like "crazy men," confused and not knowing what was going on. "And if we are discontented," the Santiago cabildo wrote, "much more so are the natives." 82 Moreover, the disturbing changes were making the Indians insolent and they had no fear of the Spaniards; the new freedom gave them yearnings and made them shameless. 83 Bustamante also pointed out that by 1551, two years after Cerrato's arrival in Guatemala, the

81 Ibid.

82 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 15 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.

83 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 6 de mayo, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.
Indians had less Christianity than ever, and that there was less order, and more carnality, thievery, and idleness. He went on to say that,

Drunkenness is almost continuous and very common in the last two years in this area; and it is the root of all their evil and sins because from this comes idolatry, incest and enormous sins committed with mother, daughter, and sister. . . . And if we tell him [Cerrato] to punish them because it is an infernal vice among them and worthy of great punishment, he replies that the Indians should not enter the faith because of beatings and whippings; and that the Moriscos of Granada also get drunk, as do some Christians.84

A theme consistently voiced was that Cerrato favored the natives over the Spaniards. Not only did this result in a lack of respect for, and fear of, the Spaniards, but it led to outright brutality on the part of the Indians toward their former masters—or so said the Cabildo of Santiago. Writing in 1550, that body said that the natives' new liberty had encouraged them to maltreat the settlers, imprisoning them and even whipping them. They claimed that one Spaniard was wounded while being imprisoned by them, and that another was cut to pieces and died. The Cabildo’s version said that the President remarked that he only went to the land to favor the Indians and that he did not care what the Spaniards lost. When a revolt of the colonists

84 Fray Francisco Bustamante a Carlos V (Ciudad de Guatemala: 22 de marzo, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 168.
was feared, the Franciscans told Cerrato of these apprehensions, but the President only laughed. When the Cabildo itself told him to remedy conditions before the land was lost, his answer was that his only concern was the seven pesos he earned every day.  

Fray Francisco Bustamante told the King that Cerrato’s favoritism toward the natives had emboldened them to the point of withholding food from the religious, until licenciado Ramírez went to the pueblos and ordered them to supply them with meals. Furthermore, he went on, even the boys that we had in the school to teach them to read and write, and to learn the doctrine and afterwards to teach it in their villages, felt so bold because of what had happened that they all left, and no one remained to help with saying the mass. And speaking of this to your president [Cerrato], he answered that they were free, and that we should not force them. What a condition the faith would be in in New Spain if we had left everything to the wish and decision of the Indians!

Aside from all other considerations, the most drastic consequences of the reforms of Cerrato affected the economic well-being of the settlers. And in their complaints along that line they rarely omitted reminding

85 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.

86 Fray Francisco Bustamante a Carlos V (Ciudad de Guatemala: 22 de marzo, 1551), AGI, Guatemala 168.
the King that the royal coffers suffered a loss of revenues as well. Since the new administration had taken away personal service and much of the tameme service, as well as revising the tribute assessments, the reforms modified the whole way of life for the pobladores. Not only did the changes greatly reduce their incomes, but they could no longer count on the slave service that had lent some air of gentility to their frontier existence. No doubt the most stunning of all the reforms was the loss of slaves, because that had the effect of almost halting mining production, agricultural output, and construction. So severe were the results that, if we can believe the many protests sent to Spain, the very life of the colony was in great jeopardy.

The Cabildo of Ciudad Real de Chiapa dispatched to the mother country a bitter report in which the catastrophic results of Cerrato's laws were revealed. They stated that other parts of New Spain had not lost their slaves, but that indio and india slaves had been taken away from them under the misguided impression of those who governed that such an act would not cause the land to suffer. In fact, they contended, such action was incompatible with the royal service because of the losses sustained in farming, ranching, and mining. There were only a few Negroes, and
they could not do all the work. There was not one Negro employed in the mines in the district, nor was there one to buy for household service; with the result that the women remained alone in their houses, "lacking service in all that is necessary." And even if indios or indias sought, of their own volition, to serve in some homes, the Dominican friars would not allow it. 87

Such conditions not only caused considerable ill feeling, but royal finances would be reduced as well; for, as the Cabildo pointed out, "from now on no gold can go to Your Highness once the present supply is gone." In Ciudad Real de Chiapa there had been seven sugar mills, which produced more income than any other hacienda in the settlement. Now those had been lost and the owners were deep in debt and not able to recoup their losses. Those mills had been operated with Indians slaves, primarily, although some encomienda natives had been employed in the carrying off of the cane, because it was light work. In an attempt to survive the transition of labor, the mill owners wanted to pay the Indians for their labor until they could purchase Negro slaves to replace them, and thus avoid losing the mills. But, the Cabildo stated, the Dominicans would

87 Cabildo de Ciudad Real de Chiapa a Carlos V (Ciudad Real: 1 de mayo, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
not allow it. The reason for the Dominican resistance, according to the regidores, was that the friars wanted to gather the Indians close to their monasteries in order to utilize them for their own personal service. Consequently, this industry, from which the owners had flourished—while the greater part of the city was sustained and the royal rents augmented—was now a shameful ruin. 88

The complaints put forth by the Cabildo of Santiago were similar. They wrote that,

All the farming and husbandry, and plantings, and the care of livestock (which are things that sustain the land) have ceased. And if Your Majesty does not order a remedy before long there will not be anyone to support the land because of not being able to sustain himself in it, or to have anything to eat. And the Indians, with the favor that the President gives them, have so much liberty that, with pay or without it, none of them will work; nor do they give recognition to or tend to the Spaniards; nor in their villages do they want to give food to travelers, even though they are paid. 89

Not only were the farms and mines neglected, but there were no Indians to watch the cattle. One important consequence was the exodus of badly needed artisans. They, too, had lost Indians that they had purchased, and they were leaving the country because of not being able

88 Ibid.

89 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 15 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.
to live. The Cabildo maintained that those natives who had benefitted from training under the craftsmen were now serving in the trades for the friars, and again the bitterness against the monks was all too evident:

Whatever damage and harshness the religious can do to us they attempt. We cannot know why, except for ambition and the work of Satan. And now, to put the seal on it, they have managed in exquisite (and not religious) ways to take from us all our service. And they have populated a pueblo next to their monastery with those whom we have raised and sustained and taught trades... Truly, lord, in this province the religious have not behaved like religious, but as rioters and friends of secular affairs. They do not deceive Your Majesty with false zeal nor with generalizations that sound good. Truly, they do not understand.

The officials added that:

Another very great harm from the taking away of the service is that now the Indians do not want to serve anyone, and all the livestock is being lost, because as the Indians do not watch they have to be killed, as they have now started to do; and for four months in this area many mares, cows, and colts, and other livestock have been killed. And, finally, there will not remain a mare, nor will there be a granja, because there is not an Indian that wishes to work nor to be with a Spaniard because of the inducements of the religious, and not because they do not like us.

A few months later the same Cabildo made these

90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
notes:

In this city he [Cerrato] took away an ejido that had been held more than twenty years, where there were many cattle grazing, as well as mares, saying that the land belongs to the Indians and not to anyone else. He ordered all the cows and other animals killed, which animals did some damage in the milpas; and thus the Indians killed a great quantity of them, from which no little damage has been received by many persons; and some have even been ruined because of them. And the vecinos of this city, not having any other granjerías, except the cacao which is given them as tribute, and which they sell to other areas, Cerrato forbade this practice, and some who had taken it out were made to return it to the city from a long way off, which has cost them dearly. 93

Some forty cuadrillas of Indian slaves had been taken away in Santiago, so that the considerable quantity of gold and silver no longer went to the mine operations; and, naturally, the royal hacienda lost in diezmos. Moreover, according to the Cabildo,

All the haciendas and granjerías of this land, cattle, food products, and the building of houses, services, and granjerías of orchards and groves, and oficios mecánicos, have been—and are—ruined; because everything used to be sustained with the care and help that those slaves gave, which, now that the Indians are free, have been abandoned in total.

And the Indians go around as vagabonds and do not want to work. This city asked licenciado Cerrato to order that the said Indian slaves serve and that they be deposited to their masters

93 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
as Indians of encomienda so that the haciendas and granjerfas and oficios would not perish; and even less did he want to do that. 94

As part of taking away the Indian service, the President and oidores had ordered that the Indians were not to take food to the city of Santiago, as they had been accustomed to doing. When inflation in prices developed, the city requested that the law be moderated to stabilize prices. In addition, it was requested that travelers on the roads be given food by the Indians in exchange for money because there were no inns. The traditional custom of giving food to Spanish travelers had been suspended by the President, and when the Indians refused to sell food the travelers were starting to seize it. This, the regidores concluded, would produce an Indian rebellion, and there would be indiscriminate killing. 95

Repeatedly the cabildos tried to impress upon the Crown the fact that the land would be deserted as result of Cerrato's actions. "Because of his unyielding attitude and ill will," they wrote, "there is no man of any station whatever who, if he could leave the land, would not go;

94 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 30 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.

95 Ibid.
and, thus, those who can do so are ready to go, in addition to the many others who have already left."  

The Santiago Cabildo had already written of the contrast:

When President Cerrato entered there was not, after Mexico, such a city so well supplied, so well ruled, so contented, nor one that grew by the hour [as this one did]. It seemed that Satan has entered from pure envy and has managed to confuse everything, and it seems that he will go out with it, because this city is being taken apart, and becoming disordered. And the good ones, and those who have something, will leave. There is no one to look after the republic. There is no cabildo, because if they get together and ask for and seek something, later there show up unexpectedly twenty proclamations against them. ... We live in such servitude as they do in Guinea; they have more liberty than has been shown us by our enemies, the President and the religious, with no reason. And may it please God that they figure it out correctly; but they cannot because they are passionate and follow their own interests, and not that of God nor that of Your Majesty. Rightly so that friars pray, and those that have to order do so.

When the President entered he found this province very well treated and very well indoctrinated, which is what Your Majesty wishes and orders. ... Things are now in such a condition that we promise by our faith, which we owe to God and Your Majesty, that there is no man who would agree that he is a Christian, seeing such perdition and confusion. Now all of them want to go. They do not regard what they have here to be worth a cornado.  

They went on to complain about the rising cost of

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96 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.

97 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 15 de septiembre, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 41.
prices and the difficulty of obtaining food.

Perhaps no other document sums up the complaints of the pobladores more comprehensively than the petition presented by the procurador of the city of Guatemala, Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Dated February 1, 1549, it indicates that the Spaniards lost no time in making representations to the Council of the Indies. This valuable document, published by Professor Simpson in its Spanish version, reveals the level of reasoning resorted to by the desperate vecinos. The appeal lists the various considerations, which are summarized by the present writer as follows:

1) The slaves had been made according to royal provision and in conformity with the matrícula made by Pedro de Alvarado and Jorge Alvarado, his Lieutenant Governor in his absence.

2) Slaves of rescate were examined and clearly certified to be slaves owned by caciques, and they were not made slaves by the governors or Protectors of the Indians (because they were already slaves). They were branded with royal iron and put on the market, and those Spaniards who had purchased them should not be defrauded.

3) The said caciques and lords who owned them sold them publicly, going around with their staffs, the slaves tied and in collars. Among the Indians they were sold in the markets, and the Spaniards had been given license by royal provision to buy them.

4) It was to the advantage of the slaves to be purchased by the Spaniards because they were better treated among the Christians, because among the Indians they had been sacrificed.
to idols, which accounted for the deaths of many. Moreover, they were given great labor and much bad treatment.

5) Those branded in warfare were justly enslaved by order and license of the Prince, according to law and conforming to the instruction given by the King. They were notified of the requirements and admonished to be peaceful, and because of their pertinacity and rebellion they were made slaves. No other excesses were made, and if some did occur they were punished by royal justice.

6) After the Empress had ordered that no more slaves be made, it ceased and no more were made; and of those that had been enslaved up to that time nothing was said, nor were they considered illegal.

7) The law in the New Laws ordered by the King that referred specifically to slaves did not order that announcements be made or that all be freed in general; rather that the slave that asked for liberty be heard, and that with knowledge of cause the royal audiencia make justice.

8) Regarding the said law, the city and province, and all New Spain, had made supplication to be admitted and remitted for consultation; and for that reason the President and oidores could not know the result until the King responded and made provision.

9) Licenciados Ramírez and Rogel, together with the former President, Alonso Maldonado, advised the supplicants to have recourse to the King; and they themselves advised the King that it would not be convenient for the royal service that all the slaves in general be freed.

10) In response to the Audiencia correspondence, the King replied to all matters except those touching on the slaves, because that affair had been remitted for consultation.
11) The slaves had been sold among the Spaniards because of being like money and a thing of business because of the royal brand they have. And this business cannot be declared [null?] because of the confusion there would be from inquiry in this case.

12) The King had received the royal fifth from all the slaves that were made, and that would be lost. Furthermore, the King's subjects and vassals would sustain great harm.

13) In the future the mining and other businesses would cease, from which the King would lose the fifth and interests, and the royal hacienda would diminish greatly. And the vassals would be in great poverty because of the cessation of the principal occupations. And lacking them the settlers could not support themselves.

14) It could not be on the royal conscience that the work of such slaves is excessive, or that they are badly treated, or that they die in the mines or other occupations because of excessive work given by the señores who have them, because they are well treated and relieved of overwork. And they are cared for and treated like personal possessions. Anyone who treated them otherwise would become poor, and so they treated them very well.

15) They were trained in the matters of the holy Catholic faith, and they had priests in the mines and farms who administered the sacraments. Those who grew up among the Spaniards were better Christians because they were not allowed to make sacrifices, nor to live against the teachings, as they would do outside the company of Christians.

16) Slavery is a universal affair, in all parts of the Indies, and until the King made a universal provision to the contrary, the President and oidores in Guatemala could not do anything on their own in the matter because it did not represent the will of the Crown. Thus, the other royal audiencias were not freeing slaves
in general, but only in special cases, observing the law.

17) Indian enslavement was just because they committed sins against nature, ate human flesh, sacrificed themselves to the devil, and impeded the planting and preaching of the Holy Faith. After peace was established they rebelled against the Crown, and they committed many other crimes that justify their being branded. They were affairs of great moment that, after the arguments of the lawyers, required determination from the King about what should be done in this business. And, thus, the Audiencia could not execute anything until the King, in agreement with the Pope, made a declaration.

18) The slaves in the city of Santiago and the province—either those purchased in other areas or those enslaved in the province—were not held as slaves to be sold or to be taken out of the province, but rather to serve moderately so that the owners would not lose the money that the slaves had cost them. Bishop Marroquín ordered that it should be so, and he did not want to give license for absolution in the confession until all the masters of slaves agreed by signing their names. Furthermore, he indicated to them the work that the slaves had to do.

19) This conformed to the royal provision for the island of Santo Domingo that the President of the Audiencia of Guatemala wanted to execute in the Province of Guatemala. Thus, the President and oidores ordered that such slaves be compelled by the justicias ordinarias to serve their masters; and in that way there was no reason for the natives of the land to be disturbed, as they were; and they mutiny against the lords, and it was feared that they would do something harmful against all the Spaniards.

20) Considering the small capacity of the natives, not only in that which touched on the Catholic faith and the perception of its mysteries and the holy sacraments (without which there was no salvation), as well as their paucity of understanding and solicitude for living like men,
and lacking the discipline to take care of their children and to live in honor like all the nations of the world, more or less; if it were possible for a Spaniard to have charge of 200 or more of them, the King should give them and order that they be in his charge and be put to work and be well treated. Otherwise, going around free and loose, most of them live like wild animals, making their habitation in the roughest mountains and the thickets of the forests.

21) Generally when the Indians are liberated they cease planting crops, feeding and raising livestock, and constructing buildings, as well as other necessary things for the republic that the Spaniards cannot do, or because there are few Spanish craftsmen. In the body of a republic there have to be all estates, and these Indians were the instrument of labor for the land, and raising and watching the livestock, and the mechanics, which was not suitable for the persons of the Spaniards, just as it is not suitable for them in Castile to be servants or artisans.

22) Aside from the slaves, the other natives do not have the industry to plant more than their own crops, from which the Spaniards get nothing because it was not food to their taste; nor did the non-slave Indians know how to construct buildings except for the huts they made for themselves, but none of the buildings that were necessary for a city and for the habitation of the Spaniards, and for the good order and protection of the city.

23) If the Indian slaves were freed, in general, they would not do any work in the trades which had been taught to them by the Spaniards, because they were idlers by nature, and because of their hatred for the Spaniards because of being of a different nation. And experience showed that those that knew a trade did not work except out of fear, planning to change things by force. Being free it would be impossible to utilize them because they could easily flee and go into the forests.
24) The cédula that Cerrato had brought regarding the new law was given for Santo Domingo, and it was the personal wish of the King for the island for certain causes and reasons that operated there, but did not obtain in Guatemala. Most of the slaves in the island had been taken there from the mainland, but it was not the wish of the King that such an order apply to the Audiencia de los Confines; because if that had been the case, it would have been specified.

25) After the law had been ordered in Santo Domingo, the Province of Guatemala and New Spain made supplication to the Crown. The petition was admitted, so it was not the wish of the King that the law be executed in the Audiencia de los Confines.

26) All those of the city said they were fit and ready as loyal vassals of the King and obedient subjects, ready to obey humbly whatever the King orders along with the very high Council, with determination of the Holy Father . . . and they implore that the Audiencia not be allowed to free slaves indiscriminately. 98

In this appeal the disillusioned vecinos laid the base for their campaign to conserve their way of life, presenting rationales that had served in the past to stave

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98"Petition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Procurador of the City of Guatemala, to the Council of the Indies Against the Liberation of the Indian Slaves, February 1, 1549," cited in Simpson, Studies, op. cit.; Silvio Zavala, Contribución a la historia de las instituciones coloniales en Guatemala, Jornadas, No. 36 (Mexico: 1945), also comments on this remarkable document. With regard to artículo 25, he adds: "Ya sabemos, contra el razonamiento de Bernal, que el presidente Cerrato tenía autorización para aplicar la cédula de Santo Domingo en la Audiencia de los Confines."
off the serious implementation of the ill-defined legislation of the past many years. While some of the foregoing articles merited consideration, this time the Crown stood firm; and the appeals that continued to represent colonial grievances were no longer sufficient to stay the execution of the anti-slave laws.
CHAPTER V

THE CHARACTER AND CONTRIBUTION OF CERRATO

The impression given of President Cerrato and his work naturally represents the most partisan of views. In rebuttal, he demonstrated that he was capable of defending his policies; and though he stood almost alone in his defense, lacking even strong support from his own oidores, his case withstood the invective of the cabildos and private individuals.

From the descriptions of his enemies, the licenciado appears as boorish, ignorant, and insensitive. From his self-depiction the image emerges in a distinctly different form. Far from being a robust, brawling type, Cerrato wrote of himself on April 1, 1549, shortly after arriving in Santiago:

I am in no condition for the Indies, and I am going on sixty years of age. I no longer have any teeth, nor hair, nor beard, nor sufficient strength for so much work. I ask for no other mercy than the license to go to Spain to die as a Christian.¹

In addition to these infirmities of age, it has

¹Baron Castro, op. cit., 189.
CHAPTER IV

CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONCLUSION OF THE CASE

The circumstances give no indication of any evidence of a crime. To
make matters worse, the case involves the possibility of a crime.

In conclusion, the evidence is not sufficient to warrant any action.

Data indicate that the evidence is not conclusive.

Excerpts from the evidence indicate that the circumstances are
not sufficient to warrant any action.

1. Personal details of the case.  //
already been noted that he suffered from a painful kidney stone that kept him in bed for protracted intervals. Even before he began to receive the abuse that fell his way, he wrote to Charles V on September 28, 1548, that it was all much work for him at his age, and especially in a land among such unruly people.  

Cerrato had no illusions about his popularity with the settlers of Guatemala. It is certain that he did nothing to court their favor; yet he refers so frequently to their hate for him that one suspects that he was not completely unconcerned about it. At the same time, it is obvious that he reports such hard feelings in his correspondence with the Crown to indicate how the complaints of the vecinos are colored by emotion and vindictiveness. One of his more typical comments was that, "I have worked—and still work—so hard so that [the Indians] might be well treated that I am so hated by the Spaniards for this reason that it is incredible."  

The licenciado, who was accused of favoring the natives to the detriment of the Spaniards, was incensed by the flagrant disregard of royal provisions covering the

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2 Cerrato a Carlos V (28 de septiembre, 1548), AGI, Guatemala 9.

3 Baron Castro, op. cit., 189.
welfare of Indians. The personal involvement of the out-going Audiencia had precluded their own previous crack-down on the transgressions of the vecinos. So when the Crown ordered that officials were not to have granjerías, Cerrato rejoiced. "This is," he wrote, "the most just and holy thing that could be ordered, because I know that the principal cause that Your Majesty's orders have not been obeyed in the Indies is because the Presidents and oidores had granjerías and haciendas." Because, he asked,

How can Indian slaves be liberated when the oidor himself has 200 or 300 Indian slaves? And how can personal service be taken away when the oidor has 50 Indians in his house carrying water and wood and fodder, and other things? And how can tamemes be taken away by an oidor who has 800 tamemes in the mines, and when even his dogs are carried by tamemes?4

If Cerrato's detractors resorted to hyperbole to make their points, it is reasonable to expect the President was guilty of the same. It is difficult to know the extent to which this applies to him, however, for his case was rarely defended by others. It is safe to conclude, though, that he was quite moderate compared to Las Casas, whose exaggerations necessarily robbed his views of much of their force. The Bishop of Chiapa, along with his counterpart in Nicaragua, sent a letter to Prince Philip, alluding to the

4 Cerrato a Carlos V (26 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 9.
misbehavior of the first Audiencia,

complaining of the conduct of the Audiencia towards the churches, and declaring that since the New Laws were ignored and left in abeyance, the cruel treatment of the Indians had increased. It was alleged that the President, Maldonado, and his associates possess more than 60,000 Indians and that he encouraged his governors in every kind of tyranny and robbery of the natives, for all of which the too compliant Audiencia neglected to provide any remedy.5

The figures given by Cerrato for Indians used by oidores seem high enough, although credible; those of Las Casas are almost certainly a gross distortion.

The correspondence of Cerrato is characterized by a pithy style, usually devoid of rhetoric, and seldom philosophizing about the subject of slavery. In notifying the King that the slaves had been freed as ordered, he commented that anyone who said otherwise was not telling the truth. On that score he need not have concerned himself inasmuch as the Spaniards were all too well aware of the liberation of the natives. He was of the opinion that, though it was difficult for the Spaniards at the time they lost their labor, afterwards most of them said that it was well done, and that they realized his good

intentions. In that he was gravely mistaken. Nonetheless, he was not often that unrealistic, for the persistent note in his letters is the injuries done to him personally by the colonists, to the extent that one wonders if he did not perhaps relish the role of martyr.

Later, when he was called to account for his actions, he presented the traditional list of his enemies, whose testimony would therefore be suspect. It is an interesting commentary on the early society, and important for some understanding of the frictions that developed, to regard his "Interrogatorio" which was presented for the testimony of his witnesses:

... Diego de Robledo, secretary, is my enemy and does not speak to me, because he says that I requested Your Majesty to order the taking away of the Indians, and at my request they were taken away; and for other words that he says I said.

... Lorenço de Godoy, is married to the legitimate sister of Juan Pérez Dardón, alcalde, who was the one who presented the charges against me, because of which the said Lorenço de Godoy was examined. And besides that he is complaining about me because I fined him a cacaguatal ["sembrado de cacahuates"] that he had taken from the Indians of Chiquimula.

... Juan de Roxas, clérigo, is very much my enemy and does not speak to me, because an Indian of his came to complain that, because he hid his daughter-in-law that Roxas wanted as a concubine so that he would not take her, the clérigo whipped the said

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6 Cerrato a Carlos V (26 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 9.
In conclusion...
Indian very cruelly; for which I gave notice to the señor Bishop so that he could punish him; and the señor Bishop entrusted me with the case, and for that reason I had him [Roxas] imprisoned. And he was detained many days in this city until the said Bishop pleaded with me for him, asking that he be let go; as a result of which Roxas considered that he was injured by me.

... Juan de Ledesma [Relator] is my enemy and does not speak to me because one day he wanted to take a holiday without their being one, and he did not want to come to report to the Audiencia; and for that reason I took the office from him, and he was without it for some days. As a result he was angry and does not speak to me.

... Archdeacon Peralta is angry with me and does not speak to me, because I tore up a letter of excommunication that he directed against me unjustly, and because of that he became very angry.

... Francisco de Bañuelos is my enemy and does not speak to me, because he being Alcalde of Acayutla, I went to provide a residencia for him and to take from him the office. And I imposed certain fines... and for that reason he is my enemy and he wishes me harm.

... Francisco López, Alguazil Menor, is my enemy and wishes me harm, because on account of some bad things he did I took from him the office of alguazil... and I would not consent to return it to him; and because I convicted his wife as a... procuress, and later she was exiled from this city and is now exiled.

... Martín Alonso Pelaéz is my enemy because I did not give him Indians or sustenance [and] he threatened to drink my blood, and he has said that he is my enemy. And he came more than thirty leagues just to make his statement against me; and in such a way that the señor President might take his statement only to harm me. And, furthermore, he put in a claim against me for 2,500 pesos.

... Licenciado Juan Alvares [Arcediano de León] is my enemy, because he being provisor of Nicaragua,
a provision was given in the Audiencia providing for the execution of an appellation by force; which not only did he not want to do [enforce], but rather responded with a certain contempt, for which we ordered him to appear personally in this court. And he fled, and I sent the answer [of Alvarez] to Your Majesty, for which reason he has remained my enemy.

... And ... all the Spanish vecinos of this city [Santiago] are angry with me and are very hateful because they say that I have destroyed the land and made it barren, by taking away the slaves and personal services, and tamemes and services of the mines, and assessing the tributes at less than before; and by favoring the Indians so that no vecino dared to touch them or whip them as they used to, nor to take their belongings. And thus they say that I came to favor the Indians, which has been a great harm to the country, and thus it is their opinion that I am an enemy of the Spaniards and a friend of the Indians. And for this reason they all wish me harm and say many bad things about me.

When he entered Central America and saw conditions, Cerrato anticipated that repercussions would follow his reforms. In September, 1548, Cerrato wrote the King that complaints about him would probably follow and be sent to Spain, because they said he was destroying and depopulating the land. At Comayagua he had taken away Indians from some vecinos because they were using them illegally to haul supplies to the mines. And that, he stated, "was such a scandal [to the vecinos] that it was as if I had sold the land to the Turk." And someone

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7AGI, Justicia 301.
had spoken out, saying that "high justice was high injustice, and that it was cruelty, even though the King ordered it." But, he added, trying to speak to such people about justice, wherein the Indians were concerned, was "the most incomprehensible gibberish," as far as he could see. 8 Referring to the double standard of justice, he wrote that, "it is commonly considered no more of a sin to kill an Indian, or a hundred of them, or to rob them, than if they were the Turk. Whoever interferes with this is considered as a [heretic or traitor].” 9

The social implications of Cerrato’s reforms were varied, and some have already been observed. In his residencia, the licenciado also noted the following:

... the encomenderos had the habit of bringing into their houses for service all the indios and indias that they wished from the pueblos, in such a way that the houses were full of service. And ... when their wives were pregnant they sought the most attractive indias for housekeepers and took them from their husbands, and thus took them to their houses. And the indias, as they are [people of] little reason, became mistresses of some Indian or Negro, and their husbands stayed in their villages and took concubines there. They married with other women, which resulted in much damage and inconvenience. All of this was stopped, and it was ordered that no one take an indio or india from his encomienda pueblo for

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8 Cerrato a Carlos V (28 de septiembre, 1548), AGI Guatemala 9.

9 Cerrato a Carlos V (25 de mayo, 1552), AGI, Guatemala 9.
After dealing with the abuses in Santiago Cerrato wrote the following about the reception of his modifications:

This has been seen as such a new and harsh thing here that it is incredible, because this has never been seen or even heard of, and it seems to them a very rough thing. They wrote to complain of me, but that will be nothing new there [in Spain]. Your Majesty should know one thing, that I have not exceeded one point of the law, and what Your Majesty has ordered. And it was not done without temperance and piety; but they did not want me to do anything, and God forbid that Your Majesty order that I ease up in that which gives me no advantage, but rather hard feelings and passions and complaints...

All these things have been so odious to the Spanish vecinos that I consider for certain that they have to tell things there about me that are heresies. And may it please God... I have not exceeded one point of what Your Majesty and your laws order. But I know that they will say things that will frighten people over there, because as I have written at other times to Your Majesty, there is nothing more odious in these Indies than to want to comply with that which Your Majesty orders, especially if it is in prejudice to their interests...

What I say above is what the rich ones want, and those who have the most income, without having seen a wild Indian in their whole lives; and the conquistadores, who are the poor ones, want something else."

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10 "Interrogatorio," AGI, Justicia 301.

11 Cerrato a Carlos V (Santiago: 8 de abril, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.
Among those displeased with Cerrato were married men who had been ordered to return to Spain for their wives, and, he noted, "if the officials of Sevilla are going to be informed by them about what concerns me, there is nothing left to do but to order me to cut off my head." 12

In response to the accusations that he was an extremist, the President answered:

I have known that in addition to other complaints that were sent regarding me to Your Majesty, there is one that says that I am not a friend of the moderates, but rather of the extremists, and that I would, if I could, give to another the governing and placating of the Spaniards; and also that, although the liberty of the Indians is a just thing, it is well that they go to the Spaniards, and other things like that. And because I have a great wish to satisfy the complaints that are made about me, and so that Your Majesty and those of your Council will know and understand what is being done here, and what is requested and desired by all, I wish to declare regarding those two points of which I am accused:

Regarding the first, which is to say that I am no friend of the moderates, the cause of their complaints is that they did not want [correction] of excesses of the past, as in tributes and other bad treatment of the Indians ... [which] they have committed contrary to the laws, cedulas and provisions of Your Majesty. [They did not want] to speak about it, but rather about things of the future [when they hoped that] the rigor of the laws [would not be] observed, but that they [would be] mitigated in their manner so that Indians would not be taken from anyone for any

12 Ibid.
excesses, nor that anyone should be punished for minor infractions.

To this I answer that I have no provision from Your Majesty to arbitrate nor to pardon wherein past laws and ordinances are concerned. . . . They were at fault, and it is right that they have been penalized . . . [and] moderation of the laws from now on is something in which I have no part, nor do I have the power [to act in that regard].

I wish to say to Your Majesty that in all the punishments that there have been, and are, there has been as much temperance as if they were my sons.

And regarding the second point of the slaves, I have said above already how they were freed, calling and hearing these parties, and after this was done they were ordered to serve the Spaniards, receiving reasonable pay and indoctrination, as Your Majesty has ordered; and thus they do it, but the Spaniards are not happy with this, and they think the Indians should work for nothing and with the same subjection as before, and this is their complaint.

In some paragraphs of this letter I speak privately of myself, not because I did all this alone, for it was done by all the Audiencia, but because some imagine [and they think] that I did it by myself; and, therefore, all the complaints are about me only. 13

The history of the Indies-wide practice of non-compliance with the New Laws made Cerrato’s attitudes all the more incomprehensible, lending some support to the conviction of the vecinos that his reforms had taken on the character of some kind of personal vendetta against

13 Ibid.
all the colonists. A few weeks after the letter just cited, he wrote to Charles V, this time with the signature of licenciado Ramírez affixed, alluding to the position in which he had been placed by his zeal:

The provisions that Your Majesty has sent to the effect that the Indians should not carry goods or work for wages, nor that any Indians take themselves to the mines, and that those not justly made slaves be freed and given food—all this has been observed in the Audiencia to the letter. It is very much thrown in my face that neither this nor anything like it is observed in the Audiencia of Mexico; and so it seems to them that we do them a great damage, and it gives them a great opportunity to complain about us. We humbly request that Your Majesty order what would best serve in a way that the complaints about us would be excused, and that [the laws] be carried out the same in all parts; because there is no reason to do it in one area and not in another.

The changes effected by the new President had so dislocated the lives of the settlers that it is a little surprising that he did not meet with more violent opposition. Given the circumstances, it is amazing that he cowed the conquistadores to the extent that he did—or at least such is the impression that one gets from reading the correspondence. It appears, nevertheless, that his early demise was contemplated by his enemies, and that such attitudes had progressed beyond the stage of mere

14 Cerrato y Ramírez a Carlos V (Santiago: 21 de mayo, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.
grumbling. According to Cerrato there were plots to block his provisions, including the spreading of rumors to the effect that there were uprisings and that the President and oidores had been killed. And, he testified they wrote to Spain that the said President had been killed; and they wrote to Mexico that he had disappeared and that nothing was known of him; and a clérigo said that someone contracted to kill Cerrato for fifty pesos and a horse, and said they had to kill him and the Viceroy, don Luis de Velasco, in one day. And about a year ago a person of authority and great credit spoke in secret to the said licenciado Cerrato and to licenciado Córdoba, oidor, after taking an oath from them so that he would not be discovered, told them how the officials had agreed to kill them or imprison them, to the end that they would not assess the tribute as Your Majesty has ordered, nor to visit the land.  

If the Spaniards in Central America assaulted the character of Cerrato, he replied in kind, considering them crude and profane fellows whose pretensions to gentility rested squarely on the backs of the native peoples. Thus he excused his own brusque tactics in a situation where tact and reason would have availed little. In his residencia he insisted that,

I have always treated everyone very well and always had the door open to everyone at all times . . . /but/ the people of the Indies are very impudent and rude; and if sometimes I treated some badly or roughly it was suitable

15"Interrogatorio," AGI, Justicia 301.
COTTON

If the estimated circumstances are a fair indication of the cotton situation in the area, there will be some increase in the future. The cotton situation is far from good but not so bad as to warrant any alarm.

The general practice in the area is to raise cotton on a mixed basis, with other crops such as corn and vegetables being grown in smaller quantities. The cotton is harvested by hand, and the bolls are sorted and ginned at a nearby gin.

In recent years, some efforts have been made to mechanize the cotton harvest, but the initial results have been mixed. The goal is to reduce labor costs and increase efficiency, but the technology is still in its infancy.

Overall, the cotton situation in the area is a concern, but not a crisis. Improved methods and technology are being explored to address the challenges faced by cotton producers.

Genetics for Improved Yield

I have spent a significant amount of time studying the genetics of cotton. By understanding the genetic basis of yield and fiber quality, we can develop more efficient breeding programs.

The goal is to create varieties that are resistant to pests and diseases, while also producing high-quality fiber. This will require a multidisciplinary approach that involves geneticists, agronomists, and biologists.

In addition, there is a need for more research on the environmental impact of cotton production. By reducing the environmental footprint of cotton, we can help ensure its long-term sustainability.

Overall, the study of cotton genetics is a promising area for improving the yield and quality of this important crop.
because of their impudence and shamelessness, and I could not deal with them in any other way.  

There is little doubt that a prime requisite for leadership on the Guatemalan frontiers demanded dominant personalities, which may be observed, for example, in contrasting the singular successes of the adelantado Alvarado with the frustrations of the adelantado Montejo. The hardy Dominicans opposed the conquistadores with success, and even imposed their wills on them. Thus the facets of Cerrato's character which were brought to bear against him were the very traits that enabled him to dominate an angry and vociferous opposition.

Support in Guatemala for the President's actions was minimal, but it should be recorded that he was not entirely alone. It has been seen that the objectives of the Dominicans made them sympathetic to his work. Moreover, it is likely that at least some of the pobladores welcomed Cerrato because there were those who resented and even feared various liberties taken by the oidores Rogel and Ramírez, including threats of certain individuals.  

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16 AGI, Justicia 301.

17 Cabildo de Santiago a Carlos V (Santiago: 24 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 41.
But Ramírez at least seems to have accommodated with good grace to the new order. On May 25, 1549 he wrote the King, extolling the virtues of the new President's accomplishments. He noted the short time that Cerrato had presided in the Audiencia, during which period there had been fruitful changes for the land. Old infractions and excesses had been punished, and the slaves of the district, "q. son en gran cantidad, de q. se an agravio los españoles aunq sin razon pues les a rremediado sus conciencias q.no era pequeno el escrupulo q.acausa de estos esclavos avia y los prelados los molestavan cada dia con excomuniones sobre las libertades de estos esclavos . . ."18 It was in this same letter that Ramírez went on to suggest that Cerrato be given a private commission to carry on alone.

Licenciado Cerrato was sustained by one powerful and prolific advocate of Indian liberty--Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. This one pen enlisted in the cause of reform did much to offset the partisan, and therefore highly suspect, views of the settlers. The writings of the Bishop of Chiapas and the actions of the President of the second Audiencia united in a formidable combination

18 Ramírez a Carlos V ("Guatimala": 25 de mayo, 1549), AGI, Guatemala 9.
that finally effected the spirit of the New Laws. Las Casas, incensed at the attempts of procuradores from Guatemala to nullify the deeds of Cerrato, wrote the Consejo de Indias as follows:

... I kiss the hands of Your Highness and say that I have known that a certain vecino and procurador, who is said to be from the city of Guatemala has arrived at this court; and he requests (or has requested) of Your Highness certain things in revocation of what licenciado Cerrato has executed in compliance with what Your Majesty has ordered.

And it is just and according to the law of God for the liberty and remedy of the Indians of that province, which, or among which, are the following:

The first, that the Indians that have been freed (who had been enslaved by the Spaniards) be returned to their owners so that they may serve them with obligation and guarantee; that they will not be taken from the province, nor will they be exchanged or transported, but they will be held in moderate service; because the vecinos are left very much ruined, and their haciendas as well, so that they cannot sustain themselves. And in any other way the land would be depopulated.

Truly, muy alto señores, such procuradores that bring such demands deserve rough reprimand and harsh punishment, because having committed such execrable sins and such very grave violences and tyrannies against God and against the kings of Castile, destroying so many kingdoms and so many people, and notably those of Guatemala, they should have fear and shame to appear before their king and his Royal Council to ask for, not mercy and remission, and that their lives might be spared (since each deserves to lose his life ten thousand times), but rather [they ask] that they be allowed to persevere in their cruelties so that
they can consume the rest of their slaughter and  
depopulate the rest of the lands, secure from  
temporal punishment.

Your Highness can be sure that of all the parts  
of the Indies where there have been the most ex-  
cesses and disorder, in committing injustice and  
iniquities, and wickedly treating the innocent In-  
dian slaves . . . [the worst is] in Guatemala and  
Chiapa; because one cannot imagine the ways and  
cunning manner they used to secure them. And the  
number of slaves they made is so great that it is  
incredible.

For, consider, Your Highness, if an infinite  
number of vecinos, having most iniquitously made  
very free and innocent Indians into slaves (of  
which nine-tenths have perished in their infernal  
work and services), now ask for this, that Your  
Majesty return them, so that they remain always  
in mortal sin (as they have always been in it)  
because they have always usurped liberty and  
have consumed the lives of so many of their fellow  
men with their tyranny. What kind of demand is  
this!

Regarding what they say, that they will leave,  
may it please God, lords, that none of those who  
participated in those deeds there may remain;  
because with what each of them has stolen and  
usurped, and has today, Your Highness would be  
able to give to better people and [it would be]  
more benefit to the land.

Rather, I affirm that it is convenient that  
none remain there, if the King wishes to have  
assurance and proof regarding those lands, because  
ever again will Your Majesty be able to placate  
them, they being so badly accustomed to give  
orders and to be señores . . . . These, I under-  
stand, are the ones who are boasting of being  
conquistadores to simple people [who are] quiet  
and not infected with so much spilling of human  
blood . . .

They should not astonish you, saying that the  
Indians will rebel, because it is a falsehood and  
a great evil, for they [the Indians] are not able
to raise their heads, as they [the Spaniards] have oppressed them and annihilated them. They, and not the Indians, are the ones that make disturbances and they force the Indians to make uprisings. And if they revolt it is only to flee the cruelties of their señores and from desperation; and they [the Spaniards] are the cause of all the many evils that have been and are today, and the cause of all the ruin of the Indies.

In the second place, they ask that the prelate of that city tax the Indians because they know very well that he will assess them as he assessed Chiapa, so that in very few days they would lose all their lives; because the Bishop has had and has many Indians, and one of his brothers and other relatives and friends as well, as a result of which they have made and caused great losses and calamities in those provinces and they are destroyed because of the tributes, as well as the many slaves that he branded; [he], to whom was entrusted the [branding] iron of the King!

Moreover, he asks that the Indians bring the tributes on their backs to the city from 30 to 40 leagues, where they perish, because in addition to the loads that they carry of the tributes, they put on top of them the pitiful meals for 30 leagues [30 one way and 30 return], and since it can only be a little, they die on the roads . . .

I hear it said that there are complaints because for very trivial things some are condemned and deprived of the Indians. Your Highness should consider as the truth [the fact that] there are, and have been, so many and such grave and evil vexations, cruelties, and injustices made on the Indians that, before God, I affirm that Your Majesty could justly deprive [even] those who have been least harmful, oppressive, and cruel [many times over] . . .

For all this I beg Your Highness to consider it well to see that the Indians are not all obligated to perish and be consumed for supporting the Spaniards. Not because they might be there at their pleasure, that they might triumph, looking for, and carrying along the Indians for the
tributes that they might give, forsaken; and in
the end their women and children die of hunger
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The means is changed by the end, and the
end by the means. The presence of the Spaniards
in the Indies is the orderly means for the good
of the Indians, as the end. Well, if this means
has to be for the destruction of the Indians, the
Indians will say that God should never have
brought to their lands such professors of the law
of Christ.

If the tributes of the Indians of the province
of Guatemala are not enough for a hundred veci-
nos of the city of Guatemala; nor those of the city
of Chiapa for seventy of Chiapa; then let the
Spaniards restrain themselves so that there will
not be so many that eat and don't work, and so
that many will return to their trades (because
they used to be tradesmen), and so they might
quit being "caballeros" by the sweat and blood
of the miserable and afflicted Indians. 19

Although Cerrato had few supporting him, the rhet-
oric of one Las Casas was an instrument powerful enough to
challenge the arguments of the vecinos.

With respect to slavery in Guatemala by the middle
of the century only the most tentative conclusions can be
reached here. It seems clear that for the quarter century

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19 "Sobre la libertad de los indios esclavos que po-
seían los españoles en la provincia de Guatemala," B. de las
Schäfer lists this as "1555 ca., Valladolid." In the DII
it is shown as "Representación de Fr. B. de las Casas al
Consejo de Indias: Contra las pretensiones del procurador
de Guatemala, recien llegado, sobre los servicios de los
no tiene fechas y esta firmado de mano del P. Las Casas
desprendiéndose de su contexto que fue presentado después
de su último regreso a España en principios de 1547." It
would of course have to have been written after Cerrato's
arrival in Central America, which was in 1548.
preceding 1550 the role of slave labor was of vital importance for the prosperity of the provinces, if not for their very survival. Following the disappointing lack of ready wealth, it was the prospect of dealing in slave commerce that provided some interest in the pacification of the land. Subsequently, it was the discovery of mines that gave impetus to settlement, with the understanding that such mines would be worked by native labor. When both of these propositions appear doomed, the Spaniards found little to hold them in an area with such restricted possibilities. Therefore, the resolution of the labor problem in Central America was not a simple affair; the manifold considerations facing the Crown and Council were largely responsible for the nebulous legislation and for the half-hearted implementation of such laws. The conquistadores had to be rewarded; to be held, the new lands had to be populated with settlers that had some incentive to make homes on a frontier of doubtful prospect; and the mercantile system demanded that the colony contribute to the mother country, or, at least, that it should pay its own way. The most apparent way to accomplish these ends was to utilize the labor of the Indians.

In an age when slavery was not widely questioned, the concern of both Crown and Church for the welfare of
the new vassals was unusual, to say the least. We have seen that numerous individuals were distressed by the conditions of the natives, even some of those who profited by slavery. Yet it would be unrealistic to expect that large numbers of vecinos would clamor for the liberty of the Indians; it is a rare man who will campaign against his own private interests. The conquistadores did not make their sacrifices for the opportunity to till the land, and the whole venture was, primarily, to achieve a position at least approximating that of the minor nobility of Castile. Only with this understanding in mind can we appreciate their reluctance to give up the services they had come to depend upon and accept as the natural reward for their labors.

It is with regard to the effectiveness of Cerrato's reforms that one must be cautious in making conclusions. While some vecinos did complain that all the slaves in Guatemala had been taken away, there are indications that others managed to retain their slaves, at least for awhile. The difficulty in assessing the impact of the reforms resides in the relative ignorance of the writer with regard to the labor situation in succeeding years, which ignorance could be corrected to his satisfaction only by study of the documents written in the
following decades. Yet, there is good reason to believe that slavery as a legal institution—sanctioned by the Crown and accepted under qualified circumstances—was largely broken; which is not to say that the natives did not continue to provide the labor services. But gradually, and especially as the old Indian fighters passed on, relations between the Europeans and the indigenous peoples accommodated to a more genteel and compatible situation. With a new breed of colonists, and as more Indians were brought into Spanish society through the missionary effort, the natives were held in somewhat less contempt and were better treated. That the position of the natives had improved by the end of the century there is little doubt. One indication of the changes is a report on "Guatemala" by a Juan de Pineda, entitled "Descripción de la Provincia de Guatemala," dated 1594. In this comprehensive relación, which actually covers most of Central America, Pineda discusses several towns and comments on the living conditions of the Indians. Writing of the people of Ycuntepeque, for example, he notes that "andan bien ves-

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20 Juan de Pineda, "Descripción de la Provincia de Guatemala, año de 1594," Revista de los Archivos Nacionales, III (1939) 557-579. A copy of this relación was made available to the author through the courtesy of Sr. Ramón Luis Chacón of San José, Costa Rica.
tidos y adereçados y limpios, y muchos dellos vestidos de rropa de Castilla, ansi camisas, Çaraguelles de lienço, y jubones, capotes y capas, sombreros de fieltro, çapatos y botas; todos tienen caballos, a dos y a tres . . ."

This was not an isolated description, but rather representative of the various Indian groups he visited. The area had progressed by 1594 to the extent that the city of Guatemala had reached five hundred Spaniards, although it was by far the largest of the Central American European settlements. Of more importance are the interesting observations the writer makes on the prosperity of some Indians; for in addition to their European dress and their ownership of horses, there is the final irony that some natives in Soconusco had prospered from their cacao plantings to the point where they had Negro slaves serving them. Again, it would be unwise to conclude that the lot of the majority of the Indians was satisfactory, but, if we can rely on Pineda's report, there was at least some upward social and economic mobility among the native society.

If legal slavery was effectively abolished, and if the lives of the Indians had improved so much, one might well ask how, in view of previous contentions that the colony relied on slave labor, prosperity continued
pace with liberty of the indigenous peoples. One probable reason is that although the natives continued to do most of the labor, they were paid for their work, as free men. In addition, Negro slaves began to take on much of the work formerly done by Indian slaves, particularly labor in the mines. Many who were concerned with the plight of the Indian slaves, including Cerrato, had recommended importing slaves from Africa. Moreover, with the passing of the generation of conquistadores, there arrived people who were more truly colonists, settlers who came with their families to establish themselves permanently. Las Casas had written of the need for this type of person if the land was to be prosperous and stabilized. He put his argument as follows:

Look, Your Highness, there is an excess of Spanish people there that the land cannot sustain on account of all of them being loafers because of the bad order there has been until now. And for this reason many times I say and beg in this Royal Council that the true settlement and remedy of those Indies consists in sending laborers, simple and industrious people who would eat and would be rich and have abundance with their little work; and it would not be said there later that they will be loafers and squires. Because if it is put in order there will not be the mockery there has been. The reason for leaving their trades was because they all went around robbing,

21 Cerrato a Carlos V (26 de enero, 1550), AGI, Guatemala 9.
and whoever could stole and tyrannized . . . 22

Although there was some reason for mild panic at the thought of losing their slaves after Cerrato arrived, the transition was made eventually. Licenciado Tomás López, who became one of the oidores, wrote after the reforms were effected, that

The stock ranches, the field workers, and the tradesmen, all go to hell, because as they are lacking slaves and personal service, all in one blow, because they were in need owing to the poverty of the land, and because many of them were worn out because of many sugar mills that had been built with the hope that slavery would last. 23

Despite these pessimistic observations and the dire predictions of others, the transition was made, though no doubt some persons were bankrupted in the process.

The extent to which Cerrato was responsible for these changes cannot be stated with complete assurance, but he started the trend that seems to have been followed to a considerable degree by his successors. And it would perhaps not be too generous to give Cerrato most of the credit for the social and economic gains of the Indians,
precisely because of remarks included in the report of Juan de Pineda. The second President of the Audiencia must have made a lasting contribution because Pineda, writing almost fifty years after Cerrato entered Guatemala, writes that, "a la rredonda desta dicha ciudad de Guatemala ay mas de quarenta myllpas de indios questan poblados en ellas, que son de los quel dicho licenciado presidente Cerrato liberto . . ." On at least three other occasions he makes reference to Indians whose ancestors were freed by Cerrato in various villages, and there is good indication that the Dominicans continued to exert their influence, because he notes that in Guatemala city, "junto a cada monesterio ay un barrio de yndios, que son de los esclavos que liberto el licenciado Cerrato . . ."\(^{24}\)

The extent to which Cerrato was influenced by the philosophical controversy\(^{25}\) being waged in the court over slavery is nebulous. Although he was the author of many letters discussing Indian slavery, the poverty of his

\(^{24}\)Pineda, Descripción.

\(^{25}\) This controversy is discussed in considerable detail in a number of published works. The reader is referred, in particular, to Lewis Hanke's The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America (Philadelphia, 1949), and, by the same author, Aristotle and the American Indians (Chicago, 1959).
expression indicates that he was little concerned with the emotional issues involved. That he opposed Indian slavery there is no doubt; but he does not draw upon the writings of philosophers to substantiate his views, and he treats of the affairs of his province, to the exclusion of hypothetical situations. As a literate man deeply involved in affairs of government, there is little doubt that he was aware of the opposing arguments; however, he makes no allusions to such issues, and this writer cannot state with any confidence that Cerrato's reforming tendencies were nourished by any particular individual or prevailing philosophy. For the moment one can only surmise that he was an official zealous in the service of the King, and strongly moved by the pitiful circumstances of the natives.

One of the more provocative aspects of Cerrato's performance in Guatemala is the fact that he was actually able to implement many articles of the New Laws, despite the formidable opposition he encountered. One wonders how he was able to effect such legislation when similar attempts had failed in other parts of the Indies. There does not appear to this writer to have been any clear reason for his successes, but some possibilities can be suggested. In Peru the New Laws were met with violence that
frustrated their application, but it is likely that the failure can be attributed to the chaotic situation then prevailing in that kingdom, which was quite distinct. In New Spain Viceroy Mendoza chose to withhold the laws to prevent what would have surely brought strong reaction; but it is certainly possible that he could have enforced the legislation had he been willing to risk the consequences. In Cerrato's experience three rather different circumstances can be observed. First, his actions came five years after the laws were published, not immediately. Moreover, other decrees had issued from the Crown, enjoining governors to enforce the legislation, so that there was a gradual awareness of a growing royal concern, as opposed to the sudden shock of 1543. Second, Alvarado had been killed in 1541, which left something of a power vacuum in Guatemala; no one emerged to exert the strong leadership that had been evident when he was alive. Had Alvarado, or some other caudillo type, been present to strengthen resistance in 1548, Cerrato would very likely have met with failure. Third, Cerrato dared to make the attempt, where others had, understandably, backed off. Though his actions invited his own martyrdom, the President survived a threatening situation, thanks in part to the support of the Dominicans. There were, doubtless,
other local conditions which contributed to the victory of Cerrato, and these may emerge as more research is made into the subject. At this point the author can only venture the opinion that earlier failures can be attributed primarily to bad timing, regional traditions of lawlessness, and timid executives. In Guatemala from 1548 to 1550 such conditioning factors did not obtain to any great extent.

If the present writer’s conception of the role played by Cerrato is a valid conclusion, then the licenciado’s place in history is an important one. There can be little dispute over the contribution of Bartolomé de las Casas and others who defended the Indians and sought their liberty. The blistering attacks of the Dominican no doubt had their effect in the court of Charles V, despite the liberties he took with the truth. But the fact remains that the legislation that Las Casas helped put on the books did not find ready application in the Indies. Alonso López de Cerrato, first in Santo Domingo, and then in Guatemala, did implement those laws decisively and effectively, so that his name must surely rank with the other great benefactors of the natives. There was more than one “Apostle of the Indies.”

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26 Cerrato died in 1555 while his residencia was being taken, at a time when his character and contributions were still very much in contention. Cabildo de Santiago (Santiago: 1 de diciembre, 1555), AGI, Guatemala 41.
APPENDIX

"Testimonio de los esclavos y laborias que tragon de la ciudad de Leon a la villa de Trujillo en Honduras de orden de Pedrarias Davila los españoles que fueron a ella con el gobernador Pedro Lopez de Salcedo."

Trujillo, 28 de febrero, 1529,
AGI, Patronato 20, R. 4, No. 4

En la villa de trujillo del puerto e cabo de honduras veynte e ocho días del mes de Hebreo año . . . de mill e quinientos e veynte e nueve años el muy magnifico senor dió lopez de salcedo gobernador por su magt en estas ptes por presencia de mi a lo carrasco escribano de su magt e puco e del qo desta dha villa dixo q por q quanto el e los españoles q en su compañía han venido de la ciudad de leon en esta villa con licencia de pedrarias davila gobernador de la provincia de nicaragua cierto numero de yndios e yndias suyos e de los dhos españoles e por ql sabe agora particularmente los yndios e yndias q cada uno traxo por q le conviene tener en su poder la razón dello q mandaua e mdo al seruió franco perez alld q

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presente estaua q por ante mi el dho escribano resciba juram° de cada uno de los dhos españoles particularmente e les mande q declaren los yndios e yndias q asy traxeron de la dha cibdad de leon diciendo e declarando los q son esclauos e los q son naborias e lo q declaren cerca de lo suso dho se asyente y escryua y se lo desynado en publica forma en manera q haga ts° ant° [?_ ] çepero e p° de maçuelos v°s desta dha villa.

E despues desto este dho dia el dho senor alld por ante mi el dho escriuano tomo e rescibio juram° en forma de vida de dicho particularmente de las personas q de yuso seran declaradas q vinieron en el dho senor gouernador de la dha cibdad de leon so cargo del qual seyenido [syendo?] presentados en razon de lo susosdho dixeron e declararon cada uno por sy q sacaron e trayeron de la dha cibdad de leon los yndios e yndias syguientes:

naborias

esclauos

Prymeramente el padre ju° havela declaro q traxo seys yndios e yndias esclauos todos VI

fran° çepero declaro q traxo cinco piegas yndios e yndias esclauos todos e mas una naburia q es del valle de uylancho. /olanco?/

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a°l de herrera declaro q traxo siete yndios e yndias los cinco naburias q son la una de cueba e la otra de tepusteca e dos de uzgalpa e otra de tepuzgalpa teugucigalpa y los otros dos dixo q son esclauos.

ju° de la puebla declaro q traxo seys yndios e yndias los tres esclauos e las tres naburyas dixo q son la una de tepustega e la otra de agateyte e la otra dixo q no sabe de donde es.

franc° luys de alcantara declaro q traxo diez yndios e yndias todos esclauos e dixo q los conpro en leon por esclauos.

franc° de munana declaro q traxo catorze yndios y yndias los syete esclauos e los syete naburyas e q las naburyas son dos de agateyte e dos de olootocon e una de juangagasta q le dio soto e otra de tesputeca q le vendieron los nietos e un mochacho de los maribios.

bartolome diaz declaro q traxo seys yndios e yndias los dos esclauos e las cuatro naborias e q las naburyas son la una de los de sollados y la otra de los maribios e otra de la cabyna e otra de teçutega.

di° diaz de herrera declaro q traxo tres yndios e yndias todos naburyas q son los dos de tepusteca e la una q llevo de aca del valle de agalta.

dalmao declaro q traxo tres yndios e yndias todos naburyas q son la una de tepuzgalpa e los dos de los maribios.

el lic° di° de molyna declaro q traxo ocho yndios e yndias todos esclauos.

a°l barva declaro q traxo dos yndios uno esclauo e otro naburya la qual dixo ql de teçutega q se la encomendo pedrarias.

franc° garcia mexia el sordo declaro q traxo dos piegas anbos esclauos.
aºl de bolanos declaro q traxo dos pieças anbos esclauos.

diº de beleña declaro q traxo dos pieças anbos esclauos.

pedro de maçuelos declaro q traxo dos pieças anbos esclauos.

pedro moryllo declaro q traxo una peça esclauo.

agostyn de candia declaro q traxo dos pieças q son naburyas la una dixo qs de anaguaca e la otra del valle de agalta.

antonio de la torre declaro q traxo tres pieças una yndia herrada en el rrastro as del golfo de san lucar e un yndio natural de leon no sabe de que plaça el qual dixo q conpro su hrº xpoual de la torre en leon quando fue alla de juº de quiñones por esclauo quintº e q no esta herrado otro yndio q llevo de aca qs de coabita termino desta villa de trugillo qs naburya.

luysa hernandez declaro q traxo syete pieças yndios e yndias dixo q son todos esclauos q los conpro en leon por esclauos e q dellos estan herrados tres en la cara e de los otros dixo q tyene vuºa cedula de los oficiales de su magº de como esta pasado el quinto dellos.

diº nieto declaro q traxo dos yndios e yndias dixo q son esclauos el uno herrado e el otro no.

juº de rrehuerca [?] declaro q traxo nueue pieças yndios e yndias de los quales dixo q son los ocho esclauos y el uno naburya natural de chira o de nicoya.

xpoual de llanos declaro q traxo tres pieças yndios los quales dixo q son esclauos e q los dos vienen herrados en la cara y el otro por herrar.
andres de vargas declaro q traxo tres pieças yndios e yndias de los quales dixo q son una esclaua y dos naburyas q son la una de nicaragua quintada e no esta herrada por q dixo q no se hallo a tpo p a podele a herrar e qs naburya de por fuerça e la otra es un muchacho de nystega.

a 1 ortiz declaro q trayo quatro pieças yndios e yndias uno dixo qs de mexico naburya q1 señor gobernador le hizo md del e dos de leon q no sabe de que pueblos son asy mesma naburyas e una yndia esclaua herrada q1 llevo desta villa de trugillo fue a leon la qual dixo qs de xutycalpa /juticalpa/.

el capitán ju o Cabrera declaro q traxo veinte e seys pieças yndios e yndias naturales de tepuesteca todos naburyas.

el capitán ju o farfan de gaona declaro q traxo e tyene en su poder treinta y quatro pieças yndios e yndias de los quales dixo q son veinte e quatro naburyas los veinte e una dellas dixo q son de un pueblo q1 tiene encomendado por cedula de pedraryas davila gobernador de nicaragua q se dize el dho pueblo cindegazunga /cindegazimba/ e que las tres q rrestam p a el numero de los veinte e quatro son de la provincia de cuba q se dize castilla del oro e otro mochacho naburya qs de la provincia de goçuguina /cosiguina/ e los otros syete p a conplymi a las dihas treynta e quatro pieças dixo q son esclaus.

baltazar gonçalez declaro q traxo quatro pieças yndios y yndias de los quales dixo q son tres dellos esclausos y el uno naburya de la provincia de uyzgalpa.

di o de belana cryado del dho señor gobernador di o lopez de salçedo aclaro y dixo q1 dho señor gobernador traxo treynta e una pieças yndios e yndias de los quales dixo q son los diez e seys esclausos los honze hrrados e los cinco por herrar por q no obo tpo pa podellos herrar e quinze naburyas de
las cuales son las tres de guaçama e otro de mistega e otro de teçuatega otros dos de guaguatega e syete chontales q se tomaron entre guaguatega e uylancho e otro del golfo. XVI

La qual dha declaracion fue hecha segund la manera q de suso se contiene antel dho senor alld e en presencia de mi el dho escri-bano q a ello presente fuy e por ende en fee de lo fize aqui este mio syg...
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