Hispaniola - hell or home? : Decolonizing grand narratives about intercultural interactions at Concepción de la Vega (1494-1564)

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5 HISTORY AS A PROCESS: SOCIOCULTURAL AND BIOPHYSICAL INTERACTIONS AT CONCEPCIóN IN NON-DOMESTIC SPACES (1494-1564)

5.1 Introduction

To study sociocultural and biophysical intercultural interactions at Concepción it is necessary to socially identify the “cultural groups” that are interacting. Too often we assume that these classificatory categories are intrisic/biophysical, when in fact they are socially determined. For example, many studies about Spanish colonial societies assume that social differentiation throughout the complete colonial period was organized through the sistema de castas [casta system] (Cope 1994; Jamieson 2005; Loren 1999, 2001; Morner 1967). The casta system was based on a hierarchical social classification of mixed peoples, with more than 40 categories, in which people from three geographic groupings, American, Iberian, and African, were considered to be the "pure" races (Cope 1994, 24; Morner 1967,58-5; Voss 2005, 463). An important distinguishing characteristic of the casta system is that the people born to parents of different races were not assigned the race of the lower-status parent, as was done in Anglo-American colonies (known as hypodescent classification). Rather, they were assigned to a totally new category.

However, the castas system was not instituted in the Spanish colonies until the 1580s (Guitar 1998), meaning that this WAS NOT the official system used to classify people at Concepción. Indeed, the Spanish authorities were at a loss about how to classify peoples during most of the 16th century (Rothchild 2015, 188).

Previous research by the author (Kulstad 2008, 2013b, 2015; Silliman 2016, 810) has focused on identifying the social differentiation categories used at Concepción during the 16th century. Three broad classification criteria were identified: geographic origin, gender, and position within the implemented labor systems.

Current research has found that sumptuary laws were also used during the period to try to create a social hierarchical system. Sumptuary laws regulated the use of certain clothing, food and luxury items according to social rank (AGI, Indiferente General 418, L2, ff168v-169; Acosta-Corniel 2013, 37; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 188; Moya-Pons 1978, 110; Ribeiro 2003, 12–16; Suárez-Marill 1998, 15).

In an effort to better explore “intercultural” interactions here, this Chapter will first group people by geographic origin. Within these divisions, subcategories based on gender, enslaved/free, elite/non-elite, clergy/laity will be presented. A subsection will also discuss those who resisted these categories and created communities (both real and imagined” “outside of society,” such as the Roldán followers, *Indio* rebels and *Cimarrones*.

An important caveat to add is that, given the subjectivity of colonial documentary sources such as censuses (Guitar 1998), population size of each of these social categories will not be discussed. Population size, particularly that of the Indigenous

population, has been the subject of study of various researchers, and has already been published elsewhere (See Anderson-Córdova 1990, 2017; Cook and Borah 1971; Guitar 1998; Henige 1998; Las Casas 1985, vol. 2, Ch.1; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 255; Mann et al. 2005; Mira-Caballos 1997, 34; Moya-Pons 1987, 2013; Rosenblatt 1954, 102; Watts 1978).

The second half of the Chapter will explore the sociocultural interactions and biophysical interactions recorded in the historical record related to activities which could have occurred at the site in non-domestic spaces. For this study, the European/Spanish gender bias in the recording of men's activities (Rothchild 2015, 183) is useful, as the areas studied are non-domestic spaces, considered to be men's domain (Rothchild 2015, 183).

5.2 Indigenous Peoples/*Indios*

Due to the pre-contact and post-contact split in Dominican archaeology, there are two distinct and different approaches to the study of Indigenous people from the island of Hispaniola. While pre-contact (pre-historic) archaeology focuses on the links of these peoples to the rest of the Caribbean, post-contact (historic) archaeology deals with Indigenous people in a very site specific manner, following the current Dominican Historical Paradigm.

The first classification of Caribbean Indigenous peoples was undertaken by Christopher Columbus (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12; Morison 1942). He divided Indigenous peoples in the Caribbean into two groups: those friendly with the Europeans, and those who were not (Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan 1996; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243). Those who were against the Europeans were given the name "Carib," while the ones who were friends with the Europeans were only known as "Indios" (Valcárcel-Rojas (2016). Geographically, for the most part, the friendly *Indios* were located in the Greater Antilles, while the Carib seemed to be limited to the Lesser Antilles(Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan 1996; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243).

Since the advent of archaeological research in the Caribbean in the 19th century Keegan and Hofman 2017, 13), efforts were made to identify the different pre-contact artifacts being found around the region, as well as describing the cultures that produced them (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 16-17). The first attempts at classification were language based, linking the Caribbean Indigenous cultures of the Greater Antilles to the Arawak of South America (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 13). In an effort to differentiate the Indigenous peoples of the Greater Antilles from those of the South American mainland (Arawak), and from those of the Lesser Antilles (Island Arawak), the term "Taíno" was adopted as a denomination (Lovén 1935; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 13; Rouse 1992; Wilson 1990a). The general Arawak linguistic group (including those denominated "Taino" and "Carib") is believed to have extended, ca. 1492, throughout most of the Caribbean, the northeastern coast of Venezuela (Cruxent and Rouse 1969;

Deagan 2004, 600; Kulstad 2008, 158; Tavares 1976, 7; Veloz-Maggiolo 1972), the Guianas (Duin 2014; Granberry 2013) and northern Brazil (Heckenberger et al. 2003). (For exhaustive bibliographies dealing with the Taíno, see Alegría 1997; Anderson-Córdova 1990, 2017; Guitar 1998; Keegan 1992; Keegan and Hofman 2017; Oliver 1998, 59-93; Rouse 1992; Sued-Badillo 1977; Veloz-Maggiolo 1972; Wilson 1990a, 1990b).

However, at the beginning of the 21st century, there was some question as to the accuracy of the "Taino" designation, both as a term (Curet 2014; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 247) and as an ethnic group (Rodríguez-Ramos 2010). Currently, both archaeologists and historians agree that there were many cultural links between the Indigenous peoples living in the Caribbean archipelago, including language (Granberry 2013; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 247) and trade (Hofman et al. 2007), but have yet to find substitute terms and definitions for "Taíno" (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12-14, 247).

Meanwhile, archaeologically, Rouse proposed cultural links based on tangible traits, particularly those found in ceramics (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 16-17; Rouse 1992, 33). His Cultural-Historical approach groups local ceramic styles into regional series (ending in -oid), and divides series into sub-regional subseries (ending in -an) (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 16-17; Rouse 1992, 33). These ceramic groupings would reflect the grouping of similar peoples (Rouse 1992, 33). This system was adopted and adapted throughout the Caribbean.

More recently, the Caribbean archaeology group at Leiden University has undertaken ceramic studies in the region which has challenged Rouse's classifications (Ulloa-Hung 2014), but have adopted the nomenclature used by Rouse. Their research found that three distinct cultural/ceramic styles were present on Hispaniola in the Late Ceramic Age (the last pre-contact period), which they have termed Ostionoid, Mellacoid and Chicoid (Keegan and Hofman 2017; Ulloa-Hung 2014). Currently, it is considered that the Ostionoid style was more ephemeral, and limited to beach sites (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148), so only Mellacoid and Chicoid styles will be discussed here.

Although the Mellacoid and Chicoid ceramic styles will be described in more detail in Chapter 6, it is important to summarize the characteristics of Mellacoid and Chicoid cultures on Hispaniola here. Mellacoid culture appeared earlier, close to AD 900 (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148), with the earliest dates (AD 778 to 1148) coming from the Rio Verde site, approximately 2 km from the Concepción site (see Chapter 3). This culture is marked by the increase in slash-and-burn agriculture, and the possible introduction of South American cultigens (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148). Meanwhile, Chicoid culture is believed to be the most complex in the Caribbean, often being denominated as Taíno (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 140). It is linked to the rise of hereditary leaders, social inequality, and chiefdoms/cacicazgos (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 140; Moscoso 1981, 1986). The ruling class's hegemony was expressed through the imposition of tribute (Moscoso 1981, 1986). The unifying element of Chicoid culture

appears to have been a religious unification around cemí worship (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 148; Oliver 2009). This group identity is often referred to as "Tainoness" (Rodíguez-Ramos 2010). Chicoid communities appear to have been large enough to amass enough troops to fight the European/Spanish, as seen in the Battles of the Vega Real (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 147) (See Chapter 4).

Unlike at the north coast of Hispaniola, where the Leiden group proposes possible coexistence between Mellacoid and Chicoid styles (and cultures) (Keegan and Hofman 2017; Ulloa-Hung 2014), there is little evidence of coexistence in the Concepción area (Caba 2018). This is partially due to the shortage of research focused on recovering Indigenous materials, currently limited to the studies undertaken at the Rio Verde and Cutupú sites in the 1970s, and which revealed that the Mellacoid ceramics had a radiocarbon date of AD 778 to AD 1148 (See Chapter 3). However, it is believed that Chicoid and European ceramics (and cultures) coexisted during the early contact period (Coste 2015; Deagan 1999).

Conversely, Dominican Historical Archaeology approaches *Indio* lifeways in a very site specific manner, due to the way in which information about these peoples were recorded in the historical record. An example of this are the Repartimiento records, which separate *Indio* numbers by cities. This dissertation will follow this usage.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Pre-contact Indigenous people(s) from the Americas in this document have been denominated as "Indigenous people(s) from…," identifying their specific place of origin - Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, etc. Indigenous people living after contact with the Europeans, have been labeled as "Indios" to create a temporal distinction. This is due to the fact that the Spanish chronicles did not record the names used by the Indigenous social, political or ceremonial communities in the Caribbean to name themselves (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 12)(For a detailed discussion see Curet 2014). The idea of naming peoples by origin is in accordance to the social classification system used by the Europeans/Castilians in the Caribbean after contact. This use is in an effort to make better connections between historical and archaeological strands of evidence used for this dissertation.

As stated in Chapter 1, although Valcárcel-Rojas (2016), and others (Ulloa-Hung 2016, 214; Valcárcel and Pérez-Concepción 2014) use the term "Indio" when referring to Indigenous peoples who have abandoned their precontact lifeways behind and embraced colonial lifeways. Here the term will be used to designate all Indigenous peoples after contact, since not enough is known about their lifeways at Concepción to make this distinction between those who adopted European lifeways and those who continued to live as before.

As will be further explored below, the European/Castilian authorities divided the *Indios* of the Caribbean into two, those they interacted with in a friendly manner, and those against which they had hostile conflict (Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan 1996; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243). Again, following the established social classification

system, most of the friendly *Indios* were found in the Greater Antilles, while the conflictive were said to be based in the Lesser Antilles (Curet 2014, 471; García-Arévalo 2012; Guarch-Delmonte 1978: 7; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 243; Veloz-Maggiolo 2003; Wilson 1990). The friendly *Indios* were further divided into two social ranks: Nitaíno (elites) and the *Naborías* (non-elite). It is beyond the scope of this research to explore social rank amongst the conflictive *Indios*, and these will only be referred to in their function as *Perpetual Naborías*, that is, *Indios* brought from outside of Hispaniola for a particular type of enslaved labor.

5.2.1 Gold Tribute Period (1494-1499)

An account of this period at Concepción is found in the Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los *Indios*, by Catalonian Jeronymite friar Ramón Pané (Arrom 1988; Pané 1974 1990, 1999). Best known for being the only one to record "Taíno" religious practices (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 115), in the last chapters of his chronicle, Pané also records the difficult co-existence between the *Indios* and the European/Spanish at Concepción (Arrom 1988; Pané 1974, 1990, 1999). He records the baptism of many Indigenous people and the conversion of the "most evil woman," the mother of Cacique Guarionex (Pané 1974, 1990, 1999).

Modern-day historians and anthropologists (see for example Cassá 1974, 1978; Deagan 2004; Moscoso 1981, 1986; Moya-Pons 1992; Wilson 1990a, 1990b; Oberg 1955; Redmond and Spencer 1994) have analyzed Las Casas and Pané's writings and have suggested that the Indigenous people on Hispaniola were organized into hierarchical, non-egalitarian, chiefdoms (Moscoso 1981, 1986; Wilson 1990b, 28–34). Society was highly stratified, and separated into two major categories, the Nitaíno (elites) and the *Naborías* (non-elite) (Deagan 2004, 600; Kulstad 2008, 158; Moscoso 1981, 1986; Moya-Pons 1992).

The Nitaínos included two major categories: *Caciques* and *Behiques*. Caciques, or chiefs, were the absolute rulers of the chiefdoms or cacicazgos (Wilson 1990b, 28–34). They were also in charge of governance (Oliver 2005, 245). *Behiques*, or shamans, were in charge of the people's physical-spiritual health (Oliver 2005, 245). José Oliver sees an overlap in both of these functions, however, since most of the information about these two categories comes from Pané (Oliver 2005, 245), his role as an evangelizing priest probably limited his exposure to shamanistic rituals.

The *Naborías* were required to pay a tribute to the Nitaínos, both in produce and labor (Kulstad 2008, 166; Moscoso 1981; Tavares 1976, 28). The Nitaínos would then give the required tribute to the European/Spanish (Cassá 1978, 44; Incháustegui 1955, 9). Unfortunately, the gold tribute required by the European/Spanish disrupted the Indigenous lifeways and Columbus refused to change the requirements, leading to different wars, including the Battles of La Vega Real (See Chapter 4).

5.2.2 Repartimiento/Encomienda Period (1500-1508)

The upheaval caused by insurrections both by Resistant *Indios* and Roldán followers (See Chapter 4) was solved by a change from a feitoría-like system of interaction with the Indigenous peoples to one more similar to the Castilla-Leon Reconquista model used in both southern Spain and the Canary Islands (Guerrero 2016, 18; Kulstad 2008, 35). After this change, *Indio* laborers were distributed to work for the colonizers, not pay tribute (Guerrero 2016, 18; Moya-Pons 1983, 26; Rodríguez Demorizi 1971). The land and *Indios* distributed to the Roldán followers were in the gold rich areas of Bonao, La Vega and Esperanza (Las Casas 1985, I, 105). The *Indios* continued to be divided into *Nitaínos* and *Naborías*, but they executed slightly different functions.

5.2.3 Nitaínos (1500-1508)

The Nitaínos during this period were the part of the Indigenous ruling class. It appears that the European/Castilians considered the Nitaíno to be equivalent to the "lesser nobility" in Spain (Guitar 2001; Kulstad 2008, 166). These included the cacique (chief) and the tribe elders, as well as the *behiques*. The caciques could be either men or women, and still commanded centralized political power (Kulstad 2008, 166; Wilson 1990b, 28–34). Marriage to a female cacique was a source of social power (Guerrero 2016, 13).

Although the Nitaíno were an essential part of the colonial work system, they did not perform any manual labor. Their main function was to serve as intermediaries between the *Indio* workers and the Spanish authorities (Deagan 2004, 608; Guitar 2001; Kulstad 2008, 166). In order to do this, the Spanish selected the sons of cacique chiefs to be educated at selected Franciscan monasteries in the colony, including Concepción (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418, I F. 150v.; Guitar 1998, 170; Mira-Caballos 2007, 189; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 83-85). This instruction undoubtedly contributed to the lessened influence of the *behiques*.

5.2.4 Naborías (1500-1508)

The *Naborías*, or *Trabajadores libres* ("Free" laborers), were the main worker group. They did not belong to one owner, and were not private property (Cassá 1978, 44; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 3 sig.; Lamb 1956, 46). They were under the jurisdiction of a *cacique*, and were mobilized from their native regions to gold mining regions, such as Concepción, to perform manual labor (Cassá 1978, 39, 41; Deagan 2004, 609; Kulstad 2008, 166; Moya Pons 2008, 35). According to the Crown, these *Indio* workers worked for a certain length of time, with long periods of "rest" assigned between seasons (Deagan 2004, 603; Kulstad 2008, 166). More specifically, five

months of work and 40 days of rest in between to work on their own food plots, or conucos (Cassá 1978, 44). Women took care of the conucos on-site while the men were away looking for gold (Deagan 2004). A system called *demora*, or the extension for several months of the mining work, was created in 1504, and eventually lead to continuous work cycles (Cassá 1978, 44; Kulstad 2008, 166).

5.2.5 Repartimiento/Encomienda Period (1508-1542)

This was a period of great changes for the *Indios* on Hispaniola. These changes were prompted by the fast decrease in Indigenous labor on the island, and confirmed by the Census of 1508 (Moya-Pons 2008, 33). It is in this year that the Crown gives colonial authorities permission to bring in Indigenous people from other parts of the Circum-Caribbean (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209; Deive 1995; Guitar 1998, 127). It is important to note that the Nitaínos of Hispaniola had a higher hierarchical status than those from other islands.Concern for the survival of the Indigenous peoples became an obsession of the colonial imperial-religious system, as *Indios* slowly became commodities within the Repartimientos (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 39). (The Jeronymite plan to save Indigenous peoples is discussed in Chapter 4 - Pueblos Tutelados section).

5.2.6 Nitaínos (1508-1542)

The Nitaínos continued to be equivalent to the Spanish “lesser nobility” (Guitar 2001; Mira-Caballos 2007, 179). A full 20% of the caciques were women. Eighteen percent of the cacique names in the 1514 Repartimiento have a Spanish first name and an *Indio* last name, suggesting that they were baptized Christians. Some of the Spanish names could also be due to the name exchange ritual known as guaitiao (Guitar 1998, 136; Kulstad 2008, 167). These could also be the names of mixed children (Guerrero 2016, 13). Regardless of the reason, the large number of Spanish names among the caciques reflects interaction between upper class *Indios* and European/Spanish (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b; Kulstad 2008, 179).

Caciques continued to serve as intermediaries between the European/Spanish, but did not manage the *Perpetual Naborías* (see below). This lessened their power within society. Behiques also lost a great amount of their power during this period as new caciques came from the group educated at the Franciscan monasteries, as was the case with Enriquillo (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 44; Mira-Caballos 2007, 189).

5.2.7 Naborías (1508-1542)

The *Naborías* of this time period continued to be made up only of *Indios* from Hispaniola. They still did not belong to one owner (although nominally they were owned by the Crown), and were not private property (Cassá 1978, 44; Inéditos América y

Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 3 sig.; Lamb 1956, 46). This meant they were only supposed to work for the Crown, principally in the mines, construction, and agriculture (Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXI, 1884, 3 sig.; Lamb 1956, 46, 132).

However, a review of the Repartimientos of 1510 and 1514 show that they worked in various industries, alongside their "masters" - health, food production, construction, smithing and tailoring (Kulstad 2008, Tables 6-6 and 6-7). This work, a lot of it urban, made the creation of reducciones, or Indian towns, unfeasible for European/ Spanish colonists. This subject was discussed in the Jeronymite Interrogation in 1517 (AGI, Indif. Gen. 1624; Moya-Pons 2008, 35; Rodríguez Demorizi 1971). Although Spanish chroniclers kept meticulous records of the *Naborías* distributed as labor, they did not keep records of the segments of the population that did not work, such as the elderly, children and pregnant women (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Kulstad 2008, 166).

5.3.8 Perpetual Naborías (1508-1542)

By 1508, the loss of *Naborías* to disease and working conditions forced Spanish authorities to find new sources of laborers from lands in the Circum-Caribbean (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209; Guitar 1998, 127; Kulstad 2008, 168). The conscription of these was justified by the "just war." (Erickson 1983; Las Casas 1999; Maestre-Sánchez 2004; Sepulveda 1984) This concept stated that Indigenous peoples were to be given a chance to accept Christianity (and its associated Spanish lifeways). If they confronted the Spanish or ran away, this was deemed rejection and these groups could be captured and taken in as workers. Some of these groups were accused of cannibalism, and were known in the documents as "Caribs" (See Cassá 1978, 53-54; Keegan 1992, 8-10, 226; Rouse 1992, 21-25, 145-146; Sued-Badillo 2003; Tavares 1976, 20). The dichotomy between "good and noble" *Indios* vs. "fierce cannibals" survived in the documentary record until recent times, when this was challenged by archaeologists (Hofman et al. 2008; Keegan and Hofman 2017, 115).

These conscripted Indigenous workers were known as *Perpetual Naborías*. Unlike the *Naborías*, they were private property and could be inherited (Cassá 1978, 53; Kulstad 2008, 167). Records show *Perpetual Naborias* were captured in the Bahamas, Colombia, Florida, the coasts of Mexico and Yucatán, the coast of Central America, northern South America (Venezuela and the Guianas), the Lesser and southern Antilles, and Brazil (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 79-26; Cassá 1978, 54; Deagan 1999, 11; Ferdinand 1511; Incháustegui 1955, 113; Kulstad 2008, 168; Las Casas, II 1995, Ch. 43-45 Marte 1981, 89; Otte 1958, 5-6; Rogoziński 2000, 31). The majority arrived between 1510 and 1530 on Hispaniola (Guitar 1998, 313). In the 1510s there were close to 30,000 *Perpetual Naborias* on the island (Guitar 1998, 90; Kulstad 2008, 167).

The process of bringing Perpetual Naborías to Hispaniola appears to have two facets, legal and illegal, with only the legal recorded in the historical documents. In spite

of this, it is possible to roughly trace the progression of captures across the Circum-Caribbean (a more complete description of this process is found in Deive 1995). The first peoples conscripted came from the Lucayas (Bahamas) (Las Casas, II 1995, Ch. 43-45; Moya-Pons 2008, 33). In 1508, Antón Serrano and Diego de Nicuesa were given permission by the Crown to import Indigenous people from the Lucayas to Hispaniola (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 79-26; Ferdinand 1511; Keegan 1992, 221-223; Las Casas, II 1995, Ch. 43-45; Marte 1981, 89; Moya-Pons 1987,49-50; Rogoziński 2000, 31). Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón, Mayor of Concepción, financed the enterprise (Moya-Pons 1987, 50, 61).

In 1511, although efforts were being made to formally colonize Puerto Rico and Cuba. Indigenous peoples from both islands were sent to Hispaniola as Perpetual Naborías (Moya-Pons 2008, 33, 34). Later, as Spanish settlements became more permanent, they started to import Perpetual Naborías themselves. A similar process occurred in Jamaica, starting in 1513 (Moya-Pons 2008, 34).

Captures were also undertaken along the northern Lesser Antilles, and by 1520, historical documents claimed that all islands, from the Virgin Islands to Barbuda, had been depopulated (except for St. Kitts and Nevis) (Kulstad 2008, 168; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 1997, 1998; Rogoziński 2000, 31). That same year, captures started in Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, Barbados, St. Lucia and Tobago (AGI, Indif. Gen. 419, L5, ff68-71; Guitar 1998, 135; Rogoziński 2000, 31). The Venezuelan coast was raided most extensively from 1515 to 1520 (AGI, Indif. Gen. 420, L10, ff243r-243v; Guitar 1998, 135), there is evidence that it continued to be a source of Perpetual Naborías through 1543 (Benzoni 1992; Moya-Pons 2008, 52). Brazil and the Guianas, as part of Portuguese territory, provided workers throughout the colonial period, but were only legally available for purchase in Portugal (Mira-Caballos 2007).

Attempts to identify the Perpetual Naborías at Concepción in the historical record has been meager. First, Deive (1995) focuses more on the place of origin of the Perpetual Naborías, as opposed to where they went, and barely mentions Concepción. In spite of the varied Indigenous peoples listed as part of the Perpetual Naboría group, only Lucayans have been identified as such in the Concepción historical record. Two Lucayan maids are identified in the Cathedral Dean's household as part of his 1532 trial (Patronato 1995). More research is necessary to identify not only other Indigenous peoples that may have lived in Concepción, but also more aspects of their life, including the work they were assigned.

Perpetual Naboría conscription began to wane in the 1530s thanks in large part to efforts by the Dominican order, principally led by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (Guitar 1998, 258; Kulstad 2008, 170; Rueda 1988, 25). Las Casas championed the idea of "non-violent pacification" of Indigenous peoples, meaning that "just war" could no longer provide Perpetual Naboría workers. Las Casas was successful in his campaign, which culminated in the New Laws of 1542 (Rueda 1988, 25). This greatly improved *Indio*

working conditions outside the Greater Antilles, leading to the survival of many Indigenous cultures outside of the Circum-Caribbean area (See Kulstad 2008, 170).

5.2.9 *Indio* Composition after 1542

As mentioned in Chapter 4, in 1542, the New Laws of Indies instituted a plan to eliminate Naboría labor and fase out Perpetual Naboría enslavement (Guitar 1998, 258; Mira-Caballos 2007, 186; Rogoziński 2000, 31; Rueda 1988, 25). This is a culmination of various attempts throughout the early colonial period to try to stop the fast decline in *Indio* population and again proposed the idea of separate communities, based on the Iberian urban population models (Graham 1998, 26). It must be noted that Indigenous people from Portuguese territories (Brazil and the Guianas) could still be officially enslaved (Mira-Caballos 2007). Often, after 1542, *Indios* from other areas of the Circum-Caribbean were enslaved illegally (Croizat 1992, XXXV; Moya-Pons 2008, 52) and said to be from Brazil (Mira-Caballos 2007, 182).

Similarly, Karen Anderson-Córdova (1990, 122-133, 2017) and Lynne Guitar (1998, 222-227) contend that, on Hispaniola, rather than releasing the Naborías from their posts, they were classified as Perpetual Naborías in subsequent censuses. The lack of Naborías was also used as an excuse to import enslaved peoples, both African and Indigenous (Ferbel and Guitar 2002, 1, 7).

The lack of Naboría labor eliminated the Nitaíno's position in colonial society. This category soon disappears from censuses, but it may be more of a consequence of the active religious indoctrination undertaken by cacique sons throughout the 50 years of the colony (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418, I F. 150v.; Mira-Caballos 2007, 189). Given that this is before the creation of the casta system, if any intermarriage had occurred, a large portion of this class may have been incorporated into the colony's ruling class.

"Freedom" for the *Indios* appears to have been one related to a freedom in movement. They were no longer required to work for the person owning the land (Mira-Caballos 2007, 179). They were allowed to work as servants everywhere, including cities. They also could undertake diverse labor activities: commerce, shoemaking, tailoring, cooks, etc. (Mira-Caballos 2007, 184). This freedom was not only a consequence of the New Laws, but also from the confirmation of their status as "humans" in the Las Casas-Sepulveda debates of 1550-1551 (Brunstetter 2012; Brunstetter and Zartner 2011; Erickson 1983; Las Casas 1999; Maestre-Sánchez 2004; Sepulveda 1984).

5.3 European Lifeways

5.3.1 European/Spanish

The peoples described in the following section mostly came from the part of the European continent currently known as Spain. However, it would be wrong to call them

solely “Spanish” given that, at that point in time, an even at the time of the writing of this document, the places these people originated from did not consider themselves to be part of such an entity. First of all, the country of Spain did not exist until the unification of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon with the crowning of Philip II in 1556 (Fernández-Álvarez 2000). It must be noted that most of the other European countries as we know them today did not exist either. In fact, during our period of study, the Spanish Habsburg dynasty governed most of the Americas, the Low Countries, and territories now in France, Germany and Italy in Europe (See Chapter 4). However, only Castilians were officially allowed to govern and live on Hispaniola and the rest of the Americas. This was due to the dictate of the Treaty of Tordesillas, in which the Pope divided the world between Castile and Portugal (Fernández-Álvarez 1975). Although eventually peoples from all parts of the Habsburg empire were allowed to come as settlers to Hispaniola, including converted Jews and converted Moors (Haring 1939, 131; Incháustegui 1955, 62), the official requirements to be part of the ruling class still followed the dictates of Castilian limpieza de sangre. Due to the variety of territories (both in Europe and around the world) the peoples from this continent described here have been denominated as “Europeans/…” with their place of origin following. When place of origin is unknown, the term “European/UID” will be used.

5.3.1.1 Castilian lifeways circa 1492

Castilian institutions, social classes and economy served as models for the society created in the early colonial period on Hispaniola (Kulstad 2008, 171; Moya-Pons 1983, 15, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Willis 1984, 12). The Castilian institutions of the 15th century were formed during the Reconquista (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 11, 1997, 1998; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1955a) (see Chapter 4, Section: Implantation of the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan).

Spanish society was divided into, in descending order, nobles, professionals, merchants, servants and farmers/herdsmen (Kulstad 2008, 163; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5). The noble class and the hidalgos did not pay taxes, and were exempt of judicial obligations (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 14, 1997, 1998). There was however, some degree of upward mobility. Certain professionals, such as lawyers and doctors, were able to gain some privileges comparable to those within the nobility (Kulstad 2008, 163; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5). Church officials had special privileges, similar to lawyers and doctors, which were comparable to those within the nobility (Kulstad 2008, 163; Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5).

Those who did not have access to funds for education, or a Church career, might earn noble status through war, or being employed by the government (Crown) (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983, 5). Chivalry [hidalgüismo], became a way of life (Elliott 1963, 38; Vicens-Vives 1969, 349). One of the main precepts of hidalgüismo was the disdain for

manual labor (Moya-Pons 1983, 12, 1997, 1998). Hidalgos considered work done by tradesmen, merchants and farmers to be of less “quality,” an attitude reinforced by the fact that a lot of this work was largely done by non-Christians (Moya-Pons 1983, 12, 1997, 1998). (See Chapter 4, and Kulstad 2008, 163).

Urban organization of society was important, especially within the Castilla-León Reconquista model, (later evolving into the Ibero-American Grid Town Plan) (Kulstad 2008, 163; Moya-Pons 1983, 11, 1997, 1998). Municipal centers and towns were led by a group of landowners who chose their leaders from among themselves (Kulstad 2008, 36; Moya-Pons 1983, 16-17, 1997, 1998). There were several posts, and together they formed a town government (ayuntamiento) whose main functions included collecting taxes, keeping the peace, guaranteeing town supplies, regulating prices, and executing public works (Kulstad 2008, 36; Moya-Pons 1983, 16-17, 1997, 1998).

5.3.1.2 Europeans on Hispaniola

Although only Castilians were supposed to go to Hispaniola according to the Tratado de Tordesillas, eventually peoples from all parts of Europe travelled to this island after the Habsburg Empire expanded. Legal documented travelers mentioned in official historical chronicles, the Repartimientos, and official documents will be highlighted here, namely those from Castile, Aragon, Italy (Genoa), Germany and Portugal.

The Castilian adversity to manual work, part of hidalgüismo, created a particular colonial situation which required the need for a labor interaction between workers and masters. The first of this type of interactions was limited to Columbus and his servants (See Chapter 4). This did not end well, due to the fact that the Castilian servants did not feel Columbus’s Genoese family treated them fairly (Julián 2015). Roldán and his followers left La Isabela to live with the Indigenous peoples of Xaragua. In exchange for their return to society, they were given benefits only allowed the Castilian elites on the Peninsula (see section Primeros Pobladores) (Guerrero 2016, 18; Las Casas I, 1927, 577).

5.3.1.3 Columbian period (1494-1499)

Columbus (and his family) governed Hispaniola colony from 1494-1499. Officially, during this period there was little official interaction between the Europeans and the *Indios* due to the implantation of the feitoria/tribute system. Unofficially, Roldán and his followers lived in the same communities as the Indigenous peoples and learned many of their ways. This period ends with the official stance on interaction changing from segregation to integration of the different communities. It is important to note that few, if

any, European women came to Hispaniola during this period (Acosta-Corniel 2013; Rothchild 2015).

5.3.1.4 Ruling class: Columbus family (1494-1499)

Columbus was granted governance of the lands he “discovered” through the Capitulaciones de Santa Fe (García-Gallo 1976). As discussed earlier (See Chapter 4), the process of validating this right took years (García-Gallo 1976). One of the main aspects confirming the Capitulaciones concerned its implantation of segregated *Indio*/ European communities which meant a loss of *Indio* servants living on-site.

5.3.1.5 Ruling class: Castilian elite (1494-1499)

Although the ideal settler, according to the Castilla-León Reconquista model, was the vecino (landowner), in reality, given the precariousness of life on the island, few Castilian elites lived on Hispaniola during this period. At the same time, the feitoría was set up so that Christopher Columbus had most of the governing power (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 12; Sauer 1993, 112).

5.3.1.6 Ruling class: Clergy (1494-1499)

During this period, the clergy were an important part of the ruling class because they were in charge of determining the religious needs of the *Indios*. In fact, the concern over the *Indios’s* position in Christianity became the main concern of the upper echelons of the colonial clergy in the years to come, and regular everyday running of the churches became the task of lower level clergy.

5.3.1.7 Servant class (1494-1499)

The feitoria system implanted in the La Isabela settlement effectively made Christopher Columbus the administrator and governor of the island, and gave everyone else servant status (Sauer 1993, 112). This was one of the reasons behind the Roldán rebellion (Julián 2015).

The servant class learned how to survive on the island better than the elites due to their closer interactions with the *Indios*, particularly those who had followed Roldán. They often were able to rise to the ruling class thanks to this knowledge, together with the wealth they produced through gold mining (Cassá 1978, 35; Charlevoix 1730, 127; Las Casas I, 1927, 577).

5.3.1.8 Ovantine period (1500?-1564)

Although Governor Nicolas de Ovando did not arrive in Hispaniola until 1502, the European/Spanish group did not change much after the reintegration of the Roldán

followers in 1499. This group of ex-rebels became known as “Primeros Pobladores” [First Settlers]. However, it is Ovando’s acceptance of this group into the ruling class that transforms this period, and is something that creates a difference between New and Old World lifeways.

Ovando did not, however, arrive on Hispaniola with this purpose in mind. He came with orders to re-organize the colony's settlements according to the Castilla-León Reconquista model, due to Columbus’s failure with the feitoría model (See Chapter 4, and Kulstad 2008, 35). To achieve this, Ovando created or re-organized a series of settlements following the model (Cassá 1978, 42; Kulstad 2008, 48). This was facilitated by the fact that he arrived with 2,500 new European/Spanish settlers (there had previously been only 300 Spaniards present) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a, 276; Kulstad 2008, 48).

These settlements were to be run by its elite members, or vecinos. Ovando set up each city’s governance structure, ordered the construction of municipal buildings and churches, and installed mayors and priests (García 1906, 70; Kulstad 2008, 48). In other words, he organized the town infrastructure in a manner that guaranteed alliance to the Spanish Crown (Concepción 1981; Lamb 1956; Moya-Pons 1978; Palm 1951, 1952).

5.3.1.9 Ruling Class: Vecinos at Concepción (1500?-1564)

Most of the historical information about these families comes from documents related to the 1514 Repartimiento, since only they were supposed to acquire Repartimiento Naboría laborers (Arranz-Márquez 1991). Given their position against Diego Colón, and the fact that half of those living in the city in 1514 had *Indio* wives (Arranz-Márquez 1991), there is little doubt that these vecinos supported communal integration.

As time progressed, power in the form of *Indio* labor became concentrated in the hands of a few Concepción vecinos. One reaction was a mass migration by the elite to Santo Domingo first (Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 37, 1997, 1998), and then onto the mainland settlements, particularly Central America, Mexico, and later Peru (Guitar 1998, 145; Incháustegui 1955, 99; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 33, 1997, 1998; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 67). Many historians have suggested that this mass migration of elites was the cause of much the colony’s decline (Charlevoix 1730; García 1906, 102; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 1997, 1998) (See also Kulstad 2008, 62).

5.3.1.10 Colonial officials (1500?-1564)

It appears, according to historical documents, that a great portion of the European/Spanish ruling class at Concepción during this period was made up of colonial officials. Although some of these officials were part of nobility in Europe before coming to the Americas, most were persons who achieved elite status through the concession of titles and government posts by the Crown. This granting of privileges was a common practice by the Spanish Crown, from the time of the Catholic Monarchs (Isabel and Ferdinand) to Philip IV (1665) (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 268). These were usually granted to those who showed military prowess and loyalty to the Crown, regardless of their limpieza de sangre (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 268). These privileges could also be bought, and often were, by people who had amassed great wealth in the Americas (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 267).

Since wealth could change a European/Spaniard's social status on Hispaniola, the ability to create more wealth (i.e. mine more gold) was integral to the settlement's social organization. In other words, the more workers received in the Repartimiento meant more mining, more gold, more wealth, and consequently a chance to have a higher status amongst the elite (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209). This lent itself to corruption, especially amongst government officials who did not fit into the traditional "elite" description. The different Repartimientos were plagued with shady dealings and obvious partiality towards those who paid large bribes (Cohen 1997b, 5; García 1906, 78; Guitar 1998, 134; Kulstad 2008, 59; Moya-Pons 1983, 27, 1997, 1998). This became one of the reasons for the Crown to halt Repartimientos after 1514 (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Kulstad 2008, 60). This made it much harder for colonial officials to change their colonial status and solidified the base of the elite status for the rest of the colonial period on Hispaniola.

Although the vecino status could be achieved by all members of a family, only European/Spanish men could be given a governmental post. This has skewed documentary information since most of it focused on governmental activities.

5.3.1.11 Primeros Pobladores [First Settlers] (1500?-1564)

A group of Roldán followers was the first significant group of Spanish non-elites to settle at Concepción. After reaching an agreement with the group in Oct. 1499, Columbus gave land and *Indios* to 120 members of this group in Bonao, La Vega, and Esperanza (Charlevoix 1730, 153; Guerrero 2016, 18; Las Casas I, 1927, 577).

Although the wealth they amassed from their gold mines helped consolidate their elite status (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 201; Las Casas I, 1927, 577; Moya-Pons 1983, 24, 1997, 1998), in practice it was their knowledge of colonial culture that helped

them rise to the top (Benzo 2000), thanks in large part to their connection to *Indio* culture.

Castilian hierarchies were also disrupted by the social mobility bought through wealth during this early colonial period, particularly amongst Europeans. During this period sumptuary laws were instituted to try to curb social mobility (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998; Patronato 1995, 136), but these were ineffective.

5.3.1.12 Clergy (1500?-1564)

The first Franciscan superior, Francisco Espinal (Espinar) arrived in 1502 with Ovando, along with 12-13 monks (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 30). Their main monastery, at least through 1514 appears to have been at Concepción (Cohen 1997b, 6; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 59). (For more information on the Franciscans in early colonial Hispaniola, see Arranz-Márquez 1991, 19-32; Dobal 1987, 1991; Errasti 1998, 25-26; Kulstad 2008, 123; Tavani 1991, vol. 1, 129).

The first members of the Dominican order arrived on Hispaniola in 1510 (Charlevoix 1730, 240; Incháustegui 1955, 105; Kulstad 2008, 56). (See Chapter 4, Section: Arrival of the Dominican Order) The Dominican position has been well recorded, thanks to the writings of Las Casas (1945,1951, 1958, 1967, 1985, 1992, 1994; 1999). He was one of their main supporters and advocates in Court (Pérez-Fernández 2010). Also, he was assigned to be the prior of the first Dominican monastery built in the Cibao area, in Puerto Plata, in 1527 (Pérez-Fernández 2010). He did not look favorably at the Franciscan position, accusing them of taking advantage of the Repartimiento to get free labor (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 32), although there is evidence that the Franciscan Monastery in Concepción returned the Naborias they received in 1514 (Arranz-Márquez 1982, 46).

5.3.1.13 Servant class: Non-elite Colonists/Gente Baja (1500?-1564)

The first group of non-elite workers that went to Concepción arrived with Ovando in 1502. They came as farm laborers, but most decided to become gold prospectors instead (Kulstad 2008, 177; Moya-Pons 1978, 188). As the Ovando government progressed, efforts were made to have married couples migrate to increase the Spanish presence on the island (Arranz-Márquez 1979; Kulstad 2008, 177; Lamb 1956). However, a drought and grain shortage in Castile and Andalusia, from 1504 to 1507, caused the migration of a great number of non-elite men, and by 1510 there were reports of 3,000 vagrant single men on Hispaniola (Arranz-Márquez 1979, 16-18; Kulstad 2008, 177), many not of the high moral standards demanded by the Crown (Kulstad 2008, 177; Moya-Pons 1983, 15).

The 1514 Repartimiento gives the names of several tradesmen who received *Indio* workers to help them at their crafts (See Benzo 2000; Kulstad 2008, Tables 6-6 and 6-7). Although it is possible to identify some of Concepción's non-elite European/ Spanish inhabitants in the Repartimientos and other records according to their trades, it is difficult to determine their number during this period. Spanish documents did not often focus on non-elite individuals. At the same time, other areas of non-elite lifeways are not well recorded in historical documents. Another factor that hinders the identification of the Spanish non-elites was the relative ease through which upward mobility was achieved during this period. In spite of their intention at migration to undertake farming or trade work (Guitar 1998, 193), most were interested in joining the elite class and refused to work, creating a constant need for non-elite migration. This was especially true at Concepción after gold began to be readily available, and after the Roldán followers achieved elite status through civil disobedience (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 42).

The Crown offered non-elites many incentives to stay on the island and not migrate elsewhere after later colonies were founded. These included free passage, free food for a year and agricultural tools (Benzo 2000; Incháustegui 1955, 121; Kulstad 2008, 177). In spite of these incentives few non-elites wanted to migrate to Hispaniola. Desperate, the Crown became more lenient in terms of the moral requirements imposed on the settlers (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 62).

5.3.1.14 Non-elite clergy (1500?-1564)

In spite of the clergy comprising a separate social category which was closely linked with the European/Spanish elite, non-elite church servants, also existed, such as the Cathedral's sexton, and steward. This is evident in the Castro trial proceedings (Patronato 1995). This group dealt primarily with the everyday functions of the Church, as opposed to the elite clergy which seemed to be more involved in the Christianization of the Indios.

5.3.2 Other Europeans at Concepción

As stated above, during most of this period the Spanish Habsburg dynasty governed most of the Americas, the Low Countries and territories now in France, Germany and Italy in Europe, as well as the territory of modern Spain. Although officially other European peoples were not allowed on Hispaniola without special permission (Arranz-Márquez 1991, 172), in reality non-Castilian members of the Habsburg empire came, especially if they were able to undertake a specific, necessary, task.

The first non-Castilians to arrive on Hispaniola were the Genoese family of Christopher Columbus (Moya-Pons 1983). Later there is mention of some Italians acting as representatives of the German Welser family in the gold trade (Palm 1955a, 102). It

is uncertain whether these Italians were only in Santo Domingo, or were also involved in the foundry process in Concepción. There is evidence of Italians being involved in the production and trade of ceramics bound for the Americas in Seville (Deagan 2002a, 27). Later, various Genoese interests played an important role in sugar production, particularly in the African slave trade and the commerce of sugar (Guerrero 2016, 23; Moya-Pons 2008, 65).

The Aragonese were also an early group that came to Concepción. Most of these vecinos were sent to Concepción to counterbalance Diego Colon's power in Santo Domingo (Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 55; Pérez-Collados 1992, 122).

The Welser and Fugger families were banker families in Germany who also had mining and trade interests with the Spanish Crown. They were given concessions to mine in Venezuela and in Cotui (Arciniegas 1991 [1941], 50; Palm 1955a, 97). It is possible that they had an agent at Concepción.

There is evidence of Portuguese at Concepción, apparently involved with the salt trade (Benzo 2000). Elsewhere on Hispaniola, the Portuguese were involved in the sugar and African slave trade (Guerrero 2016, 23; Guitar 1998, 198).

5.4 African Lifeways

As stated in Chapter 2, Historical Archaeology's has a particular interest in the lifeways of the African diaspora in the Americas (Adams and Boling 1989; Armstrong and Hauser 2009; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Baker 1980; Bullen and Bullen 1945; Ferguson 1980; González-Tennant 2014, 43; Otto 1980; Politis 2003, 128; Schmidt 2006; Weik 2012). However, much of the research in the Circum-Caribbean has focused on the English-speaking colonies (Armstrong and Hauser 2009; Baker 1980; Bullen and Bullen 1945; González-Tennant 2014, 43), plantation settings (Adams and Boling 1989; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Ferguson 1980; Otto 1980; Singleton 2015), and/or 18th century contexts (Armstrong et al. 2009; Delle et al. 2011; Deagan and Landers 1999; Deagan and MacMahon 1995; Landers 1990; Marron 1989; Piatek and Halbirt 1993; Hauser 2011, 2015).

Conversely, very little is known about African peoples lifeways in 16th century Hispaniola. This is in spite of the fact that this was their first port of entry in the Americas (AGI, Indif. Gen., 420, L8 ff93r-93v.; Albert-Batista 2010; Guitar 1998, 268; Torres-Saillant 2010, 4), and historical documents record their presence in the area under Concepción's jurisdiction (Deagan 1995b; Patronato 1995). Part of the difficulty in identifying their presence stems from the fact that, despite their common geographic origin, peoples of African descent held very different positions in society during this period (Jamieson 2004, 436). They were classified into four major groups: Libertos, *Ladinos*, *Bozales*, and *Cimarrones*. The term Liberto referred to those persons of African origin who came from Spain as free people, as well as those who gained their

freedom through legitimate means while on the island (Deive 1989; Franco 1975). Ladinos were enslaved peoples of African ancestry, brought from Spain with a knowledge of Spanish language, religion and culture, thanks to residing in Spain for at least a year (Deive 1989, 20; Franco 1975; Larrazabal 1975, 13, 17). Bozales were African enslaved peoples brought directly from the African continent (Kulstad 2008, 2013b; Landers 1999, 16). *Cimarrones* (Maroons), were ex-slaves of African ancestry who had managed to become free through escape from their masters (AGI, Indif. General 1624; Deive 1989; Franco 1975; Guitar 1998, 338; Kulstad 2008, 179). This section will discuss Libertos, Ladinos, and Bozales, since they lived within the planned Spanish settlements. *Cimarrones* will be discussed later, as they lived outside organized society.

It is uncertain whether a Liberto or a Ladino was the first person of African descent to arrive on the island, but a person from the African continent was buried at La Isabela (Deagan 2017). The first large contingent of Ladinos which arrived at Concepción, however, was related to Bishop Deza's plan to substitute gold production with sugar production, including the change of laborers (Naborias and Perpetual Naborias) to African enslaved peoples (Moya-Pons 1978, 176) (See Sugar Production section below).

This was not so easy, given that Spain did not have the religious right to capture slaves in Africa, a right granted to Portugal in the Tordesillas Treaty (Deive 1995). Instead, it had to give an exclusive monopoly to foreign merchants to supply them with African slaves (Deagan 2002a, 27-28). This monopoly, known as the Asiento, was granted to Portuguese merchants from 1595 to 1640, passing on to several other European countries in later years (Deagan 2002a, 27-28).

Additionally, there is the tendency to think that all African enslavement was plantation style, where African peoples were allowed limited mobility, mostly within the plantation limits and were subjected to grueling outdoor, agricultural labor (Deetz 1977, 250; Potter 1991). This type of enslavement came with the introduction of sugar production. African enslaved peoples functioned under the jornal system (explained below), similar to the one used in Seville (Landers 1999). The large number of African enslaved peoples involved in sugar production necessitated the limitation of African enslaved peoples' mobility, particularly the men's. Especially harsh were the 1526 provisions that Africans slaves could not have free children (Guitar 1998, 259; Kulstad 2008, 184). This became a reason behind eventual slave escapes. As in other parts of Latin America (Jamieson 2004, 437), it is difficult to find out the "nation" origin of these Africans in Concepción during this time period.

5.4.1 African Lifeways in Spain circa 1492

Ladinos and Libertos who came to Hispaniola before 1516 came from Spain, not Africa. Most of the African enslaved peoples had lived in Spain for several years and had already been taught Spanish language and customs (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 179). African enslaved peoples had been introduced to Spain by the Muslims in 711, and played an important role in southern Spanish society from the 13th Century onward (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 7). Special laws governed African communities, and provisions were made which allowed Africans to become free, usually through buying freedom from their masters (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 179; Landers 1999, 7).

5.4.2 Africans on Hispaniola (1502-1516)

All of the Africans in Concepción, and the rest of Hispaniola, during this period came from Spain, regardless of their freedom status (Landers 1999). This was due to the fact that Africans had to be Christians to be able to come to the colony (Deagan 2012, 3). This added step in the migration process makes it difficult to specify where in Africa these peoples came from, and brings to question how "African" their lifeways actually were. An additional element to ponder is the fact that most Africans during this period were house servants (Deive 1989, 20; Larrazabal 1975, 13), with some exceptions related to mining (discussed in more detail below). By 1510, Ladinos were considered better workers than the *Indios* by the colonial authority (Deive 1980, 31; Kulstad 2008, 179). They believed the work of one African was worth that of four Indians (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 211; Deive 1980, 31; Incháustegui 1955, 113; Kulstad 2008, 179). This was in large part due to the Africans' resistance to many European diseases (Kulstad 2008, 179; Rogoziński 2000).

5.4.3 African Libertos (1502-1516)

There is little information about Libertos on Hispaniola in the 16th century. Many of them arrived as free people from Spain (Guitar 1998, 199; Kulstad 2008, 179). Most held criado (servant) posts, with responsibilities similar to those of European/Spanish non-elites (Guitar 1998, 199; Kulstad 2008, 245). Liberto women probably also worked in European/Spanish households, but at a higher position than the enslaved women. African Liberto men were also present in the gold fields during this period (Guitar 1998, 125; Kulstad 2008, 179).

5.4.4 African Ladinos (1502-1516)

Only Ladino slaves were allowed to travel to the New World during this period (Deive 1980, 1989; Franco 1975; García 1906, 67; Isabel 1501; Kulstad 2008, 179; Marte 1981, 15; Larrazabal 1975, 13, 17; Rogoziński 2000, 51). The first group of Ladinos were brought by Ovando in 1502, and ran away as soon as they arrived (Moya Pons 2008, 65). However, to their reputation as good workers they continued to be exported after this first bad experience. As stated above, Ladinos already knew Spanish language, religion and culture because they had resided in Spain for at least a year (Deive 1989; Franco 1975; Kulstad 2008, 179), probably in Seville (Moya Pons 2008, 73). This guaranteed that these peoples knew Spanish culture and were Christians (Moya Pons 2008). There is some discrepancy as to what exactly these peoples were doing, as Moya Pons (2008, 65) claims that all were undertaking domestic labor, while others have placed them in mines, both copper and gold (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 211; Fox 1940, 23-24; Incháustegui 1955, 114; Kulstad 2008, 245; Larrazabal 1975, 13), and in construction (Deive 1989, 24; Larrazabal 1975, 13).

Due to their high prices, Ladino slaves were considered to be a luxury (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 179). Most African slaves could only be brought into Hispaniola by a select group of elite Spaniards (Kulstad 2008, 179; Landers 1999). Both men and women worked under the jornal system, which allowed slaves to live and work with relative independence of movement (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16).

5.4.5 African Bozales (1502-1516)

Since only Ladinos could be imported legally to Hispaniola during this period, any Bozales present at Concepción would have been illegal. The restrictions in terms of who could have slaves, as well as limiting slavery to Ladinos, led to a flourishing illegal slave trade that lasted throughout the early colonial period (Kulstad 2008, 179; Marte 1981, 317-318; Vallejo 1519). It appears that most of these illegal enslaved peoples were Bozal men, who were brought straight from Africa to work in gold prospecting and mining (Kulstad 2008, 223; Landers 1999, 16). They were considered to be more docile than Ladinos (AGI, Patronato, 174; Guitar 1998, 361).

5.4.6 African Lifeways (1516-1564)

Starting in 1516, African lifeways on Hispaniola changed dramatically. It was first due to the Jeronymite plan to substitute economic production systems (from gold to sugar), which included a change from *Indio* to African labor (Moya-Pons 1978, 176). This was later complicated by the smallpox pandemic of 1517-1518 that depleted the Indian population(AGI, Patronato 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 248; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998; Pichardo 1944).

This change in labor requirements altered African slavery on Hispaniola making it different from the eminently urban setting in Spain. Sugar production brought the establishment of plantations, and a change in laws regarding manumission, miscegenation and enslavement (Kulstad 2008, 228; Landers 1999, 11). Additionally, the Crown changed its slave importation policy during this period, preferring Bozal slaves to Ladinos (Deive 1989, 27; Kulstad 2008, 179; Torres-Saillant 2010, 8). This change in policy of importing only Bozal slaves started during the Jeronymite government (1516-1519) (Deive 1989, 26; Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 14, 21), and was made into law in 1526 (Deive 1989, 32; Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 100).

Bozales had not been acculturated in Spain previous to their arrival on Hispaniola, and spoke no Spanish (Deive 1989; Kulstad 2008, 179; Moya-Pons 1983, 34, 1997, 1998). It was believed that these slaves were better because they had not been contaminated by the “evils of civilization” (Guitar 1998, 196; Kulstad 2008, 179). A 1522 mandate created plantation workforces out of different African ethnic and language groups to avoid communication and possible revolts (Deive 1989, 35, 217). At the same time, they probably were cheaper than Ladinos (Rodriguez-Morel 2000, 106-107).

The slave trade was a complicated system which caused problems for the Crown and the colonial authorities (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 184). This was partly due to the fact that the Spanish could not traffic in African slaves per the Treaty of Tordesillas (Deive 1995; Kulstad 2008, 184). To overcome these problems, the authorities on both sides of the Atlantic, starting in 1526, promoted the creation of a workforce born on Hispaniola (Kulstad 2008, 184; Moya-Pons 2008, 66). A Royal decree declared that at least 1/3 (later ½) of the Bozales imported must be women, while at the same time, married enslaved peoples could not be freed, and their children could not be free (Guitar 1998, 259; Kulstad 2008, 184; Moya-Pons 1978). This effort did not work, partly because it was not compatible with the labor requirements of the sugar production system (Guitar 1998, 280; Kulstad 2008, 228), and partly because once the Bozales became acculturated, they were sold to the Mainland (Kulstad 2008, 184; Larrazabal 1975, 37; Rogoziński 2000, 52).

5.4.7 African Libertos (1516-1564)

Just as in the earlier period, there is little information about Libertos living on Hispaniola at this time. Most of those in the colony must have been born to free parents, while some may have arrived as free people from Spain (Guitar 1998, 199; Kulstad 2008, 179).

5.4.8 African Ladinos (1516-1564)

Although Ladinos could no longer be imported legally to Hispaniola after 1526 (Deive 1989, 32; Larrazabal 1975, 100), they were still present on the island, many of them as children of enslaved peoples brought in the earlier periods. Later, most Bozales became Ladinos after learning Spanish, and becoming “Christian.” Historical records show that owners seemed to give higher posts to Ladinoized workers (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 107), especially women in domestic labor (See Patronato 1995, 214).

After 1540, and into the 1560s, most of the enslaved peoples taken to the Mainland were the Ladinos which had been acculturated on Hispaniola (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 37; Rogoziński 2000, 52). By 1555, historical records say many vecinos on Hispaniola preferred to sell slaves rather than work them, causing a shortage in workers (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 40), as well as bordering on illegality.

It appears that Ladinos had more freedom of movement than Bozales, in large part due to their knowledge of Spanish culture, particularly the Spanish language. Efforts to curtail their movement was part of the 1528 and 1544 slave Ordenanzas (laws) (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Larrazabal 1975, 110). It is important to note that these had rules strictly divided by gender, (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 233; Larrazabal 1975, 110).

Ladinos could not own taverns or wine (Kulstad 2008, 234; Larrazabal 1975, 110). They could not go into the countryside to buy produce or sell it without their masters’ permission (Larrazabal 1975, 110). Enslaved peoples were not allowed to carry weapons of any kind (Larrazabal 1975, 107). They were also banned from selling clothes (Larrazabal 1975, 110), as well as the wearing of certain types of silks and brocades (Moya-Pons 2008, 106).

Although slave ordenanzas included ways in which slaves could become free (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Deive 1980; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 183; Landers 1990; Larrazabal 1975), conditions for freedom became increasingly more intricate with each revision of these regulations. Especially harsh were the 1526 provisions that said African enslaved peoples could not have free children (Guitar 1998, 259; Kulstad 2008, 183).

5.4.9 African Bozales (1516-1564)

Due to the need for a different type of worker in sugar production, the Crown changed its slave importation policy during this period, preferring Bozales to Ladinos (Deive 1989, 27). Most of the Bozales that came during this period were from Cape

Verde, Guinea and other Portuguese colonies (Deive 1989, 26; Larrazabal 1975, 14, 21). The different ethnic groups were identified by brands marking their place of origin (Larrazabal 1975, 74) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 165).

This change in policy of importing only Bozales started during the Jeronymite government (1516-1519) (Deive 1989, 26; Kulstad 2008, 219; Larrazabal 1975, 14, 21), and was made into law in 1526 (Deive 1989, 32; Kulstad 2008, 219; Larrazabal 1975, 100). Ironically, the first slave insurrection was led by Bozales from the Wolof tribe on Diego Columbus's sugar plantation in 1522. The Wolofs were not allowed into the colony after that time, partly because they were Muslim (Guitar 1998, 256; Kulstad 2008, 219; Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 122; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 66).

Although most of the Bozales on the island were destined for the sugar industry, at Concepción most worked in the cattle and gold industries (Incháustegui 1955, 74; Kulstad 2008, 223, 232; Patronato 1995, 224). Throughout this time period, Bozales were bought from merchants who came into town during the fundición period at a cheaper price than if the vecinos bought them in Santo Domingo (Kulstad 2008, 179; Rodriguez-Morel 2000, 106-107).

5.5 Peoples Outside of Organized Society

As explained earlier in this chapter, as well as in Chapter 4, the European/ Spanish authorities of Hispaniola (and most of the Americas by 1564), organized people through urban models which incorporated assigned positions for them, both social and geographical (Graham 1998, 26). This was easier said than done, and quite a few people chose to live outside of these assigned societal models. However, due to the fact that these peoples were outside of society, documentary information about them is scarce (Dominguez and Funari 2015, 137). Some of these peoples joined together and formed critical masses at different moments, as was the case of the Roldán Rebellion, the Enriquillo uprising (and other associated *Indio* uprisings) and the Cimarron/Maroon movement. These will be discussed in more detail below.

5.5.1 Roldán Followers

As explored in more detail in Chapter 4, Francisco Roldán, Columbus's head servant, led a protest against the Columbus brothers and their supporters from 1496 to 1498 (Charlevoix 1730, 127; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 68; García 1906, 42; Guerrero 2016, 16). Up to one third of the Spanish on the island supported Roldán, especially those of the non-elite class (Cassá 1978, 35; Charlevoix 1730, 127; Kulstad 2008, 43). Their main complaint was that they were only paid workers with no stake in the feitoria enterprise (Sauer 1993, 112; Kulstad 2008, 35). After they returned to society, they were identified in censuses as Primeros Pobladores.

5.5.2 Resistant Indios

A great number of Indigenous revolts occurred in the Greater Antilles during the early years of European/Spanish settlement, but the Enriquillo revolt is perhaps the best recorded (AGI, Indif. Gen. 1624; Altman 2007, 587-588; Guitar 1998, 337). His life and actions have been extensively studied historically (see Altman 2007) and archaeologically (Coste 2017).

A more detailed review of his revolt is presented earlier in this document (See Chapter 4), and will not be discussed here, since Enriquillo did not actively attack European/Spanish settlements in the Concepción area (See also Kulstad 2008, 68). However, his rebellion inspired other *Indio* leaders to revolt, such as Ciguayo, who operated around Concepción (Guitar 1998, 269; Kulstad 2008, 68; Las Casas 1985, 127; Utrera 1973, 230). Ciguayo had 80 followers which roamed the area around Concepción, Santiago and Puerto Real in 1529 (Espinosa and Zuazo 1529; Guitar 1998, 269; Kulstad 2008, 68; Marte 1981, 347). He was captured the next year by a bounty hunter (Guitar 1998, 270; Kulstad 2008, 68; Utrera 1973, 230).

5.5.3 Cimarrones/Maroons

The Spanish word “Cimarrón” originally referred to the cattle or hogs which ran off into the mountains (Arrom and García-Arévalo 1986, 15-17; Kulstad 2008, 179; Price 1979, 1-2; Weik 2012), but it eventually came to signify enslaved peoples (African or Indigenous) who escaped from bondage and lived independently (Kulstad 2008, 179; Mintz 1974; Weik 1997, 81). The word was later corrupted to “Maroon” in English and French colonies (Kulstad 2008, 179; Mintz 1974; Weik 1997, 81).

Africans had been running away and rebelling since first arriving on the island (García 1906, 67; Kulstad 2008, 179). Rebellions in the 1530s, however, were the first organized efforts to create independent communities (AGI, Indif. General 1624; Guitar 1998, 338; Kulstad 2008, 75). Although *Cimarrón* activity was found all over the island, two areas of revolt are significant in this study: Bahoruco (in the southwestern part of the colony) and the La Vega Valley around Concepción (Informes 1546; Marte 1981, 301). *Cimarrón* activities of this period on the island were coordinated by a leader known as Lemba, who fought mainly in the Bahoruco area (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Guitar 1998, 396; Informes 1546; Marte 1981, 301). He was active from the 1530s to 1547 (Guitar 1998, 275). The area around Concepción, from the mid-1530s to 1546, was attacked by two of Lemba’s “lieutenants,” Diego de Ocampo and Diego de Guzmán (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Cerrato 1546; Guitar 1998, 277, 278, 396; Kulstad 2008, 75; Marte 1981, 413; Utrera 1973, 481-82). Little is known about Diego de Guzmán, but Diego de Ocampo became well known (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Guitar 1998, 399; Kulstad 2008, 75; Moya-Pons

1983, 36; Utrera 1973, 481-82). In 1549, there were reports of a Dieguillo de Ocampo who attacked the Concepción and Santiago area together with an unknown Indian leader (Guitar 1998, 279; Kulstad 2008, 75; Utrera 1973, 486). There is no report of his capture or death (Guitar 1998, 279; Kulstad 2008, 75).

5.6 Sociocultural and Biophysical Interactions at Concepción

In this second section of this Chapter the focus is on the sociocultural and biophysical interactions presented in the historical record. These were:

Sociocultural:

- Trade
- Tribute
- Labor
- Religious Education [Clergy as Educators]
- Armed resistance
- Passive resistance
- Mestizaje

Biophysical:

- Foodways
- Disease

5.6.1 Sociocultural Interactions

Although intangible, sociocultural interactions were the most prevalent of the three types (Sociocultural, biophysical and environmental) at Concepción. Of the different types mentioned above, and described in more detail below, the intercultural interactions in labor are the most evident archaeologically, especially due to the non-domestic nature/origin of the excavated materials. Mestizaje has been included in this classification, as opposed to placing it in biophysical interactions due to the sociocultural nature of social differentiation itself (Voss 2005, 462). Although biological “mixing” occurred between people of different geographic origins, it was not socially differentiated.

5.6.1.1 Trade with Indigenous people

As explained in more detail in Chapter 4, Spanish attempts to have a simple trade relationship with the Indigenous peoples of Hispaniola was limited to the La Isabela feitoría period and during the implementation of the palisades (1494-1500). On more careful inspection, the period was even shorter, as Christopher Columbus instituted a tribute system in 1495 (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978).

The feitoría system did not contemplate much interaction between peoples beyond trade (Aznar-Vallejo 1983; Pérez-Collados 1992, 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954, 317-318; Stevens-Arroyo 1993). It implied separate settlements and trade interactions between a select group of people on both sides - in this case, the elites of Maguá and Columbus (or his representatives). There is no historical evidence that any African person was involved in pure trade transactions at Concepción during this early period.

However, it is possible that some informal trade could have occurred between *Cimarrones*, *Resistant Indios* and permanent Concepción settlers after 1530 (Deive 1989,11; Weik 1997,86). Some of these transactions could have been conducted with money, and some could have been barter (Marte 1981; Patronato 1995).

5.6.1.2 Interactions in the Gold tribute at Concepción

Gold and/or Nitaíno laborers must have been plentiful in the Concepción area in 1495 (the first year of the Gold tribute) given that Guarionex, cacique of the nearby Indigenous settlement, was the only chief able to fulfill the gold tribute demands (Anghiera 1970, 21-122,142-149; Cassá 1978, 33; Kulstad 2008, 38; Moya-Pons 1978, 13). The inability to fulfill subsequent tribute payments resulted in the armed conflict (See Chapter 4 - the Battles of La Vega Real). As stated above, when trade did not yield enough gold, Columbus decided to institute an Indigenous gold tribute system (Charlevoix 1730, 110; Cassá 1978, 33; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 62; Wilson 1990b, 89). (See discussion in Chapter 4 - Section: Columbus Palisade Colonies).

5.6.1.3 Interactions in labor at Concepción

The idealized interaction between *Indios* and the lay Spaniard was to be merely labor-related, as is evidenced by the various forms of social organization the Spanish attempted during this period (Brewer-Carías 2007, 11). Initially, the activities in which *Indios* worked for the Spanish were detailed in the Repartimientos of 1510 and 1514. It is important to note that the Naborías worked in other areas besides gold production.

There is little other documentary evidence as to what activities Perpetual Naborias were assigned to do at Concepción. More in-depth research in the documentary sources, however, shows that perhaps Perpetual Naborias were assigned to substitute Naborías in the more brute force assignments, particularly in gold mining. This is also substantiated by the assignment of Naborías, rather than Perpetual Naborias, to work in other labor areas in the 1514 Repartimiento (health, food production, construction, smithing and tailoring) (Arranz-Márquez 1991).

Later labor interactions, particularly after 1542, are not so detailed in the documentary record. All of these assumed that the *Indios* would live away from the

Spanish and only men would be present within the Spanish town for work in gold mining, paying tribute, or the task specifically assigned to them in the Repartimiento.

There was an attempt to change the Indio-European/Spanish labor dynamic through the introduction of African enslaved peoples in 1516, although Africans had already been involved in some economic activities before that date. Since there was no large-scale sugar production at Concepción, the jornal work system was probably the one employed there. There is some documentary evidence that after 1540 and into 1560s, most of African enslaved peoples taken to the Mainland were acculturated on Hispaniola first (Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 37; Rogoziński 2000, 52). By 1555, historical records mention that many vecinos on the island preferred to sell slaves rather than work them, causing a shortage in workers (Larrazabal 1975, 40). It is unknown if this occurred at Concepción.

Additionally, while most of the workers involved in large-scale economic industries were men, many small-scale urban activities, especially clothing manufacture and street vending were undertaken by women (Deive 1980, 20; Landers 1999, 8; Larrazabal 1975, 13, 109). This gendered division of labor was particularly distinct amongst the African origin group and was reinforced during later years by the 1528 and 1544 Slave Ordenanzas which limited the movement of African enslaved men to prevent their escape (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 185; Larrazabal 1975, 110).

The next sub-section presents different economic activities in which the Indios, European/Spanish, and Africans interacted. Particular attention will be paid to the peoples involved in these activities, and whether they integrated with people in other groups, according to the historical record. Attention will also be paid on whether these interactions were forced or voluntary.

5.6.1.3.1 Gold industry

In spite of the importance of Concepción in the gold industry, little historical documentation has been found focusing particularly on this city (Moya-Pons 2016, 2017). It is possible to infer that, in the Concepción area, as in the rest of Hispaniola, most of the gold discovered was placer gold (Guitar 1998, 127; Kulstad 2008, 222; Moya-Pons 2016, 377; Sauer 1966, 198). Placer gold is found by panning rather than digging (for a discussion of the recovery and refinement of placer gold, see Craddock 1995, 110-11). According to Oviedo (1959, Ch. 8, Part 6), panning involved a mixed group of people, including Naboría men, enslaved men and women, and a Spanish miner as a leader (Deive 1989, 267; Guitar 1998, 150; Kulstad 2008, 223; Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). Non-elite Spaniards also worked as mining supervisors and overseers (Guitar 1998, 126; Kulstad 2008, 223). Often a group of European/Spanish neighbors shared workers which were organized into compañías, also known as

cofradías (Castro 1543; Guitar 1998, 150; Kulstad 2008, 132; Marte 1981, 401; Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6; Patronato 1995, 60).

The mining process involved several steps. The miners would stake out an area 18-20 steps in diameter, as dictated by Spanish law (Guitar 1998, 150; Kulstad 2008, 223; Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6; Oviedo in Moya-Pons 2016). These areas were often near bodies of water (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). African enslaved men and Naboría men cleared trees and rocks, and excavated a hands-width at a time (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The resulting hole was washed out with water to reveal gold veins (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The excavated soil was taken to the panniers, mostly African enslaved men and Perpetual Naboría women, on the banks of the nearby body of water (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The soil was carried by Perpetual Naboría men in flattened gourds called bateas (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). As they sat in water up to their knees, the panniers poured the earth into bigger bateas and swirled the mud until gold appeared (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). This whole process was repeated until bedrock was reached in the staked-out plot (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6).

To maximize production, it was important that the process be on-going, and that all workers be occupied. Oviedo calculated an average work crew to have 50 workers: 10 panniers, 20 earth-carriers and 20 diggers (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The mining camp also included Naboría women, who mostly cooked cassava bread (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). In order to be successful, mining camps had to move around while looking for gold, never staying in one spot more than a couple of months (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6) (See Kulstad 2008, 225).

Several factors contributed to the decrease in gold production at Concepción after the 1514 Repartimiento. One was the mass migration of those vecinos who did not receive Naboría workers in the 1514 Repartimiento (Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 28, 2016, 1997, 1998). A second reason was the institution of Jeronymite program to promote sugar production by African slaves instead of gold mining (Cassá 1978, 58). Another was the fact that mining groups were attacked by *Cimarrones*, to steal either slaves or the gold produced. However, a careful reading of primary sources (Escobar et al. 1535; Marte 1981, 295, 368; Rodriguez-Morel 2000, 87) suggests that it was processed gold, rather than the mineral itself, that was scarce, due to the lack of a large, stable, labor force, able to undertake the mining work. In fact, gold production on Hispaniola peaked in 1519 and 1520 (Incháustegui 1955, 126; Moya-Pons 2016; Sued Badillo 2001), and Concepción continued to be the main northern foundry until the mid-1540s (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 106) (See Kulstad 2008, 131).

After the gold went bust, migration to mainland settlements, and a lack of a large, stable workforce, changed activities at Concepción. Few people could afford to buy and maintain a slave (Castro 1543; Kulstad 2008, 179; Larrazabal 1975, 39; Marte 1981,

401), prompting them to turn to other revenue-making activities that did not require slave labor (Patronato 1995, 212; Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 106-107).

5.6.1.3.2 Indigenous slave raiding

According to the available historical documentation, particularly in the Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias (Las Casas 1945, 1992, 1994), the enslavement of Perpetual Naborías was a pretty straight forward subjugation of Indigenous peoples from outside of Hispaniola by European/Spanish peoples (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b, 209; Guitar 1998, 127). Slave raiding extended to all parts of the Circum-Caribbean (see above), but it seems that there was an effort to separate peoples from the same location, in a way similar to what was done with African enslaved peoples (Moya-Pons 2008). Again, as stated above, more attention has been paid to the place origin of the Perpetual Naborías (See Deive 1995), as opposed to where these laborers were taken. However, it has been possible to identify Perpetual Naboría servant women at Concepción in the 1532 Alvaro de Castro trial. These were identified as Lucayan [Bahamas] (Patronato 1995).

5.6.1.3.3 Sugar production

Sugar was first produced commercially in the New World in 1506 at Concepción (AGI, Patronato II, 170, Ramo 14; Cohen 1997b, 5; Concepción 1981, 1982; Lamb 1956, 135; Ortiz 1940, 1947; Oviedo in Rueda 1988). The first sugar produced was similar to molasses (Guitar 1998, 206), but by 1512, crude presses, originally used in the process of converting manioc into cassava bread, were used to make the product more crystalline (Ortiz 1940, 263; Guitar 1998, 206). The results must have been encouraging, because that same year, Concepción's Bishop, Suarez de Deza, proposed to change the colony's main mode of production from gold being mined by Naborías under the Repartimiento, to sugar being mined by African slaves (Moya-Pons 1978, 176) (See Kulstad 2008, 62).

Why would Bishop Deza suggest this change? First, as a Dominican priest, he supported Montesinos' questioning of the Naboría working conditions, and saw the need to find a way to save them from extinction (See Chapter 4, Kulstad 2008, 62). At the same time, the colony had to be supported economically and a viable alternative had to be offered to gold production. At that moment, sugar seemed the most promising. It had enjoyed high prices in Europe since 1510 (Moya-Pons 1974, 71), and Spain had previous experience with its production in the Canary Islands (Aznar-Vallejo 1983; Fabrellas 1952, 455-475; Guitar 1998, 194; Stevens-Acevedo 2017), including the use of an African labor force familiar with Spanish language and culture (Ladinos). Another important advantage of sugar production was the sedentary nature of the plantation, as

opposed to gold prospecting, which required the mining teams to ream the countryside. By being sedentary, sugar production allowed a slave owner to have better control over the possibility of escape.

Although sugar production was quite lucrative on the island's southern coast (Torres-Saillant 2010, 8), according to historical accounts, sugar was never grown at Concepción at a large-scale (Ortiz 1940, 1947, 1995). It has been argued that *Cimarrón* attacks played a role in the failure of Concepción's sugar industry (See Kulstad 2008, 76). *Cimarrón* attacks on the roads connecting Concepción to the coast made travel between cities unsafe, consequently making sugar marketing quite difficult (Guitar 1998, 262; Kulstad 2008, 76; Patronato 1995, 250). Others (e.g., Moya-Pons 1983, 37) do not see the attacks really affecting the sugar production. Either way, it does not appear that sugar production played an important role at Concepción. Consequently its labor methodology, namely plantation style slavery, was not implemented.

5.6.1.3.4 African plantation vs *Jornal* system of labor

African enslavement is the most extreme interactive subjugation present at Concepción. Two types of enslaved labor existed during this time period (Fábregas 2000, 81-82; Stevens-Acevedo 2017). One is the better-known plantation system where slaves lived on the plantation with limited mobility outside the property. The owners would provide housing, medical care, and food (Rodríguez-Morel 2012). This was usually related to large scale cash production, particularly sugar. The second system was the jornal. This system (used by African slaves and their owners in Seville during this period) allowed the slaves to live independently, in their own homes, in exchange for paying their masters a certain daily amount (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16). The work could be assigned by the master or could be done around town independently (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16). This system was advantageous for both parties, since slaves would be relatively independent and could have the possibility of buying their freedom, while the masters would earn money without having the responsibilities of food, shelter, clothes or medical care (Kulstad 2008, 165; Landers 1999, 16).

The texts of the 1528 and 1544 Slave Ordenanzas point towards the use of a variation of the *Jornal* system in urban contexts in the Americas (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 375). The main difference appears to have been that African slaves had to stay overnight in their masters' homes (Guitar 1998, 375). This assumes that they would have used material culture bought in the local market (including ceramics) not made in Africa, or by peoples of African descent (Jamieson 2004, 437). At the same time, given the freedom of mobility in the jornal system during the day, it would have been difficult to distinguish Ladinos from Libertos, and later from *Cimarrones* in public spaces.

5.6.1.3.5 Government administration

Although government employment at first glance may not seem like an economic activity, this sector employed a large portion of Concepción's European/Spanish urban population. This is in contrast to the non-Spanish inhabitants, most of whom were involved in manual labor in the large-scale economic industries described above (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 235). There is no documentary evidence of any Nitaínos involved in the Spanish colonial government.

Although Concepción was not the colony's capital, the government sector was as a large-scale urban job source for European men throughout the entire lifespan of the town. The specific functions of government workers and many of their names are known thanks to the vast documents of the Spanish bureaucracy (Benzo 2000; Kulstad 2008, Tables 6-6 and 6-7). Most importantly, these government officials received most of the Naborías assigned to work in gold mining. It is possible that government officials also had easier access to obtain African enslaved peoples, or it could be that there is more information about them because of their job.

Most government jobs were reserved for the Spanish elite. The few government jobs reserved for the Spanish non-elite included being constables, and different types of scribes (Benzo 2000; Kulstad 2008, 208, 213).

5.6.1.3.6 Cattle ranching

In the last thirty years of occupation (1530-1564), cattle ranching was listed as the main mode of production in the Concepción area (García 1906, 114; Inéditos América y Oceanía XXXVI, 1884, 257-263; Kulstad 2008, 232; Lamb 1956, 136-37). Cattle ranching for the production of hides, with meat as a by-product, was a more feasible mode of production at Concepción than sugar (Guitar 1998, 399; Cohen 1997b, 8; Marte 1981, 332-335; Moya-Pons 1978). Unlike sugar and gold production, cattle ranching required a smaller workforce (García 1906, 114; Kulstad 2008, 232), and hides, as a non-perishable product, were easier to transport and sell (Cohen 1997b, 8; Marte 1981, 332-335).

Historian Frank Moya-Pons (1983, 51) has suggested that cattle ranching was an industry of last resort, undertaken by those "who were unable to migrate," and had no access to enslaved peoples. He describes what appears to be a small-scale, unorganized enterprise based on the hunting of wild cattle and pigs living in the Hispaniola wilderness (Moya-Pons 1983, 51, 1997, 1998). However, other researchers (Candelario 2007; Cassá 1978, 63; Incháustegui 1955, 74), as well as a review of the Alvaro de Castro Trial (Patronato 1995, 17), seem to point to an organized, large-scale livestock industry. Cattle ranches, known as hatos, were owned by the Spanish elite, and were basically places where hides were processed, as mentioned in the 1532

Alvaro de Castro trial (Patronato 1995, 56). It has been suggested that by the mid-sixteenth century, cattle ranchers had as much influence on colonial politics as sugar producers (Incháustegui 1955, 74) (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 232).

According to the Alvaro de Castro Trial (1532), African enslaved peoples worked in cattle ranching using the jornal system (Patronato 1995). There is no documentary evidence available at this time which can confirm if Indigenous peoples also worked in cattle ranching.

5.6.1.3.7 Commerce with the Spanish Empire

Despite Concepción's inland location, it was an important economic, religious and political center, and there was a great flow of goods and money from the Spanish empire. At first when little local production existed, and large amounts of money were available, the mercantile system was advantageous on both sides of the Atlantic (Teixeira et al. 2015; Escribano-Ruiz and Azcarate 2015; Pezzarossi 2015; Rodriguez-Alegria et al. 2015; Scarmelli and Scarmelli 2015; Voss 2015, 358). This was especially true during the gold boom period (1495-1514). However, only one merchant is identified at Concepción during that period - Rodrigo de Villadiego (Arranz-Márquez 1991).

At the same time, the northwestern European nations (France, England and The Netherlands) began to question the Spanish empire's exclusive mercantile commerce (Deagan 2002a, 28), and began to turn towards contraband trade as a way of both buying and selling essential items (Andrews 1978, 70; Deagan 1983, 19).

There is no record of contraband sellers at Concepción, but there is a record of other official merchants such as Juan Martin Callejas, Francisco Sanchez, and Alvaro de Castro (Benzo 2000; Patronato 1995). It appears they sold goods imported from outside the island. There were also non-Spanish merchants at Concepción during this period, such as Juan Martin de Trebejo, a Portuguese man who sold salt (Benzo 2000), and Italian Pero Diaz de Peravia (Benzo 2000; Patronato 1995). At this point, there is no historical evidence of non-Europeans engaged in commerce.

Documents from the Alvaro de Castro trial show that tools used for gold prospecting and for cattle herding and ranching were sold, as well as cloth and ready-made clothing, all made in Europe (Patronato 1995, 155, 212). All this merchandise could be bought on credit and paid in money, unrefined gold, or in clothing (Patronato 1995, 212) (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 236).

5.6.1.3.8 Street vendors

Street vendors are described as those who sold small items which could include vegetables, water, charcoal, and livestock innards (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). Many, if not most, of these vendors were of African origin (Deive 1989, 20;

Landers 1999, 8). Among the Bozal and Ladino populations, women had more freedom of mobility than men did (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). Rules for mobility were set up by the different Slave Ordenanzas (laws) from 1528 and 1544. The 1528 Ordenanzas allowed African slave women to sell vegetables on the streets and plazas, but men could only sell these same wares, in small quantities, with their masters' permission (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). By 1544, African enslaved men could only sell water and charcoal on the street (Larrazabal 1975, 110), with the rest of their work activities assigned to a specific location, such as the sale of livestock innards at the slaughterhouse (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). Ladinos could not go to the countryside to buy produce or sell it without their masters' permission (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). They were also banned from selling clothes (Kulstad 2008, 236; Larrazabal 1975, 110). This appears to be linked to the increase in *Cimarrón* activity in the 1530s and 1540s (Larrazabal 1975, 110). Little information is available about this activity at Concepción, beyond a mention of a woman selling beef in the Alvaro de Castro trial (Patronato 1995).

Currently there is little historical information about non-elite European/Spanish or Indigenous people selling on the streets, in Concepción or elsewhere on the island. At the same time, there is little information about who is consuming the goods being sold.

5.6.1.3.9 Construction industry

Most of the buildings constructed at Concepción before 1514 seem to have been made of perishable materials and were replaced by masonry buildings after 1520. Although Spanish architects were present on Hispaniola during this period, there is no direct evidence that they worked at Concepción. There is historical evidence pointing to the masonry Concepción forts being constructed by a "workers' brigade who knew about bricks, quicklime and plaster" that came from Spain (Palm 1952, 115) (See Kulstad 2008, 233).

Some Naborías were assigned to work in construction in the 1514 Repartimiento (Arranz- Márquez 1991; Milanich 2006, 153; Voss 2008, 870-71). After the 1520s, the menial construction workforce was probably composed of Bozales, given the changes which occurred in the overall island workforce (Rodríguez-Morel 2000, 91) (See Kulstad 2008, 233). Historical documents do not specify if Naborías and Bozales worked together in construction, particularly at Concepción.

5.6.1.3.10 Smithing activity

According to historical records, gold, copper and iron items were processed at Concepción (Guitar 1998, 210; Kulstad 2008, 208, 213). The 1514 Repartimiento

assigned Naborías to work with blacksmiths, silversmiths and locksmiths (Arranz-Márquez 1991). Currently, no historical documentation of African working at Concepción is available, but it is possible that this could be an area of integration after 1542.

5.6.1.3.11 Pottery production

Although the objective of this section is to identify the activities mentioned in the historical documents, it is important to include the fact that pottery production is not mentioned in the available historical records (Jamieson 2004, 444). It is particularly absent from the Repartimiento task assignments (Arranz-Márquez 1991). It is interesting that pottery production is not mentioned because pottery constitutes most of the artifacts found in the archaeological record (Jamieson 2004, 444). Given the gender division of labor in Spanish colonial society, it is quite possible that this was a women's and or nonelite activity.

5.6.1.3.12 Domestic labor

Domestic labor was undertaken by both free and enslaved peoples of all origins. However, given that there was a shortage of Spanish women in the Americas during the early colonial period (Boyd-Bowman 1976), there would have been less Spanish female servants.

There is no historical record currently available confirming that non-elite Indigenous women worked as domestic servants in European/Spanish households at Concepción (See previous discussion in Kulstad 2008, 245). This is not one of the tasks assigned in the Repartimientos. During Diego Columbus's first government (1510-1514) each of Concepción's inhabitants was allowed an African Ladino maid for domestic chores - if they could afford it (Deive 1989, 20; Kulstad 2008, 246; Larrazabal 1975, 13). Although there is documentary evidence that Liberto and/or Bozal women were employed in domestic service, the majority were Ladino (Deive 1989, 19; Kulstad 2008, 246; Landers 1999, 7). Historical records show that owners seemed to give higher posts to Ladino workers (Kulstad 2008, 183; Larrazabal 1975, 107), especially women in domestic labor (See Patronato 1995, 214).

At the current time there is no documentation of interaction between different peoples while they undertook domestic labor. There is also no information about whether there was a specific group that undertook a specific type of domestic labor.

5.6.1.3.13 Food production

Food production has been defined here as the harvesting of crops, the raising of farm animals, and the preparation of food, either locally grown or imported. Although some food products consumed at Concepción could have come from commercial crops

and commercial cattle ranching, for the most part it appears to have come from small scale crop production and domestic animal herding, as well as imported goods. Imported food items would have included raisins, wheat flour, vinegar, lentils, beans, almonds, olive oil, and wine (Kulstad 2008, 258; Moya-Pons 1978, 186).

Unlike for La Isabela, where manifest lists of imported food products brought by Columbus are available (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a), no historical record of imported food products consumed at Concepción exists. Additionally, current available historical documents do not record what was consumed in households. However, there is a record of how food was produced for gold prospectors and for cattle ranchers. Historical documents also record what Africans were eating, and that their diets varied according to their social status, and rural versus urban location (See Kulstad 2008, 260). This topic is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Oviedo records that Naboría women cooked cassava bread in the mining camps (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). There is information about the steps to make cassava bread, including the use of griddles (Oviedo VI, 1959, Ch. 8, Part 6). The 1514 Repartimiento mentions Naborías being assigned to gardening and farming (Arranz-Márquez 1991). Historical documents also record the complaints of Spanish non-elites regarding local foods, referring to them as “roots and other distasteful delicacies” (Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 150) (See discussion Kulstad 2008, 258).

Since in cattle ranching, cattle were killed only for their hides, much of the meat was wasted (Deagan and Reitz 1995, Chapter 9; Kulstad 2008, 232; Marte 1981, 332-335; Moya-Pons 1983, 52, 1997, 1998). Some of the meat by-product was used to feed the workers living on the hatos (Cassá 1978, 63; Kulstad 2008, 233; Patronato 1995, 224), as well as those working in the gold and sugar industries (Moya-Pons 1983, 51, 1997, 1998). For example, Alvaro de Castro gave meat on credit to gold prospectors to be paid at smelting time (Patronato 1995, 265).

5.6.1.3.14 Clothing production

Clothing production was an important activity since it was an essential element of social distinction as per the sumptuary laws governing social relations at Concepción during this period (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998; Patronato 1995, 136. Historical records only give evidence of European/Spanish tailors, not of seamstresses (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000). A small number of Naborías were assigned to work with the tailors (Arranz-Márquez 1991).

A list of the clothes sold at Concepción is available as part of the Alvaro de Castro trial (Patronato 1995). These included a large amount of new and second-hand ready-made clothes, such as capes, corselets and pointed hoods (Patronato 1995, 155, 213, 221).

Since the use of clothing [the use of it in general (vs nakedness of pagan Indians) and the use of specific cloth for Christians was a marker of Christianity (Kulstad 2008, 267). Repartimiento holders and slave owners had to provide the clothes to their conscripted workers as a sign of their Christian indoctrination effort (Kulstad 2008, 267; Larrazabal 1975, 108). This clothing was similar to those worn by non-elites in Southern Spain, a loose shirt over pants and espadrilles (Kulstad 2008, 268; Suárez-Marill 1998).

5.6.1.3.15 Negras Ganadoras [Prostitution]

Given that gold production involved large numbers of single men, it is possible that a number of Bozal women at Concepción could have been Negras Ganadoras. The Negras Ganadoras were enslaved African women which were sent outside of the household as prostitutes by their masters (Moya-Pons 2008, 74). In 1535, Slave Ordenanzas tried to regulate the hours in which they worked, as well as limiting the clothing and jewels they could wear. It was alleged that many used their earnings to buy clothes and jewels comparable to those of Spanish women (Moya-Pons 2008, 74). It is also possible that these women received clothes and jewelry from their clients. More research should be conducted to confirm the presence of this activity at Concepción.

5.6.1.3.16 Clergy as educators

As stated above, the alliance between the Catholic Church and the Crown made religion the most important variable for assigning social acceptability (Deagan 2012, 3). This meant that the Crown had the responsibility of converting Indigenous peoples and ensuring Church precepts were properly followed (Deagan 2002a, 37). For the Spanish this meant teaching people how to be proper Christians, in both material and immaterial terms.

As discussed above, there was some debate on the methods to be used, but there was no question that Indios had to become Christian. The method used was the education of caciques' sons by the Franciscans and then they would teach Christianity to the Naborías and their families (AGI, Indif. Gen., Leg. 418, I F. 150v.; Marte 1981). This "trickle-down" method would eventually insure that the Indigenous people would be similar to Spanish serfs (Hanke 1935) and eventually could live in the pueblos Las Casas, Deza and the Dominican order championed (Charlevoix 1730, 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978; Stone 2014, 136).

The education method relied heavily on the teaching of Spanish and the acceptance of Spanish lifeways. This was done through the use of several books, such as prayer and doctrine books, as well as grammar and vocabulary texts (Kulstad 2008, 123; Marte 1981, 150; Ovando 1502). Unlike later Christianization and education methodologies which created extensive bilingual (Spanish/Indigenous language)

dictionaries and translations of the Bible into native languages, there are no such “Taino language” texts (Guitar 1998).

This teaching/endocrination method appears to have been quickly successful, as evidenced by Enriquillo’s obvious knowledge and understanding of the Spanish legal system. He was able to advance his case through the proper channels in 1519 (Altman 2007). It seems to be an example of the teaching of habitus (Bourdieu 1990, 53) of European/Spanish lifeways through the recursive (Potter 1994) use of “Christian” religious artifacts (which at that time permeated all aspects of life).

More research is necessary into the ladinization process in the Old World (before 1516) and on Hispaniola (after 1516) to understand the role religion played in African lifeways at Concepción. However, historical records do emphasize the learning of Spanish as a marker of “Christianity” (Marte 1981).

Although all peoples were to be gathered together in Mass at the same time, historical documents point to segregation by class. That is, the higher classes would go to mass inside the masonry buildings while the lower classes and/or the conscripted peoples would attend mass in a wooden structure outside. Such was the case at Bartolomé de Las Casas’s endocrination as a priest at Concepción in 1510 (Charlevoix 1730, 240; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971).

5.6.1.4 Interactions in armed resistance

Historical records show various instances of armed resistance during our study period (1494-1564), perpetrated by all groups of peoples. Several of these movements were successful and influenced Spanish governmental policy on Hispaniola and in later colonies in the Americas. Most importantly, the successful movements had one important common element - the cooperation between one, or more, “origin” groups.

The first successful armed resistance was the one carried out by Francisco Roldán and his followers (1496-1498) (see Chapter 4 and above). Unlike other armed resistance movements, Roldán followers only functioned outside of society for about 3 years, and then successfully returned to organized society.

This insurrection was staged at the same time as several Indio attacks on the Spanish, particularly the three Battles of La Vega Real (Wilson 1990b, 74), where they had originally moved to (Guerrero 2016, 16). However, they did not live at Concepción very long, preferring to live in Xaragua during the actual rebellion (Guerrero 2016, 16). They lived in the same communities as the Indigenous peoples and learned many of their ways (Julián 2015).

The way Columbus dealt with Roldán and his followers set a dangerous precedent in the Americas (Julián 2015). He welcomed them back into society and even

gave them Indio workers and lands (Guerrero 2016, 16). He did this without consulting the Crown, creating a way for non-elites to have elite privileges. It showed many peoples, in all categories, that rebellion had the possibility of reward rather than punishment.

This was the underlying premise of the Enriquillo revolt, which hoped to get Indigenous rights in a similar way (Altman 2007). Enriquillo's followers not only included escaped Amerindian slaves, but also *Cimarrones* (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 868, L1, f3v; Guitar 1998, 356; Moya Pons 2008, 77; Oviedo in Rueda 1988, 157; Rogoziński 2000, 52). This unity was possible thanks to the Church's mandate to teach Spanish language and culture to all in the colony in order to become Christian (Sáez 1994). Amerindians and Africans could live on the margins of society, occasionally raiding Spanish towns for their needs (Deive 1989, 11; Kulstad 2008, 183).

Despite this intensive interaction between Indios and Africans in his group, Enriquillo accepted becoming a *Cimarron* hunter as part of the deal (Moya Pons 2008, 78). Some have seen this as a betrayal by Enriquillo (Utrera 1973), while others see it as something he was forced to accept, but did not necessarily enforce (Moya Pons 2008, 78). Moya-Pons (2008) did not find many instances in which Enriquillo successfully captured escaped *Cimarrones*.

It is interesting to note that there was more *Cimarrón* activity than Indio rebellions at Concepción during this period. Here, most *Cimarrones* escaped from gold mines (Guitar 1998, 277). Concepción was the second largest area of *Cimarrón* activity on the island in the 1530s and 1540s, with uprisings led by Diego de Guzmán, Diego de Ocampo and Dieguillo de Ocampo (AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 49; Guitar 1998, 399; Informes 1546; Marte 1981, 301) (See Kulstad 2008, 75).

It was relatively easy for enslaved people to escape, partly due to the nature of gold production. Unlike plantation industries - like sugar - which required permanent lodging for enslaved peoples, gold prospecting involved traveling from and living in temporary quarters (See discussion in Kulstad 2008, 184).

Two types of *Cimarrón* activity have been identified throughout the circum-Caribbean: Petit Marronage and Grand Marronage. Petit Marronage refers to short term escapes, while Grand Marronage refers to the long term, or permanent, escapes, with the intent of living in autonomous communities (Kulstad 2008, 184; Price 1979, 3; Weik 1997, 81). On Hispaniola, Grand Marronage included armed rebellions (Guitar 1998, 340; Kulstad 2008, 184; Peguero and de los Santos 1983, 66; Rueda 1988, 122), and *Cimarrón* attacks on roads (Guitar 1998, 262; Kulstad 2008, 76; Patronato 1995, 250). This made travel between cities unsafe (Guitar 1998, 262; Kulstad 2008, 76; Patronato 1995, 250) and were thought by some historians to have impacted the sugar industry (Franco 1975). Spanish settlers moved in groups of 15-20 with armed guards for safety (Kulstad 2008, 76; Moya-Pons 1983, 36, 1997, 1998) and moving any product on the roads would have been cumbersome with this elaborate protection system. Sugar was

especially vulnerable, since it could spoil on the way (Kulstad 2008, 76; Julián 1997; Ratekin 1954).

Both Bozales and Ladinos ran away from official settlements (Guitar 1998, 235; Kulstad 2008, 184), often returning after a few days (Petit Marronage) (Kulstad 2008, 184; Price 1979, 3; Weik 1997, 81). The 1528 Slave Ordenanzas allowed for these occasional escapes, giving the escapee 15 to 20 days to return (Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Documento Secreto 243, Legajo 3, No. 97a, ff24-33; Guitar 1998, 373; Kulstad 2008, 183; Larrazabal 1975, 107). Ladinos were more apt to escape permanently and live in autonomous communities, often with escaped Indios (Deive 1989, 271; Kulstad 2008, 185; Weik 1997, 89). These communities were on the margins of colonial society, outside the scope of governmental control, but tied to it by European settlements through familial and friendship ties (Deive 1989, 11; Kulstad 2008, 184; Weik 1997, 86).

5.6.1.5 Interactions in passive resistance

There is evidence of less violent, more passive, resistance to the official hegemony at Concepción during our study period. There is historical evidence of individual passive resistance, such as breaking sumptuary laws; as well as more general passive resistance, such as carnival.

The 1532 Alvaro de Castro trial gives documental evidence for both types of passive evidence. It provides evidence of the La Vega Carnival (Patronato 1995) a general form of passive resistance where social norms are inverted (Boje 2001). This carnival is the oldest recorded one in the Americas, pointing to the fact that, although it was an important city, as a non-capital, it did not follow all the Crown rules (Las Casas in Rueda 1988, 523). More specific, individual, resistances include the buying and selling of clothes supposed to be only for upper classes (Patronato 1995, 136, 155, 213, 221). Although purple cloth was reserved for religious functions, there is evidence that Castro sold it to whomever could afford it (Patronato 1995, 136). There is no historical evidence of non-Spanish/European participation in these activities at this time.

Meanwhile, there was a more blatant passive resistance manifestation, namely the Resistant Indio and *Cimarrón* use, or lack of, clothing. It appears that when Indios ran away they reverted to not wearing clothes, as was common in the pre-contact period. This was the case of a Spanish speaking Indio caught in the Concepción area in 1543 (Rueda 1988, 225). *Cimarrones* around Concepción wore the skins of escaped bulls (Informes 1546; Larrazabal 1975, 142; Kulstad 2008, 269; Marte 1981, 301; Moya-Pons 1974, 83).

5.6.2 Biophysical Interactions

Two biophysical intercultural interactions which are highlighted in the historical documents are: intermixing (mestizaje) and disease. As explained in the Sociocultural interactions subsection above, although biological “mixing” (mestizaje) occurred between people of different geographic origins, it was not officially differentiated.

This is in part due to the fact that, as Guitar (2002) and Eltis (2000) have pointed out, “ethnicity” was conceptualized differently in the 16th century than it is today. This is especially true in regard to terms to be used for those people of mixed heritage (Guitar 2002, 8; Voss 2005, 462).

More research needs to be done to see how these mixed peoples were incorporated into society, and particularly at Concepción. Historical evidence of mixed families is found in the accounts about the Roldán followers/Primeros Pobladores (Benzo 2000; Deagan and Cruxent 2008b, 201). Later, in the 1514 Repartimiento, 10 out of the 19 married vecinos were married to Nitaino women (Benzo 2000). This move in social class seems to corroborate the theory that intermarriage between peoples altered their social position (Álvarez-Ossorio 1998, 268; Deagan 1996, 153; Jamieson 2004, 445).

However, it is important to note that, despite the advantages that intermarriage may have had, this was not always true for all types of interracial sexual unions.. Nor should it be assumed that all of it was consensual. In the case against Alvaro de Castro, one of the charges was the commitment of adultery, undertaken with a pious Spanish woman who was living at the Concepción Cathedral (Patronato 1995, 9) and with a Perpetual Naboria (Lucayan) woman (Patronato 1995, 136).

While intermixing increased the population, disease diminished it. Historical records document the arrival of smallpox to the island (AGI, Patronato 172, R35; Guitar 1998, 248; Kulstad 2008, 62; Moya-Pons 1983, 29, 1997, 1998; Pichardo 1944), but the information currently available does not specify what its effects on Concepción. A telling factor of diseases being common in Concepción is the assignment of various Naborías to barbers and physicians in the 1514 Repartimiento (Arranz-Márquez 1991). There is also evidence that a hospital was built at Concepción for the Indigenous people (Lamb 1956, 171; Las Casas II, 1927, 268; Palm 1950), but there is no account of the diseases treated. No accounts are currently available regarding how European/Spanish and African populations were treated.

5.7 Conclusions

This Chapter has attempted to study the sociocultural and biophysical intercultural interactions at Concepción that could have influenced the lifeways there during our period of study. The first step in this process was to socially identify the

“cultural groups” that are interacting. This was done by grouping people by geographic origin. Within these groups, further subcategories based on gender, enslaved/free, elite/non-elite, clergy/laity were presented. A section also discussed those who resisted these categories, such as the Roldán followers, the Resistant Indios and the Cimarrones.

It is important to remember that these categories are not intrisic/biophysical, but rather are socially determined. More specifically, it is important to note that the castas system had not yet been formally instituted, and Spanish authorities were at a loss about how to classify peoples during most of the 16th century (Rothchild 2015, 188). Research has found that factors that influenced social classification/differentiation included geographic origin, gender, position within the implemented labor systems, and sumptuary laws.

Tables 1-1, 1-2, 1-3, 1-4 combine all the different people categories presented above. The time period divisions chosen are based on dates which influenced Indio lifeways. These dates were chosen because events related to Indios affected the other two origin groups more often than the other way around.

The second half of the Chapter explored the sociocultural interactions and biophysical interactions recorded in historical documents related to activities which could have occurred at the site in non-domestic spaces. For this study, the European/Spanish gender bias in the recording of men’s activities (Rothchild 2015, 183) was useful, since non-domestic spaces are more associated to men (Rothchild 2015, 183). It particularly important to record the activities undertaken by enslaved peoples, since they were forced to use materials from other cultures in their everyday life (Jamieson 2004, 445), and had limited freedom of movement (Dominguez and Funari 2015, 136) on the landscape.