

# America's First Slave Revolt: Indians and African Slaves in Española, 1500–1534

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**Abstract.** On Christmas Day 1521, in the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, the first recorded slave revolt in the Americas occurred. A group of African, likely Wolof, slaves came together with native Indians led by the Taíno cacique Enriquillo to assert their independence. Beyond being the first slave revolt in the Americas, it was also one of the most important moments in Colonial American history because it was the first known instance when Africans and Indians united against their Spanish overlords in the Americas. Little scholarship exists that focuses on the event, and what does exist concentrates on either the Indian or the African revolt without linking the two events. By overlooking the revolt and its origins, Latin American historiography perpetuates the portrayal of Española as a stepping stone or “antechamber” to the conquest of Mexico or Peru, only focusing on the initial discovery by Christopher Columbus before leaving the Caribbean behind. This essay addresses these silences by carefully examining the evolution of colonial society on Española using sources found in the Archivo General de Indias and recent archaeological studies. Among the themes I analyze in my article are the scope and meaning of the early indigenous slave trade; the greater social, political, and cultural impact of the Caribbean slave trade from 1500 to 1530; the factors that prompted both the Indians and Africans to revolt; and the roles played by the various religious groups on the island. This essay will serve as a case study of an event when Africans and Indians joined against a common enemy, thereby gaining their own agency and power. In the end, this study will be applicable to the larger Spanish colonial experience of cultural hybridization and the African and Indian diasporas.

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## Introduction

On Christmas Day 1521, twenty slaves rebelled on and fled from Diego Colón's *ingenio*, or sugar plantation.<sup>1</sup> Escaping into Española's countryside, the slaves soon gained another twenty followers with whom they proceeded to attack and destroy Melchor de Castro's cattle ranch, killing several Spaniards in the process. The slaves also captured more slaves, including twelve Indians and one African. In addition, they stole provisions from the ranch, burning all that they were unable to carry.<sup>2</sup> Next, the enraged group set course for Licenciado Zuazo's *ingenio*, located only eight leagues from Española's capital city, Santo Domingo. Despite the slaves' early successes, the Spanish government rallied, sending a small group of both foot soldiers and cavalry to stop and capture the slave rebels. Before the slaves reached Santo Domingo, Governor Colón's forces confronted the rebels (numbering up to 120, according to the historian Oviedo), killing 6 and wounding several others before the majority of the rebels successfully escaped to the safety of the Bahoruco Mountains.<sup>3</sup>

Within the mountains, the African slave rebels joined with a group of indigenous fugitives, or *indios negros*, led by the cacique Enriquillo, who had rebelled himself in 1519.<sup>4</sup> For the next fifteen years, these two diverse groups melded together, fighting the same enemy, perhaps even intermarrying, and creating their own distinct culture. Fourteen years after the revolt, in 1534, Enriquillo surrendered, leaving many of the African *cimarrones*, or maroons, to fend for themselves, which they continued to do for another fourteen years.<sup>5</sup> For nearly thirty years, African and Indian maroon slaves lived together in the Bahoruco Mountains while not only evading Spanish attacks but also terrorizing the countryside surrounding Santo Domingo. To follow both the rebels' and the Spaniards' movements, see figure 1, a map of the island circa 1519.

## Combining Separate Histories

How did such an alliance come to be? To begin, Africans were present on Española from the start of the conquest (as both slaves and voluntary conquistadores like Juan Garrido), and were already described as running away by Governor Ovando in 1503.<sup>6</sup> Thus Africans and Española's native Taíno Indians (the most significant indigenous ethnic group on the island in 1492) were at the very least familiar with one another well before either the indigenous uprising of 1519 or the African rebellion of 1521.<sup>7</sup> While both archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that the African and Indian revolts eventually became one, with the two groups joining against



Figure 1. La Española in 1519. Created by Richard Stone.

a common enemy and thereby gaining their own agency and power,<sup>8</sup> historians have largely treated these two revolts as separate events. Most historians even ascribe distinct causes to each rebellion despite the fact that they occurred within two years of one another, were against the same enemy (the Spanish), and are described together as one uprising many times in contemporary Spanish writings. Carlos Deive, the most prolific writer on the subject, does not mention Enriquillo's defection in his voluminous work on the history of black slavery in Española. Moreover, he only briefly touches on the subject of the Wolof revolt of 1521 in his work on the history of Indian slavery in Española, concluding that the unification of the African and Indian maroons in the Batoruco Mountains was nothing more than a coincidence. Deive also ascribes different causes to each rebellion, arguing that Enriquillo resisted the Spaniards to recapture his lost freedom and at the same time asserting that the high concentration of recently arrived Wolof slaves on Colón's ingenio explains their rebellion against the Spaniards' harsh labor demands.<sup>9</sup>

Most recently, in her excellent article, Ida Altman focuses on the impact of Enriquillo's rebellion on the rest of colonial Spanish America; but she, like Deive, does not unite the two revolts.<sup>10</sup> Altman hypothesizes that Enriquillo's motivation for resistance was a personal matter between him and his *encomendero* having little to do with larger island politics. Therefore, existing accounts of the first slave revolt in the Americas both

fail to unite the two rebellions and ascribe quite different causes to each rebellion. However, it is clear that the same demographic, economic, and religious developments in Española that occurred during the early 1500s created the opportunities and stimuli for both the Indians and Africans to execute their rebellions. At the most basic level, these changes signaled a new type of Spanish policy on Española, one that would undermine the Spaniards' alliances with the island's caciques and the greater preexisting power structures on the island. The challenge to native power would ultimately lead both to Enriquillo's rebellion and, later, to the importation of Diego Colón's rebellious Wolof slaves.

### *Early Interactions between the Spanish and Taíno*

While many developments on Española affected the Spaniards' policies toward the native Taíno population, including the switch from a mining economy to one based on sugar, it was the destabilizing effects of two specific policies enacted by Spanish officials in the second decade of colonial rule that set the stage for Enriquillo's lengthy contestation of power. These two policies were the increased importation of slaves (Indians not from Española proper and, later, Africans) and the transfer of indigenous settlements across the island through the Repartimiento of Albuquerque in 1514.<sup>11</sup> The repartimiento of 1514 marked the division and relocation of surviving Taíno residents. Prior to the repartimiento, which combined Indian groups and then relocated them to sites distant from the highly populated gold-mining areas, Spaniards maintained peace on the island by negotiating Indian labor and tribute through native caciques.<sup>12</sup> As part of this arrangement, Indian caciques received numerous benefits, including a reprieve from much or all of the labor required by the majority of Taínos. Essentially, the Spaniards dealt with the Taíno caciques as privileged political brokers in order to maintain their cooperation, garner tribute from subject Indians, and legitimize the colonial system.<sup>13</sup>

However, by the second decade of the sixteenth century, Spaniards began to ignore many of the agreements made with the island's caciques, preferring instead to rely more on repression and the introduction of African and Indian slaves who were not beholden to Española's indigenous leaders. As the residents of Española implemented a new sugar economy, they also committed two crucial errors that undermined prior agreements with the islands' caciques. First, they greatly increased the level and variety of both indigenous and African slave importation, bringing volatile new actors into an already hectic environment. Second, they removed caciques from their ancestral *cacicazgos* (chiefdoms) from which they derived much of their authority. These two errors would eventually cause many of the

island's native peoples to resist their Spanish overlords and assert their independence in 1519, providing future African and Indian slaves with a template for revolt, not to mention the perfect location for a maroon community in the Bahoruco Mountains.

### *Prehispanic Patterns*

One finds the most fundamental roots of rebellion much earlier, in the very moment that Spaniards first touched Española's soil. With the first contact between the two worlds, things began to change in Española in ways that neither group could have imagined. Prior to the Spaniards' arrival, the Taíno were a linguistically diverse ethnic group that inhabited not only Española but also the Bahamas (the Lucayos), Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. The Taíno more than likely originated in the northern coast of South America, mainly from present-day Venezuela, arriving in several waves of migration from AD 600 to 1200. As they continued to migrate, the Taíno people eventually populated the majority of the Caribbean, but their most advanced settlements would remain on the islands first populated by the Taínos, Española and Puerto Rico. The final group of immigrants did not arrive until the 1300s, settling on the sparsely populated islands of the Lesser Antilles. It would be this final group that would first receive the label *Caribe*.<sup>14</sup>

Due to their common origins, at least geographically, the Taínos shared many cultural characteristics. Taínos were sedentary agriculturalists with yucca as their staple crop. They lived in kin-based villages called chiefdoms that possessed between five hundred and a few thousand inhabitants at the time of the Spaniards' arrival. These chiefdoms were then divided into two social groups, the *naborías* (the laborers who paid tribute to their ruling cacique or *cacica*; *naborías* was translated by the Spanish as "slaves") and the *nitáinos* (the cacique or *cacica*, his family, and the *behiques*, or shamans).<sup>15</sup>

However, the Taínos of the Greater Antilles shared more than a common social structure. With the help of recent archaeological and anthropological discoveries, it is now known that for the Taínos, interisland relationships, diplomacy, and contact were common. The interaction among various caciques, both within Española and across islands, can be witnessed in the giving or sharing of *cemis* and *guaízas*. *Cemis* are painted stone or wood figures that come in many shapes, from doglike to those in the form of a human body.<sup>16</sup> Many *cemis* include bones (usually skulls or teeth) from powerful ancestors meant to increase the power of the idol. The Taínos did not view their *cemis* as actual objects but rather as a vital force closely linked to one specific human (always a cacique or *behique*) who could "unveil its identity or personhood."<sup>17</sup> The cacique and the *cemi* eventually became like partners, with the cacique's success perceived as emanating from the *cemi*'s

power. While *cemis* were carefully guarded by their *cacique* during his lifetime (though it is possible that especially important alliances were cemented with the exchange of *cemis*), upon his death foreign *caciques* inherited at least some of the deceased *cacique's* most powerful belongings, including *cemis*. This exchange sought to create new alliances, to bolster the rule of the new *cacique* inheriting the position, and to strengthen already existing alliances between kin groups related by marriage.<sup>18</sup>

Beyond the exchanging or inheritance of *cemis* was the even more prevalent practice of gifting *guaízas* (objects offered to stranger *caciques* as part of an alliance ceremony, made of stone, cotton, or shell that represented a portion of the living soul of the *cacique* giving the gift).<sup>19</sup> The giving of *guaízas* usually accompanied the exchanging of names and/or wives as a sign of alliance both within and between islands. Although *guaízas* were endowed with some power, they were not as significant as the *cemis*; thus it makes sense that the number of *guaízas* that circulated the Caribbean is much larger than the number of *cemis*. In fact, there are even *guaízas* in the islands of the Lesser Antilles that could signify an attempt at expansion of trade networks or political alliances from either Española or Puerto Rico in the years prior to the Spanish arrival in the Americas.

Building on this idea, it is possible that this effort at extending alliances and power may have caused recent tensions between the peoples of the Greater and Lesser Antilles, thus explaining the idea and depiction of the "Caribes" by the Taínos of Española and Puerto Rico.<sup>20</sup> Columbus first encountered the people who would come to be known as Caribes during his second voyage to the New World in 1493, when he spent six days on the island of Guadalupe in the Lesser Antilles. During his stay, he captured ten or twelve women from the island of Boriquen (Puerto Rico) on Guadalupe, whom he assumed to be captives stolen by the Caribes from their rightful home. While this is a possibility, it could also be true that during recent diplomatic missions the *caciques* of Boriquen gave the women to the Caribes (in addition to the *guaízas* mentioned above) to solidify new alliances, a common practice of Taíno groups. Either way, Columbus and the Spanish took the women from Guadalupe and sent them to Spain, using their presence on the island as proof of the barbarity of the Caribes.<sup>21</sup>

However, connections between the Taínos of the Greater Antilles (and perhaps of the Lesser Antilles) extended well beyond the exchange of gifts. In fact, kinship networks extended across the Caribbean, demonstrating the prevalence of interisland marriages and familial connections. For example, in Bartolomé de las Casas's account of Española, he describes each of the most powerful *caciques*, or "kings," on the island, and, surprisingly, one of the kings was from the Lucayos Islands, not from Española

proper. The Lucayan king, Caonabo, ruled the province of Maguana, and his wife, Anacaona, was the sister of perhaps the most powerful cacique on the island, Behechio. According to Las Casas, Caonabo "crossed over here from there (the Lucayos or Bahamas) and because he was a notable man both in war and peace, he came to be the King of that province and was greatly esteemed by all."<sup>22</sup> Another example of familial ties between island leaders was the pair of brother caciques of Boriquen and the southern province of Española, Higüey. In 1510, Ponce de León brought the Boriquen cacique Agueybana with him to Española where he had many relatives, including a brother named Andrés.<sup>23</sup>

Thus the Taíno caciques of the Greater Antilles possessed widespread kin linkages throughout the islands, though these relationships were not always friendly. Specific references to disputes between cacicazgos include conflicts over the theft of women and cemís and tensions stemming from competition (specifically between Española and Puerto Rico) over power in both the Greater and Lesser Antilles. Regardless of the existence of conflicts among the various Taíno groups, it is likely that the Taíno people were able to assimilate one another with little difficulty following the Spanish invasion and the consequent influx of foreign Indians to Española. In fact, despite the huge number of Lucayos brought to Española in 1510 alone (up to twenty-six thousand), the Indians of Española quickly incorporated the Lucayos into their society, at least according to the Spanish officials.<sup>24</sup> Incorporation would be more difficult for Indians originating from outside the Antilles.

### *Roots of Rebellion*

First to transform was Española's demography, as the island's indigenous population declined dramatically. Between 1492 and 1518, the native Taíno population decreased monumentally following the introduction of European diseases, the effects of which were only further compounded by the Spaniards' abuse of the Indians. To replace the declining Taíno labor force, the Spanish began to bring indigenous slaves back from their exploratory expeditions throughout the Americas. For example, in 1501 Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes, corregidor of Jerez de la Frontera, captured several Indians from the Pearl Islands of Cumaná and Cuchina and proceeded to transport them to Española.<sup>25</sup> In addition to the Indians captured during exploration, the Spanish also began importing more and more Indians taken from "useless" islands during slaving raids, specifically raids to the Lucayos islands.<sup>26</sup> The Spanish referred to islands lacking in gold mines as "useless"; therefore it was legal to capture Indians residing on them and to relocate them to Española where they would supplement the deteriorating workforce.<sup>27</sup>

The Spanish argued that these Indians would benefit from communication with Christians as they converted them to Catholicism, since these useless islands were “filled with sinful Indian idolaters.”<sup>28</sup> Following the diminishment of the populations on the useless islands, the Spaniards next escalated their efforts with respect to the so-called Caribes, whose enslavement Queen Isabel made legal in 1503.<sup>29</sup>

The Indians of Puerto Rico rebelled at the end of 1510 under the leadership of the cacique Agueybana. During the uprising, the Indians murdered the powerful encomendero, Cristobal de Sotomayor, which prompted the Spanish government in Española to issue an order at the end of 1511 declaring general war on all Caribes and their immediate enslavement and relocation to Española or other islands with mines.<sup>30</sup> The growing labor crisis even led the king of Spain to authorize slaving expeditions across the Caribbean and, in 1514, to order an armada to attack the Caribes living in Trinidad, Dominica, Santa Lucia, Barbados, and San Vicente specifically to capture slaves to sell on Española.<sup>31</sup>

Because of this authorization, the Dominican friars claimed that forty islands belonging to the Lucayos chain, as well as three more populated by the “Giants” (present-day Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao), were completely stripped of inhabitants despite their initial populations of more than fifty thousand. The Spaniards transported these various Indians to Española. However, only a few thousand of those sent to Española survived due to the slavers’ treatment during their capture and the disorganization of the return journey, during which many died of hunger or wounds received from the Spanish enslavers.<sup>32</sup> For example, one of the most prolific and active slave traders was Licenciado Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, who consistently failed to adequately provision his slaving expeditions. On one expedition Ayllón and his cohorts, Quejo and Gordillo, captured at least nine hundred Indians, half of whom died in pens in the Bahamas while awaiting an additional ship for their voyage to Española where they would be sold.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, this increased importation of foreign Indians accelerated the native caciques’ loss of authority in their relationships with both Spaniards and Indians. Unlike the native Taínos who possessed loyalties to Española’s caciques, the newly arriving Indians felt no allegiance to the resident caciques, since they were lifelong, permanent slaves of the Spanish encomenderos.<sup>34</sup> Simultaneously, the increase in Indian slaves began to influence how the Spaniards themselves viewed Española’s indigenous peoples.<sup>35</sup> In fact, by 1512, Spaniards used the word *naboría* to refer to all Indian laborers on the island, no longer distinguishing between the elite natives and their subject workers.

As local caciques’ authority became further degraded, Spaniards began to ignore agreements and treaties made years earlier with Española’s

native rulers, thus depriving the caciques of rights and privileges they had once enjoyed.<sup>36</sup> For example, in June 1516 the Jeronymites complained to the king about the treatment of caciques by encomenderos, especially by those employing Indians in gold mines. According to the Jeronymites, the miners ignored their obligations to the native caciques, requiring them to complete work in the mines alongside their own laborers and even beating them when they failed to fulfill their obligations.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the Dominican friars compared the Spaniards' treatment of the islands' caciques in 1516 to that of their purchased black slaves despite the encomenderos' statements to the contrary. In addition, the encomenderos refused to recognize the effects of depopulation regarding the tribute and labor requirements for each cacique. For example, if one cacique governed two hundred Indians in 1514 and fifty died while laboring for their encomendero, the next year the encomendero would still expect the cacique to provide him with two hundred workers.<sup>38</sup>

Within a few years, the Spaniards exhausted almost all of the easily reachable gold, found in riverbeds and ravines, and had to move on to the more difficult task of mining dry water courses or the dangerous practice of pit mining.<sup>39</sup> In order to profit from gold mining, Spaniards began to rely more on African labor, to exploit both the Africans' knowledge of gold mining and their ability to endure arduous labor in tropical climates, using their Indian slaves to execute the supporting tasks of mining. This meant that Africans and Indians worked side by side, often living in the same camps placed near the gold mines, for the first decades of Spanish conquest. This proximity made it likely that Indians and Africans developed relationships that would eventually facilitate the formation of mixed maroon communities in the Bahoruco Mountains.

At the start, the majority of Africans in Española were *ladinos*—African (slave or free) who lived in either the Iberian peninsula or the Canary Islands prior to their residence in the New World—therefore they probably spoke Spanish and were Catholic. In 1503, both Governor Ovando and the settler Juan de Ayala wrote a letter reporting to the king that the ladino slaves of Española were fleeing the mines, running to live with the Indians in the distant mountains and forests where they taught the natives “bad customs.” Ayala went on to advise the king that he should send no more African slaves to the New World, a warning that neither the king nor his future settlers would heed.<sup>40</sup> In fact, just after complaining of the ladino slaves, Ovando requested that the king send *bozal* slaves (African slaves imported directly from the African continent with no prior knowledge of European civilization) to Española, demonstrating his mistaken belief that *bozales* would be easier to control and pacify than ladino slaves.<sup>41</sup> From 1508 forward, the

colonists of Española persisted in requesting African bozal slaves, resulting in the crown's issuance of several licenses for the transportation of slaves to the New World in 1513.<sup>42</sup> While the slaves trickled into Española at an agonizingly slow rate, at least for the desperate encomenderos, the royal historian Oviedo claims that by the time of Diego Colón's administration, beginning in 1509, the number of West African slaves in Española surpassed the combined population of Spaniards and Indians.<sup>43</sup>

### Transition from Gold Mining to a Sugar Economy

Despite the innovations in mining and the slow importation of hardier African slaves, the supply of gold on Española continued to decline, mirroring the waning native population. In 1514 the Colón administration initiated a new strategy, the repartimiento of 1514, which sought to promote the establishment of sugar plantations on the island. The crown intended for the repartimiento to increase the productivity of the gold mines, centralize authority in the crown officials on the island (as opposed to the encomenderos maintaining their control), provide Indians to residents or towns that did not have any, and to allow for the more efficient conversion of the Taínos to Catholicism. To accomplish these goals, the repartimiento took the right to grant encomiendas away from the governor of Española (who often awarded Indians based on personal relationships, even giving Indians to Spaniards not in residence in Española) and forced encomenderos to send at least one-third of their Indians to work in the crown's gold mines. Nonetheless, the most egregious part of the repartimiento was the relocation of Indian towns closer to mines or newly established sugar ingenios.<sup>44</sup> In addition to moving the Indians, the repartimiento also often combined two or more chiefdoms to account for a decrease in population, forcing as many as four caciques to live and work together, decreasing the power of each and causing internal divisions within the new settlements. While the repartimiento did increase crown control over Española, it failed to increase the output of the gold mines, and it angered many Indian caciques by removing them from their ancestral lands, thereby inflaming an already volatile political situation on Española.<sup>45</sup>

The transfer of caciques from their ancestral lands effectively separated them from the sources of their power, except for the portable cemís. As mentioned above, the cemís usually contained elements of powerful ancestors—specifically, parts of the deceased cacique's skull. Once the skull was removed to make the cemí, the rest of the cacique's body was burned. Next, his bones would be collected, bundled, and placed in sacred locations within the cacique's territory, usually within single or multiple caves.<sup>46</sup>

The bundles would then mark either the point of origin for a familial line (in the case of one cave) or the boundaries of a kin group's territory. The placement of ancestral remains in caves underscores the significance of the landscape for Taínos, especially in connection with the Taíno origin myth, which states, "In Española there is a province called Caonao, in which is found a mountain called Canta, having two caves named Cacibayagua and Amayauba. From Cacibayagua came the majority of the people who settled the island."<sup>47</sup> When engaged in ceremonies, like the *coboba* ceremony, the cacique would call upon his *cemi* (which was often hidden in a cave as well) and his ancestors, each of which had to be geographically near for him to communicate with them for advice or divination. Therefore, when a cacique moved across the island, he would be deserting his ancestors from whom he literally derived his spiritual and political authority.<sup>48</sup> In addition to separating Taíno caciques from their ancestral sources of power, the Spaniards also separated them from their yucca fields, thereby making the natives dependent on the Spaniards for their sustenance.

### The Cacique Enriquillo

It is within this evolving colony that one finds the grandnephew of the famous and powerful Cacica Anacaona, the young man who would become the rebel leader Enriquillo. Though his exact date of birth is unknown, Enriquillo was born between 1498 and 1500 and would eventually become the cacique of the powerful province of Jaragua.<sup>49</sup> In his youth he was baptized Enrique, after which he spent a portion of his life living with Franciscan friars in the monastery located at Verapaz, where he learned to read and write and gained the diminutive of Enriquillo from his religious professors.<sup>50</sup> While most historians agree that Enriquillo was in fact literate, the Spanish had only recently established the school (in 1513) at Verapaz, which he supposedly attended prior to his move across the island in 1514. One first sees reference to the school at Verapaz in an order from the king to Doctor Sancho Matienzo instructing him to provide Bachiller Hernán Suárez with twenty books of grammar, several reams of paper, and other books that explain the Catholic faith and importance of sacraments for the new school for sons of Indian caciques in Verapaz.<sup>51</sup> However, the school was to be an addition to a Franciscan monastery in existence since 1504, where Enriquillo resided prior to the addition of a school, giving strength to the argument that he was literate. Enriquillo married his cousin Doña Mencia, also of noble blood, and soon after, in 1514, moved to San Juan de Maguana as part of the Repartimiento of Albuquerque, accompanied by 109 Indians including 10 elderly Indians, 17 children, and 82 Indians of working age

and ability.<sup>52</sup> Following his relocation from his ancestral land, a devastating smallpox outbreak hit the island in 1518. Sadly, the Indians living in the concentrated settlements, known as *reducciones*, suffered the most due to the population concentration (and perhaps from overwork). The resulting decline in population caused the Spaniards to increase the importation of foreign Indian slaves to replace those that perished during the epidemic. As noted above, the influx of foreign Indians probably diminished or upset the power and prestige enjoyed by native Taíno caciques like Enriquillo. This was especially true in the later years of indigenous enslavement that concentrated on Indians from Florida, the Pearl Islands, and other areas whose Indians more than likely shared little if any cultural characteristics with Española's Taíno population. Additionally, the Spaniards sent the majority of the new Indian slaves to the diminished *reducciones*, including San Juan de Maguana.<sup>53</sup>

The *reducciones* only accelerated the process of depopulation as Indians fled in ever-larger numbers to the Bahoruco Mountains to escape the Spaniards' brutality and to avoid having to abandon their ancestral lands. The cacique Enriquillo would certainly fit into this pattern, since after fleeing Francisco de Valenzuela's *encomienda* (located in the *reducción* of San Juan de Maguana), he returned to his former territory of Jaragua and led his revolt from caves located in the Bahoruco Mountains.<sup>54</sup> Recently, archaeologists have isolated one particular group of caves, known as El Limona, as likely residences for Enriquillo and his followers. These caves are deep in the Bahoruco Mountains (corresponding to the geographic descriptions of Spanish accounts dating from the time of the rebellion—for example, that of Licenciado Armando Rodríguez in his *probanza* to the king), a site at which archeologists uncovered twelve skeletons and various ceramic pieces. While the skeletons show diverse stages of fossilization, the archaeologists could identify three as contemporaneous with the Enriquillo rebellion, two of which were adult African males and one whose ethnicity could not be determined. Alongside these remains were indigenous Taíno ceramics and swine bones dating from the early colonial period, leading the archaeologists to conclude that the caves more than likely were inhabited by both Africans and Indians during the early 1500s.<sup>55</sup>

### **Jeronymite Intermediaries against the Enslavement of Local Taínos**

The noticeable decrease in the native labor supply not only affected the Taínos, it also motivated the Spanish colonists to seek larger numbers of African and foreign Indian workers. This process received further impe-

tus after the arrival of the Jeronymites, who advocated the importation of thousands of African slaves to alleviate the plight of the Taíno population while simultaneously aiding the economic transfer to sugar production on the island. The Jeronymites even petitioned the crown (Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros) to provide Spanish residents willing to set up ingenios with economic incentives—most importantly, the ability to purchase slaves without paying taxes—in an effort to make the transition from indigenous to African slave labor smoother.<sup>56</sup> Beyond advising an increase in the importation of African slaves, the Jeronymites also advocated the perpetuation of the *encomienda* system and initially prohibited any further indigenous slaving expeditions. However, in response to the growing demands for laborers, specifically Indian slaves, the Jeronymites eventually lifted the prohibition on trading for slaves in the Pearl Islands and the coastline of Tierra Firme (basically referring to present-day South and Central America).<sup>57</sup> The Jeronymites even began granting licenses for Spaniards to take or trade in slaves throughout Tierra Firme who were already held as slaves by the local Indians.<sup>58</sup>

While the Jeronymites' new policies did little to help the Taíno population, their emphasis on increased sugar production over gold mining did benefit Española's residents. In fact, by the 1530s, Española shipped up to ninety thousand *arrobas* (about twenty-five thousand pounds) of sugar annually to Spain from as many as forty ingenios.<sup>59</sup> While sugar did not disappear as had the island's gold, the two did share some common factors, including employment of both Indians and Africans in the same ingenios. For example, the ingenio owner Francisco Tostado purchased a variety of slaves at a public auction in 1520, including "una india y dos niñas esclavas" (an Indian woman and two slave girls), while another *encomendero*, Diego Caballero, bought both Indian and African slaves at the same auction.<sup>60</sup> Ingenio owners often owned numerous slaves of diverse origins who worked on the plantations together for inconceivably long hours. Licenciado Zuazo described the process of fabricating sugar in 1518: "They began the operation of cutting the cane, which was as thick as a limb of a man and as long as two men of medium height, and they followed the cutting with the felling, mashing, draining, cooking, and finally the crystallization. . . . It all began, if possible, at dawn and lasted all day with a brief break for lunch."<sup>61</sup> Despite the efforts of the crown and various Dominican, Jeronymite, and Franciscan friars living in Española, the *encomenderos* continued to exploit both Indian and African slaves, if not in gold mines, then in sugar ingenios.

## Template for Revolt

By the end of the second decade of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards of Española had imported great numbers of foreign and African slaves and at the same time, perhaps unintentionally, seriously damaged the preexisting power structure between the islands' Spanish and native leaders. These errors would cause Enriquillo and his people to take control of their lives by asserting their independence in 1519, providing future African and Indian slaves with a template for revolt and the perfect location for a maroon community in the Bahoruco Mountains.

While I attribute Enriquillo's rebellion to the larger political and social policies of the island, others have pointed to a much more personal reason behind his abandonment of Spanish society. The most vocal of these proponents is Fray Cipriano de Utrera, who claims that Enriquillo revolted because of the death of his encomendero, Valenzuela, in 1517. Following Valenzuela's death, his son inherited the encomienda.<sup>62</sup> While Valenzuela the elder was a good master, against whom there exist no written complaints, the young Andrés de Valenzuela, according to Bartolomé de las Casas, was a bad encomendero. He not only stole Enriquillo's mare (an important status symbol for ladino Indians), but in response to the cacique's protestations, he took Enriquillo's wife.<sup>63</sup> Enriquillo fled San Juan de Maguana in 1519, taking with him his wife and several of his followers and escaping to the Bahoruco Mountains to join the thousands of other slaves who had preceded him.

Even though Enriquillo and his people fled the Spanish without executing any violence, both his encomendero Valenzuela and the Spanish government immediately responded to their flight by sending squadrons of soldiers into the mountains to capture the Indians. After realizing that the Spaniards were pursuing him, Enriquillo did commit his first violent act by killing the Spaniard Peñalosa, a man accompanied by eighty soldiers sent by Valenzuela to capture the cacique.<sup>64</sup> In addition to murdering Peñalosa, Enriquillo and his people also robbed many haciendas and farms around Verapaz, taking chickens, yucca, and any other edible goods.<sup>65</sup> Even after Enriquillo escalated the rebellion with Peñalosa's death, not one squadron could succeed in capturing the maroon Indians; instead, the colony witnessed the realization of one of its worst fears: the augmentation of Enriquillo's maroon community with both runaway Indians and African bozal slaves.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, it would not be until the rebellious slaves from Diego Colón's ingenio joined Enriquillo that the Spaniards would declare the episode a war.

As Española's indigenous slaves continued to disappear into the Bahoruco Mountains, the encomenderos grew more insistent regarding their

need for bozal slaves. Finally, in 1519, the king granted the governor of Bresa a license enabling him to import and sell four thousand African slaves to Española to work for the colony's ingenios. While this total was not reached in Española until 1528, a significant number of slaves disembarked on the island during 1520 and 1521, many of whom were Islamic Wolofs from Senegambia. Though the Wolof slaves were considered to be bozales by the Spanish, many were also literate men and women who could read and write Arabic due to their Muslim background.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, the Wolofs were part of a declining African empire that the Portuguese had dealt with on a regular, if limited, trading basis (Wolof, or Jolof, was largely a landlocked state), providing the Africans with at least some knowledge of their European counterparts. In fact, some even worked as traders and merchants prior to being enslaved.<sup>68</sup> Thus the newly arrived Wolof slaves were likely equipped to deal with diverse groups of people in new, strange situations. Finally, the Wolof people were known to be skilled warriors, themselves involved in catching slaves in Africa.<sup>69</sup>

#### *Indian and African Alliance*

Beyond all the assets the Wolof peoples brought with them to the New World, the Wolof slaves of Diego Colón's ingenio were likely aware of Enriquillo's revolt and his community living in the Bahoruco Mountains, knowledge that possibly facilitated their decision to rebel on Christmas Day 1521. Although this is speculation—especially because historians have no documents written by the Wolof slaves, nor does Enriquillo mention the presence of African maroons—recent archaeological finds prove that the two groups did in fact reside in the same caves, El Limona, as described above. In addition to the archaeological evidence, numerous contemporary Spanish accounts unite the two rebellious groups; for example, the governor of Española declared official war against the rebels on 19 October 1523, specifically stating that the Spanish were fighting *both* Indians and Africans together.<sup>70</sup>

For the next decade, the people of Española constantly begged the crown for the manpower, supplies, and funds necessary to combat the ever-growing uprising in the Bahoruco Mountains. The rebels did not content themselves with their liberty but executed numerous raids on Spanish ingenios, farms, and towns, stealing what provisions they needed and often killing any Spaniards they encountered during the raid. By the mid-1520s, the residents of Española were essentially confined to the capital city of Santo Domingo or its immediate environs, with the rest of the island dominated by the African and Indian rebels led or inspired by Enriquillo. The united forces (reportedly a group of at least four hundred Indians and Afri-

cans) even attacked Enriquillo's former residence, San Juan de la Maguana, where they both robbed and killed many residents before retreating to the mountains.<sup>71</sup> The rebels succeeded in gaining the advantage not only because of their numbers, which had reached beyond four thousand by the time of Enriquillo's surrender, but also because of the natives' knowledge of the island's geography. The Spaniards mentioned repeatedly the difficulties they had when attacking the rebels in the Bahoruco Mountains, where the landscape posed as many obstacles as the rebels did, if not more.<sup>72</sup> To prevail against these obstacles, the Spanish (led by Don Sebastian Ramírez de Fuenleal, the newly appointed president of the Real Audiencia in Santo Domingo) even imitated Enriquillo's tactics of guerrilla warfare, using all available men on the island to fight the rebels. Despite his new tactics, Fuenleal failed in his endeavors, and after spending thousands of pesos, he had to admit defeat when he left the colony in 1531.<sup>73</sup>

After four failed attempts to capture Enriquillo and his followers (expeditions led by Licenciado Juan Ortiz de Matienzo in 1523, Pedro Vadillo in 1525, Hernando de San Miguel in 1526, and Fuenleal in 1529), the crown fulfilled the pleas of Española's residents in 1533 by sending to the island two hundred professional soldiers, led by the new governor of Tierra Firme, Francisco de Barrionuevo.<sup>74</sup> However, Barrionuevo did not seek to pacify the cacique through violence but through diplomacy. In fact, he was prepared to offer a complete pardon to Enriquillo, which he brought directly from the Queen.<sup>75</sup>

#### *The Royal Pardon and Surrender of Enriquillo*

Beyond the royal pardon, Barrionuevo took with him two female relatives of Enriquillo, a mestizo translator, indigenous guides, and the Franciscan Padre Remigio, who had been one of Enriquillo's teachers at the school in Verapaz and with whom he had maintained a good relationship, even meeting with him in 1529.<sup>76</sup> The records indicate that both Indians and African maroons maintained good relations with Franciscans and other religious officials throughout their rebellion. One Spaniard complained of priests hiding and defending the "negros bellacos [miscreants] y los cimarrones" as late as 1532.<sup>77</sup> Las Casas even claimed to have visited the cacique's settlement in 1521 to celebrate mass with Enriquillo and his people.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps, then, it was the inclusion of Franciscans that helped Barrionuevo to succeed peacefully in negotiating with the rebels. First, Barrionuevo arranged a meeting with Enriquillo, facilitated by one of the women he brought on the journey, along a lake in the Bahoruco Mountains.<sup>79</sup> Though he had brought eighty armed Indian and African followers to the meeting, Enriquillo finally surrendered to the Spanish, agreeing verbally to a treaty promising his alle-

giance and loyalty to the Spanish crown. In this meeting, once Enriquillo was convinced of the peaceful intentions of the Spanish, the cacique purportedly professed his sincere wishes for peace, even apologizing for all the acts of violence he and his followers had executed throughout the length of the conflict.<sup>80</sup>

Still, prior to putting his surrender in writing, Enriquillo sent one of his closest Indian comrades, Gonzalez, with Barrionuevo to Santo Domingo to observe and confirm all of Barrionuevo's reports and offers of peace. After the original meeting, Barrionuevo sent another delegation (in which Gonzalez returned to his cacique) led by Pedro Romero and equipped with wine, clothes, and tools as gifts, to meet with Enriquillo to obtain a written declaration of peace from the cacique.<sup>81</sup> There Romero observed that every *bohio* (Indian hut) in Enriquillo's town possessed a cross on the door, again demonstrating Enriquillo's continued commitment to Catholicism even in his rebellion. In fact, according to Oviedo, Enriquillo imposed stringent rules on his society in the Bahoruco Mountains, forcing his followers to adhere to his customs of moderation and religiosity.<sup>82</sup> It is even possible that Enriquillo had many of his followers, including the cacique Tamayo, baptized while living in the mountains. Enriquillo finally accompanied Romero to Santo Domingo, where the cacique spent two months, during which time he surrendered to the crown in a letter—now the only document in existence written by a Taíno Indian<sup>83</sup>—in which he stated: "For the mercies provided by your Majesty, I kiss your imperial feet and hands to show the eternal obedience that I owe you as your lowly vassal who will obey everything that you mandate, as will all of my Indians of my land. We will also now come to the Spanish towns after having captured some maroons that were moving about the island."<sup>84</sup>

In exchange for his capitulation, the cacique received the title of "don," becoming Don Enriquillo; acquired amnesty for all of his followers; and secured his own family's freedom in a free Indian town called Sabana Buey, seven leagues from Azua.<sup>85</sup> Enriquillo would die only a year later, in 1535, leaving behind a testament (never before seen) declaring that his surviving wife, Doña Mencia, and nephew should govern the town as caciques in his place.<sup>86</sup> However, prior to his death, Enriquillo not only declared peace to the crown but also agreed to help the Spaniards in their efforts to find and capture all future runaway slaves and any African maroon communities not allied with his group already in existence. Thus the Spaniards successfully destroyed the alliance uniting the Indians and Africans of Española, a situation they would try their hardest to prevent in all future colonies. Beyond this, seeking to block interactions between Indians and Africans, the Spaniards also immediately hardened their slave codes following the rebellion on

Christmas Day 1521. These actions demonstrated both the degree to which the Spanish feared the power of African slaves and the lengths they would go in order to prevent further revolts. These codes are the *Ordenanzas* of 1522, written only thirteen days after the initial rebellion of Wolof slaves in Colón's ingenio. The new laws made running away a crime punishable by mutilation, even if the slave voluntarily returned to the owner, and made rebellion a capital crime. Additionally, the ordinances made it illegal for slaves to carry weapons, except for a small knife, while also restricting the movement of slaves unaccompanied by their masters.<sup>87</sup>

## Conclusion

Regardless of Enriquillo's submission, the African rebels, many of them original maroons from the revolt of 1521, continued their fight against the Spaniards. For a brief period, though, the African and Indian slaves had coexisted, forming deep relationships and alliances that would eventually lead to the first, and one of the longest, slave revolts in American history. This alliance was possible only because of the chaotic nature of life on Española, where Indians and Africans resisted the growing power of the Spanish on the island and actively sought to limit Spanish abuses of power. While the Indians sought to maintain their traditional rights concerning their interactions with the Spaniards, they also had to deal with the arrival of new foreign actors, both Africans and foreign Indians who undermined the bargaining power of the island's native caciques. At the same time, the Spaniards were in the midst of creating a sugar economy out of a mining economy (at the behest of both crown officials and religious authorities), which necessitated the increased importation of slaves and the relocation of Indians, both of which changed the societal makeup of the island while again diminishing the power of Taíno caciques, much of which was derived from their ancestral *cacicazgos*. The ensuing power struggle created a space that encouraged and supported indigenous and African rebellion on the island of Española. Therefore, the factors that motivated the united Indian and African revolt in 1519 and 1521 were also the elements that ultimately allowed for the lengthy success of the rebellion.

While the rebellion itself was a monumental event in both the history of the Dominican Republic and that of larger Latin America, it was the result of a complex array of processes emerging from the creation of the first Spanish colony in the New World. Not only were the Taínos of Española the first peoples encountered by the Spanish in the New World, but the patterns arising from these early interactions eventually shaped all subsequent Spanish-indigenous relationships throughout Latin America. Indigenous slavery is

one of the many practices that developed through the process of conquest and colonization of Española, largely to meet the growing labor needs of Spanish mines and developing sugar plantations. Both in the Caribbean and beyond, the reliance on indigenous slavery (to provide much-needed labor, translators, and guides) led to the rapid decline of indigenous populations, eventually necessitating the rise and increase of African slavery. This process forever altered the social, political, cultural, and economic structures of Spanish colonies throughout Latin America. My research reveals the significance of indigenous slavery on Española and throughout the Caribbean while also showing how African and indigenous slavery coexisted for many years, even resulting in the creation of the first African and Indian maroon alliance in the mountains of Bahoruco. Ultimately, this uprising was a result of the processes of conquest (from religious conversion to enslavement and relocation) and also helped to change the practices used by the Spanish conquistadores elsewhere in the New World, especially with regard to indigenous versus African enslavement.

## Notes

- 1 Lynne Guitar, "Boiling It Down: Slavery on the First Commercial Sugarcane Ingenios in the Americas (Española, 1534–45)," in *Slaves and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Barry M. Robinson and Jane Landers (Albuquerque, NM, 2006), 39–82.
- 2 Lynne Guitar, "A Cultural Genesis: Relationships among Indians, Africans, and Spaniards in Española, First Half of the Sixteenth Century," PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1998, 363.
- 3 Carlos Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros: Escalvos fugitivos y cimarrones en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo, 1989), 33.
- 4 The Audiencia of Santo Domingo first refers to the larger maroon community as "indios negros" in a letter to the king in 1530 describing the tenuous position of the island's residents, who were still combating the united indigenous and African rebels. The letter can be found in "Cartas de Audiencia," 1530, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Santo Domingo 49, r. 1, n. 2, fol. 1r.
- 5 The term *cimarrón* is defined by the Real Academia Española as an "esclavo o del animal domestic que huye al campo y se hace montaraz" ("slave or domestic animal that escapes into the countryside returning to a state of nature"). The label was first used to refer to fugitive African and Indian slaves, led by cacique Enriquillo in 1532, by Medina del Campo in a letter to the crown. For a complete description of the evolution of the term *cimarrón* in the Caribbean, see José Arrom, "Cimarrón: Apuntes sobre sus primeras documentaciones y su probable origen," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 8 (1983): 47–57.
- 6 Jane Landers, "The Central African Presence in Spanish Maroon Communities," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood (Cambridge, 2002), 227–42.
- 7 By overlooking the revolt and its origins, Latin American historiography per-

- petuates the portrayal of Española as a stepping stone or “antechamber” to the conquest of Mexico or Peru, only focusing on the initial discovery by Christopher Columbus before leaving the Caribbean behind. Jalil Sued-Badillo, “Facing Up to Caribbean History,” *American Antiquity* 57, no. 4 (1992): 599–607. Michel-Rolph Trouillot addresses the issue of historical silences at much greater length, including the silences surrounding Columbus’s “discovery” or invasion of the New World. According to Trouillot, the “narrativization of history” that has made Columbus’s voyage into *the* event of 1492 has also shadowed the much more complex process of colonization that spanned many years prior to Columbus’s landing and many more following the initial discovery. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1995), 111–14.
- 8 Here I use William H. Sewell’s definition of *agency*. Sewell argues that an actor’s agency comes from both his or her access to and control of resources and his or her ability to manipulate a larger societal structure (or structures) by means of an understanding of the larger schemas and resources that through their cyclical relationship continually create structure. He writes, “Agents are empowered to act with and against others by structures: they have knowledge of the schemas that inform social life and have access to some measure of human and non-human resources. Agency arises from the actor’s knowledge of schemas, which means the ability to apply them to new contexts.” William H. Sewell Jr., “A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation,” in *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005), 143.
  - 9 Carlos Esteban Deive, *La Española y la esclavitud del Indio* (Santo Domingo: Fundación García Arévalo, 1995); Carlos Esteban Deive, *La esclavitud del negro en Santo Domingo (1492-1844)* (Santo Domingo, 1980).
  - 10 Ida Altman, “The Revolt of Enriquillo and the Historiography of Early Spanish America,” *Americas* 63, no. 4 (2007): 587–614.
  - 11 “Instrucción que los Reyes dieron a Rodrigo de Alburquerque y al Licenciado Ibarra para hacer el repartimiento general de los indios de la Isla Española” (1513), in *Repartimientos y Encomiendas en la Isla Española: El Repartimiento de Alburquerque de 1514*, by Luis Arranz Márquez (Madrid, 1991), 264–73.
  - 12 Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, CA, 1996), 89.
  - 13 See Guitar, “Cultural Genesis,” 113–14.
  - 14 Sebastián Robiou Lamarche, *Táinos y Caribes: Las culturas de aborígenes antillanas* (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 2003), 36–37. While this is the accepted migration model for the Caribbean, it has been challenged recently by archaeologists using dental morphology, mitochondrial DNA, craniometrics, and modern geometric morphometric methods to evaluate possible dispersal theories of Caribbean populations. Some of this new evidence even suggests that Cuba’s indigenous populations originated from present-day Mexico or Ecuador. Ann H. Ross and Douglas H. Ubelaker, “A Morphometric Approach to Taíno Biological Distance in the Caribbean,” in *Island Shores, Distant Pasts: Archaeological and Biological Approaches to the Pre-Columbian Settlement of the Caribbean*, ed. Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Ann H. Ross (Gainesville, FL, 2010), 54–80.
  - 15 While the Taíno possessed many attributes of civilization, they did not possess a written language, and despite some education from Spanish friars, there exists only one known document authored by a Taíno Indian. This document is a letter addressed to the Spanish king from the cacique Enriquillo in which he pledges

- his loyalty to the crown. Altman, "Revolt of Enriquillo," 590; Guitar, "Cultural Genesis," 12–41.
- 16 Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, "Oviedo on the Arawaks of Española" (1514), trans. J. H. Parry, in *New Iberian World: A Documentary History of the Discovery and Settlement of Latin America to the Early Seventeenth Century*, vol. 6, *The Conquerors and the Conquered*, ed J. H. Parry (New York, 1984), 9.
  - 17 José R. Oliver, *Caciques and Cemí Idols: The Web Spun by Taíno Rulers between Española and Puerto Rico* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2009), 59–61.
  - 18 *Ibid.*, 103–5.
  - 19 *Ibid.*, 159.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, 159–66.
  - 21 Jalil Sued Badillo, "Guadalupe: ¿Caribe o Taíno? La isla de Guadalupe y su cuestionable identidad caribe en la época pre-Colombina: Una revisión etnohistórica y arqueológica preliminar." *Caribbean Studies* 35, no. 1 (2007): 39–40.
  - 22 Bartolomé de las Casas, "Las Casas on the Five Kings of Española" (1550), in Parry, *Conquerors*, 7.
  - 23 Oliver, *Caciques and Cemí Idols*, 203.
  - 24 Guitar, "Cultural Genesis," 127; "Carta de Rodrigo de Figueroa," 1513, AGI, Patronato 174, r. 19.
  - 25 "Orden de informe de los indios traído por Cristóbal Guerra," 1501, AGI, Indiferente 418, leg. 1, fol. 70r.
  - 26 Guitar, "Cultural Genesis," 127.
  - 27 *Ibid.*
  - 28 In the original Spanish, "llenas de indios ociosos e idólatras." Deive, *La Española y la esclavitud del Indio*, 90.
  - 29 Guitar, "Cultural Genesis," 128. Caribees were defined as cannibals or, at the very least, as bellicose natives who resisted Spanish rule.
  - 30 Badillo, "Guadalupe," 47. Interestingly, Juan Garrido, the most famous black conquistador, participated in the pacification of Puerto Rico and in the attacks on the Carib islands. One can see a complete description of Garrido's conquests in his *probanza*, in Ricardo E. Alegria's *Juan Garrido: El Conquistador Negro en las Antillas, Florida, México, y California, 1503-1540* (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1990).
  - 31 "Carta de Rey Fernando II a Obispo de la Concepción" (1514), in *La iglesia y el negro esclavo en Santo Domingo: Una historia de tres siglos*, by Jose Luis Sáez (Santo Domingo, 1994), 206. This volume contains a brief introduction to Spanish slave policies and the church's involvement in these matters, but it is mainly a compilation of transcribed documents from archives in Seville and Madrid dealing with slavery and the church in Española.
  - 32 "Cartas que escribieron los Padres de la Orden de Santo Domingo que residen en la Española a Mosior de Xevres" (1516), in *Santo Domingo en los manuscritos de Juan Bautista Munoz*, comp. Roberto Marte (Santo Domingo, 1981), 175–76. This work is a collection of documents discovered and then transcribed by the crown historian Juan Bautista Muñoz in 1793 and later reprinted by Roberto Marte.
  - 33 Paul Hoffman, *A New Andalucía and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1990), 5, 44.
  - 34 Deive, *La Española y la esclavitud del Indio*, 92.
  - 35 A similar process took place in the American colonies regarding how Europeans

- viewed Africans. During the first years of colonization, Africans often arrived in the New World as free laborers or conquerors, and the majority of those who came as slaves soon gained their liberty. Additionally, Europeans usually related better with the Africans (especially Atlantic Creoles) than with the foreign Indians they encountered in the New World, creating a situation in which Africans held the upper hand over Indians (for example, Africans served in Spanish militias in Mexico and Florida), at least for a time.
- 36 Guitart, "Cultural Genesis," 139–40.
  - 37 "Carta a Monsieur de Xevres de la comunidad de dominicos de Santo Domingo" (1516), in Saez, *La iglesia y el negro esclavo*, 207.
  - 38 "Cartas que escribieron los Padres de la Orden de Santo Domingo que residen en la Española a Mosior de Xevres" (1516), in Marte, *Santo Domingo*, 171. While the abuses of the native caciques were certainly immoral, they were also illegal under the Laws of Burgos passed in 1512. "Laws of Burgos" (1512–13), in Parry, *New Iberian World*, vol. 2, *Caribbean*, 343.
  - 39 Guitart, "Cultural Genesis," 153.
  - 40 Matthew Restall, ed., *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, NM, 2005), 166.
  - 41 Guitart, "Cultural Genesis," 173.
  - 42 Deive, *La esclavitud del negro*, 31.
  - 43 Restall, *Beyond Black and Red*, 167. This discrepancy is likely due to the prevalence of illegal slaving that went largely unreported.
  - 44 "Instruccion que los Reyes dieron a Rodrigo de Alburquerque," 264–73.
  - 45 Guitart, "Cultural Genesis," 185–91.
  - 46 Oliver, *Caciques and Cemí Idols*, 143.
  - 47 Fray Ramon Pané, "The Relación of Fray Ramon Pané" (1500), in Parry, *Conquerors*, 18.
  - 48 Oliver, *Caciques and Cemí Idols*, 83–85.
  - 49 Manuel Arturo Pena Battle, *La rebelión del Bahoruco* (Santo Domingo, 1970), 73.
  - 50 Ibid.
  - 51 "Orden al doctor Sancho de Matienzo," 1513, AGI, Indiferente 419, leg. 4, fol. 124v.
  - 52 Fray Cipriano de Utrera, *Polémica de Enriquillo* (Santo Domingo, 1973), 136.
  - 53 Deive, *La Española y la esclavitud del Indio*, 101.
  - 54 "Repartimento de la Isla Española" (1514), in Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Los Dominicos y las encomiendas de Indios de la Isla Española* (Santo Domingo, 1971), 73–248. Enriquillo's assignment appears on 218 and fails to mention his wife as being assigned to Valenzuela. Instead, an Indian, Mencía—Enriquillo's wife's name—is associated with Rodrigo de Moscoso, but it is not known whether the two are the same individual.
  - 55 B. Vega, "Arqueología de los cimarrones del Maniel del Bahoruco," *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano Saint-Domingue* 8, no. 12 (1979): 134–64.
  - 56 Rodríguez Demorizi, *Los Dominicos*, 252–54.
  - 57 José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de los Indios en el Nuevo Mundo*, tomo 1, (Habana: Habana Cultural, 1932), 178.
  - 58 "Confirmación de privilegios de Santo Domingo por los Jerónimos" (1518), Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Colección de Juan Bautista Muñoz, tomo 58, fol. 89r.

- 59 Deive, *La esclavitud del negro*, 78.
- 60 Francisco Moscoso, "Un señor de Ingenios de Santo Domingo: Francisco Tosado (1520-1528)," *Boletín Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 25 (1992): 126.
- 61 Deive, *La esclavitud del negro*, 329.
- 62 Pena Battle, *La rebelión*, 76-78.
- 63 Utrera, *Polémica de Enriquillo*, 89. For more on this accusation, see the excellent article by Altman, "Revolt of Enriquillo."
- 64 Pena Battle, *La rebelión*, 79.
- 65 Utrera, *Polémica de Enriquillo*, 108.
- 66 Guitart, "Cultural Genesis," 353.
- 67 Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York, 1998), 107.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 19-20.
- 69 Guitart, "Boiling It Down," 45-50.
- 70 Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros*, 37. The Spanish declared war because of "los grandes danos y muertes y robos y escándolos que los indios y negros que andan alzados hacen" ("the great injuries, deaths, robberies, and scandals the rebel Indians and Negros have committed").
- 71 "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 1532, AGI, Indiferente 737, n. 25, fol. 1r.
- 72 *Ibid.*
- 73 Pena Battle, *La rebelión*, 112-14.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 105. It is also at this point that the Spanish claimed that Enriquillo's rebellion was spreading across the island, specifically to the northern town of Puerto Plata, where a group of Indians led by the cacique Tamayo had just rebelled against and attacked the Spanish (116).
- 75 "Asiento: Audiencia Santo Domingo y Francisco de Barrionuevo," 1533, AGI, Patronato 18, n. 1, r. 7, fols. 1r-10r.
- 76 Pena Battle, *La rebelión*, 190.
- 77 "De una carta de Suazo e Infante a la emperatriz Isabel sobre clerigos y abuso de los refugios" (20 February 1532), in Sáez, *La iglesia*, 263-64.
- 78 Pena Battle, *La rebelión*, 135-36.
- 79 Altman, "Revolt of Enriquillo," 10. This lake is now called Lake Enriquillo in honor of the famous rebel and the peace treaty he signed there in 1534.
- 80 Pena Battle, *La rebelión*. "Yo no deseaba otra cosa sino la paz. . . E diciendo esto, dió muchas disculpas particulares y quejas de lo que con él se había hecho, relatando desde el principio de su alzamiento" ("the great injuries, deaths, robberies, and scandals the rebel Indians and Negros have committed") (91).
- 81 *Ibid.*, 128.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 74.
- 83 Altman, "Revolt of Enriquillo," 11.
- 84 "Carta de Enriquillo," 1534, AGI, Santo Domingo 77, r. 2, n. 77, fol. 1r.
- 85 Vega, "Arqueología de los cimarrones," 158.
- 86 "Carta de Capitan Alferro," 1535, AGI, Santo Domingo 77, r. 2, n. 90<sup>a</sup>, fol. 1r.
- 87 Carlos Esteban Deive, "Las Ordenanzas Sobre Esclavos Cimarrones de 1522," *Boletín Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 25 (1992): 133-38.