

Occupying American Space

p.45 How were the Spaniards, and those other Europeans who followed them, to take possession of so much space?

The mastering of America, as effected by Europeans, involved three related processes:

the symbolic taking of possession;

physical occupation of the land, which entailed either the subjection or the expulsion of its indigenous inhabitants;

and the peopling of the land by settlers and their descendants in sufficient numbers to ensure that its resources could be developed in conformity with European expectations and practices

Symbolic occupation

[presupposti teorici e cerimoniali]

p.46 The Spanish and the English alike accepted the Roman Law principle of res nullius, whereby unoccupied land remained the common property of mankind, until being put to use. The first user then became the owner

According to the thirteenth-century Castilian legal code of the *Siete Partidas* [1265], 'it rarely happens that new islands arise out of the sea. But if this should happen and some new island appears, we say that it should belong to him who first settles it'



Don Alfonso de Castela
de Toledo de Leon
Rey de ben res de Castela

Esta e a primeira cançã de loor de
santa maria ementando os .vii. goyos
que ouue de seu fillo.

Alfonso X di Castiglia (1221-1284)

In claiming sovereignty, however, the Spaniards, unlike the English, had little or no need of the doctrine of *res nullius*, since their title was based on the original papal concession to the Spanish crown

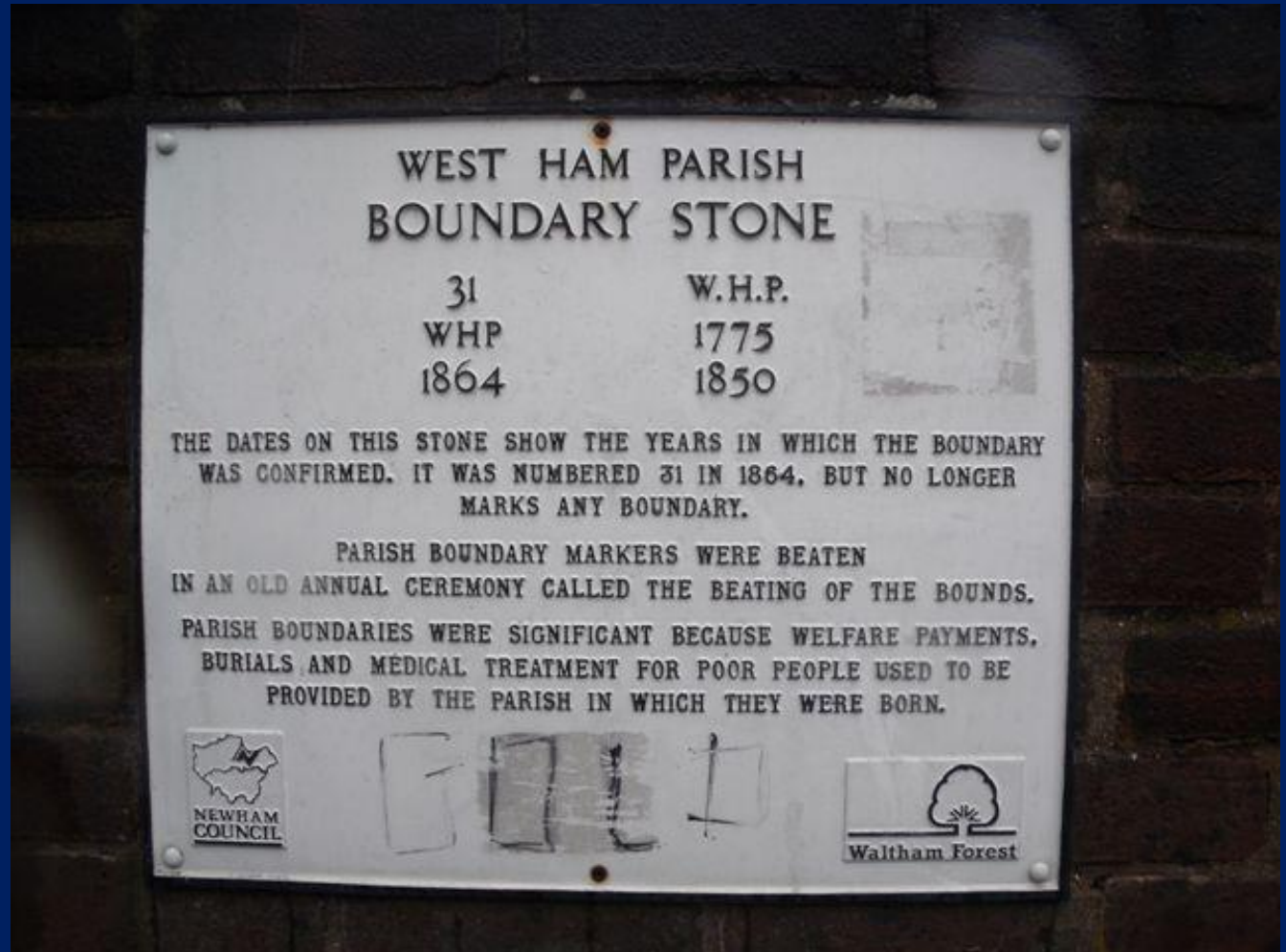
Arriving, moreover, in lands for the most part already well settled by indigenous populations, their principal preoccupation would be to justify their lordship over peoples rather than land

Even if claims to sovereignty were entirely valid in the eyes of those who made them, the formal taking of possession by some form of ceremony constituted a useful statement of intent, directed at least as much to other European princes as to the local population

Both in Castile and England, taking possession of a property was traditionally accompanied by symbolic acts, such as beating the bounds, cutting branches, or scooping up earth



Beating the bounds
memorial plaque in
West Ham



p.47 When the Castilians seized Tenerife in the Canary Islands in 1464, Diego de Herrera secured the formal submission of the local chiefs. He then had the royal standard raised, and made a circuit of two leagues, 'stamping the ground with his feet as a sign of possession and cutting the branches of trees . . .'

Columbus makes no mention of such a ceremony following his landfall at San Salvador, but he raised the standard of Ferdinand and Isabella, and had the solemn declaration of their rights to the island duly notarized. Subsequently, as he noted in his Journal, he did the same in the other islands. Comparable rituals occurred as the Spaniards made their way across mainland America, with Balboa walking into the Pacific in 1513 with raised banner and drawn sword to take possession of the ocean and the surrounding land and islands on behalf of the Crown of Castile

Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475-1519)



p.48 Without the benefit of a papal donation, the English crown was compelled, as here, to assert its own rights over 'remote, barbarous and heathen lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people' [*res nullius*], and trust that they would be respected by other European powers

Once art was applied to nature, the land was no longer res nullius and passed into legitimate and permanent ownership

[toponomastica]

p.49 There were, however, ... additional ways of asserting territorial possession, of which the most widely **practised** was the renaming of the land

Columbus was lavish in his bestowal of new names on the islands, capes and geographical features that he encountered on his voyages: sacred names, beginning with San Salvador [Guanahani], names of the royal family (Fernandina or Juana), descriptive names appropriate to some striking physical feature, or names that simply conformed with those already inscribed on his own imaginative landscape of the lands he had reached, starting with 'the Indies' themselves

p.50 The English followed suit

Norumbega [l'odierno New England] is a name of unknown, but allegedly Indian origin

Later, it was sometimes called North Virginia, but in his 'Description' of the territory in 1616, John Smith astutely renamed it *New England*, just as Cortés had renamed the land of the Mexica *New Spain*



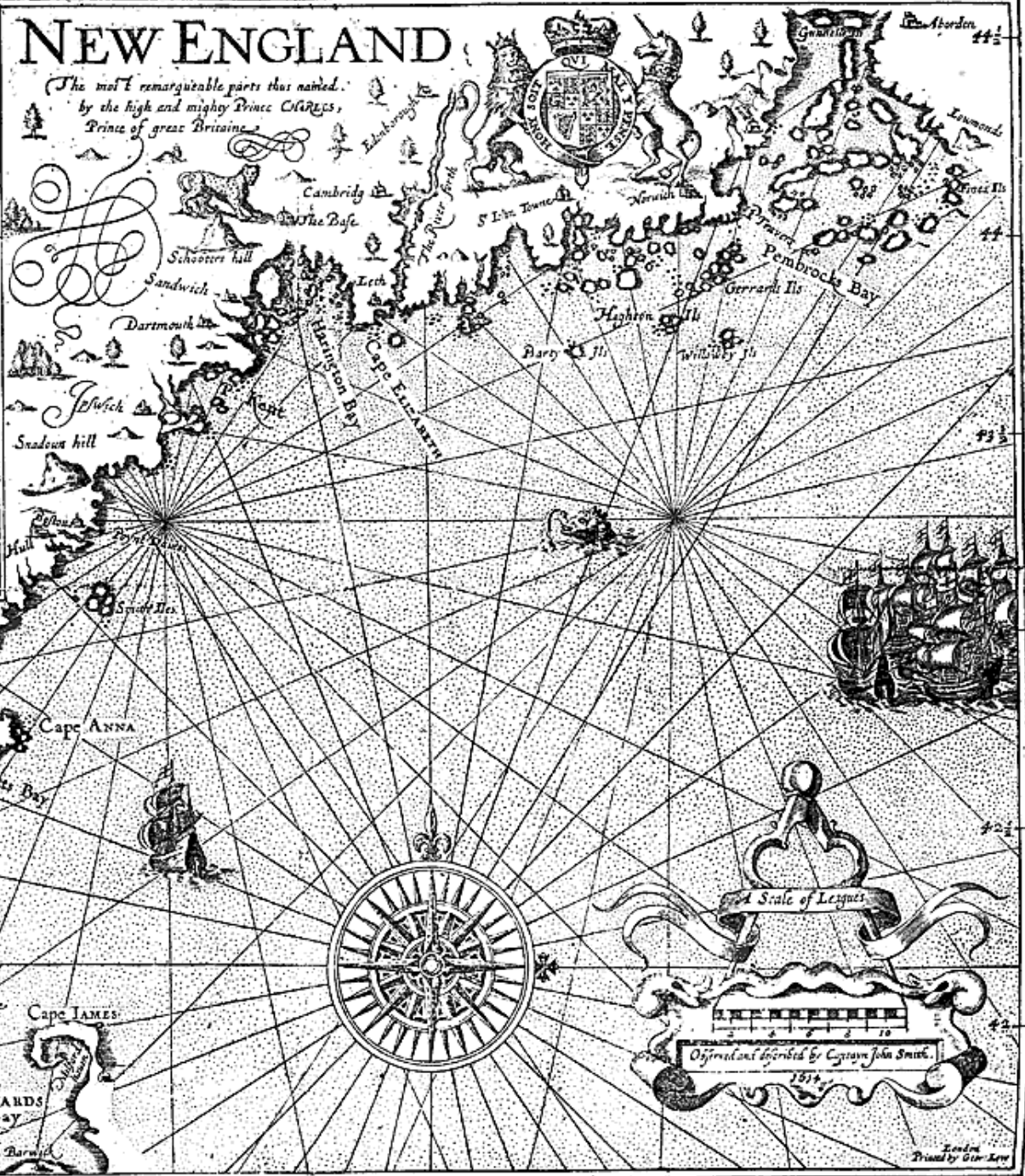
NEW ENGLAND

The most remarkable parts thus named,
by the high and mighty Prince CHARLES,
Prince of great Brittain.

These are the Lines that shew thy Face, but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discouries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillized by thee:
Best shew thy Spirit, and to us Glory (Wynne,
Satan are Brasse without, but Golfe within.

If se, in Brasse two sofe Smiths (As to beare)
I see thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele our weare.
Thinks thou art Verney... South Hampton
John Davis. Hierof.

Given by the
Robert Clarke

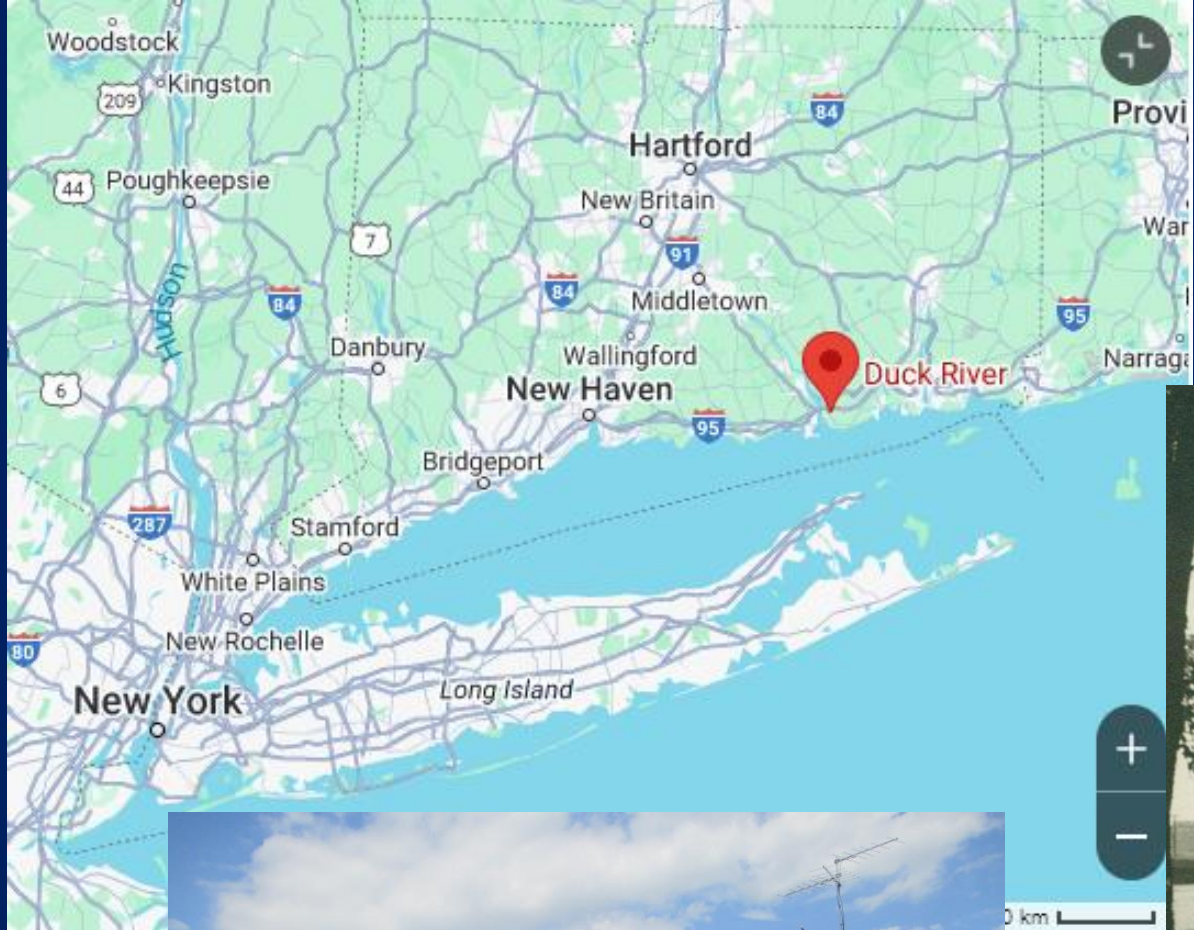


A Scale of Leagues
Original designed by Captain John Smith
1619

The Spaniards and the English in fact seem to have adopted much the same approach to the renaming of American places, preferring new names to old when they settled, but not necessarily ruling out indigenous names, in so far as they could catch or pronounce them

Tenochtitlán became Mexico City, but Qosqo was easily transformed into Cuzco, and the indigenous Cuba prevailed over the Spanish Juana

Indigenous names, however, were frequently too long and difficult for Europeans, and, not surprisingly, a stream 'called in the Indian tongue Conamabsqunoocant' was 'commonly called the Duck River' by the New England colonists



p.51 The new names were quick to be recorded on maps, like John Smith's New England map of 1616

Cartography, too, was a symbolic taking of possession, at once recording the imposition of European rule by the eradication of indigenous names, and asserting national rights to American territory against European rivals

p.53 But, even more important, a map with reassuring English words and names, like that included in John Smith's depiction of New England, served as a useful instrument for promoting colonization in a society where the attractions of transatlantic migration had to be sold to potential emigrants

Physical occupation

The various maps of British North America represented a public affirmation of the new ownership of the land

But land that was claimed still had to be physically occupied, and there was a wide gap between cartographical affirmation and what was actually happening on the ground

Technically, in both Spanish and British America, the land was vested in the crown once its sovereignty had been proclaimed

It was then for the crown to arrange for its allocation, in order to attach settlers to the soil

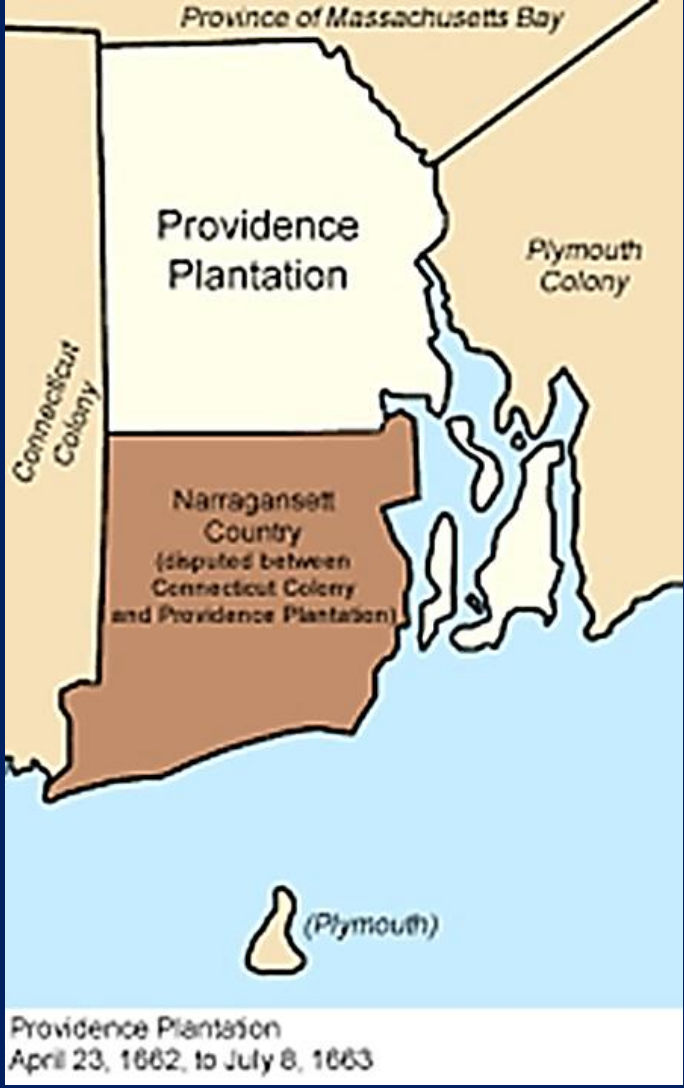
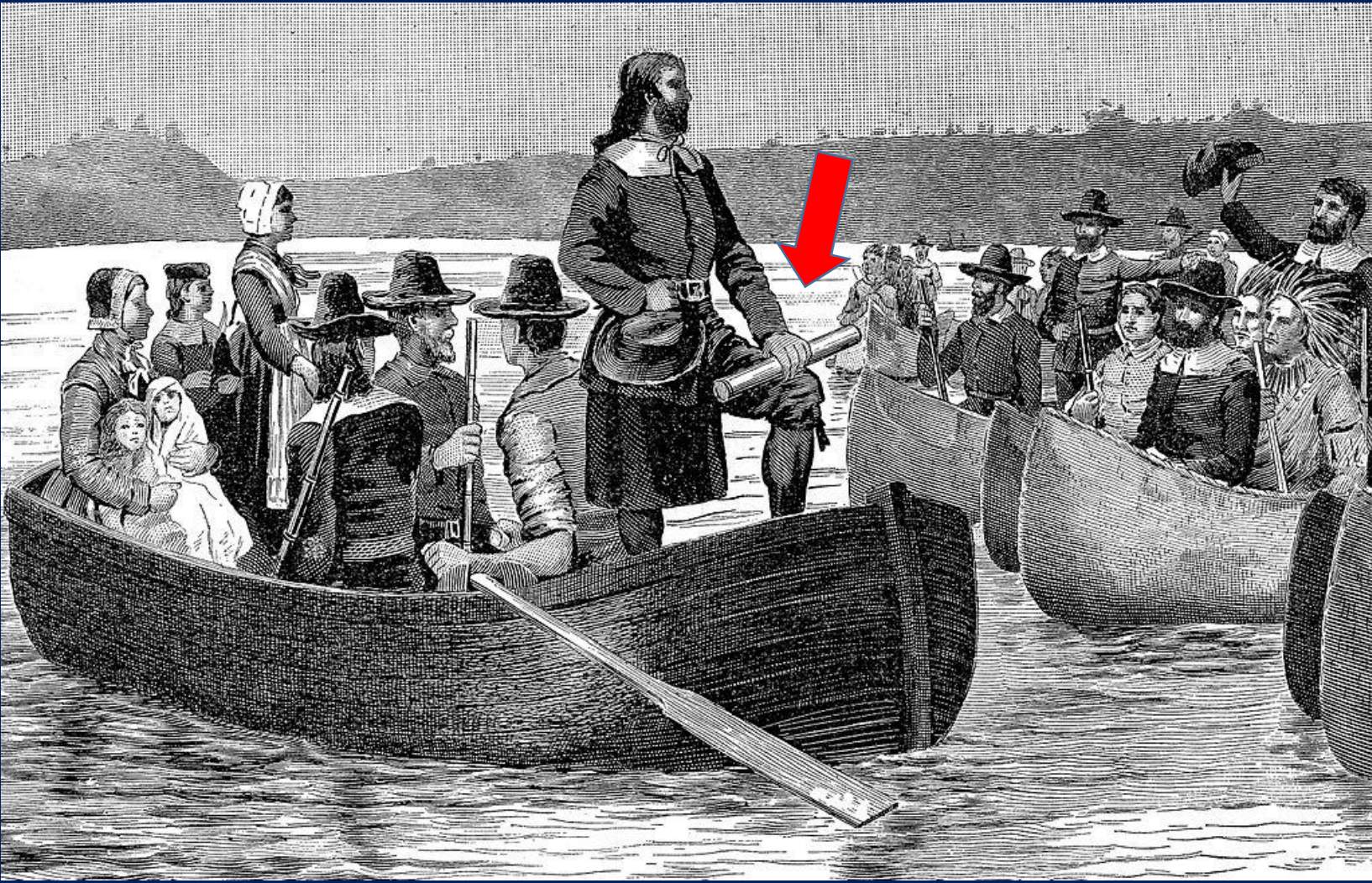
There were various ways in which this could be done

One was to give commanders and colonizers powers to distribute plots of land once possession had been taken [*encomienda*]

An alternative method, to which the British crown several times resorted, was to issue charters to groups of interested individuals who constituted themselves into companies, like the Massachusetts Bay Company of 1629

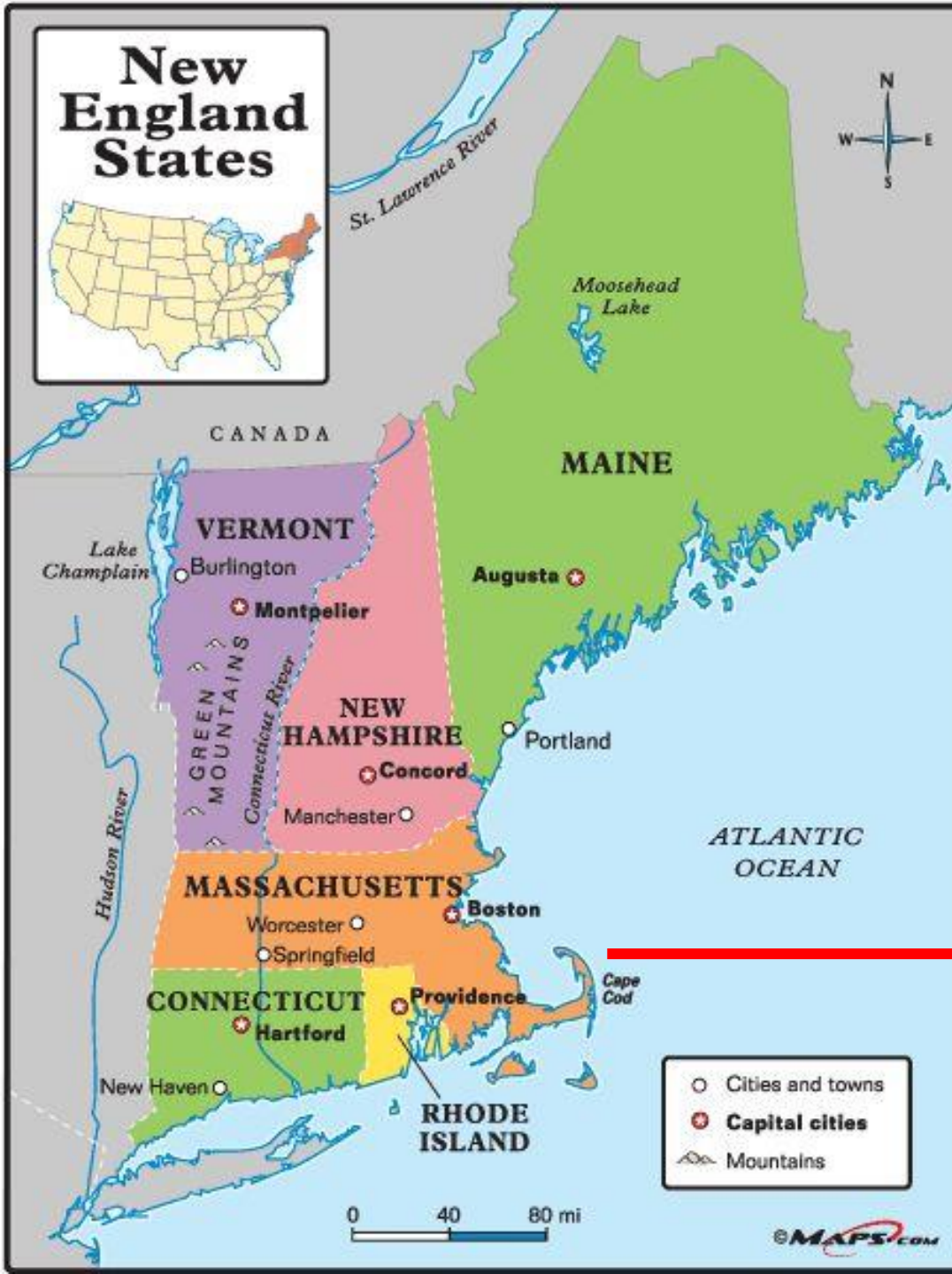
p.54 But the process of land acquisition and settlement remained considerably more haphazard in British than in Spanish America

Some English colonies – Plymouth, Connecticut and [initially] Rhode Island – received no royal charters, and this only enhanced the ambiguities surrounding their rights to settle in Indian territory

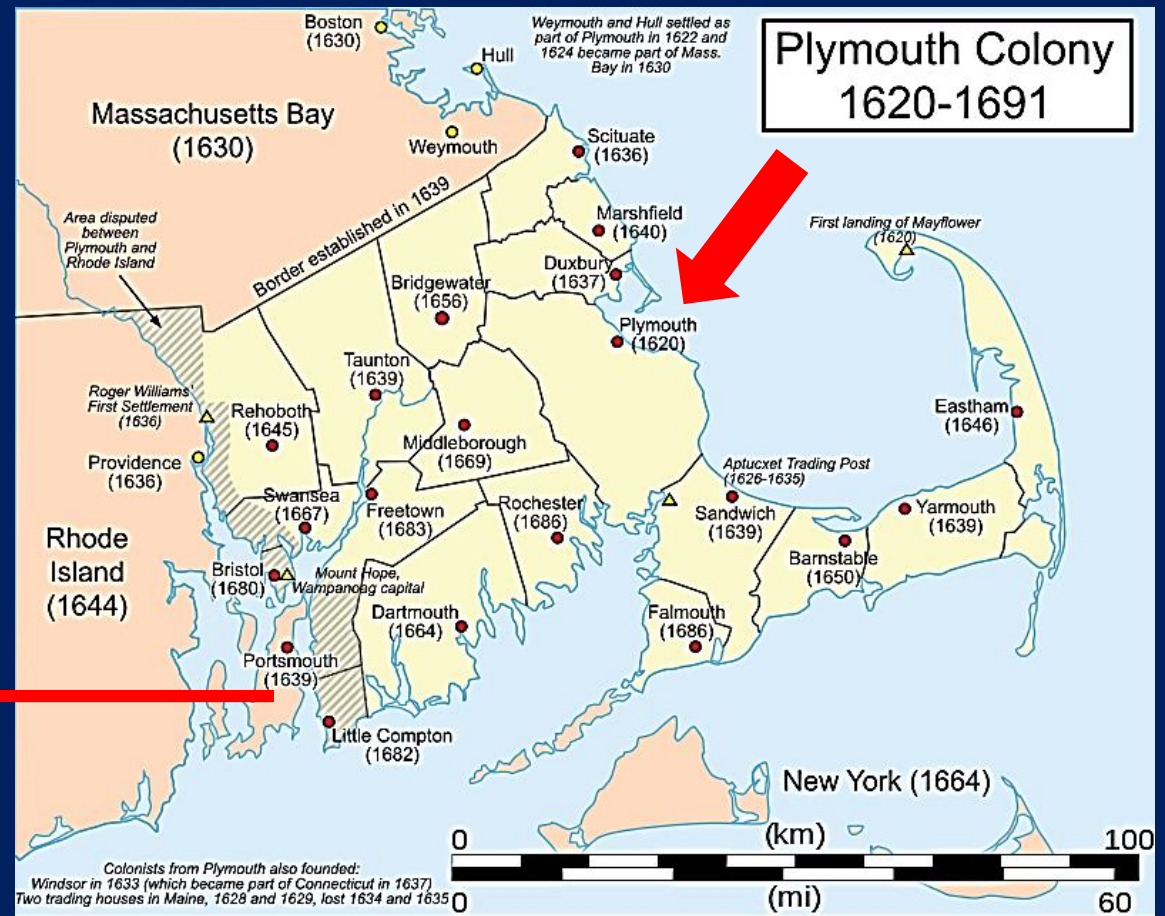


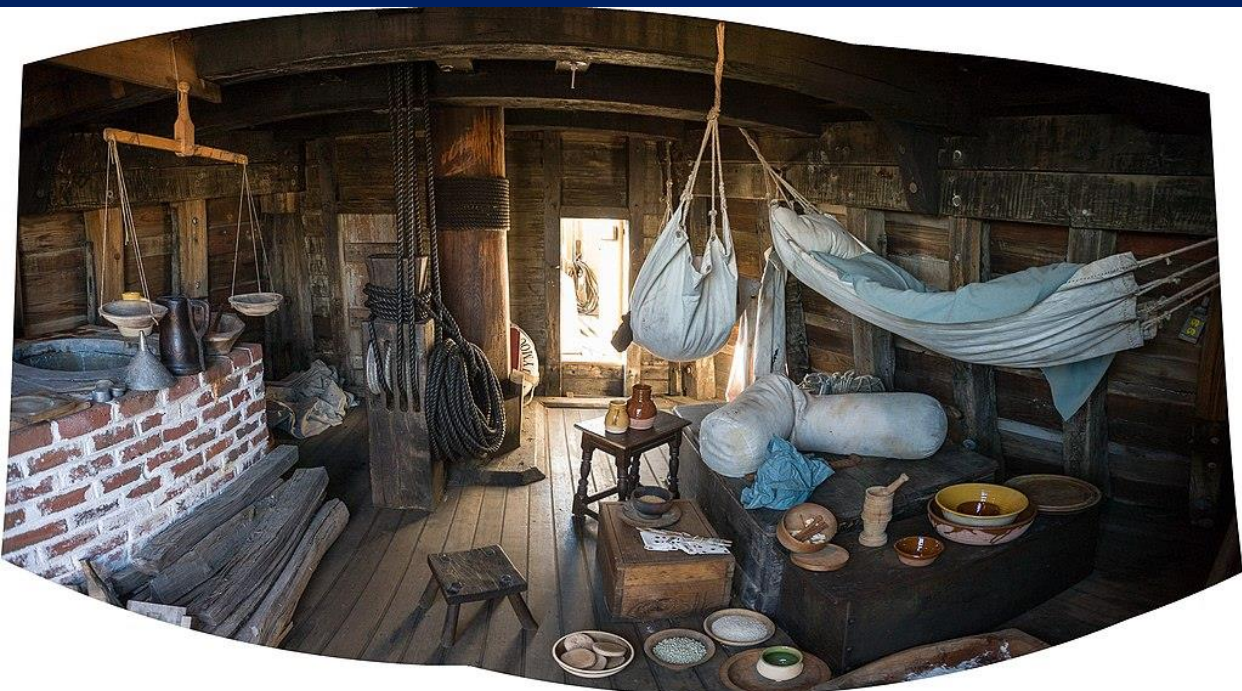
Return of Roger Williams from England with the First Charter, 1644

New England States



Plymouth Colony 1620-1691





Mayflower



At least in the initial stages of settlement, these New England **colonists** sought to resolve their legal and moral dilemmas by negotiating land purchases from the Indians

p.72 For their part the Indians, their numbers much diminished by the epidemics of 1616–17 and 1633–4, were generally willing to sell as long as they could retain their right to hunt, fish and gather on the land they had surrendered

Roger Williams meeting with
Narragansett leaders



p.55 Spaniards and Englishmen ... regarded the reconstitution of European civil society in an alien environment as ... essential ... to their permanent occupation of the land

As participants in the same western tradition, both these colonizing peoples took it for granted that the patriarchal family, ownership of property, and a social ordering that as nearly as possible patterned the divine were the essential elements of any properly constituted civil society

But both [Spaniards and Englishmen] were to find that American conditions were not always conducive to their recreation on the farther shores of the Atlantic in the forms to which they were accustomed

The dissolving effects of space, at work from the outset, gave rise to responses which would eventually produce societies that, although still recognizably European, appeared sufficiently different to justify their being described as 'American'

[diversa propensione ad inoltrarsi in nuovi territori]

These responses were determined by a combination of metropolitan tradition and local circumstance, and would vary by region as well as by nationality. The New England response, for example, was to differ in important ways from that of Virginia

But in so far as the differences between New England and Virginia were conditioned by local topography, these paled into insignificance when set against the enormous geographical and climatic differences between the areas of Spanish and British colonization on the American mainland. The Spaniards were faced with jungles, mountain ranges and deserts...

The Spaniards, too, lacked great rivers like the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio and the St Lawrence to take settlers deep into the interior

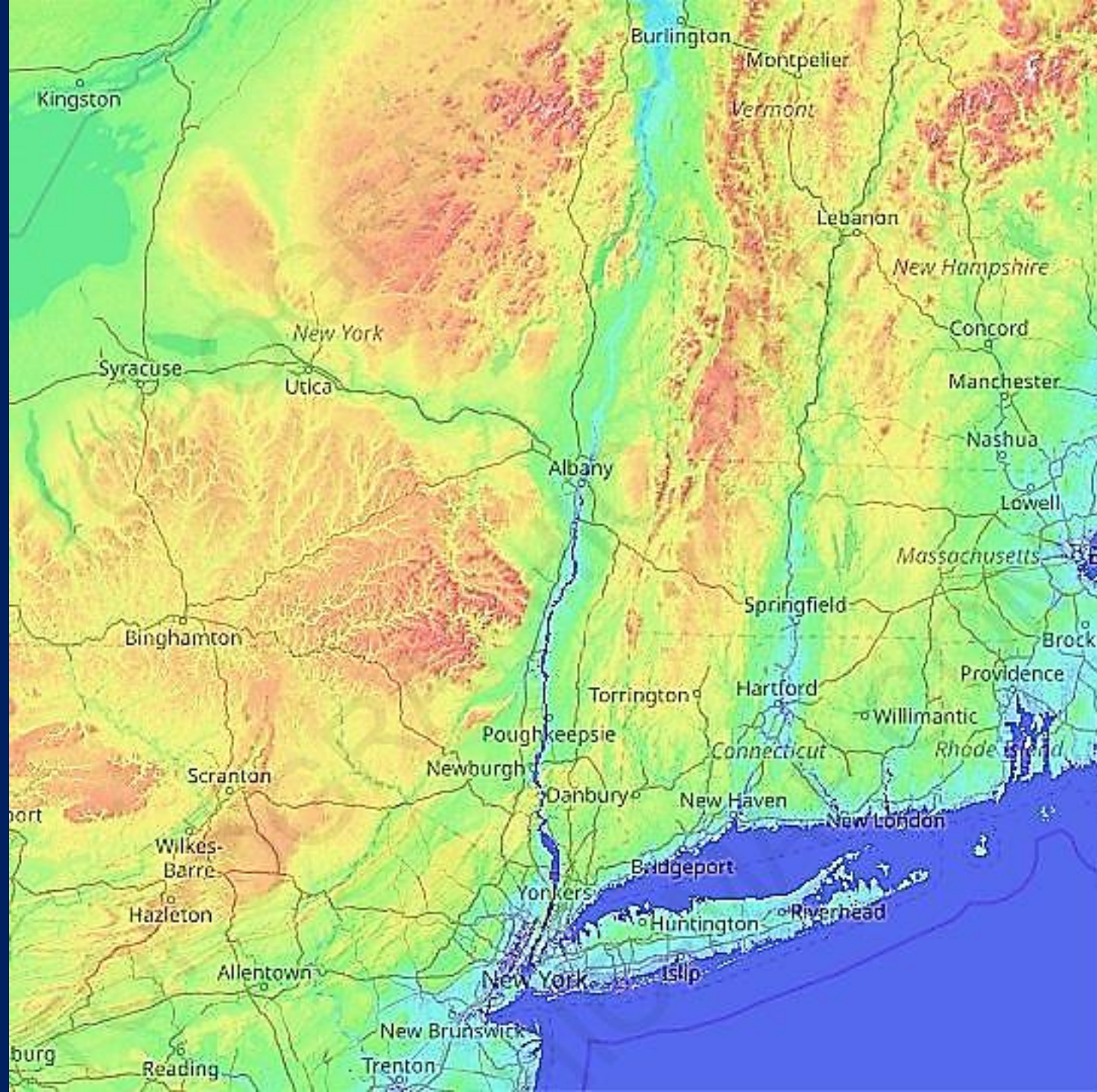
René-Robert Cavalier de La Salle (1670-1687)



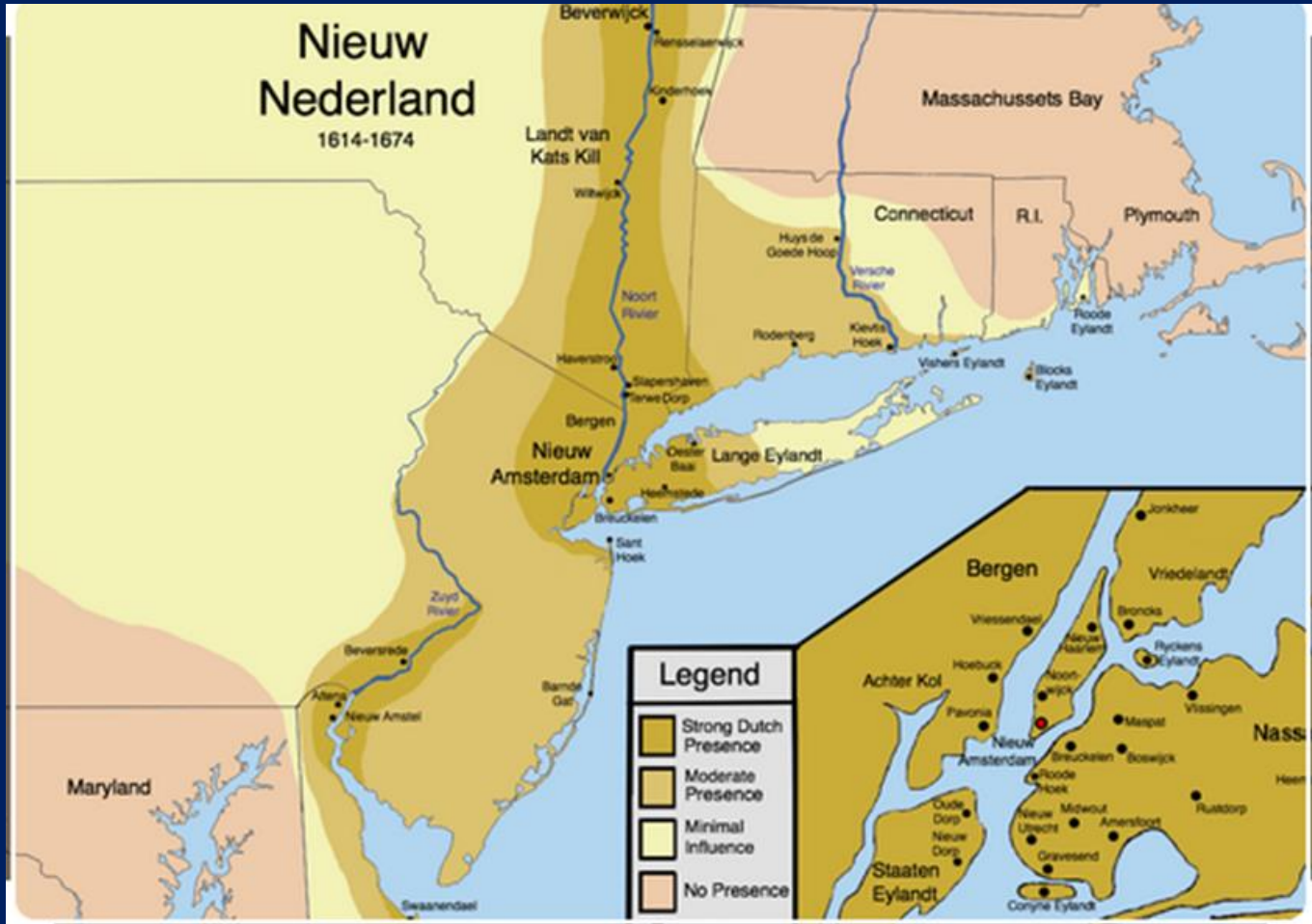
Yet in spite of the apparently overwhelming geographical disadvantages they encountered, the Spaniards had fanned out through the continent within a generation of the capture of Tenochtitlán

The English, on the other hand, although faced with a more benevolent geography, had a preference for clustering close to the Atlantic seaboard until the eighteenth century

Only in the Hudson and Connecticut River valleys, and in parts of the Chesapeake region, did settlement of the interior begin from the outset



Hudson



Connecticut





p.56 The determination of the Spaniards to range far and wide through American space, in spite of the vast distances and terrible hardships involved, can be attributed partly to their ambitions and expectations, and partly to long-established Iberian traditions

Unlike the English, they soon became aware that just over the horizon were to be found large polities and densely settled lands

There was early evidence, too, of the existence of deposits of gold and silver, for which the settlers of Jamestown were to hunt in vain

Hunger for riches and lordship and a restless ambition for fame lured conquistadores like Hernando de Soto, in his epic journey through the **American South** between 1539 and 1542 [1543], deep into the interior in ways that few Englishmen after Sir Walter Raleigh were willing to emulate

Contea DeSoto, Mississippi



p.57 ...the presence in Spanish-occupied lands of precious metals and a docile labour force served to perpetuate in the Hispanic world conceptions of wealth in terms of booty and lordship that were instinctive to those nurtured in the traditions created by the prolonged medieval movement of the Reconquista against Islamic Spain

For new arrivals in the Spanish Indies, the ever-present possibility of a sudden bonanza served as a continuing inducement to move on

The corollary of this was that Spanish settlers, or at least first-generation Spanish settlers, would set much less value on land as a desirable commodity in itself than the settlers of seventeenth-century English America

It was vassals, rather than land, that they wanted, and it would have been neither desirable nor practicable to clear of their indigenous inhabitants such densely settled lands as those of central Mexico

[urbanesimo spagnolo]

p.58 Spaniards in any event shared the Mediterranean predisposition towards urban life, and it was not by accident that Cortés's compact for civil government when landing in Mexico, unlike the civil compact of the Mayflower Pilgrims, assumed from the outset an urban form. The ideal of the city as a perfect community was deeply rooted in the Hispanic tradition, and for human beings to live far away from society was regarded as contrary to nature.

Following the Roman tradition, too, cities were seen as visible evidence of imperium, and memories of the Roman Empire were never far away from the minds of Spanish captains and bureaucrats

p.59 The town, indeed, was to become the basis for Spanish dominion in America

Occasionally it might be a pre-Columbian town, remodelled to conform to Spanish styles of living, as happened with Cuzco or with the Mexico City that arose from the ruins of Tenochtitlán
Usually it was a new foundation



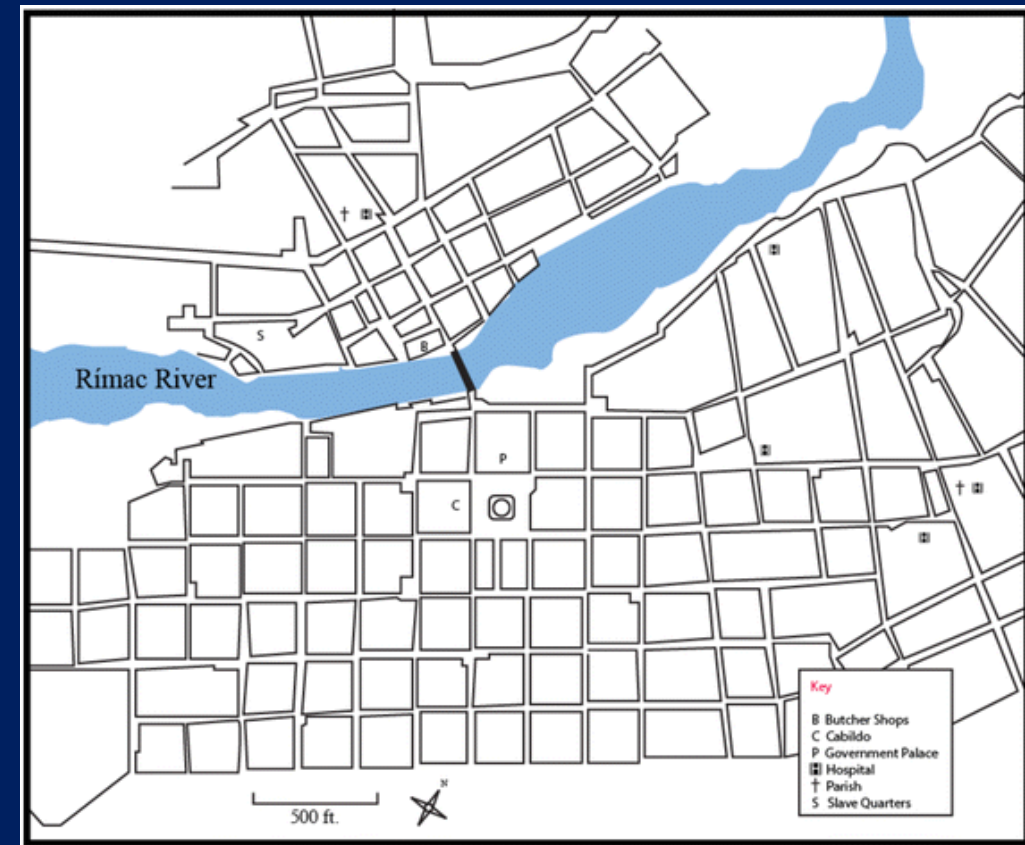
Paseo de la Viga

Paseo de la Viga,
Ciudad de México,
1706





Ciudad de los Reyes (18.1.1535)



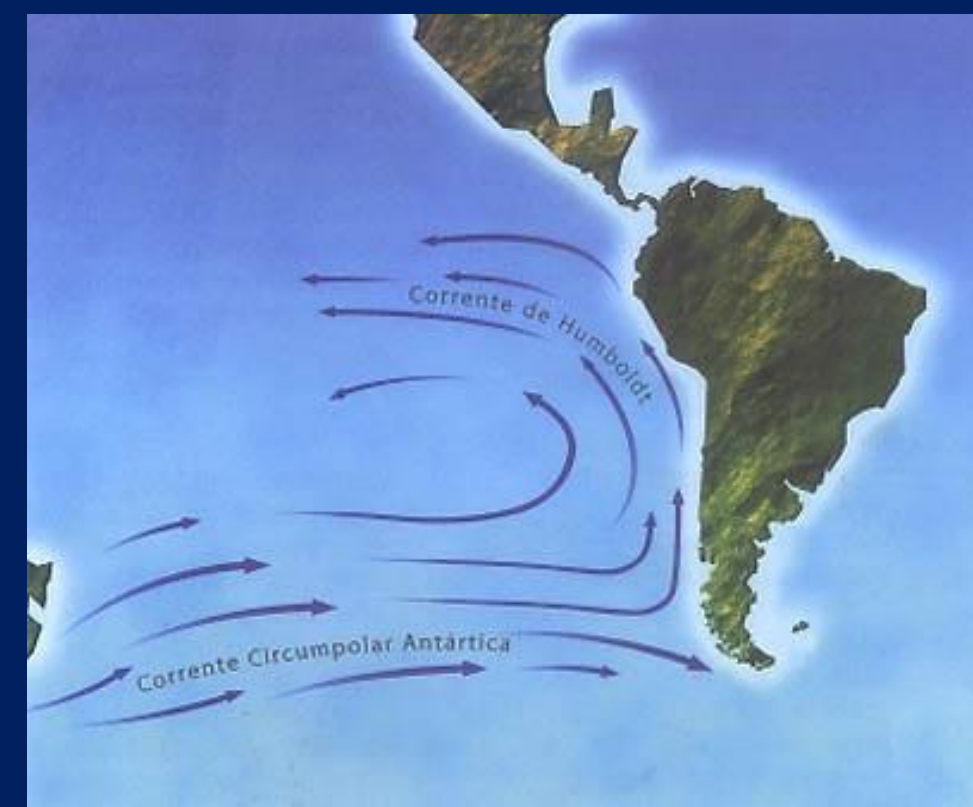


el río Habrador

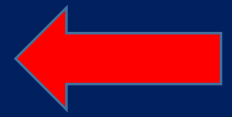




Lima ^[4]	Mesi												Stagioni				Anno
	Gen	Feb	Mar	Apr	Mag	Giu	Lug	Ago	Set	Ott	Nov	Dic	Est	Aut	Inv	Pri	
T. max. media (°C)	25,8	26,5	26,0	24,3	21,7	19,7	18,7	18,4	18,7	19,9	21,9	23,9	25,4	24,0	18,9	20,2	22,1
T. min. media (°C)	19,1	19,4	19,2	17,6	16,1	15,3	15,0	14,6	14,6	15,2	16,4	17,7	18,7	17,6	15,0	15,4	16,7
Precipitazioni (mm)	0,9	0,3	4,9	0,0	0,1	0,3	0,3	0,3	5,4	0,2	0,0	0,3	1,5	5,0	0,9	5,6	13,0
Giorni di pioggia	4	2	3	2	5	11	12	15	13	7	5	3	9	10	38	25	82
Giorni di nebbia	10	11	14	19	24	22	21	20	18	15	9	8	29	57	63	42	191



<u>Caracas</u>	1.000, 23
Medellin	1.495, 23
<u>Bogotá</u>	2.625, 14
Cali	995, 25
<u>Quito</u>	2.850, 15
[<u>Lima</u>	0, 19]
Huancayo	3.259,
Cuzco	3.399, 15
<u>La Paz</u>	3.640, 18
Cochabamba	2.558, 20
Sucre	2.790, 13
<u>Santiago del Chile</u>	570, 22



But either way [old or new foundation cities] it offered the Indians clear evidence of the determination of the [Spanish] conquerors to put down roots and stay, just as it also offered clear evidence to the conquerors themselves that the crown wanted them to abandon their restless ways and establish a stable society, in accordance with metropolitan [Spain] norms

[urbanizzazione ed encomienda]

p.60 Following the system established ... in Hispaniola in 1503, which itself drew on practices developed in metropolitan Spain during the *Reconquista*, the leading citizens of the towns of mainland America were also assigned Indians in repartimiento or encomienda

Over large parts of Spanish America the *encomienda* became the chosen instrument for satisfying the demand of the conquerors for a share of the spoils, in the form of Indian tribute and services, and at the same time for discouraging them from laying waste the land and moving on in search of more plunder

In arranging for the *depósito* or *repartimiento* of Indians among his restless followers, Cortés took the first steps in mainland America towards the establishment of what was to become the fully fledged *encomienda* system

He assigned *encomiendas* to 300 of his men – about 40 per cent of the survivors of the army that captured Tenochtitlán, and about 6 per cent of the total European population of the Indies at that time

Pizarro followed suit in 1532 when he made the first *depósitos* [*encomienda temporanea*] of Peruvian Indians among his companions in San Miguel de Piura, before leaving for his encounter with Atahualpa in Cajamarca

The accompanying documents, which made it clear that these grants of Indians constituted rewards for services, specified what were to be the essential characteristics of the *encomienda* in its initial stages – the obligation of the Indians to perform labour services for those who held them in deposit, and the obligation of the depositories to instruct their Indians in the Christian faith, and to treat them well

Letter from King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to the governor of Hispaniola (Haiti/Dominican Republic) in 1503, explaining the Encomienda system, in which Native Americans worked on Spanish-owned lands.



"Our desire is that the Christians not lack people to work their holdings and to take out what gold there is. It also is our desire that the Indians be converted. All this can

be better done by having the Indians live in community with the Christians, because they then will help each other cultivate and settle the island, take out the gold, and bring profit to Spain. Therefore, we command you, our governor, to compel the Indians to associate with the Christians. The Indians should work on the Christians' buildings, mine the gold, till the fields, and produce food for the Christians. This the Indians shall perform as free people, which they are, and not as slaves. Also, see to it that the Indians are well treated, with those who become Christians better treated than the others. Do not consent or allow any person to do them any harm or oppress them."

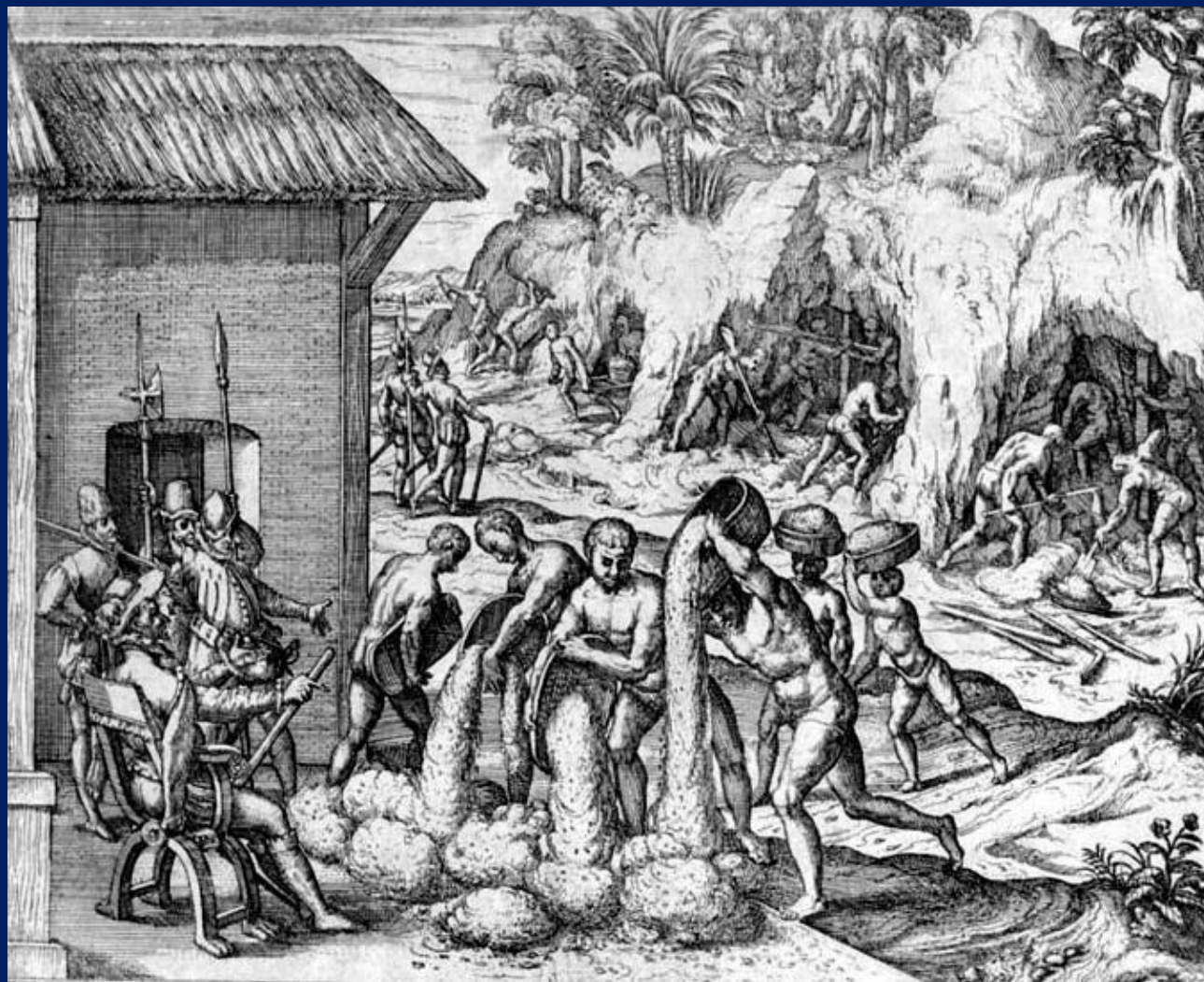
COMENDERO LOS COMENDEROS

piden china muy ncho ama yanacionas labra
dores or telanos y pongo se penseros de los yns -



comen dero

63



The crown subsequently ratified the grants made by Pizarro, as it had previously ratified those made by Cortés, and by the 1540s there were some 600 encomenderos in the viceroyalty of New Spain, and 500 in Peru

This suggests that a New World feudal aristocracy was already in the making, but the encomienda would evolve in ways which were to disappoint the high hopes of the conquistadores

pp. 60-61 Deeply concerned by the maltreatment and brutal exploitation of their Indians by many of the *encomenderos*, and then by the horrifying decline in the size of the Indian population, the crown sought, with varying degrees of success, to transform the heavy labour services of encomienda Indians into the payment of tribute [*repartimiento*]

In its determination to prevent the rise of a European-style aristocracy, the crown also struggled to prevent the automatic perpetuation of *encomiendas* through family inheritance

...the transmission of the encomienda from one generation to another was never to become automatic. The crown remained the master

Above all, the *encomienda* remained what it had always been – a grant of Indians, not of land. When land was abandoned by the Indians, it reverted to the crown, and not to the *encomendero* to whom the Indians had been assigned

Obligated by law to live in towns and cities, and not in the areas where they held their *encomiendas*, the *encomenderos* were precluded from becoming a European territorial aristocracy living on their estates

...there [were]... strict limitations on land-ownership in Spain's American possessions

...in accordance with Castilian law, the subsoil [miniere] remained the inalienable possession of the crown;

property-owners could set up boundary markers, but were not allowed to fence off their estates – in contrast to British America, where fences were visible symbols that land had been 'improved'; shepherds and others were allowed free passage across private estates; and woods and water remained in common ownership

p.62 The outcome of the process by which *encomenderos* and other privileged and wealthy settlers could acquire landed property would be the emergence of what was to be the classic Spanish American model of a colonial society built on the twin foundations of the city and the rural estate, the *estancia* or hacienda, which varied considerably in size and function according to local circumstances

But the city remained central to the enterprise, with 246, or nearly half, of the *encomenderos* of New Spain registered as householders, or *vecinos*, of the new Mexico City. The remainder became householders in newly created towns which sprang up in the wake of the conquest

By 1580 there were some 225 towns and cities in the Spanish Indies, with a total Hispanic population of perhaps 150,000, at a low estimate of six to a household

Already before Philip II's famous ordinances of 1573 on the situation and layout of New World towns, these towns had acquired the distinctive features which were now belatedly decreed as the norm:

a plaza mayor, bordered by a church and civic buildings, and a regular pattern of streets on the grid-iron plan...

San Lorenzo [Escorial], 3 de Julio 1573.

Yo el Rey.

Ordenanzas para descubrimientos, nuevas poblaciones y pacificaciones.

110. . . . Aviendo hecho el descubrimiento y elegido la Provincia Comarca y tierra que se oviere de poblar y los sitios de los lugares adonde se han de hazer las nuevas poblaciones y tomándose el asiento sobre ellos, los que fueren a cumplirlo executen en la forma siguiente— llegando al lugar donde se a de hazer la población el qual mandamos que sea de los que estuvieren vacantes y que por disposición nuestra, se puede tomar sin perjuicio de los yndios y naturales, o con su libre consentimiento se haga la planta del lugar rrepartienda por sus plaças calles y solares a cordel y rregla, començando desde la plaça mayor, y desde alli sacando las calles a las puertas y caminos principales y dexando tanto compas abierto que aunque la población vaya en crecimiento se pueda siempre prosseguir en la mesma forma, y auiendo dispusiçion en el sitio y lugar que se escogiere para poblar se haga la planta en la forma siguiente

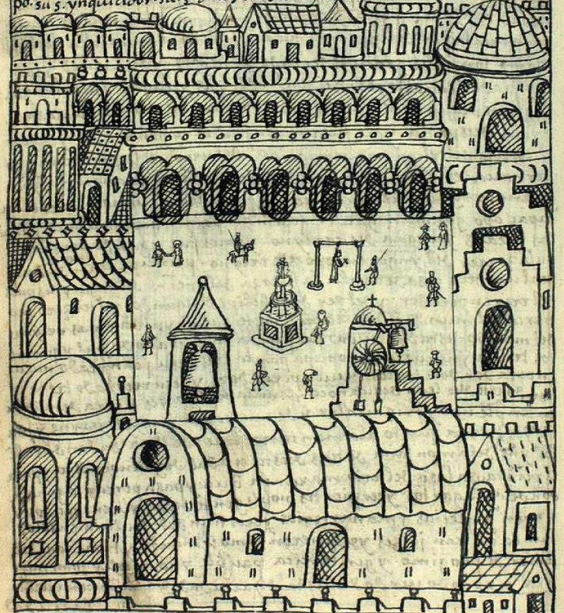
Plaza Mayor o Plaza de Armas



1039
1031.

CIVDAD LA CIVDA DE LOS REIS DE

lima a audiencia real y corte caussa mayor se lo do el Reyno las y
a don de venci de su magd y ubi go rrey y sela s ma de y g l e c i a a n z o d i s
p o s u s y n q u i c i d o r s u s e l a s c a u s a d a y l o s r e b e n d o s c o m i s a e i o s p a d a



cor te real la oya



With no city walls to block the vistas (other than in coastal cities threatened by foreigners, or in dangerous frontier regions), they [the cities] proclaimed the reality of Spanish domination over an alien world

They also had the desired effect of anchoring a potentially restless settler population, and giving a much-needed stability to the new colonial society in process of formation

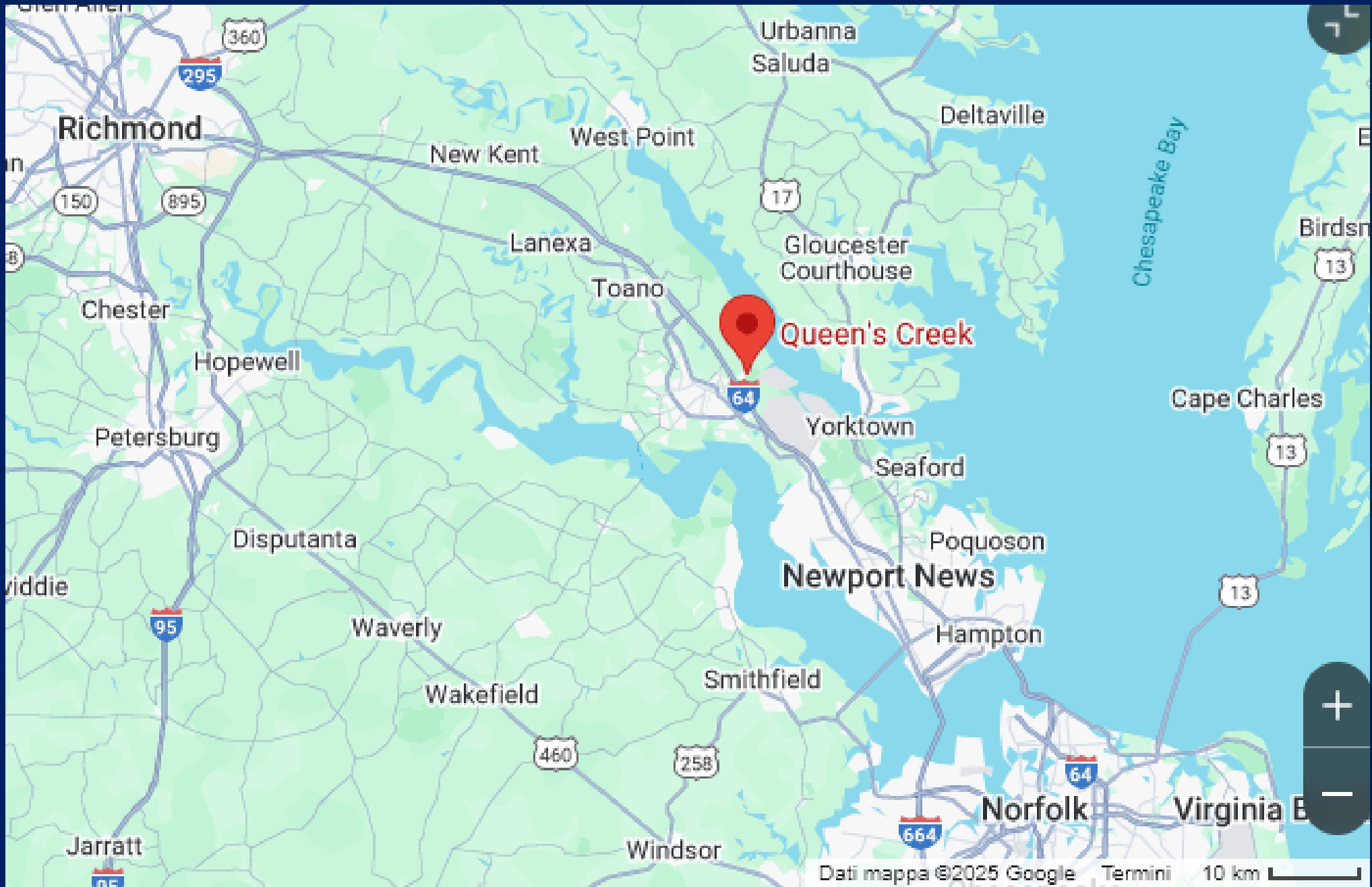
[limitata urbanizzazione in Virginia]

p.63 By the early seventeenth century the English were well aware of the urban pattern of Spanish settlement in the Indies

p.64 But the settlers of Virginia proved recalcitrant. It had long since become clear that the local Indian population would produce neither the tribute nor the labour force that could form the basis of a Spanish-style encomienda system...

The Indians, it transpired, were not prepared to co-operate. There remained the land, and once the rich potential of tobacco planting became apparent, the attractions of land occupation and ownership proved irresistible

The Indians remained a threat, and in the wake of their attack in 1622 the [Virginia] settlers embarked on overt anti-Indian policies, forcing them off their land in the lower peninsula. By 1633 a six-mile long pale had been constructed, leaving 300,000 acres [1.200 km quadrati] cleared of Indian occupation



Richmond

Urbanna
Saluda

Deltaville

New Kent

West Point

150

895

17

Gloucester
Courthouse

Lanexa

Toano

64

Queen's Creek

Yorktown

Seaford

Cape Charles

13

Chester

Hopewell

Petersburg

Disputanta

Poquoson

Newport News

13

Waverly

Hampton

Wakefield

Smithfield

Jarratt

460

258

64

Norfolk

Virginia Beach

Windsor

Copy of 1670 painting from Virginia showing African slaves working on a tobacco plantation

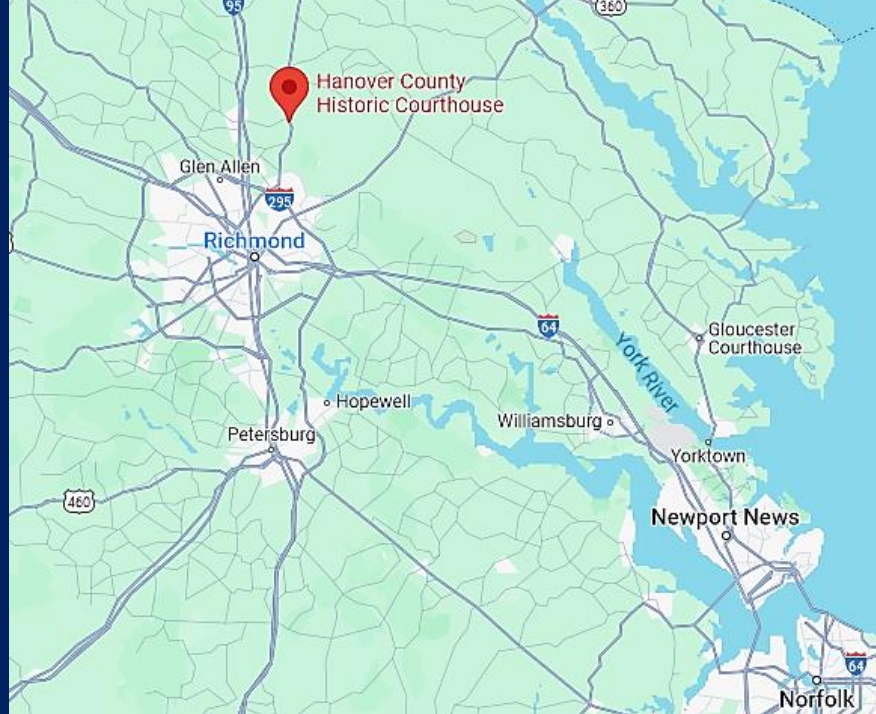


With large river-front plantations spreading west and north along the waterways, the Virginian response to space differed not only from that of the colonists of Spanish America but also from that of the New Englanders who were simultaneously establishing their colonies to the north

There were almost no towns in Virginia and the Chesapeake margins, as London officials [errore di traduzione?] observed with annoyance and visitors with surprise

The society of colonial Virginia was to be one of isolated farms and of great estates – but great estates that differed from the haciendas of Spanish America in having resident owners

p. 65 Where the landowning oligarchy of New Spain and Peru lived in the cities, that of Virginia lived on its estates; and when its members met each other on public occasions, they did so not in towns, but in court houses and churches which stood dispersed through the rural landscape, located at points where residents of the county could enjoy equal access to their facilities



[relativa urbanizzazione nel New England]

For a rather more urban landscape it was necessary to look to the more northerly English settlements, where a different pattern of colonization developed during the course of the seventeenth century

By 1700 there were between 120 and 140 towns in New England, although their character and appearance bore little relation to those of the towns in Spanish America

Essentially the New England township consisted of tracts of land granted to a particular group, with a village sited near the **centre**. The village church formed a place of assembly, and each village would have its commons

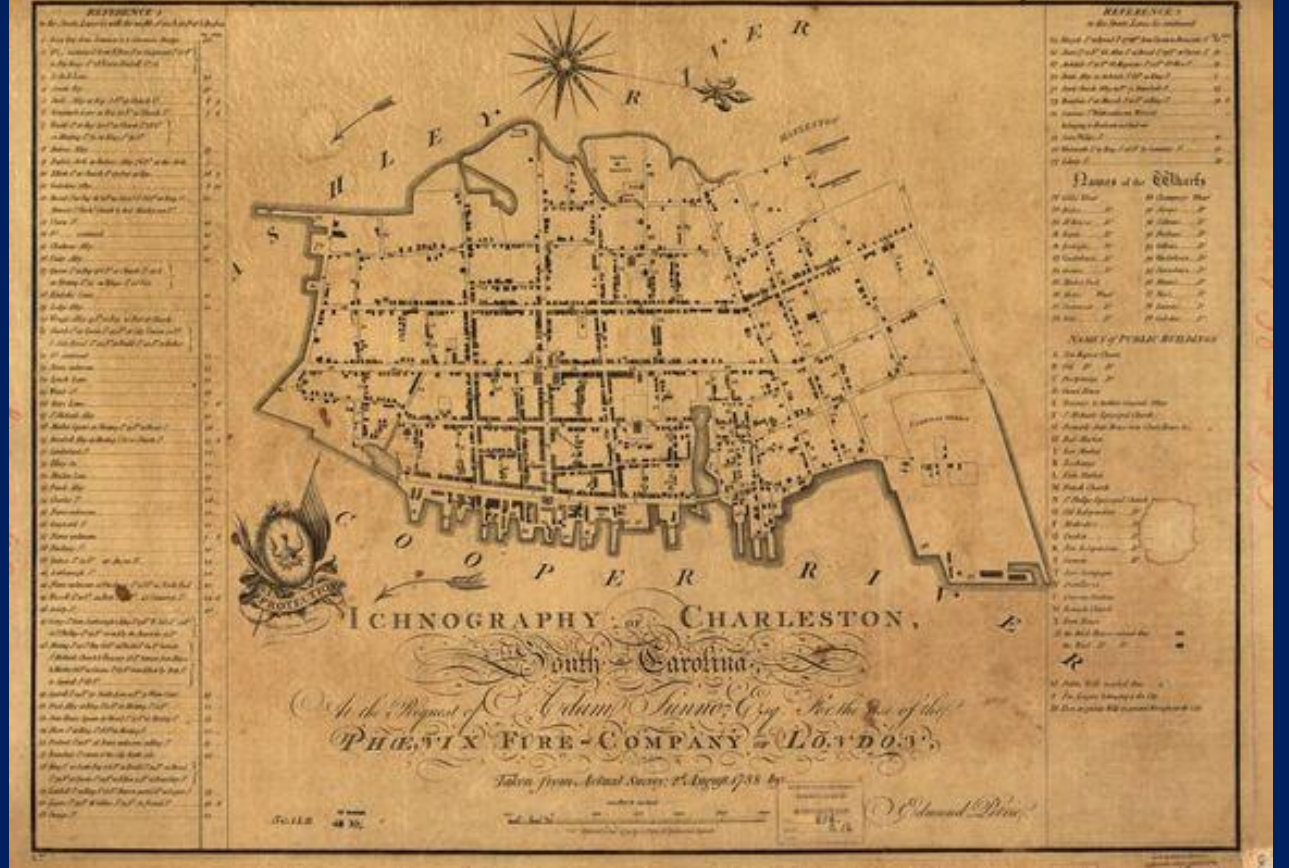


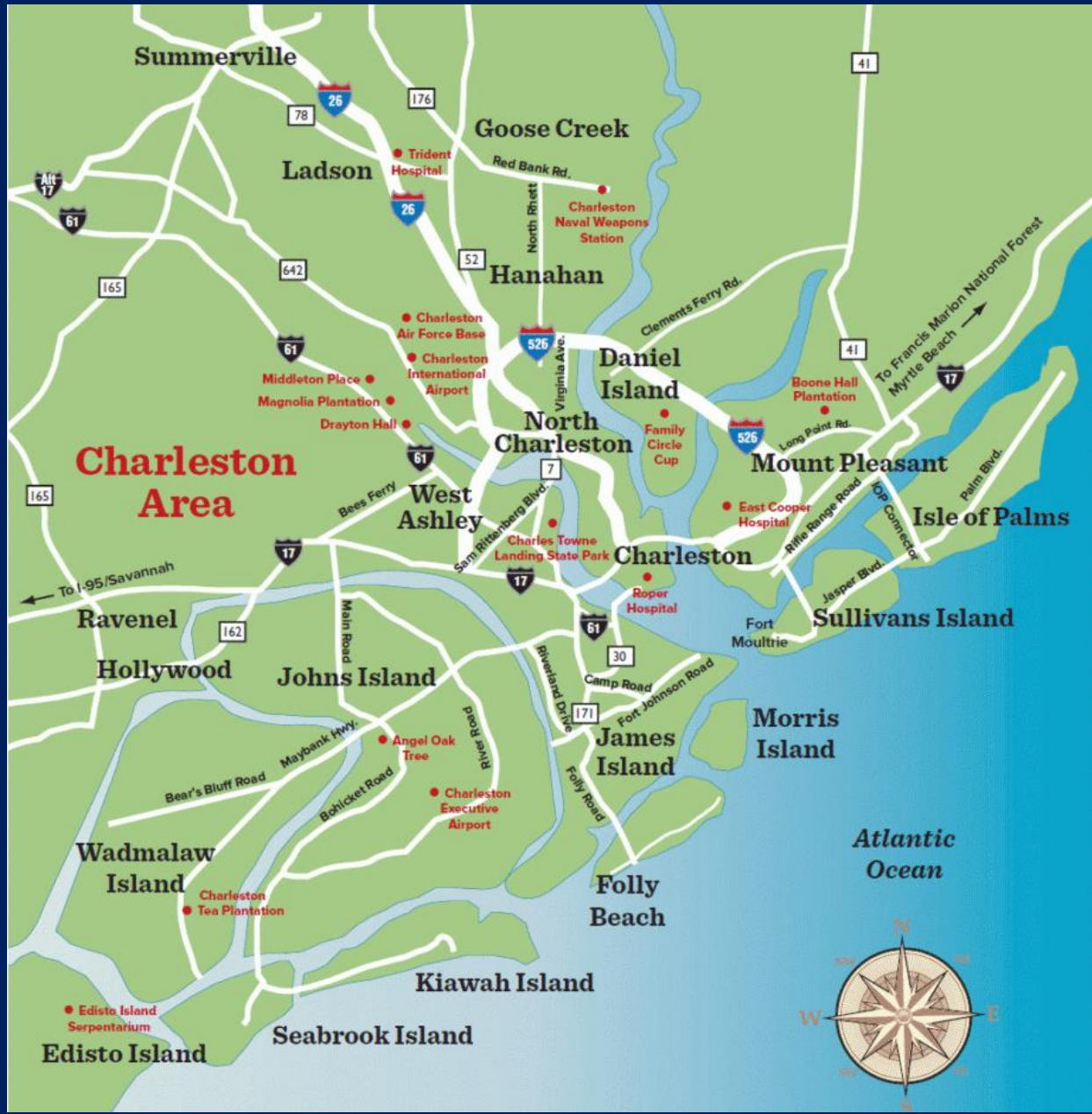
Montpelier, Vermont (McDonald's free)

By the end of the seventeenth century, however, British America had also succeeded in generating, along with innumerable villages and **townships**, several cities along the Atlantic seaboard: in particular Boston, Newport, Philadelphia and Charles Town [Charleston], along with New York, the city founded by the Dutch as New Amsterdam



Outside New England, where towns tended to follow the local topography, the new cities, too, were often built with a regularity reminiscent of that of Spanish colonial cities, even if the inspiration seems to have come from Renaissance ideals of town planning

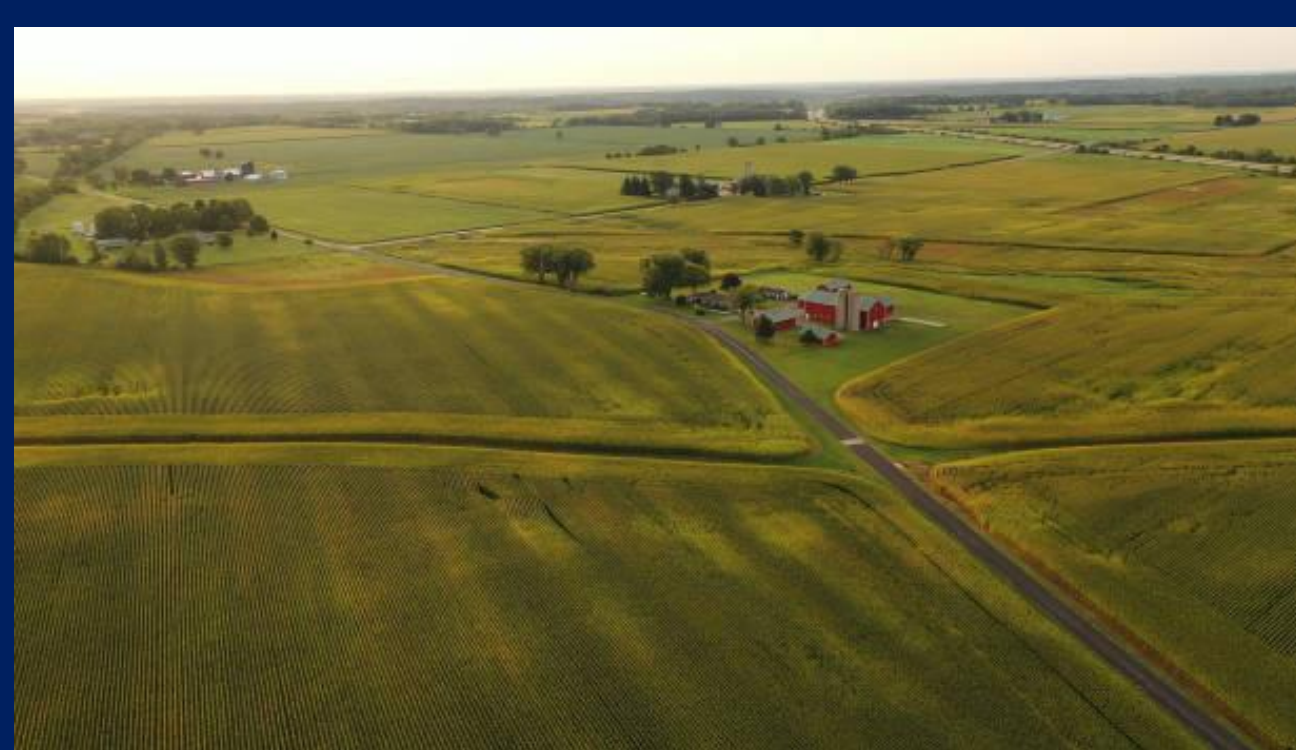




p.66 Yet in spite of the growth of its towns, British America remained in comparison with Spanish America an overwhelmingly rural society

For all the problems of public order in Hispanic American cities, the urban character of Spanish colonial society provided a continuing element of social control, inhibiting the dispersal of the colonial population through the countryside

British America was eventually to prove a far more geographically mobile society, characterized by a steady westward migration towards the agricultural frontier as the threat of Indian attack diminished



Peopling the land

p.75 Over the centuries Castilians had been drawn to southern Spain, and the English to Ireland, in their search for land and opportunity

The existence of this migratory tradition suggests that neither people was likely to see the Atlantic as an insuperable barrier to further migration once transatlantic sailings became reasonably well established

But there would need to be good reason to embark on the hazardous ocean crossing, and this was likely to come from severe pressures at home, or the lure of richer rewards and a better life overseas, or some combination of the two

[Tentativi spagnoli di indirizzare e controllare l'emigrazione]

p.76 Once the crown was committed to establishing a permanent Spanish presence in the Indies, it was naturally concerned to curb the migration of ... footloose adventurers, and encourage the transatlantic movement of potentially more reliable elements in the population, who possessed the determination and the skills to help develop the natural resources of the land

It established an appropriate instrument for control in the Casa de la Contratación – the House of Trade set up in Seville in 1503, which was made responsible for the regulation of all emigration to the Indies – and nominated Seville as the sole point of departure for the Indies



Pa
San. de Vidiago Consejo / Jun de 1833

M.
Martín del Torno, natural de aquella,
Edad 17 años y estado Soltero.

Volunta permito para trasladarme
a la Ciudad de la Havana y compañía
de un tío hijo llamado D. Pedro de la
Lama, a cuyo efecto justifica buena
condición y el consentimiento paterno.

Cons. de San. de Vidiago 1833

Concedido
Tha en el mismo día
segun formula 20. 2.

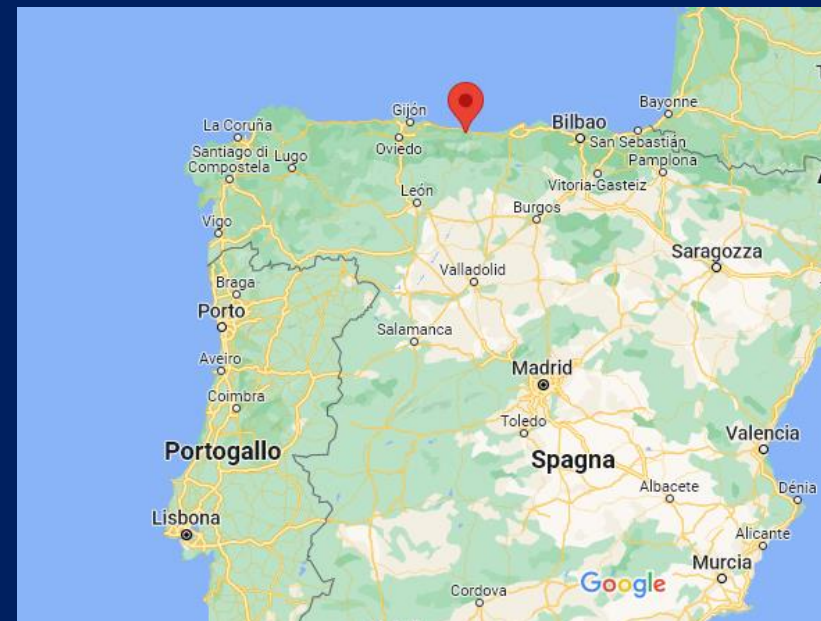
Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla

Expediente de licencia de embarque a Cuba de
Martín Santiago Torno García, 17 años de edad,
natural de Vidiago, municipio de Llanes,
Asturias.

Padre: José Torno

Madre: Ignacia García

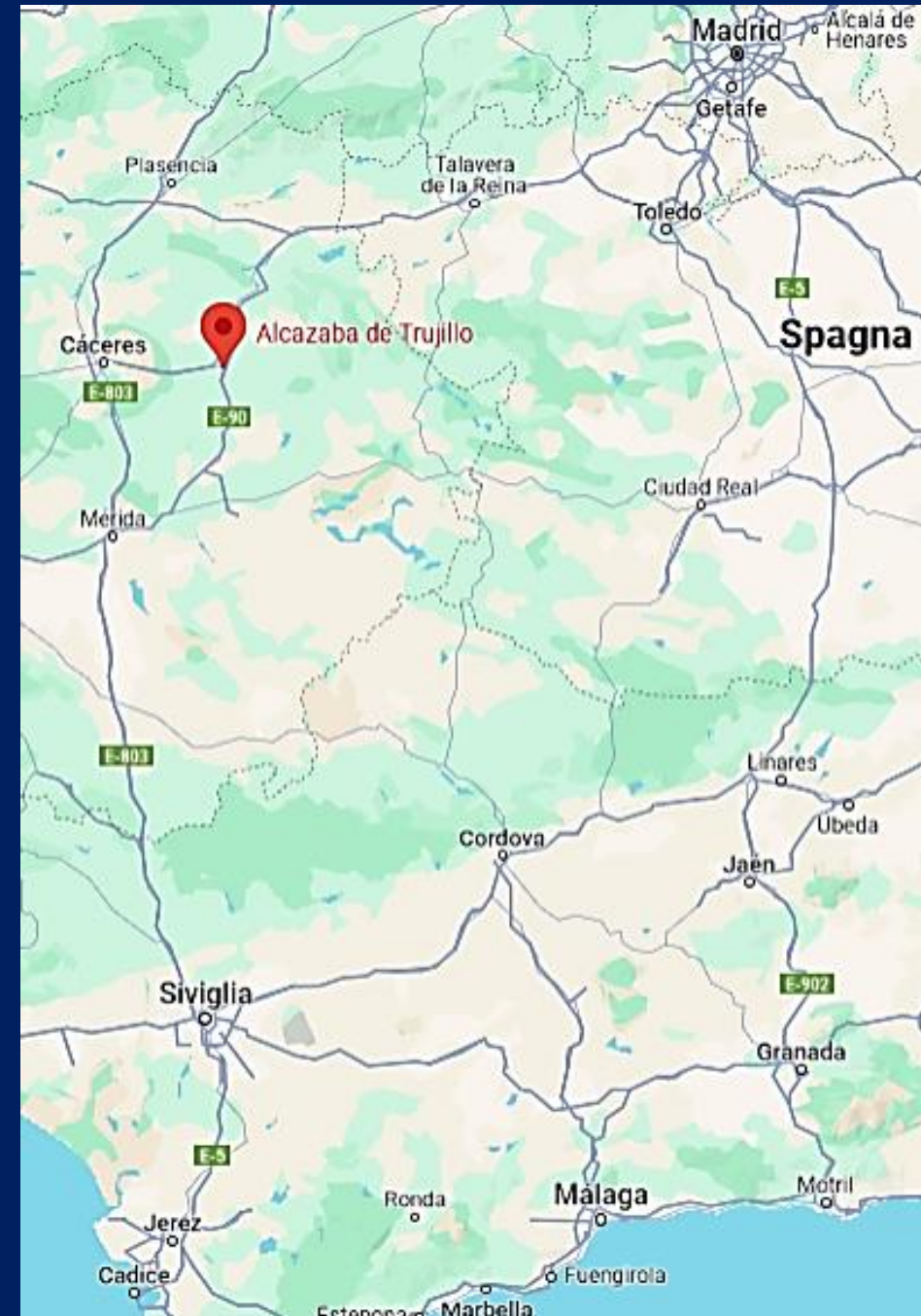
Tío: Pedro Lama



[Las licencias para viajar a Indias. Estatutos de limpieza de sangre y requerimientos en el Trujillo del siglo XVI](#)

Pablo Iglesias Auni3n. INTRODUCCI3N: LAS FUENTES, SU INTERPRETACI3N Y LAS NUEVAS "ESTRUCTURAS". "A partir del segundo viaje de Col3n, en 1493, se pas3 al descubrimiento y colonizaci3n, como lo demuestra la profusi3n de medios utilizados y la creaci3n de una administraci3n elemental. Se acometi3

Obtener una licencia para el Nuevo Mundo no era nada f3cil. Exigía un completo y complejo proceso de informaci3n sobre el demandante que comenzaba con la obligatoriedad de informar sobre la limpieza de sangre es decir, acreditar la naturaleza y calidad social, el no pertenecer a grupos sociales prohibidos. Se realizaba en el lugar de origen y se presentaba en la Casa de Contrataci3n



In comparison with the elaborate efforts made by the Spanish crown to control and regulate the process of overseas emigration, the efforts of the early Stuarts in the same direction were puny

p.77 Even the Spanish crown, however, with far stricter regulatory procedures and with emigration to the Indies allowed only from a single port, achieved only a limited success

Documents could be falsified, ships' captains bribed, and there was a high rate of attrition among crew members and soldiers on the transatlantic fleets, who would jump ship on arriving at Vera Cruz, Portobelo or Cartagena de las Indias, and disappear into American space

If the Spanish crown achieved only limited success in preventing clandestine emigration, its efforts in the early stages of colonization to promote the kind of emigration of which it approved were an almost total failure

In 1512, for instance, a royal councillor proposed that poor families should be shipped across the Atlantic at the state's expense. Yet assisted emigration for peasant and artisan families seems to have been of limited effect, and the crown was unwilling to approve the system of free transport in return for a period of enforced labour service on arrival in the Indies which was to have such a future in the Anglo-American world

This would have led to a form of white servitude quite unacceptable in a world so heavily populated by 'free' Indians

As far as official efforts to redress the balance of the sexes were concerned, the constant repetition of royal orders that wives should join their husbands in the Indies suggests that they were widely flouted, and in 1575 Philip II had to suspend preferential measures to facilitate the emigration of unmarried females because of complaints from Peru that the arrival of so many dissolute women from Spain was endangering family stability and public morality

[costo del viaggio]

p.79 The transatlantic crossing, including the cost of provisions for the journey, was not cheap

The 20 or more ducats required by the 1580s for the passage of a single adult, with a further 10–20 for provisions, would suggest that emigrants dependent on their wages would either have to sell up before setting sail, or would need to rely on remittances from relatives who had preceded them to the Indies

In order to meet their costs, many would sign up as the servants of more affluent passengers, or would seek to travel as part of the entourage of a new viceroy or an important royal or clerical official

p.83 The basic cost of the eight- to twelve-week transatlantic passage was about the same in the two countries in the early seventeenth century – £5 or 20 ducats (at an exchange rate of 4 ducats to the pound) – and to this had to be added the cost of provisions and of commodities which would be needed on arrival in America

In order to make the crossing, therefore, the majority of emigrants from the British Isles, as from Spain, would either have to sell up their property, or secure some form of assisted passage



Approximate sailing times

Vera Cruz	(from San Lúcar)	10-13 weeks
	(to San Lúcar)	18 weeks
Boston	(from England)	5-7 weeks
	(to England)	4-5 weeks
Chesapeake	(from England)	9 weeks
	(to England)	6 weeks
Barbados	(from England)	9 weeks
	(to England)	8 weeks
West Africa to West Indies		8 weeks

Map 2. The Early Modern Atlantic World.

Based on D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America*, vol. 1, *Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (1986), fig. 8; *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (1998), vol. 1, map 1.1; and Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740* (1986), figs 2 and 3.

p.79 The total number of emigrants from Spain to the Indies over the length of the sixteenth century is generally put at 200,000–250,000, or an average of 2,000–2,500 a year

[Between 1900 and 1915, more than 15 million immigrants arrived in the United States, an average 1 million a year, about 1.250.000 in 1907]

The majority of these [Spanish emigrants] gravitated to the two viceroyalties – 36 per cent to Peru and 33 per cent to New Spain – while **New Granada [1717]** received 9 per cent, central America 8 per cent, Cuba 5 per cent and Chile 4 per cent



There was, inevitably, a heavy preponderance of men in the initial stages of emigration, but by the middle years of the [XVIth] century, as conditions in the Indies began to be stabilized, the proportion of women emigrants started to rise, and there was an increase in the emigration of families, often going to join a husband or father who had successfully established himself in America

During the seventeenth century, indeed, just over 60 per cent of Andalusian emigrants went in family units, and family and clientage networks played a crucial part in Spain's settlement of the Indies

But even in the 1560s and 1570s, when the sixteenth-century emigration flow was at its highest, women never reached as many as a third of the total of all registered emigrants

[ostacoli all'emigrazione]

p.80 ...the greatest deterrent to a more massive migratory movement from the Iberian peninsula to the Indies was probably to be found neither in the cost of the journey, nor in the Sevillian monopoly of sailings and the complexity of bureaucratic procedures, but in the relatively limited opportunities once the first stage of colonization had passed

Because of the presence, especially in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, of a large Indian labour force, reinforced where necessary by the importation of slaves from Africa, there was no extensive labour market in the Spanish Indies to provide immigrants with work

Artisans who arrived from Spain would find themselves in competition with Indian craftsmen who had been quick to master European skills, and the unsuccessful would join the ranks of that floating population of vagrants, of which the viceroys were always complaining



FIG. 16. Tlalmanalco, Mexico D.F.: Capilla de los Indios. Pillar. 1560-1567. (Photo: Archivo, Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales)



FIG. 17. Potosí, Bolivia: La Botem. Eighteenth century. (*La Villa Imperial de Potosí* pl. 31)



FIG. 18. Puebla (Pue.), Mexico: Ex-convent San Domingo. After 1633. (Photo: Archivo de la Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales)



FIG. 19. Arequipa, Peru: La Compañía. Side portal. About 1700



FIG. 20. Arequipa, Peru: Casa Ricketts. 1758

There was [also] a significant return movement from America to Spain – perhaps of the order of 10–20 per cent

In North America, by contrast, with its more sparsely settled indigenous population, labour prospects for immigrants were far better

England, too, was believed by contemporaries to be suffering from overpopulation. Its total area of 50,333 square miles [130.362 kmq] supported a population of some 4 million in 1600 [30,6 ab/kmq], whereas the population of the Crown of Castile (147,656 square miles)[382.427 kmq] fell from some 6.5 million [17 ab/kmq] in the middle decades of the sixteenth century to 6 million at its end as a result of devastating harvest failure and plague in the 1590s

The pressures in England for overseas migration were correspondingly stronger

p.81 But the **West Indies** or the North American mainland were not the only possible destinations for English emigrants

The principal deterrent to New World emigration in the early seventeenth century was not the absence of opportunity but the much easier option of migration to Ireland, which received some two hundred thousand immigrants from England, Wales and Scotland during the first seventy years of the century

17th century settlement map of Ulster



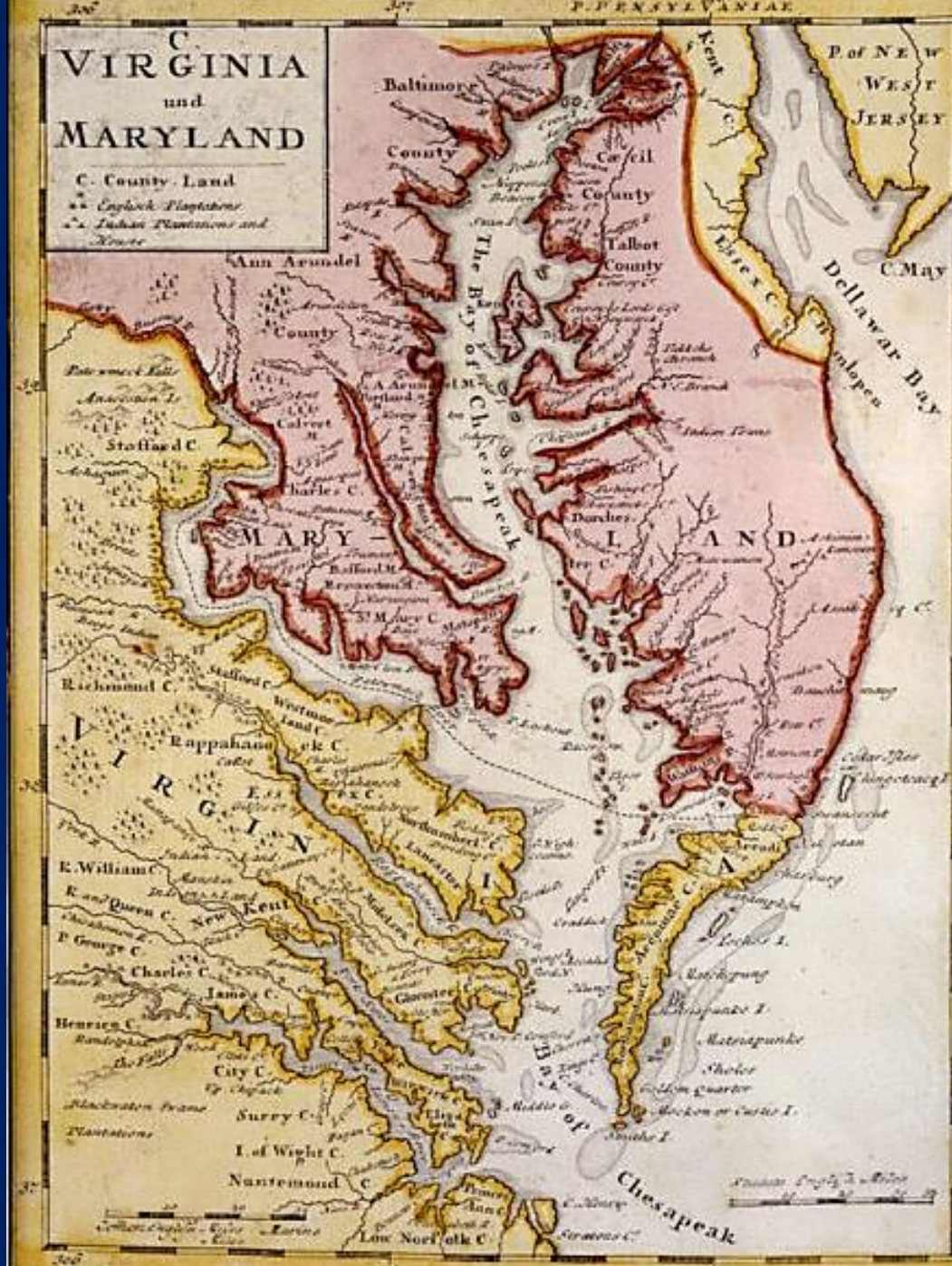
[emigrazione e religione]

p.82 Religion, which in the Spanish movement to the New World was channeled into the evangelizing activities of members of the religious orders anxious to win new converts for the faith, exercised a broader influence over English transatlantic emigration

It played its part in the settlement of Virginia – which received a significant influx of Puritans – and of Maryland, originally founded [1632-34] to provide a place of refuge for Catholics

VIRGINIA und MARYLAND

C. County Land
* English Plantations
* Indian Plantations and
* House



But ... [religion]... hardly represents the exclusive and overwhelming force that subsequent generations claimed it to be as they rewrote the history of New England to shape it to their own preconceptions and agenda

Only 21,000 of the 69,000 Britons who crossed the Atlantic in the Great Migration [Puritan Migration, 1620-40] went to New England [30%]. Of these some 20–25 per cent were servants, who may or may not have had Puritan inclinations, and there were enough profane and ungodly settlers to prove a source of constant anxiety to the New England ministers

Pilgrims Going to Church



[incentivi all'emigrazione]

p.83 The basic cost of the eight- to twelve-week transatlantic passage was about the same in the two countries in the early seventeenth century – £5 or 20 ducats (at an exchange rate of 4 ducats to the pound) – and to this had to be added the cost of provisions and of commodities which would be needed on arrival in America. In order to make the crossing, therefore, the majority of emigrants from the British Isles, as from Spain, would either have to sell up their property, or secure some form of assisted passage

p.83...since the need for settlers was greater in British than in Spanish America, more intensive and systematic efforts had to be made to find ways of financing the passage of those emigrants from the British Isles who could not pay for themselves

...throughout the Anglo-American world indentured service [servitù a contratto, servitù debitoria] [[uncountable] (old-fashioned)] the state or position of being a servant became the most effective and pervasive instrument for the encouragement of transatlantic emigration

Terms of service varied, but most servants emigrating to the **Caribbean** and the Chesapeake signed up for four to five years, and legal and institutional constraints were much more binding than the kind of arrangements generally negotiated by Spanish emigrants who secured a free passage by entering the service of some travelling dignitary, and who could usually expect to gain their independence through voluntary agreement within a relatively short time after arrival in the Indies

...some servants were able, as in Maryland, to make use of their legal rights as contracted **labourers** to secure redress in the county courts from tyrannical masters. But for many others indentured service was the equivalent of slavery

This Indenture Witnesseth, That
Henry Mayer in consideration of *Six*
Shillings paid by *Abraham Hestant* of Bucks
County for his Passage from *Rotterdam*

as also for other good causes he *Henry Mayer*
hath bound and put him self, and by these Presents doth bind and put him self
Servant to the said *Abraham Hestant*
from the Day of the Date hereof, for and
during the full Term of *Three Years*
next ensuing. During all which Term, the said Servant his *Henry Mayer*
Executors, or Assigns, faithfully shall serve, and that honestly, and obediently in
all Things, as a good and dutiful Servant ought to do. AND the said *Abraham*
Hestant his *Abraham Hestant* Executors and Assigns, during the said
Term, shall find and provide for the said *Henry Mayer*
sufficient Meat, Drink, *Apparrell* Washing and Lodging, and
at the Expiration of the said Term the said *Henry*
Mayer to be made free and Receive from the
said *Abraham Hestant* two Suits of Apparrell one
whereof to be new
AND for the true Performance hereof, both the said Parties bind themselves firmly
into each other by these Presents. In Witness whereof they have hereunto inter-
changeably set their Hands and Seals. Dated the *twentieth* Day of
September in the *twelfth* Year of His Majesty's Reign,
Annoque Domini 1738

Signed and Delivered in
the Presence of
Henry Loring
Rich Johnson

Henry Mayer
Mark
Germantown
This above was
Duly Executed by Mutual
Consent of both Parties before
Me Vint Joubert

3 anni,
contratto del 1738

Slave Revolts in North America Before 1741



Depiction of 1739 Stono Rebellion in South Carolina

September 1663 Gloucester County, Virginia

A planned revolt by black slaves and white indentured servants was uncovered by authorities. Several plotters were beheaded.

1712 New York City

Slaves armed with guns and clubs burn homes in northern New York City, killing nine whites. Indentured servants betray the plot. Forty-three slaves were tried in the Court of Quarter Sessions and twenty-five were sentenced to death. Within months of the revolt, the General Assembly passed a law allowing slavemasters to punish slaves at their discretion and effectively made impossible the freeing of slaves.

1733 St. Johns (under Danish control)

Ninety African-born slaves killed a number of plantation owners and seized control of the Danish fort at Coral Bay and hold the island half a year until French and Swiss troops arrive from Martinique.

1734-1739 Jamaica

A slave leader named Cudjoe leads a slave force that eventually leads the British to enter into a peace treaty which gave Cudjoe and his followers their freedom and 1,500 acres of their conquered territory.

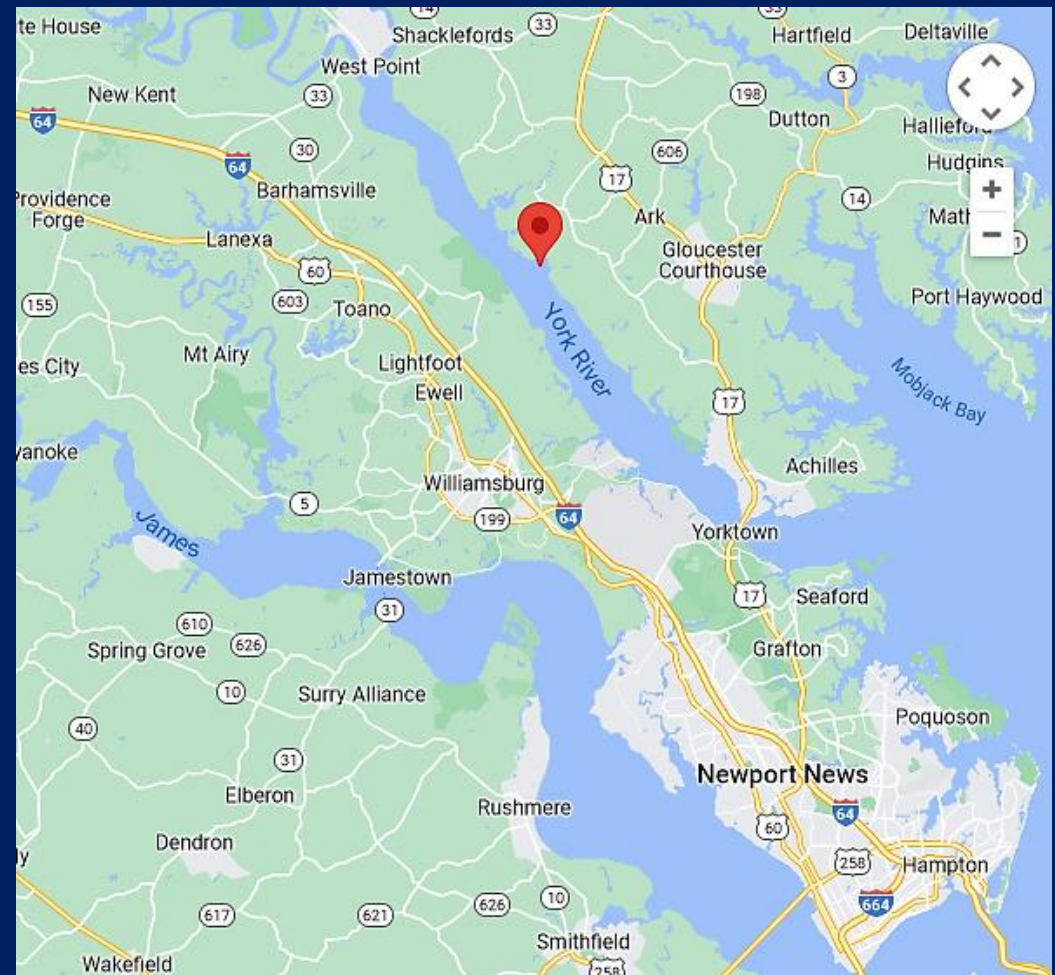
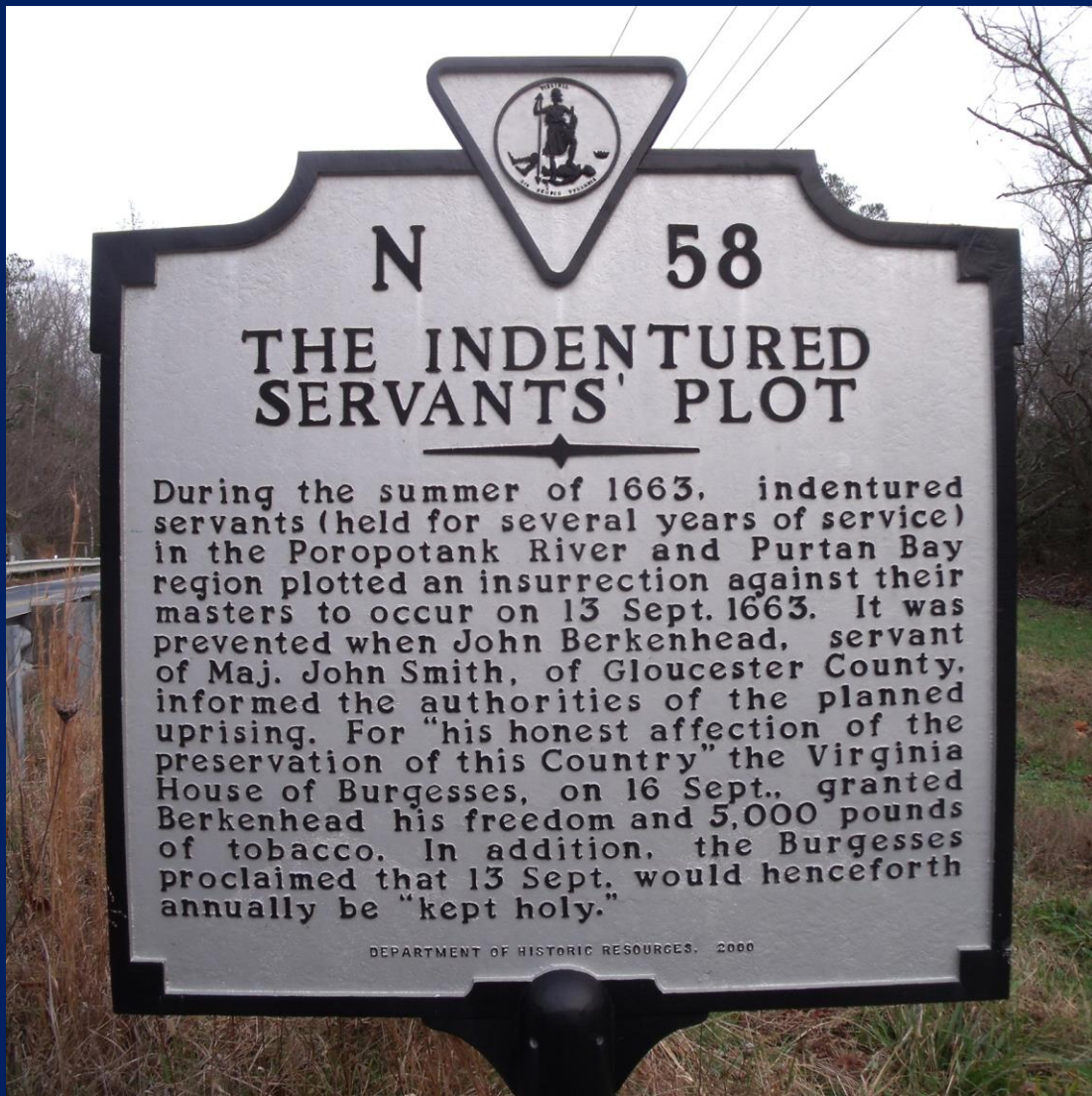
1736 Antigua

Described by New York prosecutors in 1741 plot trials as "an unparalleled hellish plot," the revolt never got off the ground. Slaves had planned an uprising for the night of a coronation ball in St. Johns. A gunpowder blast at the ball was intended to be the sign for slaves to rise up and kill whites, but the plot was thwarted. Forty-seven slaves were executed.

1739 South Carolina (Stono Rebellion)

Armed slaves, numbering over 80, attempt to march to Spanish Florida from their home area in South Carolina. When confronted by a local militia company organized to suppress the rebellion,

twenty-one whites and forty-four slaves die.



p.84 Until plantation-owners in the West Indies and the Chesapeake found an alternative, and – as they hoped – more submissive, source of labour in the importation of African slaves, unfree white labour was vital for the peopling and exploitation of British America

Indentured servants constituted 75–85 per cent of the settlers who emigrated to the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century, and perhaps 60 per cent of the emigrants to all British colonies in America during the course of the century came with some form of labour contract

Of the indentured servants, 23.3 per cent were women

p.85 During the first century of the British colonization of America, some 530,000 men and women crossed the Atlantic – between twice and four times the number of Spanish emigrants during the equivalent period a century earlier

But there was more need of their labour in the territories claimed by the British crown, and more readily available land to be 'improved'