

CONCEPCION DE LA VEGA 1495-1564: A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT LIFEWAYS IN THE
AMERICAS' FIRST BOOM TOWN

By

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To my parents and family

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ZAFA!

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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This thesis integrates and synthesizes the information from various sources (documentary, architectural and archaeological) about everyday lifeways at Concepción de la Vega from 1495 to 1564, into a cultural patrimony resource. It focuses primarily on the expression of the social dynamics of the community, especially regarding the different activities undertaken at specific locations within the site. In this way the general public can be educated about the archaeological site's patrimony and history, while at the same time, heritage tourism at the site can be encouraged.

Concepción de la Vega was the second settlement founded by Christopher Columbus in 1495 on the island of Hispaniola in the present-day Dominican Republic. Two areas of occupation have been identified - the site where Concepción was located between 1512 and 1564, known as "Pueblo Viejo" or "La Vega Vieja," and the city's post-1564 (and actual) location on the banks of the Camú River known as "La Vega."

This thesis focuses on Concepción de la Vega pre-1564, both historically and archaeologically. The combination of both historical and archaeological data about Concepción will help create a better understanding of the process through which the Spanish-American cultural tradition was created, and later disseminated, to the rest of Latin America.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to integrate and synthesize information from various sources (documentary, architectural and archaeological) about everyday lifeways at Concepción de la Vega from 1495 to 1564, as a cultural patrimony resource. It will focus primarily on the expression of the social dynamics of the community, especially regarding the different activities undertaken at specific locations within the site. The general public can then be educated about the archaeological site's patrimony and history, while at the same time, heritage tourism at the site can be encouraged.

Concepción de la Vega was the second settlement founded by Christopher Columbus in 1495 on the island of Hispaniola (Figure 1-1), in the present-day Dominican Republic (Figure 1-2). Although originally the name "Concepción de la Vega" only referred to the fort outpost located in the central Cibao Valley, the name eventually was used to designate one of two cities on Hispaniola during the early colonial period (the other being Santo Domingo). Like the Santo Domingo settlement, which changed its physical location in 1498 due to ant plague (Veloz-Maggiolo and Ortega 1992), Concepción de la Vega's physical location changed more than once due to incidents such as the Battle of the Vega Real in 1495 and the earthquake of 1562. Two areas of occupation have been identified-the site where Concepción was located between 1512 and 1564, known as "Pueblo Viejo" or "La Vega Vieja," and the city's post-1564 (and actual) location on the banks of the Camú River, is known as "La Vega."

This thesis will focus on Concepción de la Vega pre-1564, both historically and archaeologically. Historically it will deal with events which occurred from the moment of the settlement's foundation in 1495, but the archaeological data will come primarily from the site

identified as "La Vega Vieja," which was settled after 1512. To unify these two concepts, and also to distinguish it from the present-day city, I have chosen to use the term "Concepción" to designate the pre 1564 occupation site. The combination of both historical and archaeological data about Concepción will create a better understanding of the process through which the Spanish-American cultural tradition was created, and later disseminated, to the rest of Latin America.

The understanding and dissemination of information about cultural patrimony is an increasingly critical aspect of national identity and economic development. Knowledge about cultural patrimony can be used for both education of the general population, and for the creation of successful sustainable tourism projects.

Education about cultural heritage can help diminish the loss of the cultural and natural patrimony that is a part of a country's identity, especially among young people (UNESCO 2002). This loss is a consequence of the accelerated rhythm of economic change brought about by globalization (UNESCO 2002). Validation of the cultural past is a way in which many nations, especially in the Caribbean, find modern social worth (Sued-Badillo 1992: 605).

There are also economic advantages accruing from cultural heritage. The World Bank, UNESCO, and many other international development agencies, now consider a country's cultural patrimony as a viable asset for development. UNESCO Director-General Koichiro Matsuura expressed that, "access to information and knowledge increasingly determines patterns of learning, cultural expression and social participation, as well as providing opportunities for development, more effective poverty reduction and the preservation of peace. Indeed, knowledge has become a principal force of social transformation" (UNESCO 2003).

The Concepción de la Vega site provides a good example of the importance of disseminating information about a cultural patrimony. It is a very important archaeological and historical site in which considerable archaeological work has been carried out. It is also an excellent candidate for tourism development and visitation, in that it contains unique ruins and objects. Nevertheless, the site is little known within the country, and largely unknown outside of the Dominican Republic. The rich information derived from historical and archaeological research is contained only in academic written reports, and hundreds of boxes of artifacts are not available to the public for conservation reasons. This thesis will attempt to help correct this problem and offer suggestions for the integration of scholarly information and public cultural patrimony information.

Modern Context of Concepción de la Vega

The modern-day city of La Vega is one of the country's main agro-industry centers, specifically meat packing and several rice packing plants (Banco Central 2007). A large free trade zone, located at the Duarte Highway exit to the town of Jarabacoa is also another important industry (Banco Central 2007). The region also produces large amounts of agricultural products, such as rice, coffee, tobacco, plantains, manioc, beans, corn, fruits and vegetables. Livestock is also a big section of the economy (Banco Central 2007).

The area immediately around the archaeological site is not as prosperous. Tobacco production and chicken farming have been allowed in recent years, but the cultivation of tubers, like manioc, is discouraged by authorities to avoid site disturbance (Abreu 1998; Pimentel 1997). This mandate is difficult to reinforce because, although the Parque Nacional Concepción de la Vega (Concepcion de la Vega National Park) protects part of the site, most of it lies under the fields of the local residents (Cohen 1997: 9; Deagan 1999; Woods 1999). The Park is comprised of 3 non-contiguous units - the ruins of the monastery, the fort and the cistern, or aljibe (Cohen 1997: 12; Deagan 1999; Woods 1999) (Figure 1-3).

The Park was created in 1979 by the Dominican government thanks to an agreement with two local landowners (Cohen 1997: 9). The excavations at the Monastery and the Fort were conducted between 1976 and 1994 under the direction of Architect José González (Cohen 1997: 12; Deagan 1999: 12). From 1996-1999 the University of Florida and the Florida Museum of Natural History worked at Concepción, in an effort to delimit the site boundaries and organize all the previously excavated material (Deagan 1999: 12). Over the years its administration has passed through several government units, and as of 2007, the site is administered by the Secretaría de Medio Ambiente.

In spite of its central location, close to the modern city of La Vega, the Park is hardly visited, and is practically unknown. This has led the community to consider tourism as a way to highlight the site's history (Roca-Pezzoti 1984: 32), and communicate Concepción's heritage to the public. This thesis is intended to provide a basis from which to realize this goal.

Theoretical Framework

As stated before, the documentary base created through this thesis will focus primarily on the ways social interactions were expressed at Concepción de la Vega from 1495-1564, examining the different activities undertaken at specific locations within the site. The theoretical approach I employ is that of historical ethnography (Little 1996: 45), which attempts to reconstruct past activities through the interpretation of data from various avenues of inquiry. Historical ethnology, a subset of historical archaeology, uses data obtained from various avenues of inquiry to interpret the past. Historical ethnology is divided into three major sections: reconstruction of past lifeways, cognitive studies, and the study of cultural processes (processual studies) (Deagan 1982: 25; Little 1996: 45). The reconstruction of past lifeways deals with specific events which affect the lives of persons living in a particular time, place and community (Deagan 1982: 25). Cognitive studies is a field that seeks to discover and define how a person

thought and behaved based on the material record - created through data found in various sources (Deagan 1982: 32). This conjunction of thought processes and behaviors is known as “mind-set” (Deagan 1982: 32). Processual studies, or the study of cultural processes, aim to identify general principles of behavior on a larger scale, not necessarily specific to a particular time, place and community (Deagan 1982: 25). Originally, these three sub-divisions were considered separate areas of study (see Deagan 1982), but their interdependency has prompted their unification under the historical ethnology category (Little 1996: 45). Historical ethnology is one of the approaches used in historical archaeology to undertake one of its main focuses - the reconstruction of past lifeways (Little 1996: 45).

Given the extensive historical documentation available, the question arises as to why past lifeways at Concepción should be reconstructed using historical ethnography and historical archaeology. Colonial historians (Moya-Pons 1974, 1978, 1983, 1987; Morales-Padrón 1974; Chocano-Mena 2000; Didiez-Burgos 1971: 41-42; Floyd 1973; Sauer 1966: 89; Stevens-Arroyo 1993; Wilson 1990b: 90-91) have written extensively about the early colonial era, so why write from the historical ethnography/ historical archaeology perspective? The answer lies in an inherent flaw of historical documents of the period. Historical accounts of the early contact period in the Americas only recorded events which concerned the literate Spanish elites which controlled colonial activities, usually those related to the Church and government (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 4). These documents were doubly biased by the fact that few literate people traveled to the New World at this time, limiting the available first-hand documents to chronicles, and official correspondence. The matter is further complicated by the fact that many of the chronicles were never meant to be objective, but rather were written with a persuasive purpose in mind (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 4), such as Bartolomé de Las Casas’ (1985, 1994) writings,

most of which are geared towards objection against the use of Taíno workers in the *Repartimiento* system.

Historical archaeology and the related field of historical ethnography, on the other hand, combine information obtained from diverse sources such as archaeological exploration and historical research. This data is then used to create a more complete picture of the inhabitants of a particular community (Deagan and Crucent 2002b: 4; Scott 1994; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Singleton 1998). It informs us about foodways, material possessions, architecture, and urban planning thanks to interpretation of the material record found in the ground (South 1977; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1967; Deagan 2002). In this way the contributions of all members of the society, not just those of the dominant social, political and economic group, can be examined (Scott 1994: 3; Little 1996: 45).

Organization and Approach

The data presented in this thesis is drawn from both primary and secondary sources within various avenues of inquiry, including historical, archaeological, art history, and architectural. Since its main purpose is to compile and analyze existing data about the site, no archaeological excavations were conducted at the site for this thesis

Analysis of the documentary information revealed two distinct and separate periods in the life at Concepción, namely one from 1495 to 1514 and another from 1515 to 1564. The first period constituted the city's boom period thanks to gold production, while the second was made up of various attempts to replicate pre-1514 lifeways through different economic activities. The *Repartimiento* of 1514 marks the division between the two periods because this is when the final distribution of gold workers at Concepción caused subsequent loss in social and economic mobility.

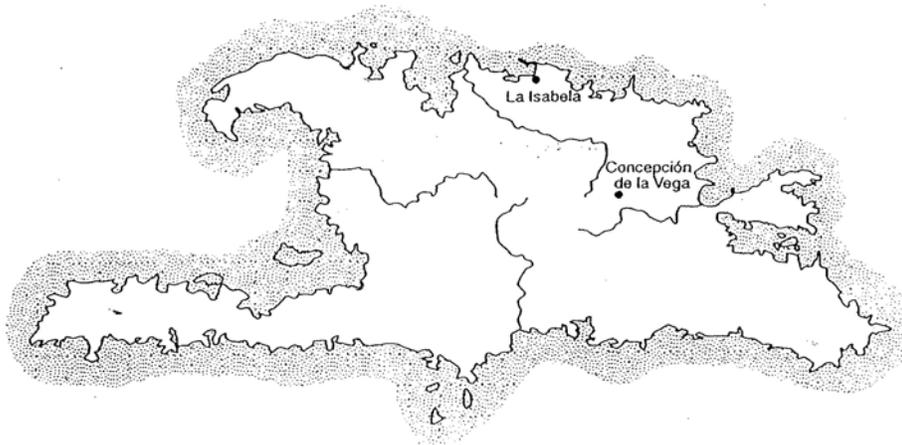


Figure 1-1. Colonial settlements founded by Christopher Columbus [Based on Deagan, Kathleen, 1999 Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 1). Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.]



Figure 1-2. Dominican Republic: Geographical Location [Based on www.dominicana.com.do]

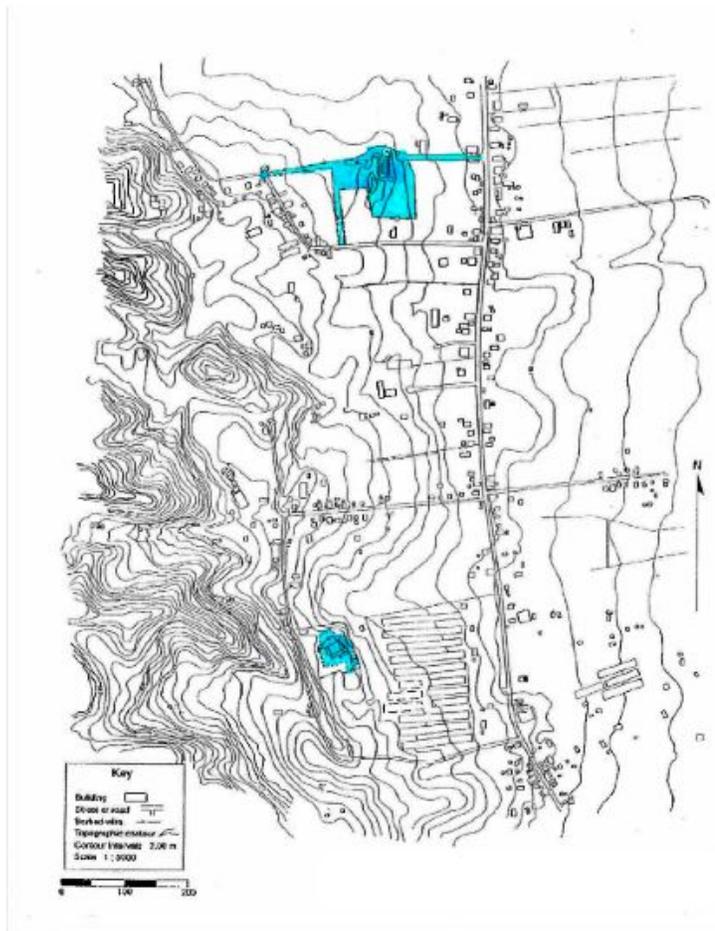


Figure 1-3. Topographic contour map showing the 3 parts of the Concepcion de la Vega Park [Based on Deagan, Kathleen, 1999. Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 5). Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.]

CHAPTER 2 SOURCES AND AVENUES OF INQUIRY

No researcher has attempted to collect all existing information about Concepción in a single volume, as has been attempted for Santo Domingo (see for example Rodriguez-Morel 1999 and Marte 1981). Part of the reason may be that primary historical documents are only available at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville (Chappell 2003), since both the 1562 earthquake and a fire in the late 19th or early 20th century destroyed the documents available in La Vega (Pimentel 1998). Also, most of the data (both from historical and physical sources) about Concepción is uneven and often sparse. For example, there is much more historical and economic data about the site than there is archaeological or architectural.

Another source of difficulty is the fact that a large part of the archaeological and architectural archival research has been guided by restoration needs, rather than historical questions. For example, more research has been undertaken on monumental public buildings and on important Spanish residents of the town than on subjects such as the Native American laborers or the city jail. Because of this bias, special effort has been made in this study to include sources which offer information about non-elite and non-Spanish residents of the community and their activities.

First Avenue of Inquiry: Historical Sources

Although excavations at the site have been conducted by a number of researchers (Boyrie 1960; Cohen 1997; Deagan 1998, 1999; Goggin 1960, 1968; Woods 1999), most of the data available about Concepción from 1495-1564 comes from historical documents. For the purposes of this thesis, these documents have been divided into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources have been defined as those contemporary documents which were written about Concepción by authors who did not base their work on other accounts. Secondary historical

sources are considered to be those interpretive or narrative studies based on the works of earlier chroniclers. It is important to note that these are all Spanish documents, since no documents have been found written by the Native Americans or the Africans who lived at Concepción during this period of occupation.

Spanish documents are divided into two main categories: official chronicles and official correspondence. Information from the official chroniclers was commissioned by the government. Official correspondence covers both government and religious sources. Both the Spanish government and the Church were highly bureaucratic, and many details which may seem superfluous today were faithfully recorded during the early contact period. These documents record names of travelers, objects commercialized by the Spanish, and rules of behavior. They also record certain aspects of Native American and African lifeways, especially those concerning these groups' interactions with the Spanish religious and governmental authorities.

Few literate people traveled to the New World at this time, and even fewer visited Concepción. This limited the available first-hand documents to chronicles by Fray Ramón Pané (1974, 1990, 1999), Christopher Columbus (Varela 1982), Ferdinand Columbus (Keen 1959), Bartolomé de las Casas (1945, 1951, 1958, 1967, 1985, 1994), Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1989) and Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes (1959).

Official correspondence, on the other hand, came from various government and religious officials and dealt with various subjects, covering not only religious and governmental matters, but also interaction between groups in the colony, and especially the role of Native American and African workers within the colony. Rodriguez-Morel (2000) was an important source for religious documents, while Marte (1981) provided government correspondence dealing with

Hispaniola as a whole. Both of their books compile official correspondence from various sources, including Governors Ovando and Diego Columbus, and friars such as Las Casas.

The following section will highlight the main historical sources, both primary and secondary, which provided information about lifeways at Concepción. The discussion emphasizes two distinct time periods, the first spanning from 1495-1514, and the second from 1515-1564. The 1514 *Repartimiento* was chosen as a dividing point due to its role in the solidification of societal classification within the Concepción labor system. In other words, lifeways at Concepción changed dramatically due to this *Repartimiento*, and all chapters will compare and contrast lifeways before and after this event.

Historical sources for Concepción de la Vega are most abundant in the early period (1495-1514) of its occupation. Although the second period (1515-1564) began with governmental and religious control divided between Concepción and Santo Domingo, by 1564 all administrative power was concentrated in the city of Santo Domingo. This change was a consequence of the political and social impact of the labor redistributions made by the 1514 *Repartimiento* (explored in detail in Chapter 6), as well as of the expansion of the Spanish empire into the American mainland. With this loss of prominence came less mention in official chronicles.

Only three of the early Spanish chroniclers who wrote about Concepción during the first period of study actually lived in the city. These were Fray Ramón Pané, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Christopher Columbus. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, never lived in Concepción, and did not live on Hispaniola until 1533 (Rueda 1988: 14). Pietro Martire d'Anghiera was the first Chronicler of the Indies, but never set foot in the New World (Anghiera 1989: 3).

Fray Ramón Pané, a Jeronymite priest, came to Hispaniola on Christopher Columbus's second voyage and became fluent in the Native language spoken in the La Isabela area, and for

this reason was chosen by Columbus and the Crown to record the Taíno religious tradition (Arrom 1988). Since the research was undertaken at Concepción from 1496 to 1498, it is the first chronicle of lifeways at the settlement. It is believed to be the first ethnography of the “New” World (Arrom 1988). It is also a first-hand account of the uneasy relationship between the Spanish and the Taíno (Pané 1990, 1999).

Many historians and anthropologists have used Pané’s work to try to recreate Taíno lifeways before 1492 throughout the Caribbean area, but this use has become controversial in recent years (Arrom 1988; Chez-Checo 1989). The main cause for doubt is related to the fact that the native language at Concepción was different than the one spoken at La Isabela, and Pané used an interpreter to gather his information (Chez-Checo 1989; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 39). Due to this controversy, and although the information contained in Pané’s book is based on the Taíno living in Concepción, this thesis will not use this chronicle as a source of information on pre-Contact Taíno lifeways. Rather, only the information about the post-Contact Taíno-Spanish relations will be employed in this analysis.

Although Christopher Columbus founded the fortress of Concepción in 1495, his writings do not offer much information about his time at Concepción. It is believed that his writings were edited by his son and by Las Casas (Keen 1959; Varela 1982), and it is possible that pertinent information about Concepción may have not have been included.

Fray Bartolomé de las Casas lived at Concepción around the year 1523 (Rueda 1988), and it is possible that his experience influenced his writings, particularly *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1945, 1994), *Historia de las Indias* (1951, 1985), and the *Apologética historia Sumaria* (1958, 1967). However, most of Las Casas’s writings focused on exposing the mistreatment of the Taínos by the Spaniards. For this reason, there is little information about

everyday life at Concepción in his work. Concepción is mentioned specifically in the *Apologética Historia Sumaria*, but this source only covers from 1492 to 1520, and was not written until 1527 (Rueda 1988: 30). This means much of the pertinent data found in Las Casas sources only deals with the first period of study.

Although Pietro Martire d'Anghiera was the first to publish information related to the New World (Anghiera 1989: 3), he never lived in Concepción, or even the Americas. His work is nevertheless very important, since he had first-hand access to Columbus's writings, to Columbus himself, and the accounts of others who had also returned from the New World (Anghiera 1989). His work, divided into decades, was published at different intervals, but by 1516 the Third Decade had been published (Anghiera 1989: 3). This information is thus more closely related to the early years of Concepción, rather than the later period, which is more commonly interpreted by other chroniclers, such as Las Casas (Anghiera 1989: 3).

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo arrived in Hispaniola in 1533, when he was named Mayor of the Fort at Santo Domingo and Official Chronicler of the Indies (Rueda 1988: 14). His *Historia general y natural de la Indias* (1959) covers events in the New World from 1492 to 1548. The *Historia general y natural de las Indias* is an important primary source on the colony as a whole for the second period of study. This chronicle offers specific details about the political and economic life of the colony as a whole, especially in regard to gold and sugar production (Oviedo in Rueda 1988), as well as the colony's political responses to changes in Spanish policy.

There is little information about the city of Concepción, however, in Oviedo's writing. This may be because Concepción was no longer as important within the colonial system by the time of his arrival. It has been suggested that because of Oviedo's important position within the colonial government, he may have believed that Santo Domingo was the only really civilized

place on the island (Rueda 1988: 224). There is little evidence that Oviedo visited Concepción, and in fact he received most of his information about Concepción from Alonso de Valencia, who had lived in Concepción in the early 16th century, but by the 1530s lived in Santo Domingo (Rueda 1988: 79).

One important document does, however, provide specific first hand information about lifeways at Concepción during the second half of its existence and can be used to complement the Oviedo data. This is the *Proceso contra Alvaro De Castro 1532*, which covers the trial of the one-time Dean of the Cathedral of Concepción, accused of smuggling illegal African slaves into the colony (Patronato 1995). Given De Castro's important position within the Church and the government, extensive interrogation of several important members of Concepción society are included in the document. The answers give information about religious life, commercial conduct and misconduct, relationships between the different class and ethnic groups within the city, foodways and clothing.

Several histories which offer important information about Concepción were written during the later colonial period. These include Antonio de Herrera (1601), Pedro Francisco Charlevoix (1730), and Luis Joseph Peguero (1975).

Like Martire d'Anghiera and Oviedo, Antonio de Herrera was Chief Chronicler of the Indies, and did not visit Concepción, receiving his information from persons who had lived there. His chronicles cover the period from 1492 to 1554. Due to his official position, Herrera had access to many court documents of the colonial period, especially the chronicles of Bartolomé de las Casas.

Due to the large amount of data contained in Herrera's works, in 1762 Luis Joseph Peguero extracted and collected the parts of his history which dealt with Hispaniola. He also added data

from other unspecified sources to create his document, Historia de la conquista de la isla Española de Santo Domingo trasumptada el año de 1762: traducida de la Historia general de las Indias escrita por Antonio de Herrera cronista mayor de Su Majestad, y de las Indias, y de Castilla, y de otros autores que han escrito sobre el particular. These documents offer information about the second period of study, especially regarding population. Herrera is the first source to mention the earthquake which destroyed the settlement.

Another eighteenth century chronicle is that of the French Jesuit priest Pedro Francisco Charlevoix (1730). Charlevoix was directed to write a history of the French possessions in the New World, and decided to chronicle the entire history of Hispaniola island, both Spanish and French. He bases much of his historical data on the Spanish chroniclers, but also traveled throughout the island (1717-1722) and described the condition of each place (Charlevoix 1730a: X). Of particular importance is his description of the architectural remains still present at the Concepción site during his travels (Charlevoix 1730a).

Modern Historical Treatments of Concepción de la Vega

There are many modern histories of colonial Hispaniola that provide useful context and information about the time periods focused on in this thesis. Some of these include Cassá (1978), García (1906), Guitar (1998), Incháustegui (1955) and Moya-Pons (1974, 1978, 1983, 1998) to name a few. However, a group of La Vega historians must be highlighted amongst them, principally Mario Concepción, his niece Patria Quisqueya Ana Concepción, and Francisco Torres-Petitón.

In his 1981 book, Mario Concepción offers a complete history of Concepción de la Vega from its foundation to 1981, providing only a brief historical review of pre-earthquake (1564) lifeways in favor of highlighting later events. When his niece, Patria Concepción (2000), updated the book, she added few new details to the early period. Meanwhile, Torres-Petitón (1988) offers

an excellent, albeit short, chronology of events at the archaeological site, which served as an outline for this study.

Second Avenue of Inquiry: Architecture and Art History

A second avenue of inquiry is the information related to the monumental architecture which survives at the site. Information about these remains can be obtained through historical studies of architecture and art. Primary research has been carried out in this area at Concepción due in large part to existence of multiple vestiges of monumental architecture, and the Dominican government's goal of restoring the central part of the city to its colonial appearance (Torres-Petitón 1998).

Erwin Walter Palm, Section Chief for Colonial Archaeology of the IDIA (Instituto Dominicano de Investigaciones Arqueológicas) from 1948 to 1952, was the first to investigate the monumental remains at Concepción. Palm undertook both on-site, as well as archival exploration, on the monumental buildings that stood at the site, particularly the Fort (1952) and the Hospital (1950).

The belief that the Concepción site should be restored to its colonial splendor also influenced the appointment of Architect Jose Gonzalez as head of the excavations undertaken at the site during the 1980s and early 1990s (González 1980; Torres-Petitón 1998). Although most of the data generated by Architect Gonzalez was not published before his death in 1998, much can be obtained from those who collaborated with him - Fabio Pimentel (1997) and Hipólito Abreu (1998).

Like the historical data, much of the information found relating to monumental architecture at the site is biased towards the Spanish inhabitants of the site. This is due to the fact that these were the settlers who would inhabit such structures.

Third Avenue of Inquiry: Material Remains

A third source of information comes from the material remains found at the site's archaeological record. Archaeological excavation at the site, until 1996, was seen as complementary to the goal of restoring the site architecturally, causing a bias towards excavation at sites with associated monumental structures. This resulted in large numbers of Spanish material artifacts, as evidenced in Cohen (1997); Deagan (1998, 1999); Deagan and Kulstad (1998); and Woods (1999).

Emile de Boyrie (1960) and John Goggin (1960, 1968) conducted archaeological research to complement Palm's architectural investigations. They undertook a joint University of Florida/Universidad de Santo Domingo/Grupo Guama project in 1952 and 1953 (Boyrie 1960: 41), and further excavations were undertaken in 1954, 1956 and 1958 (Boyrie 1960: 46, 54, 72).

Dominican archaeologist Emile de Boyrie, director of the Instituto Dominicano de Investigaciones Arqueológicas (IDIA) at the Universidad de Santo Domingo, conducted explorations, surveys and measurements at Concepción with the purpose of declaring the site a National Monument, and re-locating the inhabitants of the area away from the most archaeologically important areas (Boyrie 1960: 72). The data generated in the joint project, as well as data recorded in further explorations in 1954, 1956 and 1958 (Boyrie 1960: 46, 54, 72), are drawn upon in the following chapters.

John Goggin used the data generated by the joint 1952-53 project to inform his effort to create a Caribbean-wide Spanish ceramic classification and collection. Goggin (1960, 1968) mainly concentrated on Spanish majolica types and olive jars. At Concepción he carried out an extensive surface recollection, and even named a style after the site: La Vega Blue on White (Goggin 1968).

In 1976 the Dirección Nacional de Parques of the Dominican Republic allowed a group of archaeologists to excavate in the Vega Vieja National Park, in part to complement Architect Gonzalez's efforts to restore the site (Pimentel 1998). They also hoped to make the site more visible to the public (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 277). The archaeologists included Jose María Cruxent from Venezuela, Irving Rouse from the Smithsonian and Prof. Alcina-Franch from Spain, amongst several Dominican archaeologists (Pérez-Montás 1984: 82). The project was partially funded by the Organization of American States (OAS) and excavated the central part of the town, revealing one of the fort's towers, a foundry, house foundations and an aqueduct (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 278; Pérez-Montás 1984: 82).

The next large-scale archaeological project was also a joint venture between Dominican counterparts and the University of Florida undertaken between 1996 and 1999. The “Project for the Conservation and Development of the Rural, Physical and Human Resources at the Parques Nacionales of the Dominican Republic: La Isabela and Concepción de la Vega,” co-sponsored by the University of Florida, the Dominican National Parks Service, and PRONATURA, accomplished two crucial stages of investigation at the Park. The first was the creation of a computerized database containing basic information about the materials excavated from 1976 to 1998 at the site. The second was the delineation of the site boundaries through a sub-surface archaeological survey. The data generated by this project can be found in Cohen (1997); Deagan (1998, 1999); Deagan and Kulstad (1998); and Woods (1999).

Much of the data presented in these “Project...” reports have served as a crucial basis for the documental base presented in this thesis. Of particular importance have been the previous attempts at recollection of data from a historical archaeology perspective by Cohen (1997) and Deagan (1999). Of equal importance is the data presented in the artifact distribution diagrams,

especially in regards to origin group settlement patterns (Deagan 1999; Woods 1999).

Meanwhile, the preliminary laboratory analysis of the artifacts found at the site (Deagan and Kulstad 1998) has provided insight into the nature of material culture at Concepción, permitting the investigation of such issues as trade, adaptation, social and economic diversity, cultural hegemony and resistance.

CHAPTER 3 HISTORY

Introduction

This chapter will provide a holistic synopsis of historical events which influenced daily life at Concepción de la Vega during the two periods of study (1495-1514) and (1515-1564). This review is based fundamentally on historical sources.

Concepción's lifeways and cultural practices were shaped by its particular environment and events which occurred within the city, but events occurring outside the city had great influence as well. Events which occurred prior to the establishment of the settlement will be considered here in order to understand the government and religious policies that molded Concepción's lifeways during the two periods of study (1495-1514) and (1515-1564). Table 3-1 presents a timeline of pertinent events, and Table 3-2 lists the government officials who influenced policy related to Concepción, both on Hispaniola and in Spain.

Concepción was established during the turbulent early period of Spanish colonization, before the great bureaucratic machine with its set procedures that we identify with the Spanish empire, existed. In fact, the country of Spain itself was not unified under one ruler until Phillip II's reign (1555), only 7 years before the 1562 earthquake. This political instability allowed for the existence of power struggles between differing factions in the governmental and religious sectors in Spain, and was often played out on Hispaniola. Concepción's inhabitants played an important role in these power clashes, both in the larger colony and in their own community.

Columbus and the Establishment of Hispaniola

To begin to understand Concepción's role and position during this turbulent early colonial period, one must understand the creation of the New World enterprise by Columbus and the

Spanish monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand. The negotiations between these three set the stage for many of the events described below.

As has been amply documented elsewhere, Columbus did not anticipate arriving in a “New World” in 1492. His mission was to find a new trade route to the Indies so that the Spanish could create trade colonies there, similar to those already held by the Portuguese known as “factorías” (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 12; Diffie and Winius 1977: 41-50; Mac Alister 1984: 46-51).

Isabella, Queen of Castile, offered to sponsor Columbus in his quest under a set of generous terms contained in the Capitulaciones de Santa Fe. Signed in April 1492, the Capitulaciones gave Columbus and his heirs the right to govern the lands he discovered in perpetuity, as well as economic benefits similar to those given to the leaders which fought with the Crown during the Reconquista and the colonization of the Canary Islands (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 12; Stevens-Arroyo 1993). It has been suggested by some that the ample rights given Columbus in the Capitulaciones reflect a lack of confidence in his success (García-Gallo 1987: 29; Pérez-Collados 1992: 95). Nevertheless, Columbus was successful, and returned to Spain in early 1493 with the idea of expanding the colony he had left on the northern coast of the island of Hispaniola (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 47). The way in which this colony would be organized and governed became a point of contention between Columbus, Queen Isabella, and King Ferdinand.

Castile and Aragon in 1493

The Spanish political situation at the time of Columbus’s return from his first voyage was greatly affected by various events which in turn later affected the way in which the New World colony would be governed. These events included the end of the Spanish Reconquista in 1492, and the power conflicts between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón.

Spain had just completed the Reconquista in 1492. The Reconquista had been an 700 year war which had the unification of the country under Christian rule as its principal purpose. This process was mainly achieved through the conquest of lands in the hands of Moslem Moors living on the Iberian Peninsula (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 49; Moya-Pons 1983: 11; Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Pérez de Tudela 1955a). Success came partly due to the unification of the two main kingdoms, Castile and Aragon, through the marriage of its rulers, Isabella and Ferdinand (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 49).

Although both Castile and Aragon had worked together in the *Reconquista* effort, each kingdom functioned as a separate entity, and would do so until the death of both Isabella and Ferdinand, and their joint heir ascended to the throne (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 176). Of the two, Castile, governed by Isabella, had the most power, including the right to explore parts of the Atlantic, a Papal right shared with the kingdom of Portugal (Pérez-Collados 1992: 66; Pérez-Embrid 1951). The Papal mandate meant that when Columbus returned, only Castile could ask the Pope for the rights to these new territories (Ballesteros-Beretta 1945: 440; Charlevoix 1730a: 64; Gimenez-Fernández 1955: 316-317; Pérez-Collados 1992: 67). In 1493 the Pope granted Castile exclusive rights to the territories found by Columbus through the *Bulas de Donación* (García-Gallo 1982: 638; Pérez-Collados 1992: 36). These *Bulas* not only excluded other European countries from ownership of the new territories, but also excluded other Spanish kingdoms as well, including Aragon (Charlevoix 1730a: 64).

Despite the Papal exclusion, several Aragonese became involved in this project, since Aragon had more experience governing overseas colonies, such as Naples and Sicily (Ibarra-Rodríguez 1892; Mir 1892; Pérez-Collados 1992: 69; Serrano-Sanz 1918). The first person in charge of the Indies in the Castilian court was the Aragonian Rodríguez de Fonseca (Rogozinski

2000: 27), a loyal subject, and previously a servant of King Ferdinand (Gimenez-Fernández 1953; Pérez-Collados 1992: 183). Nevertheless, major decisions regarding the Columbus enterprise during this period were undertaken by Queen Isabella as ruler of Castile. This continued until her death in 1504 (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 262).

La Isabela Colony: Factoría vs. Reconquista Model

The settlement Columbus founded on Hispaniola upon his return was named La Isabela, leaving little doubt as to the Queen's leadership role in the enterprise. Records show that Kingdom of Castile alone, not Aragon, financed the settlement (Charlevoix 1730a: 64; Incháustegui 1955: 53), and seemed willing to support the factoría-style model delineated in the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe* (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 12). This was in opposition to King Ferdinand's proposal to use the Castilla-León Reconquista model to organize the settlement (Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954: 317-318).

It is important to review the differences between these two proposed settlement models to understand the different positions held by differing political factions in both Spain and on Hispaniola throughout the first period of study (1595-1514) in regard to governing styles.

Factorías were a type of settlement set up in isolated locations to facilitate trade between two distant locations (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 8). These settlements often exploited raw materials not readily available in Europe, such as gold or spices (Haring 1947: 31; Incháustegui 1955: 53; Pérez-Collados 1992: 117; Pérez de Tudela 1954: 317-318). These settlements were backed by private capital, and led by an individual who hired artisans, craftsmen, and laborers to undertake the labor (Arranz-Márquez 1991: 27; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 8). These types of trading posts had been used in the Mediterranean by several different countries since the mid-14th century (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 8).

Pérez de Tudela (1954) established that Columbus was quite familiar with the Portuguese *factoría* model used in West Africa. According to this model, the community leader would receive a license from the Portuguese Crown to start his colony and funds to pay the workers' wages. In exchange, the Crown would receive one-fifth of the profits generated, however, the Portuguese Crown did not assume political control over the territory in which the *factoría* was established (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 8). These settlements were considered purely economic (Moya-Pons 1983: 13) (For more detailed information on *factorías* see Diffie and Winius 1977: 41-50; Mac Alister 1984: 46-51).

Columbus planned to organize a gold-acquiring *factoría* at Fort La Navidad, where he had left a group of Spaniards during his first trip (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 47). The *Capitulaciones* not only made him Governor of the settlement, but also gave him the right to receive 1/10 of the merchandise acquired, i.e. the gold produced (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 12). King Ferdinand, however, was concerned that a *factoría* settlement gave Columbus too much power (Pérez-Collados 1992: 116, 160). For years, as part of the Reconquista process, Ferdinand and Isabella had been centralizing power around their united Crown, taking it away from the old landed nobles in both of their kingdoms (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 49; Guitar 1998: 133). If the La Isabela colony were successful, Columbus's success would threaten this effort. For this reason, Ferdinand proposed that La Isabela be settled using the Castilla-León Reconquista model used during their campaigns in both Spain and the Canary Islands (Aznar-Vallejo 1983; Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954: 317-318; Stevens-Arroyo 1993).

In the Reconquista model, land conquered from "infidels" was distributed among those elite Christians who had helped in the conquest (Moya-Pons 1983: 15; Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Willis 1984: 12). In exchange, the new owners promised to convert the infidel and establish

municipal centers and towns (Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954: 317-318). This type of structure is inherently dependent on centralized Crown control (Pérez-Collados 1992: 163).

Municipal centers and towns were led by a group of landowners who chose their leaders from amongst themselves (Moya-Pons 1983: 16-17). 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 (Moya-Pons 1983: 16-17). (For a more comprehensive analysis of this model see Pérez de Tudela 1954, 1956, 1983).

An important difference between the Reconquista and *factoría* models was that the *factoría* did not assume political ownership over the territory where it was located, while the Reconquista model was intrinsically linked to political ownership of land. In other words, the Crown must have the right to the land it is going to distribute.

Unlike the inherently economic *factoría* system, the Reconquista model followed an intricate moral code of ethics (Moya-Pons 1983: 13). Chivalry, known as *hidalguismo*, was an important element of this code (Elliott 1963: 38; Vicens-Vives 1969: 349). One of the main precepts of *hidalguismo* was the disdain for manual labor (Moya-Pons 1983: 12). It considered work done by tradesmen, merchants, and those involved in agricultural labor, to be of less “quality” (Moya-Pons 1983: 12). These precepts were to greatly impact the development of the Spanish colonial system.

Isabella did not take Ferdinand’s suggestion, and funded Columbus’s settlement as a *factoría*. Ferdinand did not give up, however, and managed to send several loyal Aragonese subjects within the expedition to try to influence the way the colony was run (Pérez-Collados

1992: 116). Chief among them were Father Buil and Mosén Margarit (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 19; Oviedo 1959: 51; Pérez-Collados 1992: 123). Buil, in fact, as chief representative of the Church, had an equivalent position to Columbus within the colony, and used to it to block many of Columbus's initiatives (Oviedo 1959: 51; Pérez-Collados 1992: 123).

The lack of able-bodied Spanish men, as well as their unwillingness to perform manual labor (Moya-Pons 1983: 12), contributed to the adaptation and downfall of the Columbus *factoría* system, as well as to the establishment of the first Concepción fort. Instead of having the Spanish mine the gold, he imposed a tribute on the Taínos throughout the island (Charlevoix 1730a: 110; Cassá 1978: 33; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 62). According to this system, Taíno communities had to pay 1 hawk's bell full of gold for each member of their community over 14 years of age every three months (Cassá 1978: 33; Charlevoix 1730a: 110; Wilson 1990a). In those areas where gold was difficult to find, the tribute was negotiated at 25 lbs of cotton (Charlevoix 1730a: 110), labor, or personal services rendered to the Spanish every three months (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 62). All Taínos had to wear a brass or copper token around their neck as proof of payment. Those who did not wear it were punished (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 62; Columbus 1959: 149-50).

In order to guarantee the collection of the tribute, forts were established in those places where gold was found (Cassá 1978: 33; Cohen 1997: 4). Eventually, a network of forts extended from Hispaniola's northern to southern coast (Cassá 1978: 41) (Figure 3-1).

The Establishment of the Concepción Fort

The first Concepción fort was part of this network (Cassá 1978: 33; Cohen 1997: 4; Incháustegui 1955: 51). (It must be noted that this is not the same location of the present-day fort in the Concepción National Park. For more specific information about the different Concepción fort locations see Chapter 5). It was probably established on, or around, December 8th, 1494, day

of the Virgen de la Concepción – the Virgin of Conception (Concepción 1981). It was located close to the Taíno village of Guaricano, which was ruled by the Taíno Cacique (or chief) Guarionex in the Central Valley of the island (Deagan 1999: 8). Juan de Ayala was its first commander (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 60).

In spite of the establishment of the forts, the collection of tribute was haphazard. This started to create tensions between the Spanish and the Taíno, leading the Spanish to impose the tribute through force (Incháustegui 1955: 51).

Battle of La Vega Real (1495)

In 1495, Taíno cacique Caonabo led a protest against the gold tribute collection (Incháustegui 1955: 51). The Spanish had hoped to stop this uprising through the capture of Caonabo, but only succeeded in inciting the rest of the island's caciques to join the protest, including Guarionex, ruler of the area around Concepción (Wilson 1990b: 90-91). The great Spanish - Taíno confrontation occurred on the Vega Real, close to Concepción fort (Anghiera in Parry and Keith 1984: 210-11; Charlevoix 1730a: 108; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 61; Didiez-Burgos 1971: 41-42; Columbus 1959: 148-49; Floyd 1973: 30-31; Las Casas I, CV 1985, vol.1: 413; Sauer 1966: 89; Wilson 1990b: 90-91).

Columbus left La Isabela on March 24th, 1495, with about 200 Spanish men and some Taíno allies led by Cacique Guacanagarix (Charlevoix 1730a: 108; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 61; Wilson 1990a). The Taíno forces against Columbus were substantial, numbering 5,000 to 100,000, depending on the source consulted (Cassá 1978: 33; Las Casas I, CV 1985, vol.1: 413; Wilson 1990a). Sources also differ on the name of the leader of the Taíno forces, some naming Guarionex (Cassá 1978: 33; Wilson 1990a), while others name one of his subordinates - Maniocatex (García 1906: 34; Incháustegui 1955: 51).

By all accounts this was a fierce battle in which many Taíno were killed and subjugated by Spanish firepower, horses and war hounds (Anghiera in Parry and Keith 1984: 210-11; Charlevoix 1730a: 108; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 61; Didiez-Burgos 1971: 41-42; Columbus 1959: 148-49; Floyd 1973: 30-31; Guitar 2002; Las Casas I, CV 1985, vol.1: 413; Sauer 1966: 89; Wilson 1990b: 90-91). The Spaniards won, and were able to properly impose the tribute system (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 199; Incháustegui 1955: 52).

What actually occurred during the battle, its actual location, and even its appropriate name, have been debated by historians and chroniclers since colonial times. It is important to review the pertinent details here, since these deeply affected lifeways and ideology at Concepción, not only throughout colonial occupation, but also in the present.

The debates around the Battle of La Vega Real start with the other name by which it is also known, namely the Battle of the Santo Cerro. The Santo Cerro, or Holy Hill, overlooks the site of Concepción de la Vega, and has been historically linked to the city (Abreu 1998; Las Casas in Incháustegui 1955: 83). Some historians contend that the Battle of La Vega Real and the Battle of the Santo Cerro were one and the same. Others, such as Incháustegui, contend these are two separate battles.

Those who contend these were a single battle, like Del Monte y Tejada (1890), base their claim on religious tradition. This tradition contends that the Battle of La Vega Real was undertaken at the Santo Cerro and that the apparition of the Virgen de las Mercedes, or Virgin of Mercy, helped the Spanish win the battle. It is believed that when the Spaniards were at their breaking point, the Virgen de las Mercedes appeared on a cross Columbus had planted on the ground. The Taíno tried to burn down the cross, but were unable to do so. The Spanish rallied around the Virgin and were able to beat the Taíno, in spite of the great difference in numbers

(Charlevoix 1730a: 399; Didiez-Burgos 1971: 29; García 1906: 34; Rueda 1988: 78). The Spanish claimed this event as the start of the Spanish way of life not only at Concepción, but in all of Hispaniola.

The Santo Cerro became a religious pilgrimage site soon afterwards. In colonial times the site's "unburnable cross" was the reason for pilgrimage (Charlevoix 1730a: 399; Lizardo and Muñoz 1979). The cross was believed to have healing powers, and people would receive slivers from it to cure various evils. In spite of this, the cross supposedly remained the same size (Charlevoix 1730a: 399). Nowadays it is the Virgin herself who is venerated.

Other historians believe that the Battle of La Vega Real and the Battle of the Santo Cerro were two separate events. Incháustegui (1955), for example, based his position on passages by Las Casas. According to these passages, the Battle of La Vega Real occurred 2 days travel from La Isabela, making a battle at the Santo Cerro geographically impossible, since the Santo Cerro is farther away (Incháustegui 1955: 83). Incháustegui considers that historian Antonio del Monte y Tejada (1890) was the first to include the traditional religious belief as historical fact in his textbook, thereby distorting the actual event.

Fray Ramón Pané Studies the Taíno at Concepción

The Battle of La Vega Real had 2 immediate consequences for Concepción. The first was the re-location of the fort ½ a league from Guaricano (Las Casas in Rueda 1998: 511). The second was that Columbus commissioned a study of the Taíno at this settlement. Given the importance religion played in Spanish lifeways, it should be no surprise that the first long-term study of Taíno culture researched their religious beliefs. Catalanian Jeronymite friar Ramón Pané was chosen to undertake this study because he was fluent in the Native language spoken in the La Isabela area (Arrom 1989; Deagan 1999: 8; Las Casas 1958: 417; Pané 1974). His resulting

chronicle, “Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los Indios,” is the considered the first ethnography written about American Indians (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 20).

Because it appears that Pané did not speak the dialect spoken in the Maguá region (Arrom 1989), many present-day researchers are wary of accepting much of Pané’s account of pre-contact Taíno lifeways as accurate (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 39). Nonetheless, the document does record examples of the difficult co-existence between Taíno and Spanish at Concepción during the early contact period (Arrom 1989; Pané 1974). Of particular interest is an account of a misunderstanding about the proper use of Christian religious objects which resulted in the hanging of several Taíno.

Concepción and the Roldán Rebellion (1496-1498)

While Pané was undertaking his work at Concepción, the Roldán Rebellion was occurring at La Isabela. During Pané’s study period, the Concepción fort settlement played an important part in the Roldán rebellion, due to both its strategic position and the interaction with the nearby Taíno settlements (Wilson 1990a).

The Roldán revolt had its roots in the Aragonese questioning of the Columbus brothers’ rule. Complaints had already been carried back personally to Spain by Buil and Margarit in 1494 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 60). Columbus returned to Spain to defend himself and was able to convince Queen Isabella to dismiss the Aragonese charges, thanks in part to exclusive navigating information he threatened to sell to Portugal. In fact, she went as far as to confirm all other rights given under the Capitulaciones de Santa Fe, and assure him that no more Aragonese were going to be sent to the colonies (Cassá 1978: 35; Herrera 1601: 226; Oviedo 1959: 69; Pérez-Collados 1992: 149).

This did not, settle the growing discontent on Hispaniola. The Aragonese protest had opened the door for others. In 1496, while Columbus was in Spain (Pérez-Collados 1992: 144),

and his brothers were in command of the colony, the Spanish colonists at La Isabela began to resent the fact that they were only paid workers with no stake in the enterprise. It did not help that they were starving and were unable to find much gold (Anghiera 1989: 53-54; Cassá 1978: 33; Charlevoix 1730a: 127; Las Casas 1951: 448; Pérez-Collados 1992: 153; Pérez de Tudela 1955b: 205). The protest was led by Columbus's own servant, Francisco Roldán (Charlevoix 1730a: 127; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 68; García 1906: 42). Up to one third of the Spanish on the island supported Roldán, especially those of the artisan, or non-elite, class (Cassá 1978: 35; Charlevoix 1730a: 127).

The rebels, known as "Roldanistas," believed that by claiming to follow the King they would receive tacit support from the Crown (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 69; Las Casas 1951: 448; Pérez-Collados 1992: 152). Roldán wrote the Court and received support from Fonseca because it served to further the possibility of organizing Hispaniola under the Reconquista model (Charlevoix 1730a: 149; García 1906: 52).

In order to successfully defeat the Columbus brothers, the fort system had to be disabled (Wilson 1990a). To do this, Roldán had to take over Concepción fort, located in the middle of the fortification line (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 69; García 1906: 43). The non-elite La Isabela settlers who followed Roldán, however, found little Spanish support at Concepción fort. Roldán managed to convince many of the Indian caciques of the Vega Valley to support him, but his attack was repelled by Miguel de Ballester, commander of the Concepción fort (Charlevoix 1730a: 128; Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 430; Varela 1982: 234-235). The next day additional Spanish troops arrived led by Bartolomé Columbus, and they disbanded Roldán's troops (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 69; Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 430). Unable to conquer Concepción, the Roldanistas roamed the island, taking Taíno food and women, and looking for gold. They

eventually set up a separate European settlement in Jaragua, on the western part of the island (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 69).

Roldán's rebellion lasted two years, from 1496 to 1498 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 69; Moya-Pons 1978; Pichardo 1944). An agreement was reached in 1499 which gave Roldán's group the choice of returning to Spain or staying in the official colony, the payment of back wages, and the right to have the vassalage of the Taíno caciques linked to the land they received (Cassá 1978: 36; Charlevoix 1730a: 153; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 201; García 1906: 47; Pérez-Collados 1992: 156; Varela 1982: 274-275). Those who decided to stay were re-settled in the Central Cibao Valley (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 203), specifically at Bonao, and around the Rio Verde close to Concepción, and in Santiago (Charlevoix 1730a: 153). Each settler received 1,000 manioc plants, which were cared for by their Taíno workers (Charlevoix 1730a: 153). The agreement also gave Roldán the title of *Alcalde Mayor*, second-highest post on the island, which allowed the Roldanistas considerable influence in the colony decisions (Moya-Pons 1983: 23).

The need to make a pact with Roldán and his followers, contributed to the failure of Columbus's settlement project, just as the Aragonese had hoped (Pérez-Collados 1992: 144; Pérez de Tudela 1954). The ex-Roldanistas did not institute the Reconquista model, instead modifying it to their own benefit in ways which had deep repercussions, not only in the places they settled, but in subsequent colonization processes as well. First, the agreement guaranteed land and Taíno labor to the base-born ex-rebels, a privilege that the existing Spanish class structure had previously only allowed the highest classes (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 201; Moya-Pons 1983: 24). Second, the vassalage system provided the roots of the *Repartimiento*

system of organization of Taíno labor, (discussed in more detail in Ch. 6), a system that was different from anything existing in Europe at the time.

Guarionex Rebellion (1497-1499)

Concurrently with the Roldán Rebellion, the Columbus brothers also had to deal with a Taíno uprising led by Cacique Guarionex in the Concepción area (Anghiera in Gil and Varela 1984: 90-91; Las Casas I, CXV 1985, vol. I: 445-46). Two main causes are cited as the reasons behind the revolt. The first was the burning at the stake of a group of Taíno who had supposedly desecrated Christian images (For a more detailed account of the incident see García 1906: 41; Pané 1974). The second was the inability to pay the tribute imposed by Columbus. Famine and disease also contributed to the disruption of Taíno society (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 62, 199; Wilson 1990a). Although Cacique Guarionex had been able to meet the tribute quota in 1495 (Wilson 1990a), it was impossible the second year, so he offered Columbus the produce of a manioc farm “50 leagues long and 20 wide” (Charlevoix 1730a: 110; Peguero 1975: 85; Wilson 1990a). Columbus did not accept, which led to a Taíno revolt (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 70).

This insurrection was more dangerous than the one in 1495 because now the Taíno knew how to use Spanish weaponry (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 67; Anghiera in Gil and Varela 1984: 90). They were defeated, however, in a midnight raid led by Bartolomé Columbus in which he captured several of the caciques, including Guarionex (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 67; Anghiera in Gil and Varela 1984: 90; Wilson 1990a). The caciques were imprisoned at Concepción fort for a few days (Wilson 1990a) and later released with a guarantee for peace (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 67; Anghiera in Gil and Varela 1984: 90).

At this point Guarionex found himself in a quandary. According to the Spanish regulations, as the cacique he had the responsibility to deliver the gold tribute in exchange for his freedom (Charlevoix 1730a: 130; Wilson 1990a). According to the Taíno, he had to help liberate them

from the Spanish invaders (Charlevoix 1730a: 130; Wilson 1990a). He could not break his promise the Taíno, and would be imprisoned at the fort again if he went against the Spanish, so Guarionex ran away to a northern province to distance himself from the conflict (Charlevoix 1730a: 130). Bartolomé Columbus, however, saw this as a breach of Guarionex's agreement with the Spanish (Wilson 1990b: 102-108), recaptured, and incarcerated him again at Concepción fort. He remained there until he was sent to Spain in 1502, drowning at sea on the way (Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 444). (For a more detailed account of the events of this rebellion, see Las Casas 1, CLX 1985, vol.2: 103; Moya-Pons 1986: 31-32; and Wilson 1990a).

With Guarionex's death the Taíno in the Concepción area lost their leader, and did not try again to do battle the Spanish for many years. This made the area around Concepción relatively safe and attractive to settlers in the coming years.

Bobadilla Government (1500-1502)

By the end of 1499 the situation on Hispaniola had become chaotic. The Taíno continued to rebel, and the ex-Roldanistas tried to manipulate the political situation to their advantage through small scale uprisings (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 204). Concepción was especially affected, since many ex-Roldanistas lived in the area (Charlevoix 1730a:158). Columbus could no longer govern the colony, and asked the Spanish Crown to send a judge to settle the disturbances (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 47; Pérez-Collados 1992: 161).

The Crown, and especially Queen Isabella, were displeased with Columbus's decision to give Taínos in vassalage to the ex-Roldanistas, and decided that this was the last straw (Charlevoix 1730a: 157; Pérez-Collados 1992: 166). They send Judge Francisco de Bobadilla to assess the situation, with the hidden purpose of taking over as governor of Hispaniola, and sending the Columbus brothers back to Spain to face charges (Cassá 1978: 36; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 203; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 47; Pérez-Collados 1992: 161).

The main accusation against the Columbuses was their encroachment on what were perceived to be Crown rights in the colony, most specifically in regards to the distribution of Taíno laborers to the ex-Roldanistas (Charlevoix 1730a: 158; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 203; Moya-Pons 1987). The Crown believed that all Taíno owed vassalage to Castile and its Queen, and only she could decide what type of work, if any, the Taíno would undertake (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 206; Incháustegui 1955: 93; Pérez-Collados 1992: 155). The Queen, it should be noted, did not protest the collection of tribute from the Taíno, just their “assignment’ to private individuals.

On Hispaniola, Governor Bobadilla had orders to re-organize the colony according to the Reconquista model (Pérez-Collados 1992: 163). This was particularly difficult due to the fact that a large portion of the 360 people living in the colony were ex-Roldanistas who wished to keep the privileges assigned to them by Columbus (Moya-Pons 1983: 24). Bobadilla opted to maintain the status quo with one notable exception which greatly influenced life at Concepción (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 204). This was the decision to exempt gold miners from paying the 60% tax excised on their production (50% for the Crown and 10% for Columbus) in an effort to boost the industry (Cassá 1978: 40; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 204). Suddenly large amounts of gold were collected, just as Columbus had predicted (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 204). Much of the gold must have come from the Concepción area, since the city was later chosen as the site of one of the colony’s two foundries (Charlevoix 1730a: 221; Deagan 1999; García 1906: 68). Bobadilla’s decision to eliminate taxes on gold revenues led to his recall by the Crown in 1502 (Cassá 1978: 40; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 444). The Crown did not assign him as the next governor, choosing Fray Nicolas de Ovando instead (Incháustegui 1955: 28-29, 89).

Ovando Government (1502-1509)

Ovando arrived on Hispaniola with 2,500 settlers in 30 ships, including women and children. The ships carrying his expedition were to return not only with large quantities of gold - probably mined at Concepción, but also carrying such passengers as ex-Governor Bobadilla, Roldán and other ex-Roldanistas, and the imprisoned Cacique Guarionex (Moya-Pons 1983; Peguero and de los Santos 1983). Unfortunately, a hurricane destroyed the entire fleet (Moya-Pons 1983; Peguero and de los Santos 1983; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 444). Ovando's bad luck did not end there; in the first year 1,000 died, and 500 were sick (Arranz-Márquez 1979: 16; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 276; García 1906: 56; Incháustegui 1955: 64; Las Casas II,VI 1985: 226; Moya-Pons 1987; Sauer 1966; Rogozinski 2000: 28). Food was scarce, due to the strain the large influx of people had caused on the already faulty production system; a situation exacerbated by the fact that many of the newcomers preferred to go search for gold rather than produce food (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 205; Las Casas II,VI 1985: 226).

Hispaniola experienced an economic boom in the first decade of the 16th century which attracted many Iberian Spanish to the colonies (Arranz-Márquez 1979: 17). Tales based on "get rich quick" schemes began to circulate in Spain, and many asked for permission to migrate to the colony (Arranz-Márquez 1979: 17; Charlevoix 1730a: 221). Difficult conditions in Castile made Hispaniola even more attractive (Arranz-Márquez 1979: 16; Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 261). From 1502 to 1508 there was a grain crop shortage in Castile, but prevailing laws did not permit grain to be imported (Arranz-Márquez 1979: 16). In 1505 Castile flooded, and in 1506 there was drought (Arranz-Márquez 1979: 16). In 1507 the plague hit Castile and Andalusia (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 262). At the same time, through all this turmoil, between 1501 and 1509, 972 ships with new settlers arrived on Hispaniola (Moya-Pons 1986: 72).

A personal friend and protégé of King Ferdinand, Ovando's main tasks were to organize the colony according to the Reconquista model and collect the Crown's revenues (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 205; Moya-Pons 1983: 24; Pérez-Collados 1992: 168; Pérez de Tudela 1955b: 234). In order to do this, he had to re-organize both the power structure and the workforce. More specifically, he had to take away the power Columbus had given the ex-Roldanistas, and find a way to have a productive workforce (Charlevoix 1730a: 189).

Ovando started by liberating all the Taínos held in vassalage by the Roldanistas (Charlevoix 1730a: 189). In this way he took away the group's source of economic power (Charlevoix 1730a: 189). The Queen then ordered that the Taíno should live in independent communities and work for the Spanish for a period of time during the year, mostly in the gold mines (Cassá 1978: 44; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 206; Incháustegui 1955: 94). This work would serve to pay the tribute, and the Taíno were to be taught Christian ways and the Spanish way of life (Cassá 1978: 44; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 206; Incháustegui 1955: 9). A final, secret, instruction to Ovando ordered the Taíno communities to be set up close to gold mines to provide a constant workforce (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 206; Moya-Pons 1986: 149), a practice that was later known as the *Reducción* system.

The plan was a failure because the Taínos ran away, would not work, and would not pay their tribute (Charlevoix 1730a: 189; Incháustegui 1955: 94). At the same time, the Spanish were unable to perform the agricultural and gold-production work, due to either the lack of desire or the lack of labor (Moya-Pons 1983: 12). Ovando's solution was to suggest an expansion of the distribution system whereby all Spanish settlers, not just the ex-Roldanistas, were entitled to "hold" Taíno laborers (Charlevoix 1730a: 189; Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 206). As the governor representing the Crown, he would be able to decide who would be assigned laborers,

and in what numbers (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 205). The holding of the Taíno was justified under the principle that this system would guarantee constant exposition and indoctrination in Christian values (Charlevoix 1730a: 189; Moya-Pons 1978, 1983: 25; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 54). The system, known as the *Repartimiento*, was ratified by the Crown in 1503 (Cassá 1978: 43; Moya-Pons 1978; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 54). (A more detailed explanation of the *Repartimiento* is given in Ch. 6, Table 3-3, and in Moya-Pons 1986: 36-44, 47-48).

The labor provided by the Taíno helped create the financial base necessary for the implantation of the Reconquista model (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 207; Las Casas II, X (1985, vol.2: 241). By the end of his term in 1509, Ovando had either created or reorganized 16 settlements to follow the Spanish municipal structure: Lares de Guahaba, Puerto Real, Puerto Plata, Santiago de los Caballeros, Concepción de La Vega, Cotuí, Bonao, Santa Cruz de Icaiyagua, Higüey, Santo Domingo, Buenaventura, Azua, San Juan de la Maguana, La Vera Paz, Yaquimo, and La Sabana (Cassá 1978: 42; Charlevoix 1730a: 196; Deagan 1999: 9; García 1906: 65; Moya-Pons 1987; Sauer 1966) (Figure 3-2). (For a more comprehensive analysis of the Spanish municipal structure model see Pérez de Tudela 1954, 1956, 1983).

Ovando visited each of the settlements to personally present the communities with their coat of arms (García 1906: 70). Concepción's coat of arms reflects the city's religious history (Peguero 1975: 154-155). It has a red background, with a silver castle in the center. Over the castle is a smaller blue shield with twelve gold stars. The color blue and the placement of the stars symbolize the Virgin of Mercy (Peguero 1975: 156).

The Governor took the occasion to set up the city governance structure, order the construction of municipal buildings and churches, install the mayor and the priests, etc. (García 1906: 70). 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).

These settlements were to be run by the settlement's elite members, or *vecinos* (landowning families). The *vecino* condition was based on the three elements of Castilian worthiness - honesty, good upbringing and clean bloodlines (Arranz-Márquez 1991: 172), and on marital status (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971: 266). No Jews, Moors, or anyone converted from these religions could be considered a *vecino*. Ideally, the person had to be older than 20, and both a Christian and a Castilian (Haring 1939: 131; Incháustegui 1955: 62).

Only two settlements - Santo Domingo and Concepción - were formally designated as “cities” (as opposed to being towns as the rest were considered) by King Ferdinand in 1508 (Concepción 1981; Herrera 1601; Marte 1981; Peguero 1975: 154-155; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: xvii). Concepción was designated as a city because of its economic and geographical importance, and in fact is thought to have been larger in area than Santo Domingo during the early 16th century (Deagan 1999: 9). A large portion of Ovando’s settlers went to the gold-mining regions, Concepción de la Vega and Buenaventura (in the south) (Charlevoix 1730a: 221; Las Casas II, VI 1985: 226), and by 1503 these were the two places on the island where gold was smelted twice a year (Charlevoix 1730a: 221; García 1906: 68). Concepción's central location also led to its having legal jurisdiction over the northern half of the island, namely the towns of Santiago, Puerto Plata, Puerto Real, Bonaó, Lares de Guahaba, and Montecristi (Peguero 1975a: 167).

In 1504, during Ovando’s term as governor of Hispaniola, Queen Isabella died, altering the political circumstances of Hispaniola. While Isabella was alive, Ferdinand had no direct control over the Spanish colonization process; however upon her death in 1504, he inherited half of America as her consort (Arco 1939: 440-442; García 1906: 69; Gimenez-Fernández 1943: 127-

182; Pérez-Collados 1992: 91). The other half belonged to his daughter Juana, as heiress of the throne of Castile (Incháustegui 1955: 70; Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 95). In 1506, the year of Christopher Columbus's death, Juana's consort Phillip also died. Suffering greatly from her husband's death, Juana was declared mentally unstable by her father, Ferdinand (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 141). Ferdinand then made himself regent of Castile (and the Americas) which he remained until his death in 1516 (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 165; Herrera 1601, Vol. III: 61; Las Casas 1985, Vol. II: 324; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 55; Pérez-Collados 1992: 169).

The Governorship of Diego Columbus (1509-1514)

Two years later, after having tried unsuccessfully to restore his family's rights through personal petitions to King Ferdinand (Pérez-Collados 1992: 171), Diego Columbus, Christopher's son, tried to regain the privileges offered in the *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe* through a trial in the Spanish Courts (Charlevoix 1730a: 225; García 1906: 71; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 54; Pérez-Collados 1992: 170). Diego had some powerful allies. He was married to the niece of the Duke of Alba, a powerful Castilian Grandee, and cousin to King Ferdinand (Charlevoix 1730a: 225; García 1906: 71; Rueda 1988: 106). He also had the Archbishop of Seville, Diego de Deza, and the Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, on his side (Charlevoix 1730a: 214; Pérez-Collados 1992: 169). In fact, Diego Columbus and the House of Alba had enough political and economic power to seriously challenge Ferdinand's power in Castile (Pérez-Collados 1992: 171).

In 1509, Ferdinand sent Diego as Governor of the Indies in an effort to appease his supporters and get him away from the Court deliberations (Pérez-Collados 1992: 171; Rueda 1988: 106). He did not, however, have any special privileges beyond those Ovando had held in the same post (García 1906: 71; Pérez-Collados 1992: 172). At the same time, Ferdinand overturned the law prohibiting the immigration of Aragonese to America (Oviedo 1959, I: 69;

Pérez-Collados 1992:149) and used this as an opportunity to surround Diego with Aragonese government officials (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 55; Pérez-Collados 1992: 122). This included Miguel de Pasamonte, who was sent to the colony in 1508 to hold the second-highest position, that of *Tesorero General* (Royal Treasurer) in to have at his post before Diego's arrival in 1509 (García 1906: 69; Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 98, Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 108).

Despite his later disclaimers (García 1906: 73), it appears Diego intended to set up a court-like atmosphere around himself in Santo Domingo. His wife brought many ladies-in-waiting (Charlevoix 1730a: 229; García 1906: 71), the first large group of elite Spanish women to ever arrive in the colony. Many of them married Diego's supporters in Santo Domingo (García 1906: 71). Meanwhile, Miguel de Pasamonte was assigned to be in charge of Concepción fort (Herrera 1601, III: 110; Moya-Pons 1978: 82; Pérez-Collados 1992: 176). He resided there, and King Ferdinand concentrated a group of Aragonese men around him (Herrera 1601, III: 136-138; Pérez-Collados 1992: 172, 174). Other Aragonese men were assigned important positions within the Treasury, such as Cristóbal Tapia, *Veedor de Fundiciones*, who had to mark, stamp, and record, all the smelted gold of the colony (Pérez-Collados 1992: 174).

Diego Columbus's governorship was a constant power struggle between his supporters and those of King Ferdinand. Most of the conflicts centered around two main topics: who controlled the Taíno workforce, and whether the colony should follow a centralized or decentralized style of government rule (Moya-Pons 1983: 26; Pérez-Collados 1992: 191). This conflict consumed important time and efforts that could have been better spent in other areas of colonial life, and directly influenced the circumstances at Concepción.

Repartimiento of 1510

It seems that Diego Columbus's original plan was to reinstate the tribute system organized by his father (García 1906: 72), but he decided to use the *Repartimiento* system as a means of

empowering his supporters (Moya-Pons 1983: 24). As Ovando had done at the beginning of his term, Ovando collected all of the Taíno workers and distributed them according to his own benefit and convenience.

Although officially he was to distribute the Taíno amongst all qualified *vecinos*, in practice he favored the men married to his wife's ladies-in-waiting (Charlevoix 1730a: 229), and those who supported his style of government (Moya-Pons 1983: 26; Rodríguez Demorizi 1971: 52). As a result, he concentrated most of the workforce, and the means to gain economic power, in his supporters' hands.

Now the Crown had even less control than it did during the Ovando governorship, and needless to say, the King, Pasamonte, and their followers were not pleased (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Moya-Pons 1983: 26). One measure designed to remedy the labor situation was Ferdinand's decree in 1509 that Native Americans from other parts of the Caribbean (presumably resistant to conversion or cannibals) could be enslaved, and imported into Hispaniola. Those loyal to the King were favored in this enterprise (Marte 1981: 89).

Another effort to offset Diego Columbus's growing powers was the creation of the *Real Audiencia* (Royal Court of Appeals) in 1511 (Cassá 1978: 50; Charlevoix 1730a: 239; García-Menendez 1981; Incháustegui 1955: 115; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 57). This court was made up of three judges, or *oidores*, who held the colony's judicial, administrative and legislative powers. As the highest provincial court in the New World, the *Real Audiencia* handled civil and criminal cases in the colonies, which previously would have been resolved in Spain.

From 1511 to 1528, the *Real Audiencia* in Santo Domingo dealt with cases from all the colonies in the Americas (Rogozinski 2000: 48). The first three judges appointed (Marcelo de Villalobos, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo and Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón) were all from Aragon (Moya-

Pons 1978: 114). Vázquez de Ayllón was a *vecino* at Concepción who had lost some of his Taíno workers under Diego Columbus's *Repartimiento*. He became Pasamonte's close ally, and often ruled in favor of other settlers in his same situation (Moya-Pons 1983: 27).

Two disputing factions arose in the colony as a consequence of these conflicts: the *Servidores* and the *Deservidores*. The *Servidores* were those who followed the King's commands, and had Miguel de Pasamonte, residing in Concepción, as their leader. The *Deservidores* were those who followed Governor Diego Columbus who resided in Santo Domingo (García 1906: 72; Las Casas 1985, II: 379-380; Moya-Pons 1983: 27; Oviedo 1959, 1: 90).

Bishopric of Concepción de la Vega (1511)

Although the Church had sent individual representatives throughout the early colonial period, no organized religious administrative structure existed in the New World until 1511. That year three bishoprics were created, in Santo Domingo (under García de Padilla, who died before reaching Santo Domingo), Concepción de la Vega (under Pedro Suárez de Deza), and San Juan, Puerto Rico (under Alonso Manso) (Charlevoix 1730a: 260; García 1906: 74; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: xvii). These were dependent on the Bishopric of Seville (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: xvii) and because the Archbishop of Seville, Diego de Deza, had been one of Christopher Columbus's close friends (Charlevoix 1730a: 214; Pérez-Collados 1992: 169), the Bishops in Hispaniola supported the island faction following Diego Columbus, rather than that supporting Miguel de Pasamonte and the King.

Of the three bishoprics, Concepción de la Vega was the most powerful, at least until 1520. Although it officially only had jurisdiction over the northern half of the island, that is, the towns of Santiago, Puerto Plata, Puerto Real, Bonao, Lares de Guahaba and Montecristi it was the only

bishopric with a resident bishop during the first period of study (1495-1514) (García 1906: 74; Peguero 1975a: 167).

Franciscan priests were already in residence at Concepción when the bishopric was established. Although several Franciscan priests had come with Columbus and settled in La Isabela, the first large contingent of Franciscans reported at Concepción arrived with Ovando in 1502. It appears that their monastery at Concepción may have been their principal center during the first period of study (1495-1514), because it housed the leader of the order, Alonso de Espinal (Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 535). (For more information on the Franciscans in early colonial Hispaniola, and specifically at La Isabela, see Arranz-Márquez 1992: 19-32; Dobal 1987, 1991; Errasti 1998: 25-26; Tavani 1991, vol. 1: 129).

Although the first members of the Dominican order did not arrive on Hispaniola until 1510 (Charlevoix 1730a: 240; Incháustegui 1955: 105), they were nevertheless influential in New World affairs as advisers to Queen Isabella. Dominicans influenced her decision to declare the Taíno free vassals of the Crown (Moya-Pons 1978). The first Dominicans were sent to Hispaniola as representatives of the Royal Inquisition in response to various complaints regarding the deficient methods used to Christianize the Taíno (Charlevoix 1730a: 240; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). Claims were made that most of the Taíno were merely baptized and no other religious instruction was provided by the Church or the colonists, which was a great infringement on the terms of the *Repartimiento* (Charlevoix 1730a: 240). At the same time, large numbers of the Taíno in Spanish care were dying at alarming rates.

The Dominicans' campaign to save the Taíno from extinction through a reform of the Spanish labor system was ignited by Fray Anton de Montesinos's Advent sermon in December 1511 in Santo Domingo (Charlevoix 1730a: 261; Incháustegui 1955: 106; Peguero and de los

Santos 1983: 58; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 23). Montesinos, however, did not limit himself to denouncing the abuses of the *Repartimiento* system, but went so far as to question the Crown's right of ownership of land and Indian laborers in the New World (Pérez-Collados 1992: 183), a subject being debated in Spain at the time (García-Gallo 1972, 1976; Manzano-Manzano 1948).

Most government officials were present when the sermon was read, including Diego Columbus and Miguel de Pasamonte, and were gravely insulted (Charlevoix 1730a: 261; García 1906: 75; Incháustegui 1955: 106). They asked Montesinos to apologize, but he refused (Incháustegui 1955: 108). The fact that he was one of the representatives of the Royal Inquisition and was backed by Concepción's Bishop Deza probably saved Montesinos from grave punishment.

While the Dominicans championed for Taíno rights within the *Repartimiento* system, the Franciscans, centered in the gold-rich Concepción area, saw no grave problems with the way Taínos were treated. They often expressed their support of the *Repartimiento* through their leader Alonso de Espinal, headquartered at Concepción (Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 535).

As time progressed, this religious dispute was recast to fit the existing *Servidores/Deservidores* dispute (Pérez-Collados 1992: 188; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 23, 24; Serrano-Sanz 1918: 436). The Dominicans found similarities with the followers of Diego Columbus, the *Deservidores*, not only because of their more hands-off approach in regards to Taíno life, but also because of their questioning of land ownership, as per the *factoría* model (Pérez-Collados 1992: 188; Serrano-Sanz 1918: 558). The Franciscans, on the other hand, supported the position of King Ferdinand, Pasamonte and their followers, especially those who lived in Concepción and benefited from the gold industry (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 59; Pérez-Collados 1992: 188; Serrano-Sanz 1918: 436).

The dispute between the religious orders grew to such proportion that representatives were sent to Spain to the Castilian courts to solve the problem (Charlevoix 1730a: 262; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 59). The Dominicans were represented by Fray Antón de Montesinos, while Fray Alonso de Espinal from Concepción represented the Franciscans (Charlevoix 1730a: 262; García 1906: 76; Incháustegui 1955: 107; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 59; Moya-Pons 1978: 126).

Ferdinand initially officially received the Franciscans, but not the Dominicans (Charlevoix 1730a: 262; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 32), since Montesinos had questioned the Crown's ownership rights - the basis of his whole enterprise - in the New World (Pérez-Collados 1992: 183). Eventually, however, Ferdinand was forced to engage with Montesinos due to pressures from the Columbus faction (Charlevoix 1730a: 264).

Court discussions and debates were held to review both sides of the argument, resulting in the Laws of Burgos of 1512 (García 1906: 77; Incháustegui 1955: 107; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 32). Although the Laws declared the Taínos to be free vassals of Spain (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 32), or more specifically to be the Hispaniolan equivalent of the Christian peasants (Guitar 1998: 166), it did little more than justify a new *Repartimiento* system (for a summary description of the Laws of Burgos, see Guitar 1998: 113-114). This represented a defeat for the Dominicans, who had hoped to abolish the *Repartimiento* system (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 32). Instead, the *Repartimientos* were declared to be based on the authority given the Castilian Crown by the Holy See, and the Dominicans were not to contest it (García 1906: 76).

The new *Repartimiento* of 1514

The Crown soon exercised its right to conduct a new *Repartimiento*. It sent Rodrigo de Alburquerque and Lic. Pero Ibañez de Ibarra to conduct the *Repartimiento* at Concepción (Charlevoix 1730a: 276; García 1906: 77; Marte 1981: 121; Moya-Pons 1983: 27). As before,

specific qualities were required of a *vecino* who would receive Taíno workers at the *Repartimientos* - honesty, good upbringing, clean bloodlines, be older than 20, Christian and Castilian (Arranz-Márquez 1991: 172; Haring 1939: 131; Incháustegui 1955: 62; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971: 266), but few if any of these criteria were used by Albuquerque. Like Diego Columbus before him, he used the *Repartimiento* to benefit members of his own political faction.

Albuquerque had been the Mayor of the Concepción Fort until 1513, when he had returned to Spain (Benzo 2000; García 1906: 77). He was a confirmed follower of the Crown position as member of the *Servidores* group, and had a personal enmity with Diego Columbus (Charlevoix 1730a: 276). Little is known about Lic. Ibarra, except that he died soon after arriving in Santo Domingo (García 1906: 77; Guitar 1998: 134; Mira-Caballos 1997: 123). Ibarra's death facilitated matters by allowing Albuquerque to name Miguel de Pasamonte as his assistant (García 1906: 77, 78; Guitar 1998: 134; Mira-Caballos 1997: 123), and thus Pasamonte was deeply involved in Albuquerque's decisions as *repartidor* (Charlevoix 1730a: 276; García 1906: 78).

The 1514 *Repartimiento* for the entire island took place at Concepción de la Vega, from Nov. 23, 1514 to Jan. 9, 1515 (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Marte 1981: 121; Moya-Pons 1978: 157). Each city and town had to pick an official representative to go to Concepción, and receive the Taínos assigned to that settlement's *vecinos* (García 1906: 78). Diego Columbus was not allowed to be present (Moya-Pons 1978: 156).

The process was plagued with corruption and obvious partiality towards the *Servidores* and their counterparts in Spain (Cohen 1997: 5; García 1906: 78; Guitar 1998: 134; Moya-Pons 1983: 27). Albuquerque also used the process for his own personal gain by taking large bribes (Charlevoix 1730a: 276; García 1906: 77). Ultimately, most of the Taíno workers were

concentrated in the hands of a select group of rich *Servidores* (Moya-Pons 1983: 27). A look at Concepción's *Repartimiento* is full of examples of this form of manipulation.

Concepción's distribution was the first completed, on Nov. 23, 1514 (García 1906: 78). Hernando Ponce de León represented that city's government (García 1906: 78). Concepción's share of the *Repartimiento* was the second largest, with only Santo Domingo's *vecinos* receiving more Taínos (Arranz-Márquez 1991; García 1906: 78; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). The process was witnessed by two Concepción *vecinos*, with no Royal scribe present (García 1906: 78).

At Concepción, 3,438 Indians under 52 caciques who were distributed amongst the 81 *Repartimiento* holders (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Cohen 1997: 5; García 1906: 78; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). A number of unmarried men received Taíno workers, in opposition to the governmental policy giving family units special privileges (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971: 252). Pasamonte, Albuquerque and Hernando Ponce de León also assigned a large number of the Concepción Taínos to themselves (Arranz-Márquez 1991; García 1906: 78; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). The Franciscan monastery at Concepción received several Taíno workers in the *Repartimiento* (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Incháustegui 1955: 106; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). Although the Franciscans explained that they did not benefit personally from the work done by the commended Indians, the Dominicans saw this as totally unacceptable (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Incháustegui 1955: 106). This served to create a further breach between the two orders (For an in-depth, comprehensive review of the *Repartimiento* of 1514, see Arranz-Márquez 1991 and Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971).

One of the main complaints about 1510 *Repartimiento* had been that large numbers of Taíno were held by persons living in Spain, not on Hispaniola. This complaint came from a group known as the *Viejos Pobladores* (First Settlers), which included many ex-Roldanistas

(Guitar 1998: 133). The *Servidores* promised the *Viejos Pobladores* that this practice would be stopped if they supported the new *Repartimiento*. The *Servidores*, however, did not keep their promises and three government officials in Spain received the largest number of Taínos at Concepción: Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (the person in Court in charge of all New World matters), the King's Secretary - Lopes Conchillos, and the King himself (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Charlevoix 1730a: 221; García 1906: 78; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971). This helped create a breach between the *Servidores* and the *Viejos Pobladores*, many of whom left the island soon afterwards (Guitar 1998: 135; Rueda 1988).

Not unexpectedly, the *Deservidores*, their leader Diego Columbus, the *Viejos Pobladores* and the less wealthy members of society challenged the *Repartimiento* (García 1906: 79; Guitar 1998: 134; Mira-Caballos 1997: 123; Moya-Pons 1983: 27). However, unlike with the 1510 *Repartimiento*, the Pro-*Servidores Real Audiencia* and the Pro-Aragonese Court officials were sufficiently powerful to prevent any changes (García 1906: 79). The Crown, in fact, decreed this to be the last *Repartimiento* to be undertaken on Hispaniola (García 1906: 79; Moya-Pons 1983: 27). It claimed that the process was too controversial and that the Taíno were dying out, but it has been argued that the real reason was to break the *Deservidores* power in the colony (Arranz-Márquez 1991: 328; Guitar 1998: 134; Moya-Pons 1983: 27).

Situation on Hispaniola 1515

The colony was still in upheaval over the 1514 *Repartimiento* when Ferdinand ordered Diego to return to Spain and explain his lack of control over Hispaniolan politics (Charlevoix 1730a: 277; Moya-Pons 1978: 156; Pérez-Collados 1992: 182). Diego left in 1515, in an effort to defend himself at Court and break Aragonese control over government (Cassá 1978: 55; Pérez-Collados 1992: 181). While he was gone, Lic. Lebrón, president of the *Real Audiencia*, headed the interim government (García 1906: 81; Rogonzinsky 2000: 47). However, given that the *Real*

Audiencia's officers were part of the *Servidores* party, Pasamonte was the real leader (Cassá 1978: 55; Charlevoix 1730a: 277).

At this point Hispaniola was in a similar situation to that at its foundation in 1493. Power, economic and political, was in the hands of a select few. In La Isabela power had been in Columbus's hands, while now it was in the hands of the Pasamonte faction of the *Servidores* group. Unlike the outcome of the Roldán Rebellion, however, those without Taíno workers after the 1514 *Repartimiento* were unable to force those in power (the *Servidores*) to share their privileges. Hispaniolan settlers who did not receive Indians saw no reason to remain on Hispaniola. Most left to emigrate to Central America and Mexico (Guitar 1998: 135; Moya-Pons 1978: 174-75; Rueda 1988).

A great migration started in 1515, and by 1517, more than 800 *vecinos* had left Hispaniola (Arranz-Márquez 1979; Moya-Pons 1983: 28). Although it has often been assumed that the emigration was because of the lack of gold mineral (Floyd 1963: 68-69; Moya-Pons 1983, 1987), but in reality the absence of workers to labor in the mines.

In an effort to stop the massive exodus, alternate sources of wealth were encouraged, most involving a change from gold production to some form of agriculture (Moya-Pons 1978: 176; 1983: 28), and it was significant to the development of the colony that these new productive systems also included the use of a different type of laborer, specifically slaves (García 1906: 103; Moya-Pons 1983: 33). One of the first to suggest a productive alternative was Concepción's Bishop, Pedro Suárez de Deza, who proposed the move to sugar production (Moya-Pons 1978: 176).

Hispaniola under Juana and Charles: Jeronymite Government (1516-1519)

Just as the *Servidores* and Aragonese held relatively complete power in both Castile and on Hispaniola, the political situation once again became unbalanced. On January 23, 1516, King

Ferdinand died, forcing the Spanish government to enter into a complicated series of compromises to ensure succession. A compromise was reached in which his grandson Charles was named co-regent with his mother, Juana (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 175; Incháustegui 1955:71). Meanwhile, regencies were set up in both Castile and Aragon until Charles' coming of age (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 141). Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros (a close friend of the Columbus family, and an enemy of the Aragonese) was named regent of Castile, and Alonzo de Aragón, Archbishop of Zaragoza, was regent of Aragon (Charlevoix 1730a: 214; Incháustegui 1955: 89; Moya-Pons 1983: 29; Pérez-Collados 1992: 169).

One of Cardinal Cisneros's first actions upon the assumption of his regency was to get rid of the vestiges of the Aragonese party still active in the Castilian courts, namely Rodríguez de Fonseca and Lope Conchillos, who had both been responsible for governance of the Indies (Gimenez-Fernández 1953, Book I, Chapter II; Pérez-Collados 1992: 182). Cisneros also organized what was to be an impartial religious government in Hispaniola, with the main purpose of saving the Taíno from extinction (Incháustegui 1955: 121; Moya-Pons 1983: 28; Pérez-Collados 1992: 183). Due to the Dominican and Franciscan involvement in the *Servidores/Deservidores* dispute, a third, impartial religious order was summoned to take over the task, namely the Jeronymites (Charlevoix 1730a: 280; Incháustegui 1955: 121; Guitar 1998: 156; Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 114; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 61). The Jeronymites hoped to not only save the Taíno, but also to create a less polarized Spanish colony on Hispaniola.

The Jeronymites were concerned with the living and working conditions of the Taíno, and the limiting of Christian rights over their liberty (Moya-Pons 1978, 1983: 28; Pérez-Collados 1992: 188; Serrano-Sanz 1918: 558). It was obvious to Cisneros and the Jeronymites that, if continued in the manner it was currently being implemented, the *Repartimiento* system would

cause the Taínos' demise (Charlevoix 1730a: 282; Incháustegui 1955: 124; Moya-Pons 1983: 29). The Jeronimites believed that by changing the main production system in the colony from mining to agriculture using African slave labor, the lives of the Taíno could be spared (Cassá 1978: 58; Charlevoix 1730a: 292; García 1906: 84; Moya-Pons 1983: 28). The shift from gold to sugar production was to be gradual, rather than immediate, and settlers would be encouraged to engage in sugar production through an ambitious loan program financed by the gold *quinto* gathered for the Crown (Cassá 1978: 66; Charlevoix 1730a: 292; Moya-Pons 1983: 29).

The new program to be implemented on Hispaniola followed much of the rhetoric being used by the *Servidores* group, particularly that of the Dominican friars, and the writings of another Columbus supporter, Bartolomé de las Casas (Charlevoix 1730a: 282; García 1906: 82; Hanke 1935; Moya-Pons 1983: 29). It must be noted that Las Casas was a secular priest at this time, and had not yet joined the Dominican order. Essentially, the *Repartimiento* system would be replaced by a series of parallel worker villages (Charlevoix 1730a: 282; Incháustegui 1955: 124; Moya-Pons 1983: 29). These villages would be similar to the *Reducciones* proposed during Ovando's government, in which Taínos would be reduced into towns convenient to centers of production (Incháustegui 1955: 94). Although the villages would initially be made up mostly by Taínos, they would eventually include other workers, especially African slaves (Charlevoix 1730a: 290; Guitar 1998: 199).

The villages had three main purposes: Christianize the Taíno, organize their labor, and have them pay tribute extracted from the pay received from their work (Charlevoix 1730a: 282; García 1906: 83). The men of the village would be required to work for the Spanish a certain number of hours a day, and be paid for their work (Charlevoix 1730a: 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978). The tribute would be calculated according to the settlement's location (Charlevoix 1730a:

282). Most of the Taíno workers were to labor in the mines, but those living in settlements where gold was not found would cultivate different agricultural products such as cotton, ginger, cañafistola, indigo or sugar (Charlevoix 1730a: 283). No more than a third of the villagers could work in the gold mines during a given period of time and for no more than 2 straight months (Charlevoix 1730a: 283).

These towns would have 300 people each, governed by a Spanish-educated cacique and a missionary priest (Charlevoix 1730a: 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978). Within the village, each family would receive a plot of land to cultivate in their free time (Charlevoix 1730a: 282, 283; Moya-Pons 1978). The caciques would receive four times as much land as the rest, with the guarantee that each of the subordinates would work on the plots for at least 15 days a year (Charlevoix 1730a: 283). The villages would also have their own church and hospital (Charlevoix 1730a: 283; Hanke 1935).

Although the Taíno were allowed to live in villages separate from the Spanish settlements, they were not theoretically allowed to return to their pre-contact customs and beliefs. The Taíno were to be molded into Christians, which in Spanish eyes amounted to being molded into Spaniards as well. This practice was not new, since Taíno noble children had been under Franciscan instruction since 1502 (Charlevoix 1730a: 191; Peguero 1975a: 187), and the caciques chosen to rule the villages came from among those educated “Christians” (Peguero 1975a: 187). Under the Jeronymites, however, all Taíno were to be taught “Christian” ways in these villages, which included wearing clothes at all times, having only one wife, and learning to speak and read Spanish (Charlevoix 1730a: 282).

The Jeronymites began by undertaking an Interrogatorio (or Questioning) into the possibility of creating the Taíno pueblos (Guitar 1998: 158, 166; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971: 273-

354), and learned that the *vecinos* holding the most Taíno Indians through the *Repartimiento* (the *Servidores* group) opposed the plan (García 1906: 82; Guitar 1998: 158; Incháustegui 1955: 123; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971: 273-354). These *vecinos* were able to influence *Servidores*-leaning judges and officials, in ways contrary to the Jeronymite policies (Cassá 1978: 57; García 1906: 82; Pérez-Collados 1992: 188).

Although there is historical evidence that some Taíno pueblos were established in the Cibao area (Guitar 1998: 176; Hanke 1935: 38-39), the Jeronymites were never able to successfully implement their program, owing both to political factors and to epidemic disease (Guitar 1998: 176; Moya-Pons 1983: 29). A smallpox epidemic struck Hispaniola between December 1518 and January 1519, killing about to thirds of the Taíno population (Guitar 2001; Moya-Pons 1983: 29; Pichardo 1944). Given the new circumstances, The Jeronymites did not need much encouragement to maintain the status quo and abandon their plan of resettlement into pueblos (Guitar 1998: 176), agreeing that the Taíno should continue to live with the Spanish under the *Repartimiento* system (Charlevoix 1730a: 287, 288).

The turnabout by the Jeronymites in changing their plan for Taíno pueblo program alienated several groups in the colony. It not only deepened the breach between *Servidores* and *Deservidores* (Incháustegui 1955: 124), but also consolidated the power of the Aragonese/*Servidores* who had benefited from the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Cohen 1997: 5; García 1906: 78; Guitar 1998: 134; Moya-Pons 1983: 27). In spite of the loans offered to set up the sugar mills, the enterprise was too costly for most settlers (García 1906: 103). The *Deservidores* and *Viejos Pobladores* with few or no workers could not afford to buy African slaves, causing them to migrate to other colonies (Guitar 1998: 135; Julián 1997; Rueda 1988).

The adjusted Jeronymite program also disappointed a third group, the Spanish-educated Taíno who had been chosen as leaders of the Taíno pueblos (Guitar 2001). It must have been hard for these leaders to return to the *Repartimiento* system after being trained for the relative independence and other expected privileges conferred by leadership of the Taíno pueblos.

Due to all of these failings the Jeronymites finally lost the support of the person who had once been their staunchest supporter, Bartolomé de las Casas (Guitar 1998: 172; Hanke 1935: 40). Las Casas traveled to Spain and convinced King Charles to recall the Jeronymites after only three years on Hispaniola (Cassá 1978: 59; Guitar 1998: 177).

Figuerola Government (1519-1520)

After the recall of the Jeronymites, Governor Rodrigo de Figuerola was sent to Hispaniola, and the *Real Audiencia* was re-established in 1519 (Charlevoix 1730a: 294; García 1906: 85). It appears that Figuerola's main goal was to re-institute the Jeronymite program for the *reducción* of Taíno pueblos (Charlevoix 1730a: 341; García 1906: 86; Herrera 1601; Incháustegui 1955: 127). He created two model pueblos and was bound by law to allow any Taíno who wished to move there (Charlevoix 1730a: 341; Incháustegui 1955: 127).

However, as had happened in all previous governments, the interests of the *Repartimiento* holders, and their power to influence government procedure, caused Figuerola to declare pueblos a failure (Charlevoix 1730a: 341; García 1906: 86; Hanke 1935). He claimed, as had been done before, that the Taíno, once outside of the Spanish sphere of influence, ran away into the hills rather than work, and did not follow Spanish religion and customs (Charlevoix 1730a: 341; Guitar 1998: 149; Incháustegui 1955: 94) (For a more detailed account of the Taíno pueblo experiment during Figuerola's governorship, see Hanke 1935).

Impact of the Enriquillo Rebellion on Concepción

During this period Cacique Enriquillo, who had been offered the leadership of a Taíno pueblo in the Southwestern part of Hispaniola during the Jeronymite era, rebelled against the Spanish and founded his own pueblo in the Bahoruco Mountains, where he had grown up (Cassá 1978: 60; Las Casas 1967; Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 151; Wilson 1990b: 14). He was surprisingly effective in his revolt, which only ended in 1533 after receiving a signed agreement from King Charles himself (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 151).

Although Enriquillo did not attack the Concepción area, his rebellion inspired other leaders to rebel throughout Hispaniola, and especially in the Concepción area. He instigated the revolt of Taíno leader Ciguayo in the Concepción area (Guitar 1998: 269; Las Casas 1985: 127; Utrera 1973: 230). Ciguayo had 80 followers which roamed the area around Concepción, Santiago and Puerto Real in 1529 (Guitar 1998: 269; Marte 1981: 347). He was captured the next year by a bounty hunter (Guitar 1998: 270; Utrera 1973: 230).

Diego Columbus's Second Governorship

Emperor Charles V is perhaps best known for the vast extent of kingdoms and lands he controlled, both in Europe and the Americas. In Europe his kingdoms stretched from Austria to Spain (Fernández-Alvarez 1975: 194) and it was during his reign (1517-1555) that most of the great discoveries of the New World were made (Incháustegui 1955). Charles was a co-regent with his “mad” mother Juana in Castile (Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 175; Incháustegui 1955: 71), and his European kingdoms outside Spain were appointed to him via Imperial election (Fernández-Alvarez 1975: 28). To be able to finance his Imperial bid, Charles asked wealthy individuals to help him, most notably Diego Columbus (Pérez-Collados 1992: 198). In exchange, Charles named Diego Columbus as governor of Hispaniola again in 1520 (Pérez-Collados 1992: 198; Ramos-Pérez 1970: 30).

Diego Columbus returned to Hispaniola with the belief that this time he would be able to establish the Viceroyalty in the manner promised to his father and family (Pérez-Collados 1992: 198; Ramos-Pérez 1970: 30). Unfortunately, during his 6 year absence too many obstacles had surfaced to make this possible (Pérez-Collados 1992: 198). Nevertheless, Diego's governance helped create the political environment in Hispaniola for the next 30 years.

The first obstacles appeared in the Spanish courts, with the return of the Aragonese party to the administration and their designation of a pro-Aragonese/pro-*Servidores Real Audiencia* in Santo Domingo (Cassá 1978: 59; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 65; Pérez-Collados 1992: 191). This development corresponded with the consolidation of the colony into a system of locally autonomous municipalities, and each town was allowed to pick their own mayors and local authorities (Pérez-Collados 1992: 198). Diego could no longer appoint these officials, guaranteeing the maintenance of the *Servidores* power-structure which had ruled the island since his absence.

Miguel de Pasamonte continued to be *Tesorero General* (Treasurer General), and de-facto leader of the *Servidores* party (Pérez-Collados 1992: 199). Diego was ordered by the King to get along with him for the sake of the colony (Charlevoix 1730a: 342), and although this may have been an attempt by Charles V to bury the *Deservidores/Servidores* dispute, it was unsuccessful (see Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 68; Pérez-Collados 1992: 199).

Diego, unlike the Jeronymites and Figueroa, was ordered to help Hispaniolan settlers travel to Mexico and Central America, rather than making them stay. He was to allow free passage to any settler who wished to migrate, and give expeditions traveling to the mainland help in any way they asked (García 1906: 90-91). This often involved resources such as cattle and other food

products. Many settlers, disgruntled by the 1514 *Repartimiento*, became part of these expeditions (Guitar 1998: 135; Rueda 1988).

Diego also continued the Jeronymite program of establishing sugar mills with their corresponding African slave workforce (García 1906: 90, 91). This was a particularly unstable period for the Taíno workforce, suffering from epidemics and overwork, and resisting labor organization by constantly running away to join the Enriquillo rebellion (García 1906: 90).

By 1522, Diego was one of colony's main *ingenio* (sugar mill) owners (Moya-Pons 1983: 35). During Christmas that year, the African slaves of his ingenio, together with those belonging to his neighbor, rebelled and took arms against the Spanish (García 1906: 90; Moya-Pons 1983: 35). The rebellion was quickly dissipated, but it created a precedent that had deep repercussions for the whole island, and especially Concepción, where several revolts occurred.

In spite of the quick resolution of the African revolt, by mid-1523 Diego still had not resolved the defiance of Enriquillo, and was not getting along with the *Servidores* (Pérez-Collados 1992: 199). The Aragonese members of the Court asked for his return to discuss his mis-management of Hispaniola (García 1906: 92; Pérez-Collados 1992: 199).

Creation of the *Consejo de Indias* (1524)

Soon after Diego returned to Spain, Bishop Rodríguez de Fonseca died (Incháustegui 1955: 103). Rather than placing a single person in charge of the New World affairs, Charles decided to designate an official body - the *Consejo de Indias* - to govern (Incháustegui 1955: 103; Ots Capdequi 1941: 54-55). The Consejo would be in charge of the political and administrative affairs in America, the designation of Crown officials, the designation of prelates, supplying of *flotas*, discovery expeditions, and the treatment of Indians (Ots Capdequi 1941: 54-55).

The creation of the *Consejo* also relieved Diego of most of his official duties (Pérez-Collados 1992: 199). The administration of the colonies was now only in the hands of the Consejo, eliminating the duality of power which had existed since the founding of La Isabela (Pérez-Collados 1992: 199; Ramos-Pérez 1970: 21). Finally, the Spanish colonies were completely governed by a *Reconquista*-type government (Pérez-Collados 1992: 199; Ramos-Pérez 1970: 21).

Diego, however, did not give up his attempts at regaining his powers (García 1906: 92) and continued his legal dispute with the Crown over family rights (the Pleitos Colombinos). Unfortunately, he was unable to see the end of the suit and died in Spain in 1526 (Pérez-Collados 1992: 200). Pasamonte, his old enemy, also died in 1526 in Santo Domingo (Charlevoix 1730a: 369). Despite the demise of both rivals, antagonism between the *Servidores* and *Deservidores* continued. The dispute did not really end until the Pleitos Colombinos were resolved in the Spanish Court 10 years later (Pérez-Collados 1992: 200).

Interim Government (1524-1528)

When Diego Columbus left in 1524, the colony's government was once again left in the hands of the *Real Audiencia* judges, namely Alonso Suazo, Cristóbal Lebrón and Gaspar de Espinosa (Guitar 1998: 70; Incháustegui 1955: 89-80). This was the first of several interim periods during which the *Real Audiencia* ruled Hispaniola (Incháustegui 1955: 117).

Two important events during this period greatly affected Concepción. The first was the unification of the Hispaniola bishoprics in 1524 (Incháustegui 1955: 129; García 1906: 94; Schafer 1935: 60), and the second was the designation of the Santo Cerro as a place of absolution in 1527 (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971: 140). The unification of the bishoprics was justified by the mass out-migrations occurring throughout the island, particularly centered in the Concepción area (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 36). Concepción appears to have lost its bishopric as its population

and its importance declined. In spite of this, the designation of the Santo Cerro as an important religious site points to Concepción's continuous religious importance. The site's appointment may have been a way of appeasing the small, yet influential, Concepción *vecinos*. The Santo Cerro Church was awarded 20,000 maravedíes a year to take care of the pilgrims, and an important Mercedarian monastery was built there (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971: 140).

Fuenreal Government (1528-1531)

In 1528 the post of president of the *Real Audiencia* was united with that of the bishop of Santo Domingo (García 1906: 94; Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 91; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 36), and Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenreal became the first president/bishop of the new style government. That year the *Real Audiencia* governance of the Americas was divided into two *Audiencias*, one based in Santo Domingo, and the second in Mexico (Rogozinski 2000: 48). Fuenreal presided over the *Audiencia* which covered the Caribbean islands, Florida and settlements in northern coast of Venezuela (Charlevoix 1730a: 371; Rogozinski 2000: 48). The other members of the Santo Domingo *Real Audiencia* continued to be the same, namely Alonso Suazo, Cristóbal Lebrón and Gaspar de Espinosa (Guitar 1998: 70; Incháustegui 1955: 89-80).

Fuenreal's government's main goal was to diversify the colony's economy in an effort to halt the massive outward migration (Guitar 1998: 189; Moya-Pons 1983: 33). Sugar was mostly produced around Santo Domingo and the south coast (Concepción 1981; Incháustegui 1955: 73; Moya-Pons 1983: 33; Ortiz 1947; Wright 1916: 199), while the area around Concepción and the northern part of the island was mostly used for cattle ranching (Concepción 1980, 1981).

Much of Fuenreal's time was spent trying to put down the Enriquillo rebellion (Guitar 1998: 264; Patronato 1995: 250). Although Fuenreal was unable to sign a peace treaty with Enriquillo, before he left Hispaniola in 1531, he instituted an interesting counter-revolutionary methodology. This involved creating schools for those Taíno who remained loyal to the Spanish

effort (García 1906: 96). These schools taught religion, reading, writing and math (García 1906: 96). It appears that these schools, unlike the previous Franciscan efforts, were geared towards all Taíno, not just the nobles. He left Hispaniola in 1531.

A period of two years passed between Fuenreal's departure and the arrival of Hispaniola's next bishop-president, during which a relatively large amount of information about Concepción de la Vega became available, generated by the documents related to Bachiller Alvaro de Castro's trial in 1532 (Patronato 1995). The document presents Concepción as a city where religious authorities were are believed to be capable of various crimes, including concubinage and illegal trade (Patronato 1995: 134, 136). It gives information about gold prospecting and cattle ranching in the area (Patronato 1995: 250). The trial documents also show that a large number of Concepción's inhabitants were non-elites (Patronato 1995: 134, 136).

Fuenmayor Government (1533-1543)

Lic. Alonso de Fuenmayor assumed the role of Hispaniola's president/bishop in 1533 (García 1906: 103; Incháustegui 1955: 89-80). Although Fuenmayor governed for 10 years, little is known about his period of government, especially outside of Santo Domingo. Most of the chroniclers present on Hispaniola, or their sources, did not travel much outside of Santo Domingo, due either to job requirements, or fear of being attacked by Taíno or African rebels (see Oviedo in García 1906: 103-105).

At this point Emperor Charles V was more interested in the areas of the Americas where gold was easily obtained, such as Peru and Mexico (Fernández-Alvarez 1975: 113). The Castro trial records that gold was still available around Concepción (Patronato 1995: 250), but it was difficult to obtain sufficient workers to sustain viable production, as opposed to Mexico and Peru, where a vast number of Indigenous workers could be recruited.

During Fuenmayor's government, in fact, all productive areas - including sugar and cattle, as well as gold - were plagued with workforce problems. In 1542, the New Laws of Indies were created, eliminating the *Repartimiento* system and effectively making the Taíno Indians of Hispaniola free citizens (Guitar 1998: 258; Rogozinski 2000: 31; Rueda 1988: 25). Bartolomé de las Casas had led a campaign promoting non-violent pacification of Indians from Hispaniola, and his plan greatly influenced the King's decision (Fernández-Alvarez 1975: 73; Rueda 1988: 25).

Although Enriquillo formally signed a peace treaty in 1533 (García 1906: 99), his example sparked many other rebellions (Guitar 1998: 277; Utrera 1973: 481-82). Many workers ran away, or were "recruited" during the rebels' frequent raids (Guitar 1998: 262; Moya-Pons 1983). At the same time, slaves were expensive and hard to obtain (García 1906: 103).

These workforce difficulties prompted several *vecinos* on Hispaniola, especially those in the Concepción area, to focus on cattle ranching, which required fewer workers (Concepción 1980, 1981; Guitar 1998: 326; Sáez 1994: 267-272). Cattle thrived on Hispaniola, and were so abundant, that frequently only their hides were used in commercial trading (Guitar 1998: 281; Marte 1981: 332-335).

Cerrato Government (1543-1548)

Although Fuenmayor dissipated the Enriquillo rebellion, he was unable to resolve the African slave revolts. The resolution of this problem, together with the substitution of the remaining gold industry by cattle ranching, were the main goals of Alonso Lopez de Cerrato, when he was named as head of government in 1543 (García 1906: 114).

In the 1530s, gold had still been mined on a small-scale at Concepción (Patronato 1995: 250), but during this period cattle and cattle derivatives were the main goods produced. This change is evidenced by the fact that, by 1547, gold was no longer being smelted at Concepción, and miners had to go to Santo Domingo instead (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 106). The prevalence of

cattle ranching is made obvious in a complaint about the Cathedral being a manure deposit because so much ranching is done close to it (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 107).

Introducing these economic changes was not as difficult as controlling the African slave revolts. African rebels were known as *Cimarrones* – which was later corrupted to *Maroon* on French and English colonies (Deive 1989; Mintz 1974; Weik 1997). Most of the *Cimarrones*, like those who followed Enriquillo, knew Spanish customs and language and used it to their advantage (Marte 1981: 301). They also used Spanish weapons and wore body armor made out of leather (Marte 1981: 301; Moya-Pons 1974: 83). They wished to create separate communities in a similar manner to the one created by Enriquillo during his revolt (Guitar 2001).

Africans had been running away and rebelling since they first arrived in Hispaniola (García 1906: 67). These rebellions of the 1530s, however, were the first organized efforts to create independent communities (Guitar 1998: 275). Although the *Cimarrón* activity was found all over the island, colonial leaders identified two revolts in 1546: Bahoruco (in the southwestern part of the colony) and the La Vega Valley around Concepción (Marte 1981: 301). The group around Bahoruco had about 300 members, both men and women, while the group around Concepción had about 40-50 members. The latter group was distinguished by their use of cattle skins as clothing (Moya-Pons 1983: 36).

Cimarrón activities of this period were coordinated by a leader known as Lemba, who fought mainly in the Bahoruco area (Guitar 1998: 275; 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 (Guitar 1998: 277, 278; Marte 1981: 413; Utrera 1973: 481-82). Little is known about Diego de Guzmán, but Diego de Ocampo became well known (Guitar 1998: 278; Moya-Pons 1983: 36;

Utrera 1973: 481-82). He may have been owned by a *vecino* named Francisco de Ocampo, who, at one point was Concepción's mayor and holder of the Bienes de los Difuntos, or the goods left when someone died (Benzo 2000).

Cimarrón attacks on roads made travel between cities unsafe (Guitar 1998: 262; Patronato 1995: 250), and were thought by some historians to have impacted the sugar industry. Spanish settlers moved in groups of 15-20 with armed guards for safety (Moya-Pons 1983: 36), 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 (Julián 1997; Ratekin 1954).

Cerrato offered *Cimarrón* leaders a pardon and a job capturing other rebels (Marte 1981: 414). Ocampo and Guzman took advantage of the pardon and their lives were spared, however Lemba did not, and he was captured and killed in 1547 (Guitar 1998: 278; Utrera 1973: 483).

Lemba's death inspired other African *Cimarrones* to rebel. In the Concepción area, a group of his followers rebelled in an *ingenio*, and escaped (Guitar 1998: 279; Saco 1932: 14-15, Vol. 2). 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; Utrera 1973: 486). There is no report of his capture or death (Guitar 1998: 279).

Religious Debates in Spain and its Consequences on Hispaniola (1550)

Although the political part of the *Servidores/Deservidores* dispute may have abated during the 1530s and 1540s (Pérez-Collados 1992: 197), the religious side was alive and well. Religious debate in Spain continued to discuss the Crown's right to dominate the Indies, as well as the liberty and the rights of Native Americans (Pérez-Collados 1992: 183). It was most strongly associated with the figure of Bartolomé de las Casas, whose arguments ultimately brought about

the end of the *Repartimiento* system (Hanke 1949; García-Gallo 1972, 1976; Manzano-Manzano 1948).

Ultimately Las Casas's victory in the dispute may have hurt Spain politically. His writings related to the dispute became well-known amongst the rebels in the Netherlands, who were fighting for independence from Charles V (Charlevoix 1730a: 398). The rebels feared that their country would be incorporated into the Spanish Empire in a way similar to that used in the American colonies (Charlevoix 1730a: 398). They soon joined the Protestant princes of Germany in their quest for independence. This independence was not only political and religious, but economic as well, as evidenced by the contraband trade with the Americas (Moya-Pons 1983: 42). In Concepción, the dispute's influences on the creation of the contraband trade seem to have been more important.

The effect of the end of the *Repartimiento* system on Hispaniola was limited. According to documents of the time, by 1550, there were few Taíno working for the Spanish, so most of the settlers were not affected (Charlevoix 1730a: 398). Some historians contend that this lack of Taíno workers was due to the Taínos' virtual extinction (see, for example Moya-Pons 1987); while others believe that it was due to the Taíno being mis-identified as Amerindian slave workers in the censuses (Ferbil and Guitar 2002; Guitar 1998). (For a more complete discussion on whether the Taíno were extinct by 1550, see Chapter 6).

The Last Years at the Concepción Study Site (1549-1564)

Little is known about lifeways at Concepción during its last 10 to 15 years of existence at the study site, between the end of the Cerrato government (1548), and its eventual evacuation in 1564. We can identify the sequence of governors present on Hispaniola during this period. These were Lic. Alonso Maldonado (1549-1559), Lic. Cepeda (1559-1560), and Lic. Alonso Arias de Herrera (1560-1562) (Guitar 1998: 70; Incháustegui 1955: 89-90). In Spain, soon after his

mother Juana died, Charles V abdicated in favor of his son Phillip (in 1555), finally uniting the Spanish Crown (Fernández-Alvarez 1975: 168).

The last mayor event that occurred at the Concepción site was the earthquake of Dec. 2, 1562. Historical accounts (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 77) describe this as a broad-ranging quake that destroyed several cities on Hispaniola (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 76; Charlevoix 1730a) and was felt on other Caribbean islands (Woods 1999: 5). An eyewitness account mentions that only part of the Cathedral survived, as well as a shrine found half a league away, possibly the Church on the Santo Cerro (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 77).

Church records also show that the entire population did not move at once from the site, but rather did it over a period of two years (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 77). It is possible that aftershocks continued to be felt weeks after the first, as happened with the most recent earthquake in the area, on Sept. 22, 2003 (Cocco-Quezada 2006). This may explain why some historians have dated the earthquake as occurring in 1564 (Charlevoix 1730a: 399; García 1906: 121).

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, historical records provide an understanding of the political and economic forces that shaped the colony of Hispaniola, in which Concepción played an important role, both political and religious, before its destruction in the 1562 earthquake. They do not however, reveal a great deal about the daily lives of those who lived there. Historical accounts, especially those in the political realm, emphasize those events which are considered important for governmental reasons, and the concerns of the elite Spanish, as reflected in the continual reference to the theme of *Servidores/Deservidores* conflict.

In order to know more about the lives of the other Concepción inhabitants, such as the non-elite Spanish, the Africans, the Amerindian slaves and the Taínos, it is necessary to go beyond

history and analyze the material world archaeologically. The archaeological analysis will be aided by an assessment of where certain architectural and structural elements may have been found (Chapter 5), and an assessment of the economic activities undertaken at the site (Chapter 7).

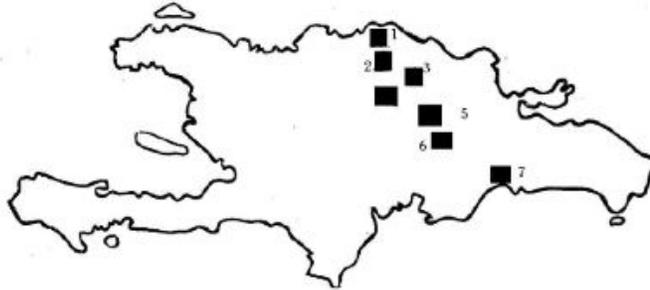


Figure 3-1. Fort network on Hispaniola: 1) La Isabela; 2) Esperanza; 3) Santiago de los Caballeros; 4) Santo Tomás de Jánico; 5) Concepción de la Vega; 6) Bonao; 7) Nueva Isabela (Santo Domingo). [Based on Peguero, Valentina and Danilo de los Santos, 1983. *Visión general de la historia Dominicana*. (Figure 1). Editora Corripio, Santo Domingo.]

Table 3-1. Timeline of Historical Events Pertinent to Concepción

| Date | Event |
|-----------|--|
| 1492 | Columbus's first voyage (34) |
| 1493 | Columbus's 2 nd voyage (8)(34) Treaty of Tordesillas (26) Foundation of La Isabela (8) |
| 1494 | First Concepción fortress established (31) |
| 1495 | Battle of la Vega Real (31) Apparition of the Virgen de las Mercedes (9) (30) Tribute imposed on the Cibao after Battle of Santo Cerro (5) (17) |
| 1496-1498 | Roldan Rebellion (15) (19) |
| 1498 | Pané writes Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los indios (24) Santo Domingo founded (32) Peace negotiation between Roldan and Columbus (15) Columbus's 3rd voyage (8)(34) |
| 1499 | Moors are persecuted by Cisneros in Granada (12) Ojeda explores northeastern coast of South America (15) |
| 1499-1502 | Guarionex captured and imprisoned at Concepción Fort (16) |
| 1500 | Charles V born (11) Brazil explored by the Portuguese (15) Columbus arrested and sent back to Spain. Later pardoned by the Crown (5) (15) (25) Yañez Pinzón explores South America (15) |
| 1501 | No heretics, Jews, or Moors can go to New World (14) (18) Juana becomes heiress to Castile with death of Prince Miguel (11) |

Table 3-1. Continued

| Date | Event |
|------|---|
| 1502 | <p>Expulsion of the Moors from Spain (4)</p> <p>Vespucci concludes America is an independent continent (15)</p> <p>Columbus’s 4th voyage (15)(34)</p> <p>Ovando arrives with 30 ships and 2,500 settlers, including women and children (19) (29)</p> <p>Franciscans arrive with Ovando (16) (25). Several move to Concepción (15)</p> <p>Roldán, Bobadilla and others drown at sea during a hurricane (19) (25)</p> |
| 1503 | <p>Ovando establishes 4 fundiciones (smeltings) on Hispaniola: 2 in Buenaventura, 2 in Concepcion (6) (14)</p> <p><i>Repartimiento</i> system officially sanctioned by Crown (5) (19) (25)</p> <p>Casa de Contratación created (15)</p> |
| 1504 | <p>Queen Isabella dies. Juana inherits Castile. Ferdinand only King of Aragon (11)</p> |
| 1506 | <p>Phillip dies. Ferdinand declares Juana mad, and rules Castile as regent until his death in 1516. (11)</p> <p>Columbus dies and his son Diego inherits governorship of Hispaniola (25)</p> <p>Sugar is first produced at Concepcion (14) (20) (22)</p> |
| 1507 | <p>Concepción receives city shield (7) (13) (18)</p> |
| 1508 | <p>Ponce de León colonizes Puerto Rico (29)</p> <p>Ovando authorizes slave-hunting expeditions to Lesser Antilles, Cuba, and the Bahamas (19) (26)</p> <p>Pasamonte arrives as <i>Tesorero General Real</i>. (13) (29) (30)</p> |
| 1509 | <p>Jamaica occupied by Esquivel and Narvaez (29)</p> <p>Gold production reaches peak (29)</p> <p>2 parties formed: “Servidores del Rey” (Pasamonte) and “Deservidores” (Diego, friends and family) (5) (25)</p> |

Table 3-1. Continued

| Date | Event |
|-----------|---|
| 1510 | Rise in sugar prices in Europe (20) First Dominican friars arrive on Hispaniola (28) <i>Repartimiento</i> by Diego Columbus (27) |
| 1510-1530 | Peak of Indian slave trade (14) |
| 1511 | Creation of Council of Indies (29) Cuba settled (19) Montesinos' sermon (25) (28) Pope creates 3 bishoprics in the New World: Santo Domingo, Concepción and San Juan-Puerto Rico. Suarez de Deza is assigned to Concepción (28) Dominicans condemn <i>Repartimiento</i> system, while Franciscans do not (6) (14) |
| 1511-1528 | Creation of Santo Domingo <i>Real Audiencia</i> . Governs all the Americas (5) (25) (29) |
| 1512 | Montesinos goes to Court to defend Dominican position on Taíno <i>Repartimientos</i> (28) Franciscans send Fray Espinal, head of Concepcion's Monastery, to support their position in Court against Montesinos (28) Laws of Burgos (14) (25) (28) |
| 1513 | Balboa crosses Panama to Pacific (29) Ponce de León discovers Florida (29) Government grants licenses to bring slaves directly from Africa (29) King cancels Diego's privilege to distribute Indians (19) |
| 1514 | <i>Repartimiento</i> of 1514 is conducted in Concepción (2) (14) (19) (27) |
| 1515 | Diego goes to Spain to protest his gold percentage. Leaves the <i>Real Audiencia</i> in charge of governance (5) |
| 1515-1517 | More than 800 <i>vecinos</i> abandon island (14) |

Table 3-1. Continued

| Date | Event |
|------------|---|
| 1516 | Ferdinand dies, and Charles is named co-regent with Juana (11) Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros is named regent of Spain until coming of age of Charles (15) (19) (25) Old divisions resurface within Spain, caused by succession order and fear that Spain will become a peripheral interest of Charles (10) (33) Cisneros sends Jeronymites to Hispaniola to govern and mediate in the <i>Repartimiento</i> conflict (14) (19) |
| 1516-1519 | <i>Real Audiencia</i> is suppressed (15) |
| 1517 | Luther's 95 theses (10) Jeronymite Interrogatorio on Indian situation (13) (14) Smallpox epidemic starts in December (13) (14) |
| 1518 | Laws of Burgos amended (25) Juan de Grijalva explores coast of Yucatan (19) Meeting of city representatives at Franciscan Monastery in Santo Domingo (14) (15) (18) (28) Smallpox continues (14) |
| 1518-1560s | Santo Domingo main slave market for islands (29) |
| 1518-1590s | African slave trade carried on through individual licences (29) |
| 1519 | Charles V elected Holy Roman Emperor in Germany (10) (11) Cortes conquers Mexico (14) Revolts in Castile against Charles (10) (11) (33) License given to Genoese agents Adan de Vivaldo and Tomas de Forne to ship 4,000 African slaves tax-free. Not all shipped at once (13) (14) |
| 1519-1522 | Magellan's trip around the world (10) |
| 1519-1533 | Enriquillo Rebellion (22) |

Table 3-1. Continued

| Date | Event |
|------|---|
| 1520 | <p>A. Roman and F. Oregon get 500 pesos and 100 Indians to construct a sugar mill in La Vega (3)</p> <p>Slave trade is intensified (25)</p> <p>Figueroa says no negroes have been sent in nearly a year (14)</p> <p>Bishop Geraldini arrives in Santo Domingo. Concepción does not have bishop. (27) (28)</p> <p>Africans involved in Enriquillo revolt (22) (29)</p> <p>Las Casas’s “pacific colonization” experiment (15)</p> |
| 1521 | <p>Diet of Worms (11)</p> <p>African Slave (Wolof) uprising in Diego Columbus’s sugar mill (14) (25) (30)</p> |
| 1522 | <p>Castilian becomes official court language (33)</p> <p>First significant shipment of sugar to Spain (2,000 arrobas) (14) (29)</p> <p>First African slave ordinances in the New World (13)(14)</p> |
| 1524 | <p>Pedro de Alvarado conquers Guatemala (12)</p> <p>Unification of Bishoprics of Santo Domingo and Concepción (30)</p> <p><i>Consejo de Indias</i> created (15)</p> |
| 1526 | <p>Laws of Granada issued in regards to Native American rights (14)</p> <p>Death of Diego Columbus in Spain (6)</p> <p>Death of Pasamonte in Santo Domingo (6)</p> <p>Royal decree prohibits migration under penalty of death. (15) (19)</p> |
| 1527 | <p>Phillip II born (10)</p> |
| 1528 | <p>2nd <i>Real Audiencia</i> created in Mexico City (29)</p> <p>French corsairs attack Hispaniola and Puerto Rico (14)</p> <p>Germans Enrique Einguez and Jeronimo Sayler granted permission to bring in 4,000 African slaves to labor in mines, after they bring in 50 German miners (14)</p> |

Table 3-1. Continued

| Date | Event |
|------------|--|
| 1528 | Crisis of depopulation on Hispaniola (28) Between 40 <i>vecinos</i> (28) and 20 <i>vecinos</i> in Concepción (23) |
| 1529 | Ciguayo, rebel Indian chief, has 80 followers and attacks Concepcion, Santiago and Puerto Real (14) (18) |
| 1530 | Ciguayo is captured and killed (14) |
| 1530-1570 | Sugar boom (28) |
| 1530s-1547 | <i>Cimarrón</i> leader Sebastian Lemba attacks Spanish settlements (14) |
| 1532 | Bachiller Alvaro de Castro, dean of the Concepcion Cathedral and Treasurer of the Church in Santo Domingo, is tried for various crimes (28) Sugar first cultivated in Brazil (19) |
| 1533 | Peace treaty with Enriquillo (13) (14) Conquest of Cuzco by Pizarro (12) (29) |
| 1535-1546 | Diego de Guzmán and Diego de Ocampo attack sugar mills around San Juan, Azua and Concepción (14) (19) |
| 1536 | Crown establishes fleets of warships around Hispaniola (14) Columbus's grandson given possession of Jamaica (29) |
| 1538 | Papal Bull <i>Sublimes Deus</i> which proclaims the rationality of Indians and their capacity for faith and the sacraments (30) Diego and Alonso Caballero accused of bringing illegal African slaves (14) Universidad de Santo Tomas de Aquino created (25) |
| 1542 | New Laws of Indies issued to eliminate encomienda system (14) (29) (30) Las Casas campaign for non-violent pacification of Indians culminates in New Laws (30) |
| 1543 | Creation of <i>flotas</i> (19) (25) Havana is most important port of the Caribbean (20) |

Table 3-1. Continued

| Date | Event |
|------|---|
| 1545 | <p>Little gold is being mined on Hispaniola (18)</p> <p>Spanish of Concepcion, Puerto Plata and Santiago afraid to leave their “houses to visit haciendas except in squadrons” because there are so many <i>cimarrones</i> (14) (19)</p> <p>African slaves taken from Hispaniola by owners to Honduras, New Spain and Peru (18)</p> <p>Discovery of San Luis de Potosi in Upper Peru (29)</p> |
| 1546 | <p>Ocampo and Guzmán granted a pardon (14)</p> <p>Lemba killed. (14)</p> <p>Rebellion by Lemba’s followers in a sugar mill in Concepción (14)</p> <p>Mass immigration from Concepcion which only has 17 <i>vecinos</i> (28)</p> |
| 1547 | <p>Gold is no longer being taken to Concepción to be smelted. People leave for Santo Domingo 2 times a year to smelt it there. (28)</p> <p>Lemba killed. (14)</p> <p>Rebellion by Lemba’s followers in a sugar mill in Concepción (14)</p> <p>Mass immigration from Concepcion which only has 17 <i>vecinos</i> (28)</p> |
| 1548 | <p>Gold discovered in Guanahuato, Mexico (12)</p> |
| 1549 | <p>African <i>Cimarrón</i> captain Dieguillo de Ocampo reported in Concepción and Santiago (14)</p> |
| 1550 | <p>Pleito Las Casas/Sepulveda in Valladolid (30)</p> |
| 1555 | <p>Tobacco brought to Spain for 1rst time (19)</p> <p>Juana dies (10) (11)</p> <p>Charles V abdicates in favor of his son, Phillip II (10)</p> |
| 1558 | <p>Charles V dies (10) (12)</p> |
| 1560 | <p>Definite establishment of the <i>flotas</i> and Hispaniola is isolated (25)</p> <p>Santo Domingo administrative capital, but Havana becomes important because of <i>flotas</i> (29)</p> |

Table 3-1. Continued

| Date | Event |
|------|--|
| 1562 | First English pirates in the Caribbean (25) Concepción destroyed on Dec. 2, 1562 by an earthquake (21) |
| 1564 | Creation of 2 armed fleets of the Carrera de Indias (29) City of Concepción moved to banks of Camú River (28) |
| 1587 | Interrogatorio about earthquake at Concepción (28) |

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33. Wilde 2001: 4, 8
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Table 3-2. Government Chronology: (1492-1564)

| Periods | Spain | Decision Makers | Hispaniola | Decision Makers |
|-----------|--|-------------------|---|--|
| 1495-1514 | Crown of Castile (Isabela) 1493-1504 Juana and Phillip 1504-1506 Juana (Ferdinand as Regent) 1506-1516 | Fonseca 1493-1524 | Christopher Columbus 1493-1500 Bobadilla 1500-1502 Ovando 1502-1509 Diego Columbus 1509-1514 | Columbus governor Bobadilla governor Ovando governor Diego Columbus governor 1509-1511 Real Audiencia 1511-1514 |
| 1515-1562 | Juana (Ferdinand as Regent) 1506-1516 Juana (Cisneros as Regent) 1516-1517 Juana (Charles V as Regent) 1517-1555 | Fonseca 1493-1524 | (Diego Columbus) Interim government 1515-1516 Jeronymites 1516-1519 Figueroa 1519-1520 Diego Columbus 1520-1524 Council of the Indies 1524-independence Interim government 1523-1528 Fuenreal 1528-1531 (Fuenreal) Interim government 1531-1533 Fuenmayor 1533-1543 | Real Audiencia: Villalobos, Matienzo, Ayllón, Lebrón, Velázquez Real Audiencia suppressed 1516-1519 Real Audiencia: Ayllón, Matienzo, Villalobos, Suazo, Lebrón, Espinosa Real Audiencia: Ayllón, Matienzo, Villalobos, Suazo, Lebrón, Espinosa Real Audiencia: Suazo, Lebrón, Espinosa Real Audiencia: Suazo, Lebrón, Espinosa Real Audiencia: Suazo, Infante, Vadillo, Montalbán Real Audiencia: Suazo, Vadillo, Matienzo, Orantes, Frias, Infante, Cervantes |

Table 3-2. Continued

| Periods | Spain | Decision Makers | Hispaniola | Decision Makers |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1515-1562 | Juana (Charles V as regent) 1517-1555 | Council of Indies 1524-independence | Lopez de Cerrato 1543-1548 Maldonado 1549-1559 | Real Audiencia: Guevara, Vadillo, Matienzo, Orantes, Frias, Infante, Cervantes, Grajeda, Salcedo Real Audiencia: Guevara, Vadillo, Salcedo, Zorita 1549-1562 |
| | Phillip II 1555-1598 | Council of Indies 1524-independence | Cepeda 1559-1560 Arias de Herrera 1560-1562 | |

Data summarized from Guitar 1998: 70; Incháustegui 1955: 28-29, 89-90; Fernández-Alvarez 2000: 261

Table 3-3. Highlights in Native American Labor Policies (1492-1564)

| Date | Policy |
|-----------|---|
| 1494 | Tribute imposed on Taíno (2) |
| 1495 | Tribute: 1 hawkbell full of gold dust, or an “arroba” of cotton, every 3 months for every Taíno older than 14 (2) |
| 1497 | Native exploitation was prohibited to regular Spanish. Taíno supplied tribute, with earnings going to Columbus and Crown (2) |
| 1501 | Crown decrees Indians are free, but no one obeys orders (4) |
| 1502 | Ovando told to dissolve <i>Repartimiento</i> and reinstate tribute. He disagrees (2) Isabella declares the Indians to be free, but had to work for Spanish (5) |
| 1502-1505 | Ovando provokes war against Indians to justify enslavement (2) |
| 1503 | Encomienda system officially instituted by Crown on Dec. 20,1503 (4)(5) |
| 1508 | Experiments done to see if Taínos could follow Spanish lifestyle without supervision (3) Any Taíno who fought or fled from Spanish was enslaved (3) |
| 1510 | <i>Repartimiento</i> by Diego Columbus (1) |
| 1511 | 1/3 of <i>Repartimiento</i> Taíno must work at Royal Mines (3) Montesino sermon (5)(6) |
| 1512 | Many who have Taínos from <i>Repartimiento</i> also have hundreds of slave Indians (3) Franciscans and Dominicans send emissaries to King to discuss Taíno mistreatment. From these discussions the Laws of Burgos are created (6) Laws of Burgos: identified Indians as vassals of the Crown (5) |
| 1513 | King cancels Diego Columbus’s right to distribute Indians (4) |
| 1514 | Rodrigo de Albuquerque is sent to conduct new <i>Repartimiento</i> at Concepción (1)(4) Almost half of the Taínos are concentrated in four mining towns: Concepcion, Santiago, Santo Domingo and Buenaventura (4) |
| 1516 | Cisneros impressed by Dominicans and follows plan to remove Indians from hands of encomenderos and place in villages under control of own caciques (4) |

Table 3-3. Continued

| Date | Policy |
|-----------|--|
| 1517 | Jeronymite Interrogatorio on Indian situation (3) |
| 1517-1518 | December and January: smallpox epidemic killed 1/4 of Taínos (3) Remaining Indians given to encomenderos building sugar mills (4) |
| 1518 | Demora is reinstated (3) |
| 1526 | Royal decree that Indians of Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Cuba and Jamaica are no longer obligated to work in gold mines, but some continued to “volunteer” until 1543 (3) |
| 1538 | Papal Bull Sublimes Deus proclaimed the rationality of Indians and their capacity for faith and the sacraments (8) |
| 1542 | New Laws created to eliminate encomienda system and Indian slavery (3)(7)(8) |
| 1545 | Cerrato claims that none of the 5,000 Indian slaves on island are natives (3) |

Sources

1. Arranz-Márquez 1991
2. Cassá 1978: 33, 35, 40, 43
3. Guitar 1998: 89, 96, 115, 146, 149, 176, 178, 181, 215, 258, 313
4. Moya-Pons 1978
5. Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 51, 54, 58, 59
6. Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 23, 32
7. Rogozinski 2000: 31
8. Rueda 1988: 25

CHAPTER 4 ARCHAEOLOGY: METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

Introduction

As stated before, the focus of this thesis is to present the ways social dynamics were expressed at Concepción de la Vega from 1495-1564 through the data provided by the various avenues of inquiry utilized by historical archaeology. This chapter will present a review of the archaeological work conducted at the Concepción site, along with a description of excavation foci and methodologies. It must be noted that no new excavations were undertaken to add additional data to this thesis. A section is also included on the artifact recovery and reorganization program undertaken as part of the “Project for the Conservation and Development of the Rural, Physical and Human Resources at the Parques Nacionales of the Dominican Republic: La Isabela and Concepción de la Vega.” Identification of the methodologies used at the site is necessary to be able to undertake comparative analysis between this and other archaeological sites.

Before continuing an important caveat must be revealed regarding to the archaeological data presented here. All of the archaeological data has been recovered from the site around the Concepcion de la Vega National Park. Although there is little doubt that the data recovered covers the period from 1512-1564, further research as to the location of the first early settlements is necessary to readily assume that that the city of Concepción was located within the research limits during that period.

Chronology of Archaeology at the Site

After Concepción de la Vega was relocated in 1564, the study site was not resettled, but rather was used for both small and large-scale agriculture (Moya-Pons 1986: 73). Oral history records occasional visits by treasure hunters and archaeologists throughout the following

centuries, but few documented their visits (Cohen 1997). A notable exception was the visit by Federick Ober in 1892, as part of the Columbian Exposition (Ober 1893).

It is in the 20th century that large amounts of written archaeological data about Concepción are found. The first researcher to investigate Concepción was Erwin Walter Palm, Section Chief for Colonial Archaeology (1948-1952) of the IDIA (Instituto Dominicano de Investigaciones Arqueológicas). Although Palm was an archaeologist, he was more interested in monumental architecture and its history. He was in charge of surveying monumental architecture in the Dominican Republic during his tenure as IDIA chief (Palm 1950, 1952, 1955a, 1955b). His research offers information about some of the monumental buildings which stood at the site, particularly the Fort (1952), the Hospital (1950), and the Monastery (1955a, 1955b).

Dominican archaeologist Emile de Boyrie and University of Florida Professor John Goggin conducted archaeological research to complement Palm's architectural investigations. They undertook a joint University of Florida/Universidad de Santo Domingo/Grupo Guama project in 1952 and 1953 (Boyrie 1960: 41; Goggin 1968), and further excavations were undertaken in 1954, 1956 and 1958 (Boyrie 1960: 46, 54, 72; Goggin 1968). De Boyrie, conducted explorations, surveys and measurements at Concepción with the purpose of declaring the site a National Monument, and re-locating the inhabitants of the area away from the most archaeologically important areas (Boyrie 1960: 72; Goggin 1968). Meanwhile for Goggin this was part of a Caribbean-wide investigation in which he collected samples of different types of majolicas, particularly Spanish majolica types and olive jars. At Concepción he carried out an extensive surface collection, and even named a style after the site: La Vega Blue on White (Goggin 1968).

No further organized effort to gather archaeological information from the site was undertaken until the Concepcion de la Vega National Park was created in 1976 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 277). The purpose of the work was to gather information that could be used to restore the site to its appearance during occupation, following the mandates of the Museo de las Casas Reales, the governing institution in charge of interpreting the Spanish colonial era at that time (Pérez-Montás 1984). For this reason, research at the site was directed by a local architect, Jose Gonzalez, from 1976-1996.

In 1976 the Dirección Nacional de Parques allowed a group of archaeologists to excavate in the Park, in part to complement Architect Gonzalez's efforts to restore the site (Gonzalez and Pimentel 1985, 1990; Pimentel 1998). They also hoped to make the site more visible to the public (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 277). The archaeologists included Jose María Cruxent from Venezuela, Irving Rouse from the Smithsonian and Prof. José Alcina-Franch from Spain, and several Dominican archaeologists (Pérez-Montás 1984: 82). The project was partially funded by the Organization of American States (OAS) and excavated the central part of the town, revealing one of the fort's towers, a foundry, house foundations and an aqueduct (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 278; Pérez-Montás 1984: 82). Large scale archaeological excavations at the site ended in 1994, when the Park was directed by Archaeological technician Serafin Vásquez (Abreu 1998; Pimentel 1997).

Unfortunately, no single archaeologist was in charge of the excavations throughout the period (1976-1994) resulting in the use of three different grid systems to organize the excavation process, including a circular spiral grid with the circular fort tower remains at its center (Cohen 1997). Nonetheless, daily logs and site maps have allowed for the identification of the excavated sections of the sites (Deagan 1999: 23).

Large numbers of artifacts were unearthed and placed in a storage facility in labeled bags (Cohen 1997). An exhibit of artifacts found during the excavations was presented in 1980 in Santo Domingo (Poladura 1980). Some of the more outstanding artifacts, particularly the metal ones, were chosen for exhibition in an on-site museum and storage facility founded circa 1985 (Pérez-Montás 1984). Several articles were also written about the findings (see Concepción 1980, Torres-Petitón 1988, Ugarte 1981).

During this period several hypothetical models of the sixteenth century city's layout were proposed. In the early 1980s the Instituto Cartográfico Universitario suggested that Concepción had been built on a plateau that was being destroyed by erosion. The city center was the highest point of the plateau, with the main streets extending out from this main center. They believed they could identify certain vegetation lines that revealed possible walls throughout the city (Roca-Pezzoti 1984). Another interpretation from the same time period, offered by Patrimonio Cultural (Feris-Iglesias in Ugarte 1981), suggested the city was walled like Santo Domingo (Roca-Pezzoti 1984). Local informants assert that attempts to find this wall were undertaken at the time, but these remains unpublished (Abreu 1998).

In 1984, Eugenio Pérez-Montás proposed a schematic plan which presents both the physical limits and the possible location of several buildings, based on personal communication with Architect Gonzalez (Pérez-Montás 1984: 82) (Figure 4-1). This plan proposed a grid pattern city with the Cathedral at its center. A *Plaza de Armas* was to be found in front of it, with the Governor's Palace on the south end and the Fort at the western end. The fort bordered land under Native American cultivation (González and Pimentel 1990; Pérez-Montás 1984: 82).

In the 1990s archeologist Fabio Pimentel proposed that the city was bounded by the Fort on the northern-most point, the San Francisco Monastery as the southern-most, the Carretera

Moca as the eastern limit, and the mountains and aljibe (cistern) forming the western limit (Pimentel 1997). Another assessment keeps the same northern, western and eastern limits, but extends the southern boundary for some 5 kilometers south to a place called *Piralejos* and includes the Santo Cerro (Pimentel 1997; Abreu 1998; Gonzalez 1984) (Figure 4-2). There is little physical evidence, however, to support these proposed limits.

Project for the Conservation and Development of the Rural, Physical and Human Resources at the Parques Nacionales of the Dominican Republic: La Isabela and Concepción de la Vega (1996-1999)

The next large scale archaeological project was also a joint venture between Dominican counterparts and the University of Florida, undertaken between 1996 and 1999. The “Project for the Conservation and Development of the Rural, Physical and Human Resources at the Parques Nacionales of the Dominican Republic: La Isabela and Concepción de la Vega,” co-sponsored by the University of Florida, the Dominican National Parks Service, and PRONATURA, accomplished two crucial investigations at the Park. The first was the creation of a computerized database containing basic information about the materials excavated from 1976 to 1998 at the site. The second was the delineation of the site boundaries through a sub-surface archaeological survey. The data generated by this project can be found in Cohen (1997); Deagan (1998, 1999);

Deagan and Kulstad (1998); and Woods (1999). A description of the research methodologies used in the "Project..." will be expanded upon below, while the conclusions regarding site boundaries will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Until 1996, archaeology at Concepción had been focused on the visible monumental structure and had made no attempt to delineate site boundaries. At the same time, more than 200,000 recovered artifacts lay in storage without classification. The University of Florida team considered that these two areas of missing information needed to be tackled before any additional in-depth excavations be done, and these two concerns became the two goals of the

1996-1999 Project (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 278). The Project was able to complete both of its goals, as well as invite two leading experts, Architect Herschel Shepard and Numismatist Alan Stahl to study the site's architecture and coin collections respectively. A summary of the project and its findings are presented below.

From 1996 to 1998, the University of Florida archaeology team - archaeologists Kathleen Deagan, Alfred Woods, Jeremy Cohen, Maurice Williams and Terry Weik, working with a team of 25 local residents - surveyed and mapped the Concepción area, going beyond the National Park property, with the purpose of delineating the boundaries and internal organization of the city (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 278). Their effort was aided by a systematic subsurface test program similar to the ones carried out at two other 16th century settlements on Hispaniola-La Isabela (on the north coast of the Dominican Republic) and Puerto Real (on the north coast of Haiti) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 283).

The project involved in several stages. The first dealt with the organization of the site's excavation documents (Deagan 1999: 23). Unfortunately, the team only had access to two excavation field maps dating to before 1989, due to the fact that most documents were in the possession of Architect Jose Gonzalez, who had directed site excavations until 1994, and was ill during much of the Project's duration (Pimentel 1997). However, thanks to the daily field logs and the labeling on the artifact bags, it was possible to reconstruct which areas of the site had been excavated (Deagan 1999: 23).

By 1999 all of the previous grids had been converted to a modified Chicago grid system of Cartesian coordinates in order to provide horizontal control for the survey, and also to facilitate input of the data into computerized mapping programs (Deagan 1999: 16, 24). The grids share the same Meridian and Baseline. The local site datum (key stake) is inside the fort on the East-

West baseline, and was designated 4000N 4000E. Permanent datum points were also put in place to facilitate future reconstruction of the grid (Deagan 1999: 16).

The next stage involved excavating test pits (*sondeos*) at every accessible 10m grid intersect (Cohen 1997; Woods 1999). A total of 1,625 test pits were excavated between 1996 and 1998 (Deagan 1999: 19; Woods 1999) Beginning at the fort, they were excavated in all directions until at least 3 units in a line were found to be culturally sterile. A large area at the site's center remains un-surveyed, due to the fact that property owners would not give permission for excavations. Much of the central residential portion of the city, including the Cathedral, is believed to have been located there (Deagan 1999: 19). Other untested areas included the area beneath the Carretera Moca, and what is beneath the modern buildings to the east of that highway (Deagan 1999: 19).

Each test pit itself was 25 cm. by 25 cm. square, and 1 meter deep, or until bedrock or culturally sterile soil was reached (Deagan 1999: 17). The material recovered was screened through ¼ inch wire mesh. Everything, including rocks, modern objects, wood, etc., was retained and bagged together and labeled (date of excavation, North and East coordinates), and given a unique field-specimen number (FS#) (Deagan 1999: 17).

The bags were then taken to the field laboratory, where all recovered items were cleaned, identified, weighed, counted, analyzed and recorded, by locally trained field technicians (Deagan 1999: 17). Masonry construction materials such as bricks, roofing tiles, rock and mortar, were weighed in grams and discarded once their weights had been recorded (Deagan 1999: 17). The rest of the cultural material was classified into general categories similar to the ones used at La Isabela for the general category, or attribute-level analysis (Deagan and Crucent 2002a: 281). All the artifacts recovered are stored at the on-site museum at the Concepcion National Park, with

copies of the records at the Florida Museum of Natural History at the University of Florida. The data on the forms was then entered into computerized database and mapping programs (PARADOX and SURFER) to create a series of artifact distribution maps to be used in more in-depth site assessments (see Cohen 1997; Deagan 1999: 18; Woods 1999).

Artifact Recovery and Classification: 1996-1999

The second goal of the University of Florida - Dirección Nacional de Parques 1996-1999 collaboration was the cataloguing and curation of the more than 270,000 artifacts and other materials excavated before 1994 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 281). To do this, a group of local lab technicians were trained in this task and were supervised by Archaeologist Fabio Pimentel, Archaeology Field Technician Hipólito Abreu, and Pauline Kulstad (Deagan and Kulstad 1998; Deagan 1999: 22).

The pre-1995 artifacts came from more than 300 excavations units (Deagan 1999: 24) and most had not been cleaned, inventoried or documented due to lack of resources. Most importantly, none had been conserved (Deagan 1999: 25). A group of 6 field technicians were trained in the task of classifying and curating these materials (Deagan and Kulstad 1998). The first step was re-bagging all material into acid-free bags marked with the new FS# and provenience information derived from the coordinates of the new grid imposed on the site for the Sub-Surface Survey. A Field Specimen Catalog was created to record both the new and old coordinates of the bagged material for further reference (Deagan 1999: 24).

The second step was to clean, classify and record all material in each FS#. Like the material found in the Sub-Surface Survey, these were classified using a “general category analysis,” that recorded artifact classes and categories, but not all specific types or attributes (Table 4-1). The objects in need of immediate conservation were pulled out and taken to the Underwater Archaeology Lab in Santo Domingo for conservation. All material, including the

conserved objects, are now stored at the on-site museum at the Concepcion National Park. The special artifacts worthy of exhibit are stored in special secure cabinets built as part of the Project. Copies of the records are stored at the Florida Museum of National History at the University of Florida. The data on the forms was also entered into PARADOX and SURFER for the creation of distribution maps (Deagan and Kulstad 1998; Woods 1999).

Shepard Report

In July 1997, Architect Herschel Shepard visited the Concepción site to study the site's architectural remains, particularly the fort, since it is the most complete structure present on the site (Shepard 1997). Shepard's findings have been incorporated into the discussion of the fort structure in the next chapter.

Numismatic Studies

Dr. Alan Stahl, Curator of Medieval Coins and Metals at the American Numismatic Society in New York visited the site to conserve and catalogue the 116 coins stored in the site's office. Stahl's identification of the coins is presented in Table 4-2, and discussed in Chapter 7.

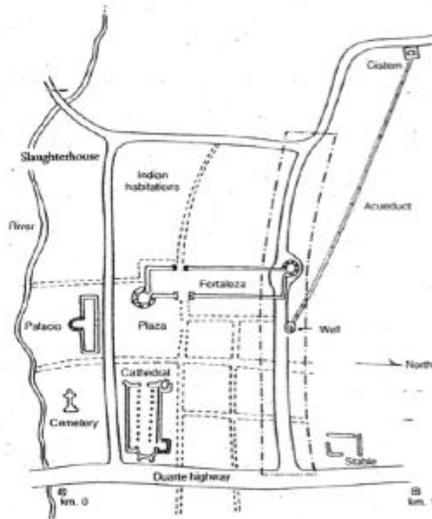


Figure 4-1. Schematic plan of 16th century Concepción, based on DNP excavations between 1976-1994. [Based on Pérez-Montás, Eugenio, 1984. República Dominicana: Monumentos históricos y Arqueológicos (Figure 1). Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, México.]

Table 4-1. Pattern Recognition Method-Group Categories

| GROUP | DESCRIPTION |
|-------|------------------------------|
| 1 | Majolica |
| 2 | Utilitarian Wares |
| 3 | Tablewares |
| 4 | Aboriginal Ceramics |
| 5 | Kitchen Items |
| 6 | European Architectural Items |
| 7 | Weaponry |
| 8 | Clothing and Sewing Items |
| 9 | Personal Items |
| 10 | Activities and Related Items |
| 11 | Unidentified Metals |
| 12 | Construction and Masonry |
| 13 | Furniture and Hardware |
| 14 | Tools |
| 15 | Toys and Games |
| 16 | Harness and Tack |
| 17 | Religious Items |
| 18 | Miscellaneous substances |
| 19 | Unaffiliated Objects |
| 20 | Twentieth-Century Items |

According to Deagan 1999:18, Table 2

Table 4-2. Coins at Concepción

| Stahl # | FS# | Cala | Nivel | Denomination | Reign |
|---------|-----|--------|-------|---------------|--------------|
| 1 | 425 | E8S15 | 3 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 56 | 638 | E8S9 | 2 | 1/2REAL | FERDINAND |
| 57 | 654 | E11S17 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 58 | 613 | E6S6 | 3 | 4 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 59 | 552 | O6S3 | 1 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 60 | 625 | E7S10 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 61 | 624 | E7S9 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 62 | 616 | E6S17 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 63 | 624 | E7S9 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 64 | 638 | E8S9 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 65 | 553 | O6S3 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 66 | 329 | O3S7 | 2 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 67 | 549 | E6S6 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 68 | 805 | | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 69 | 596 | E5S14 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 70 | 555 | O6S5 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 71 | 620 | E7S7 | 2 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 72 | 559 | O6S9 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 73 | 545 | O5S2 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 74 | 636 | E8S8 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 75 | 550 | O5S7 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 76 | 597 | E5S14 | 3 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 77 | 637 | E8S9 | 2 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 79 | 555 | O6S5 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 80 | | E7S17 | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 81 | 620 | E7S7 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 82 | | C.F. | | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 83 | | O6S8 | | 4 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 84 | 624 | E7S9 | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 85 | | O6S8 | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 86 | | C.F. | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 87 | | C.F. | | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 88 | 607 | E6S14 | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 89 | 552 | O6S3 | 1 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 90 | 26 | 352 | 3 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 91 | | C.F. | | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 92 | | O6S8 | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 93 | 625 | E7S10 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 94 | 184 | G38 | 7 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 95 | | C.F. | | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 97 | 292 | M37 | 1 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 96 | 791 | J33 | 1 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERD/ISABEL |
| 98 | | C7-8 | 1 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |

Table 4-2. Continued

| Stahl # | FS# | Cala | Nivel | Denomination | Reign |
|---------|-----|------|-------|---------------|--------------|
| 99 | 113 | 1255 | 2 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 100 | 752 | 1636 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 101 | 753 | 1803 | 1 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 102 | 211 | I35 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 103 | 178 | G37 | 7 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 104 | 200 | H39 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 105 | 183 | G38 | 5 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 106 | 241 | J33 | 2 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 107 | 71 | 1186 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 108 | 113 | 1255 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 109 | 554 | O6S4 | 1 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 110 | 87 | 1557 | 2 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 111 | 293 | M38 | 1 | 1 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 112 | 625 | 7S10 | 1 | 1 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 113 | | C78 | | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 114 | 511 | L36 | 1 | 4 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |
| 115 | | C4 | 1 | 2 MARAVEDI | FERDINAND |
| 116 | 510 | L35 | 1 | ½ REAL/BLANCA | FERD/ISABEL |
| 578 | | | | 2 MARAVEDI | CARLOS/JUANA |

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CHAPTER 5 CONCEPCION'S GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

One of the principal contributions that archaeology makes to understanding Concepción and other early American colonial towns is the delineation of the physical and cultural landscapes that are only rarely addressed in written documents. This chapter will consider the physical setting of Concepción through archaeological and historical sources dealing with the spatial organization, architecture and larger landscape of the sixteenth century city.

Definition of the Concepción Site

Ideally, to better understand Concepción's lifeways during the two periods of study delineated in this thesis, the inhabitants' activities would have to be analyzed as they occurred within the city's cultural landscape. "Cultural landscape" includes the cultural conceptions and meanings to its inhabitants of the geography, architecture, geology, land type, vegetation and ecology. It goes beyond the physical limits of a "place" (considered the geographical landscape) to define meaningful "space" including places which contributed the community's identity and activities. Realistically, given the lack of in-depth, conclusive research and data from these various avenues of inquiry, the "site" of Concepción for the purpose of this chapter, "place" will be considered as the area containing the archaeological remains of the city, noting that this archaeological zone does not comprise the entire cultural space and landscape that contributed to the cultural identity, meaning and activities of the town (many of which have been considered from the historical perspective in Chapter 3).

Geographical Setting

We must begin, however, with a description of the Concepción's geographical setting. The sixteenth century town of Concepción de la Vega was located in the Valley of the Vega Real,

contained in the larger Cibao Valley, which occupies the center of the Dominican Republic (Figure 5-1). It is located 8 km north of the modern provincial capital of La Vega.

Geologically and geographically it is located within the Duarte Complex, a group of tectonic faults within Hispaniola (Mann et al 1991). To the north of the site we find the Verde River, and the Medranche Creek flows through the southern part of the site. A chain of hills, or *cerros*, make up the western side; with the Santo Cerro dominating the landscape (see Figure 4-2).

The Dominican Republic's 19 00 N, 70 40 W latitude places it at the border of the tropical zone, giving it a tropical maritime climate (23 C in the morning to 32 C at noon year round) (CIA Worldfactbook 2007). However, due to its location at the foothills of the Cordillera Central, the Concepción site tends to have cooler winters and warmer summers (see Figure 1-2, 5-1). May through November is regarded as the rainy season on the island. The hurricane season lasts from June through November, with August-September being the peak months (CIA Worldfactbook 2007). Although Concepción is found inland, the site was affected by a hurricane in 1886 (Woods 1999), and Hurricane Georges came close in 1998.

The modern-day city of La Vega is one of the country's main agro-industry centers (CIA Worldfactbook 2007). The region produces large amounts of agricultural products, such as rice, coffee, tobacco, plantains, manioc, beans, corn, fruits and vegetables (CIA Worldfactbook 2007). Since the mid-1990s, the main agricultural activities around the archaeological site have been centered on large-scale chicken farms and tobacco cultivation for cigar production (Pimentel 1998).

Spanish Towns on Hispaniola

As discussed in Chapter 3, the first Spanish settlements on Hispaniola outside of La Isabela were a system of forts or "*casa-fuertes*" (Esperanza, Santo Tomás de Jánico, Santiago,

Concepción, Bonaio, and Nueva Isabela) established by Columbus in 1495 to control gold-rich areas of the island (Cassá 1978: 41)(Figure 1-1). *Casa-fuertes* are defined as not only places of refuge, but also a place that could hold the town's Spanish people, weapons and their supplies (Manucy 1997: 35-37). The spatial organization and physical layout of these, however, is unknown.

In 1502 Governor Nicolas de Ovando arrived on Hispaniola with orders to re-organize the colony's settlements according to the *Reconquista* model (see discussion in Chapter 3). To achieve this, Ovando created or re-organized a series of settlements following this model, including Lares de Guahaba, Puerto Real, Puerto Plata, Santiago, Concepción de la Vega, Cotuí, Bonaio, Santa Cruz de Icaiyagua, Higüey, Santo Domingo, Buenaventura, Azua, San Juan de la Maguana, La Vera Paz, Yaquimo and La Sabana (Cassá 1978: 42). This was facilitated by the fact that he arrived with 2,500 new Spanish settlers (there had previously been only 300 Spaniards present) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 276).

The settlements' re-organization was based on a grid-town pattern used during the Reconquista of Spain, most notably in Santa Fe de Granada in 1491 (Foster 1960: 44; Pérez-Montás 1984: 66; Stanilawski 1946, 1947)(Figure 5-2). This, in turn, was based on Greek and Roman practices of empire expansion (Willis 1984: 16). The grid-town plan was comprised of a network of streets radiating from a central *plaza* and intersecting at right angles to form an orderly, rectangular defined space. The important town buildings would be lined around this space, as were the homes of the main political and religious leaders (Foster 1960: 14; Pérez-Montás 1984: 69). Also, in tropical climates, the buildings around the *plaza* had permanent ventilation (Pérez-Montás 1984: 69). (For more on the grid-town plan see Ballesteros 1983; Chueco-Goita and Torres-Balbas 1981; Crouch, Garr and Munding 1982; García-Fernández

1989; García-Zarza 1996; Hugo-Brunt 1972; Manucy 1985; Palm 1951; Rodríguez and Ibañez 1992; Willis 1984: 16; Zendegui 1977; Zucker 1959).

The conversion to the grid-town plan on Hispaniola was greatly aided by the wealth being generated by gold mining during Ovando's governorship (Charlevoix 1730a: 221; Las Casas II,VI 1985: 226). By 1508 the settlements had conformed to the *Reconquista* model to such a degree that they asked for, and were granted, coats of arms and the status of cities (Santo Domingo and Concepción) and towns (the rest), as opposed to just settlements (Concepción 1981; Herrera 1601; Marte 1981; Peguero 1975: 154-155; Pérez-Montás 1984: 66; Rodríguez-Morel 2000: xvii).

The shift to the grid-town plan also included a religious component. The Pope allowed the Crown to collect tithes and taxes from Hispaniola's settlers in exchange for building and safeguarding all church-related objects, from Cathedrals to the mass accoutrements (Patronato 1995). This made the construction of churches just as important as the construction of forts within a Spanish town.

Ovando did not implement the grid town plan in all of these settlements simultaneously. It is believed he applied his model to Santo Domingo first, and then expanded from there (Pérez-Montás 1984: 66; 1988) (Figure 5-3). This is in keeping with the fact that all construction was regulated by the Crown at the time, including street and lot sizes, sanitation and weights and measures (Moya-Pons 1983). Santo Domingo, as capital city, would have been subject to these regulations first.

Control of constructions changed, however, in the Diego Columbus governorship, when it became one of the duties of the *Real Audiencia* after it was created in 1511 (Moya-Pons 1983). This made constructions highly vulnerable to the fickleness of *Servidores/Deservidores* politics

(See Ch. 3). Due to political and fiscal issues, it was no longer as easy to have buildings constructed as it had been during Ovando's time, and often there were many years between the Royal decree ordering the construction of a building and its actual completion, as seen below.

Origin and Development of Concepción

The first Concepción fort was built close to the Rio Verde at, or near, Guaricano, the main settlement of the Maguá cacicazgo (Taíno chiefdom) in 1494 (Cohen 1997). However, the confrontation between the Taíno and the Spanish in the Battle of the Santo Cerro in 1495 caused the fort to be relocated that same year (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b).

It appears that by 1500, according to historical sources, there were three foci of settlement within the Concepción cultural landscape, namely the fortress, the Taíno town of Guaricano, and a few houses in the area where the first fort had been located (Deagan 1999: 8; Las Casas in Parry and Keith 1984: 236). This suggests that the fort may have functioned as a casa-fuerte, where the town's Spanish people, weapons and their supplies were safeguarded, but the actual living and working areas were located outside the fort (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 95).

As noted, in 1508, Ovando planned to structure Concepción and other settlements according to the grid-town pattern (Cassá 1978: 42). Although it is unclear whether Concepción's grid was laid out at one of the three foci identified above, or whether it was laid out in a totally new location, as was the case with Santo Domingo (Pérez-Montás 1998; Suarez-Marill 1998). There are some clues as to its establishment, such as the information that Ovando ordered construction of the settlement's third fort in 1509 (construction was completed in 1512) (Marte 1981: 68, 86, 90). If this fort was built at the same location as the second, this would indicate that the grid-town layout was superimposed over the earlier settlement around the fortress.

Interestingly, in spite of Ovando's mandate, most of the remaining monumental structures at Concepción which are part of the grid today, were not constructed until after 1525 (Palm

1955a). This gap in building time posits several interesting questions. The first has to do with a widely believed assumption (Gonzalez 1984; Moya-Pons 1997; Roca-Pezzoti 1984; Ugarte 1981) that Concepción's boom came during Ovando's governorship. If this is true, then why were the main masonry structures built during the second period of study (1515-1564), one of supposed austerity? The construction of masonry structures during the "bust" second period (1515-1564) could even be a sign that the economic situation was not as dire as has been presented in historical documents. Is it possible that buildings were made out of wood and other perishable materials during the first period of study (1495-1514) because there was a shortage of non-perishable materials during this "boom" period?

Concepción's Physical Layout: A Grid-plan Town?

As of yet, no colonial plans or maps of Concepción have been found (Pimentel 1998). This is not uncommon for early Spanish colonial sites (Pérez-Montás 1984: 65), and underscores the need to use archaeological data to map out the site (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 282). Several hypothetical models of the sixteenth century city's layout have been proposed over the years, many based on the location of existing monumental architecture, but none were based on a systematic survey of the site until the 1996-1998 Project to investigate and document the distribution of sub-surface archaeological remains at Concepción (Cohen 199; Woods 1998; Deagan 1999). Figure 5-4 shows the extent of sub-surface remains and standing sixteenth century structural ruins at the site.

The survey data suggests that the physical site extended from the Aljibe (cistern) in the west, to at least 100m east of the Carretera Moca (Woods 1999: 17) (see Figure 5-4). There is very little cultural material beyond the Medranche Creek, marking it a probable southern border, and excluding the Franciscan Monastery from the city's main area. The northern border was not easy to determine. In the 1980s, archaeologists working on the DNP project proposed that the

site may have been bounded by walls in a manner similar to Santo Domingo (Roca-Pezzoti 1984), but no physical evidence was found (Abreu 1997). During the 1996-1998 Survey cultural material continued to be found more than 170m north of the Fort, without a clear evidence drop-off in the amount of artifacts found, nor were there signs of a wall-like structure (Woods 1999: 17) (see Figure 5-4).

The overall extent of cultural remains from North to South was approximately 430m, and extended for approximately 650m from East to West, covering an area of 279,500 m² (Woods 1999: 17). This indicated that Concepción was the same size, if not larger, than Santo Domingo in the first part of the sixteenth century (Deagan 1999; Woods 1999: 17). It was even larger than Santa Fe de Granada, a Spanish city founded in the same period (1491) which covered an area of about 400m by 312 m (Deagan and Crucent 2002a: 285).

The remains of the fort and its surrounding buildings, considered the core urban area, are oriented along cardinal directions (Woods 1999: 17). This area measures approximately 480m northeast to southwest and 400m northwest to southeast, covering an area of 192,000m². The distribution lines of other masonry remains found in the area surveyed, however, seem to have a northeast to southwest orientation (Woods 1999: 17).

On the surface this appears to evidence that Concepción was indeed organized according to the grid-town plan. However, to determine whether a city is laid out according to the grid pattern, it is necessary to identify and plot out a central *plaza*, or *plazas*, and the corresponding radiating streets. Archaeologically, streets and *plazas* are identified not by the presence of masonry materials, but rather by their lack of existence.

A possible *plaza* location has been suggested by previous archaeological research (Pérez-Montás 1984: 82; Pimentel 1997; Woods 1999: 23), as well as through the historical record

(Patronato 1995: 137, 157) (see Figure 4-1, 5-4). The main *plaza*, or *Plaza Mayor*, has been proposed to be north of the Cathedral, adjacent to the *Camino Aljibe* and south of the property presently part of the National Park (Pérez-Montás 1984: 88; Woods 1999: 23). The *plaza* is believed to be here because of the proximity of the Cathedral, and the existence of large ruins believed to be the *Palacio/Casas de Cabildo* (Government House), on another side of the square (Deagan 1995b: 423; Gonzalez 1984; Pérez-Montás 1984: 88; Woods 1999: 23). Also, few artifacts were recovered here during excavations (Pimentel 1997). This coincides with historical accounts, which point to the main *plaza* being found at the front door of the Cathedral (Patronato 1995: 137).

We can hypothesize possible locations of various colonial streets by connecting large mounds which could hold possible masonry structures (Figure 5-5). Such mounds suggest that a section of the Carretera Moca (the modern paved highway between Moca and La Vega) existed in much the same location during colonial times, since two relatively large structures are found on the Carretera (the Cathedral and a mound found at 4110N 4190E (Figure 5-5). A section of the *Camino Aljibe* (marked “Local Road” in Figure 5-5) extending from the Carretera Moca to the 3900E line may have also existed. There are three structures on the *Camino Aljibe* - the Cathedral and two other mounds on the opposite side - which seem to corroborate this. Another possible street location would be one going east to west down the 4100N line, evidenced by possible structures at 4110N 4190E and 4090N 4090E (Figure 5-5). Another possible street appears to run north to south on the 4000 E line, close to where Pérez-Montás hypothesized one of the site's streets to be (Deagan 1995b: 423; Pérez-Montás 1984: 88) (see Figures 4-1, 5-5).

Historical records mention a “Calle de la Fundición,” or “Foundry Street,” which implies the location of the foundry on it (Benzo 2000; Patronato 1995: 137, 157). Bachiller Alvaro de

Castro is said to have owned a store on this street in the 1520s (Benzo 2000), and a house there in 1532 (Patronato 1995: 157). According to the document, Alvaro de Castro ran down this street to the *plaza* in front of the Cathedral and beat one of his enemies (Patronato 1995: 137). The fact that it led to the *plaza* (Patronato 1995: 137) and had private masonry homes and stores on it (Patronato 1995: 157) points to the possibility that this may have been one of the city's main streets. Present evidence seems to point to the possibility that the Calle de la Fundición could have been the present *Camino Aljibe*.

Concepción's Built Environment

Concepción's settlers built their physical world, consisting of buildings, roads, industrial complexes and other features, within the landscape described above. Some of these features have been identified and delineated below through the examination of historical, architectural and archaeological data in order to provide a few glimpses into the building traditions and use of space of some of the earliest Spanish colonists in the Americas. Climate, local resources, Spanish building traditions, the availability of materials, craft and construction expertise, and the demands of adjusting to the new physical and cultural realities of sixteenth century Hispaniola all influenced the architecture of Concepción (a list of these structures and their dates of construction are provided in Table 5-1). The architects and laborers who constructed the town buildings were undoubtedly also influential. It is possible to suggest the names of some of the architects and master builders who may have constructed Concepción's masonry structures. Palm (1952) determined that the first two forts (see below) were constructed by a "workers' brigade who knew about bricks, quicklime and plaster" from Spain, led by "Zafra," whose profession is not specified.

Given the complexity of the structural remains which still stand today, particularly the precise orientation of the slotted crossbow openings of the fort's tower, it has been suggested that

architects may have involved in the design of Concepción's masonry structures (Shepard 1997). Several architects are known to have been present at Hispaniola during both periods of study, and although only their connection to structures in Santo Domingo has been researched, it is quite possible they also worked at Concepción.

The first architects known to be on Hispaniola were Juan de Herrera and Orduño de Bredendón, who came to Hispaniola in 1510 with 6 stoneworkers: Urtuño de Arteaga, Francisco de Albaida, Alonso Correa, Pedro Matienzo, Juan de Olivares and Juan de Oña (Incháustegui 1955: 104). They had originally come to the colony to build churches, but few colonial authorities were willing to pay for these structures, leading the architects to look for other work in the construction of other buildings to support themselves (Incháustegui 1955: 154). It is possible that this group helped design and construct some of the masonry structures at Concepción during the first period of study (1495-1514).

Most of Concepción's masonry buildings were apparently constructed after 1525. This date coincides with the arrival of architect Rodrigo de Liendo to Hispaniola (Palm 1974: 134). Liendo is best known as the architect of Santo Domingo's Franciscan Monastery and Las Mercedes Church (Lister and Lister 1981: 76). Both of these buildings include sections of haphazard imitation of a Roman technique in which pottery sherds served as internal support (Goggin 1964: 257; Lister and Lister 1981: 75). The practical engineering purpose of this construction style had been lost by this period, and the ceramic fill of the church choir at Santo Domingo's Mercedes Church fell during an earthquake in the 1600s (Lister and Lister 1981: 76). It is possible that such construction practices were used at Concepción, although there is no direct evidence for this.

During both periods of study the actual construction work was undertaken by inhabitants of non-European origin. For the first 15 years of the Concepción settlement it appears that non-skilled construction work, such as ground clearing and physically putting together structures, was mostly carried out by Native Americans, both *Repatriamiento* Taíno and Non-Hispaniolan slaves (Las Casas II, X 1985, vol.2: 241). Most of the buildings were probably constructed out of perishable materials, and given the workforce, it is easy to speculate that some may have been built in the Taíno style.

As the Taíno workforce became decimated on Hispaniola, particularly after the smallpox epidemic of 1518, historical accounts seem to point to African slaves, possibly led by Spanish overseers and architects, as the main workforce behind Hispaniola's (and thus Concepción's) masonry architecture (Lister and Lister 1981: 77; Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 14). This suggests that, unlike other parts of Latin America, Concepción's builders during the second period of study (1515-1564) followed Old World, rather than New World, construction methods (see for example Lister and Lister 1981: 77).

Buildings and Materials

Only four architectural features can be unequivocally identified both physically and historically, namely the Fort, the Franciscan Monastery, the Cathedral and the Aljibe/Aqueduct complex. Other features are physically present and documented, but lack historical identification, such as the large mound found on the southern side of the possible main *plaza* on the *Camino Aljibe* (see Figure 5-5, 5-6), while still other features (such as the Hospital) are mentioned in historical sources, but have not been archaeologically identified.

Part of the reason for this disjunction in information is caused by an intrinsic problem in archaeological research, namely the difficulty identifying non-masonry building remains. Non-masonry building remains decay in the archaeological context and can only be identified through

careful archaeological excavation methods (Deagan 2002). Although certain Spanish-style non-masonry buildings can be identified by the recovery of large quantities of nails (Woods 1999: 19), this is not the case with Native American style structures, which often did not use nails (Deagan 2002). Since historical accounts mention that many non-elite inhabitants (Spaniards, Native Americans and Africans) lived in Taíno-style bohíos (dwellings) in both the urban and rural areas (Patronato 1995: 134, 158, 224, 228) considerably more extensive archaeological excavations will be necessary to identify Concepción's non-masonry buildings.

This archaeological bias, together with the pro-Spanish elite bias in historical accounts, means that most of the buildings identified are masonry structures used by the Spanish government and/or the Spanish elite. Despite these biases, a relatively large number of masonry structures can be identified, indicating that Concepción must have had a large number of structures overall.

Masonry structures at Concepción were not built with the same materials used by earlier cities such as Santo Domingo and La Isabela, due to a lack of easily available limestone, coral and other stones (Deagan and Cruxent 2000a: 285; Suarez-Marill 1998: 50). The most common masonry building material at Concepción was a flat brick known as a *ladrillo*. Spanish *ladrillos* of the time were made out of clay mixed with either straw, plant fibers, or even animal hair (Millán 2002: 58). The adobe mix was placed in molds, sun-dried and then baked in piles (Millán 2002: 58). It has been suggested that some of the bricks may have come as ballast on Spanish commercial ships (Pimentel 1997) and there is evidence of brick importation to Santo Domingo (Suarez-Marill 1998: 50). Nonetheless, the importation of bricks was prohibited by 1508 (Suarez-Marill 1998: 50), and a native brick production industry was created close to the Rio

Verde (Ugarte 1978). This industry, which continues today (Ugarte 1978), not only constructed bricks, but also the *tejas* (barrel roof tile) which covered many of the buildings.

Although most of the masonry building structures at Concepción appear to have been mainly constructed with *ladrillos*, there is some archaeological and architectural evidence that *tapia* construction was used at the Franciscan Monastery (Ugarte 1981). *Tapia*, or rammed earth construction, was made by ramming a layer of dry earth, often mixed with stones, fired clay, or lime aggregate for support, between two wooden form sections (Deagan and Crucent 2002a: 99). The mixture was compacted manually by a worker standing between the forms (Deagan and Crucent 2002a: 99).

Tapia construction was used widely in the vernacular housing of medieval France, Spain and North Africa, as well as in many Muslim countries after AD 1200 (Deagan and Crucent 2002a: 99). However, the actual composition of the *tapia* varied by location. At La Isabela, the *tapia* walls of the Columbus house were made up of dark-red clay-like sand mixed with lime, gravel and lumps of unfired clay mixed with lime known as *tapia real* (Deagan and Crucent 2002a: 100). Preliminary composition analysis of the *tapia* at the Franciscan Monastery has determined that it contains fragmented pottery sherds as aggregates, along with dietary remains, glass, metals and even human skeletal remains (Ugarte 1981).

The Fort

Three Concepción forts existed before the 1562 earthquake. As noted above, the first fort lasted a year, in 1495 (Cohen 1997: 3; Incháustegui 1955: 51), and the second, built by Bartolomé Columbus, was built in 1495 and lasted 17 years (Anghiera 1989: 77; Cohen 1997: 4; Marte 1981: 68). The fort ruins we see today are believed to be part of the third Concepción fort, built in 1512 (Marte 1981: 68, 86, 90).

The first Concepción fort, probably built of non-masonry materials, was established in 1495 close to the Rio Verde at, or near, Guaricano, the main settlement of the Maguá cacicazgo (Deagan and Crucent 2002b: 60) and may have been burned by the Taíno during the battles of 1495 (Las Casas 1985: 430; Deagan 1999: 9). Because of increasing Taíno hostility towards the Spaniards, the fort was abandoned that same year, and relocated ½ a league to the east from Guaricano.

The second fort, known as "Bartolomé's Fort," was made out of *tapia* (rammed earth) (Las Casas in Rueda 1998: 511). This fort quickly deteriorated and Concepción's *vecinos* petitioned the Crown for a new fort (Marte 1981: 68). Ovando commissioned a fort in 1509, but it was not begun until 1512 (Marte 1981: 68, 86, 90).

Further historical research needs to be undertaken to determine whether the third fort was constructed on the same site as the second fort. If this were the case, it would mark the town's beginning date at 1496. It is also possible, however, that the third fort, along with the rest of the city, was moved to a different location in 1512 (as was done with Santo Domingo), in order to more efficiently lay out the city in a grid pattern.

The existing remains of the third fort show it was constructed of *ladrillo* bricks, like many other buildings on Hispaniola found in areas with little access to stone building materials (Deagan and Crucent 2002a: 285). The fort remained in good condition until 1543, when city officials again asked that it be repaired (Marte 1981: 400), but there is no historical evidence which confirms its completion.

The fort was a rectangular masonry structure with the long axis oriented north to south. It had two circular masonry towers, one located at the northwest corner and the other at the southeast corner (Shepard 1997: 2). The northwest tower walls are currently standing and contain

slotted loopholes. The diagonally opposed towers would have provided flanking defense on all four sides. (Shepard 1997: 3) (See Figure 5-7).

The fort was placed at the northern end of a low hill which runs south-southwest, strengthening the western side's defense (Shepard 1997: 3). It appears that during the original construction the hill was excavated to insert the southwest corner and the western and southern walls (Shepard 1997: 3). This would have meant that only the top part of the walls would have been visible above the top of the hill, with the crest serving as a defensive position (Shepard 1997: 3).

No architectural or archaeological evidence of doorjamb pivots, keys, hinges, or lintels were identified during excavation, making it difficult to identify locate the entrance. According to Shepard (1997: 3), the main entrance may have been on the eastern side of the structure, possibly in the southern part of the wall which would have allowed for some protection from the tower. Shepard concludes that the design of the fort was based on medieval design patterns, rather than those of the Renaissance (Shepard 1997: 9). The round towers, slotted loopholes and relatively thin walls as compared to those of the Santo Domingo Fort, for example, were designed to defend against crossbows and light firearms, rather than heavy artillery (Shepard 1997: 9).

Two relatively recent events have affected the appearance of the fort ruins as we see them today (Palm 1955a: 54). In 1886 the bricks from the fort and other site ruins, were the source of building material for the reconstruction of the Santo Cerro Church (Palm 1955a: 54). This apparently left gaps in the fort structure, and an attempt to restore the northwest tower to its perceived appearance was undertaken just before 1900 (Palm 1955a: 54). It must be noted that

most of the fort ruins exposed today were underground before the DNP 1976-1994 excavations and these would not have been affected by the removal of bricks.

The Franciscan Monastery / *Monasterio de San Francisco*

The Franciscan Monastery, or Monasterio de San Francisco, was one of the more complete buildings to survive the 1562 earthquake (Charlevoix 1730a: 399), and another of the buildings which can be identified both historically and archaeologically within the site. Its ruins, which constitute a non-contiguous segment of National Park property, are found approximately 1000m from what is considered the central part of the city (Cohen 1997). Franciscan monasteries were often located far from the central *plaza*, on the edges of Spanish colonial towns (Deagan 1995a: 427). This is the case not only in Concepción (Palm 1952; Pérez-Montás 1984), but also in Santo Domingo (Council 1975; Pérez-Montás 1984), in St. Augustine (Hoffman 1994), in Sevilla Nueva, Jamaica (Godwin 1946: 156), and throughout Mexico (Kubler 1948).

The Franciscan Monastery was one of the first buildings to be commissioned by Ovando (Cohen 1997: 6; Lamb 1956). The first monastery was a temporary structure built of wood and thatch sometime during Ovando's governorship (1502-1509) (Deagan 1999: 10; Palm 1955a: 22-23). This building appears to have been replaced by a masonry structure erected between 1525 and 1528 (Deagan 1999:10; Palm 1955a: 22-23). It is notable that this building was constructed before the masonry Franciscan Monastery at Santo Domingo - a labor undertaken by Architect Rodrigo de Liendo in 1544 (Ortega 1982: 13).

The Franciscan's main duty was to educate the Taíno elite in Spanish ways, specifically language and religion (Marte 1981: 112; Peguero 1975a: 1976a: 140; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 83-85). This was done through the use of several books, such as prayer and doctrine books, as well as grammar and vocabulary texts (Marte 1981: 150). It appears that the Taíno elite, mostly caciques and sons of caciques, were the only ones taught at the Monastery during

this period (Marte 1981: 112). African slaves already knew Spanish when they arrived to the island and it was deemed unnecessary to teach them (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 83-85). It has been suggested that some Spanish and African children may have also attended the classes (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 83-85).

Ecclesiastical posts could only be held by the legitimate sons of *vecinos* or by Iberian Spaniards during this period. They also needed to know and understand Latin (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 13). Concepción's bishop, Suarez de Deza, suggested training some of the Taíno elite as clergy in Spain, but the King did not allow it (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 13).

The Monastery ruins were excavated by Venezuelan archaeologist José Cruxent in 1976 as part of the DNP 1976-1994 restoration effort led by architect Gonzalez (Deagan 2001; Pimentel 1997). The site was fully exposed and stabilized by 1981 (Deagan 2007). Gonzalez (n.d.) produced a park brochure which describes the building as approximately 38 meters square. Most of the structure was made up by the church nave and cloister surrounding a central patio with a large well. Other rooms, including a portico and chapter meeting room, were also identified (Park brochure n.d.; Roca-Pezzoti 1984). Although most of the building appears to have been constructed using the *tapia* method, there may be some evidence of the use of pottery sherd aggregates for support (Ugarte 1981: 24). Further research is also needed to determine the construction material.

A cemetery, with both Spanish and Native American burials is located outside the northern and western walls (Gonzalez n.d.), although there also are several bodies buried at the altar of the church (Pimentel 1997). These are probably important members of the Monastery community, although it is possible that some of the city's prominent citizens could have been granted this

burial place in recognition of generous contributions (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 166; Oliveira-Marques 1971: 271-73).

The Cathedral

The bishopric, the bishop and the cathedral of Concepción, were created in 1511, along with those of Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: xvii; Charlevoix 1730a: 260; García 1906: 74). A temporary, non-masonry Cathedral was probably built at that time to house the first Bishop, Pedro Suarez de Deza (Kubler 1948: 322). The construction of a masonry Cathedral, known as Virgen María de su Concepción Inmaculada (Utrera 1946: 28), became one of Suarez de Deza's priorities. In 1514 he requested money and 10 African slaves from the Crown to help construct the Cathedral and other churches of the bishopric in stone (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 14). Nonetheless, no masonry Cathedral was constructed at Concepción at the time prior to his death in 1520 (Benzo 2000).

Like the Fort, the Concepción cathedral is one of the buildings which has been identified both historically and archaeologically at the site. The Cathedral is an important element in the identification of a grid pattern town layout since it is one of the main buildings located on the central *plaza* (Foster 1960: 14). Pérez-Montás (1984: 88) places the Cathedral at the east end of what is believed to be the main *plaza* (Figure 4-1) based on data from the DNP 1976-1994 excavations. Historically, the Proceso de Alvaro Castro tells of a man who freed himself from the stocks outside the jail and runs into the Cathedral (Patronato 1995: 157). This suggests the layout of a *plaza* on which the jail and the Cathedral are found at least in 1532.

Historical documents also present a Cathedral complex made up of several buildings in 1532 (Patronato 1995: 158, 235). Alvaro de Castro, Dean of the Cathedral, along with his servants, had living quarters on the Cathedral property (Patronato 1995: 158, 235). It is also possible that these living quarters were arranged in a similar fashion to those of Santo

Domingo's Cathedral, known today as the Callejón de los Curas (Pérez-Montás 1984: 111; Suarez-Marill 1998). The Cathedral complex property went beyond the building itself, including land such as that owned by the Cathedral in the 1530s where livestock were tended by African slaves (Patronato 1995).

Archaeologically, only a few walls of the Cathedral building itself survived the 1562 earthquake (Charlevoix 1730a: 399) and many of the surviving walls have fallen over the years. The most recent recorded fall was in 1996 (Pimentel 1997). The remaining portion of standing wall corresponds to the western end of the Cathedral building itself (Figure 5-8).

The visible ruins found at the site today probably belong to a masonry and brick structure which was started between 1525 and 1528 (Deagan 1999: 10; Palm 1950: 35; 1955b :22-23) and completed by 1533 (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 91). This was a considerably shorter construction period than that for the much larger masonry Cathedral at Santo Domingo, which was started in 1524 and completed in 1544 (Suarez-Marill 1998: 12).

It is believed the Concepción Cathedral had a similar layout to the *Convento de los Dominicos* (Dominican Convent) in Santo Domingo (Prieto and Gautier 1992), with a long nave, and chapels on the sides for wealthy individuals (Rodriguez-Demorizi 1966: 66). Like other churches built before the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Cathedral was oriented from east to west. The altars and the sanctuary were probably at the east end, while the main door and the choir loft were to the west. It also had a kitchen, a library, a water well, and a handcrafted clock near the well (Prieto and Gautier 1992).

Christopher Columbus had requested to be buried at Concepción in his 1505 will (García 1906: 89; Pichardo 1944). There is some historical evidence that a chapel called Nuestra Señora de la Antigua was built at the Concepción Cathedral, in which the remains of Columbus and

those of his son Diego were supposed to be buried (Rodriguez-Demorizi 1966: 66). However, documentary evidence indicates that María de Toledo, Diego's widow, decided to bury them at the altar of Santo Domingo's Cathedral in 1544 (Pérez-Montás 1984; Pichardo 1944).

María de Toledo's decision has most been interpreted to be a response to Concepción's decline in importance and size (Pichardo 1944). Another reason could have been the fact that Concepción's inhabitants had traditionally part of the *Servidores* group, discussed in chapter 3, and thus had been opposed to her husband. A third factor could have been the dangerous state of inter-city travel at the time due to the *Cimarrón* and Taíno revolts (Guitar 1998: 262; Patronato 1995: 250). An additional, and perhaps more practical consideration, would be that María de Toledo lived in Santo Domingo, and would want to visit her husband's grave.

Following the tradition of the sixteenth century, the colonial Cathedral church at Concepción was probably richly decorated inside. Several artifacts thought to have survived the 1562 earthquake give a glimpse of what the Cathedral may have been like inside. These artifacts are stored or exhibited at the new Cathedral in La Vega as part of the region's diocesan history (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 118; Rodriguez-Demorizi 1966: 12, 69).

The previous La Vega cathedral (torn down in 1992), contained several objects on exhibit in 1946 which Rodriguez-Demorizi (1946: 69) observed as having survived the 1562 earthquake. These were the silver altar front piece, a silver lamp, and several paintings, especially one of the Lady of Antigua, brought by Christopher Columbus (Rodriguez-Demorizi 1966: 69).

Other Religious Structures at Concepción

Historical accounts point to the existence of other religious buildings in the Concepción area besides the Cathedral and the Monastery. These included a church on the Santo Cerro, and small chapels on rural properties where Spanish, Africans and Native Americans heard mass

together (Guitar 1998: 222). As in Santo Domingo, there may have been other churches within the urban area as well.

At Concepción, like in the rest of the Spanish Empire of the time, most of public life regulated and structured by the Church. Religious activities centered on the creation of “good” Christians on the island, regardless of their group of origin (Deagan and Crucent 2002b: 211). Religious activities played an important part at Concepción on two levels. The first were the activities related to the pilgrimage to the Santo Cerro, site of the first sighting of the Virgin Mary in the New World. The second was on a more everyday immediacy, which affected more of the daily life.

One of the requirements for the achievement of “good Christianity” was regular church attendance, which caused all members of the community to join together at the same time at Church (Incháustegui 1955: 105; Guitar 1998: 222; Patronato 1995: 246).

Historical information about religious activities at Concepción during the later years of occupation is biased due to the fact that most of the information comes from a trial against the deviant priest - Alvaro de Castro. However, not all clergy had the same disregard for the Crown authorities as Alvaro de Castro did.

Regular church services were given for Spanish, Africans and Indians together, both in the countryside and in the city (Guitar 1998: 222). This was a brave effort because Concepción ceased to be an independent bishopric in 1524 (Rueda 1988: 91), and few of the higher level clergy traveled to Concepción. Most complained about the lack of religious knowledge of the population during their visits (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 123).

Religious services and devotion may have been different at the Santo Cerro, an important pilgrimage site for Christians on the island. It was important enough for King Charles V to declare it as the place to receive indulgences for the area in 1527 (Rodriguez-Demorizi 1966).

Church authorities not only were concerned with the need to create good Christians, but also served as a place for sanctuary. Many slaves, escaped, or in trouble with the law, were taken in by the monasteries until the matter could be sorted out (Larrazabal 1975: 129). This probably happened at both the San Francisco Monastery and the Mercedarian Monastery at the Santo Cerro.

The Concepción Water Distribution System: Aljibe and Aqueduct

A water distribution system is present at Concepción, composed of an aljibe (cistern), located uphill (to the west of) from the Park site, and an aqueduct flowing downhill to the urban center. Gonzalez, during his excavations in 1979 and 1980, described the Aljibe as an artesian well which supplied water for an aqueduct system which ran throughout the city and was composed of channels, water depositories and pools (Gonzalez 1984).

Excavations done during the 1996-1998 Sub-Surface Survey did identify a distinct pattern of structural remains in a narrow line, extending west from the fort to the Aljibe. Masonry structure remains also seem to point to buildings situated along the aqueduct (Woods 1999: 18). However, there is no evidence that the Aljibe is an artesian well. Its purpose rather, is more that of a cistern which would have collected the rainwater flowing down from the nearby hills (Woods 1999: 18) (See Figures 4-1, 5-9). It may be possible that Gonzalez based his assertion on the Charlevoix's 1730 account, which stated that "two *fuentes*" survived the 1562 earthquake (Charlevoix 1730b: 379), However, "*fuentes*" can mean "spring", but also can mean "fountain." Regardless of the definition, further archaeological research is needed to identify the second "*fuentes*." Despite this confusion, the remaining aqueduct ruins can be dated. Since the present

fort was built after 1512, and the aqueduct runs under it, it is safe to assume that the aqueduct was built at or before that date.

Casa de Fundición/Casa de Moneda: Royal Foundry/Royal Mint

The DNP 1976-1994 excavations revealed a group of structural remains adjacent to the southeastern edge of the Fort, at the edge of the Main *Plaza*. Several researchers have identified these as a Casa de Fundición, thought to include both a foundry and a mint (Feris-Iglesias in Ugarte 1981; Gonzalez 1984; Pérez-Montás 1984: 83). This idea was suggested by a large number of coins found during the excavations (Pérez-Montás 1984: 83) - some of them misshaped (Gonzalez 1984; Pimentel 1997) - and the existence of oven-like structures nearby (Pimentel 1997).

The coins recovered during the DNP excavations and stored at the Park do not reveal the presence of a Casa de Moneda or Mint at Concepción. Alan Stahl, Curator of Medieval Coins and Medals of the American Numismatic Society, studied and conserved the coins as part of the "Project..." and revealed most of the coins were maravedís minted in Spain before 1492, again discrediting the possibility of an on-site mint (Deagan 1999).

The term Casa de Fundición only applies to the Royal Foundry, whereas Casa de Moneda is the term for the Royal Mint. Although there was a Casa de Fundición at Concepción, there is no reference to a Casa de Moneda. The only Casa de Moneda found on Hispaniola during the two periods of study delimited for this thesis is found in Santo Domingo after 1542 (Deagan 2002).

Contemporary research also casts doubt on the identification of the complex as the Foundry. The Royal Foundry was one of the most important buildings of the city during the first period of study (1595-1514). Its main function was to smelt the gold collected in the area governed by Concepción, i.e. the northern part of the colony (Moya-Pons 1986: 72), and strict

laws were established to govern the process. By 1502, Ovando was already receiving mandates that “no one shall do any smelting except in those furnaces in the presence of our overseer, so that there is no fraud” (Guitar 1998: 117; Lamb 1956). This meant that gold could only be smelted legally two times a year at Concepción, and only when the overseer was present (Marte 1981: 342). The overseer would split his time between Buenaventura (close to the modern-day city of San Cristóbal) and Concepción (Guitar 1998: 117). This post was first held by Rodrigo de Alcazar (from 1501-1508) (Benzo 2000), and then by Melchor de Castro for 35 years (1508-1543) (Marte 1981: 401). (See also Chapter 7).

It is quite certain that the Royal Foundry also processed silver and copper during the first period of study, although historical documents show little evidence of the strict regulation associated with gold smelting. Geological studies show that silver and gold veins are quite often found together in Hispaniolan deposits (Thibodeau et. al. 2007), which would have made silver a valuable by-product of the highly regulated gold smelting process. Any copper which may have been smelted at Concepción during this period probably came from the Puerto Real mines. Puerto Real, founded in 1503 and under Concepción political jurisdiction, functioned as a copper mine during its first decade of existence (Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 282).

During the second period of study (1515-1564) gold smelting became more infrequent, although the Casa de Fundición continued to function. In 1521, all royal foundries were given permission to forge any copper equipment needed for sugar processing (Guitar 1998: 210).

The official gold smelting period would have involved large numbers of people waiting for their metals to be processed. At the same time, the foundry process requires readily available amount of water (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 186; Woods 1999: 22), which may not have been as easily available through the aqueduct system. Would it be feasible to have this operation

performed on the edge of the Main *Plaza*, in an area which is traditionally identified as the location of the most important public and private buildings of a Spanish city on a grid-town layout? If not, a different location for the foundry would need to be identified. This might be suggested by places with large archaeological concentrations of slag (melting residue) within the area surveyed from 1996-1998. The 1996-98 Sub-Surface Survey revealed a heavy concentration of slag near the aljibe, uphill and to the west of the fort, indicating this as the most like place for a smelting operation (Deagan 1999; Woods 1999) (See Figure 5-10). This location is away from the city's center and has a constant supply of water from the aljibe.

There is also evidence of a massive stone structure in the same area, but with very little associated Spanish ceramic material compared to known occupation areas of the site (Woods 1999: 20-21). Such a pattern is consistent with an industrial function such as a foundry. Instructions were given in 1509 to provide the overseer with an “official overseer house” at every foundry site means there would have been a building which may have remained uninhabited for much of the year (Marte 1981: 70). A temporary occupation such as this might also explain the relative lack of Spanish domestic material at the site.

The Hospital

The influx of people in Concepción after 1502 demanded extensive health services, and community health became an important governmental concern. In 1503 the Crown instructed Ovando to build hospitals to care for the poor in the colony, both Spanish and Indian (Loughran 1930: 170; Palm 1950: 34). For this purpose a *cofradía* (a guild, company or group of people united in a specific cause, or function), named Concepción de Nuestra Señora, was set up that same year to take care of the hospital at Concepción, and the name may have also been used to identify the hospital itself (Utrera 1946: 30). The hospital was supported by tithes from the Crown (200 pesos a year) and through money given by the town's *vecinos* (Palm 1950:34).

Historical records show that the settlers which arrived during Ovando's governorship included medics, pharmacists and surgeons (Peguero 1976a: 94).

Palm hypothesized that Concepción's hospital actual construction began after 1509, when Ovando received new orders to build hospitals at Concepción and Buenaventura (Palm 1950: 34). *Repartimiento* documents from 1514 reveal that surgeons (as in the case of Bachiller Francisco Fernández, a *vecino*), and barbers (considered to be a trade, as in the cases of Juan Ramírez, and Pedro de Murcia) were present at Concepción (see Table 6-6, 6-7).

Interestingly, there appears to be little historical evidence of the role this hospital may have played in the great smallpox pandemic of 1518 which killed almost a 2/3 of the Native work force (Crosby 1972: 47, 75; Purdy 1988: 640-41). It is possible that the close quarters of a hospital could have made for worse conditions for transmission of the disease, as opposed to leaving the sick Native American workers in the gold prospecting fields until they were better.

Palm hypothesized that the Concepción hospital was made of perishable materials, as it appears was the case with other hospitals in the colony, such as the ones in Santiago, Puerto Real and Lares de Guahaba (Marte 1981: 56). He based his assumption on the fact that there are no records of a masonry structure for this purpose in a 1525 recount (Palm 1950: 35). Only one masonry hospital was recorded in the colony in 1525, that of San Nicolas in Santo Domingo (Palm 1950: 35).

Nonetheless, due to the wealth of the community and the Crown's mandate for hospital construction, it seems equally likely that the hospital may have been rebuilt in masonry after the 1525 chronicle. Although it appears there are less people involved in the health trade during the second period of study than during the first, those still in Concepción were involved in relatively complex procedures. Such is the case of an unnamed doctor who describes how he tried to

induce Alvaro de Castro's (Lucayan) mistress to have an abortion through excessive bloodletting (Patronato 1995).

To identify a possible location for the hospital it is necessary to consider historical, architectural and archaeological factors. For example, colonial hospitals of the time period were often not self-sufficient buildings, but were rather a part of a hospital/church complex. It is possible, then, that the layout of the hospital at Concepción may have been similar to San Nicolas Hospital in Santo Domingo. In fact, the *cofradía* in charge of the Santo Domingo hospital shared its name with the hospital *cofradía* at Concepción, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción (Ugarte 1995: 143).

San Nicolás in Santo Domingo, was a two story structure with a chapel, known as La Altagracia, on the northwestern corner of the complex. This chapel was built in stone before 1519 and still exists today (Ugarte 1995: 201). At its foot (presumably the side shared with the hospital) a long hall was present in which women with tuberculosis could be lying in their beds and listen to mass. Special doors covered with iron screens were located in this wall for this purpose (Ugarte 1995: 201).

We can then use the archaeological distribution of certain items associated with medicine and church activities to provide clues to the location of the hospital at Concepción. These items include medicine vials (see Figure 5-11, 5-12), a scalpel, a syringe, fragments of Caparra Blue pharmacy jars (Figure 5-13), and candlesticks (Figure 5-14). These items were all concentrated in the southeastern corner of the National Park's property, with the heaviest concentrations extending into the area of private property which archaeologists have not been allowed to survey (Figure 5-15).

This may indicate that the southern-most group of masonry structures adjacent to the Fort in the urban center may have been part of a hospital complex, and if so, may also have been constructed of masonry.

Palacio/Casas de Cabildo: Government House Complex

Another important building, or cluster of buildings, was the *Palacio/Casas de Cabildo*, or government house complex, consisting of several buildings with particular purposes (Palm 1955a: 100; Ugarte 1981). One of the “Casas” identified as a “*Casa de Cabildo*,” may have been the *Casa de Consejo* (Courthouse), identified as having been present in 1529 in documentary sources (Marte 1981: 342), and another may have been the *Cárcel* (City Jail) (Patronato 1995: 157). Luis Joseph Peguero (1975: 213-14) mentions the existence of a “*Caja Real*” at Concepción in 1545, which had a function related to money transactions (Larousse 1972) and may also have been one of buildings in the complex. Such a governance cluster can be observed in Santo Domingo, where the jail is next to the *Casa de Cabildo*, on the *Plaza Colón* alongside the Cathedral (Suarez-Marill 1998).

The first *Casa de Cabildo* was authorized when Concepción was designated a city in December of 1508 (García 1906: 70). As with many other structures at Concepción, the first *Casas de Cabildo* were probably made of perishable materials, but documents indicate that they were rebuilt in masonry in 1528 (Palm 1950: 35; 1951: 111). Also, like so many other buildings, the location of these masonry structures is currently unknown. A section of the site which merits further investigation in this regard is a large mound found southwest edge of the Main *plaza* (Figure 5-5). The sub-surface distribution of artifacts throughout the site revealed that this location contained the heaviest concentration of 16th century materials within the site (Woods 1999: 25). It is the site’s most prominent feature after the Cathedral and the Fort (Woods 1999: 25).

Stables

Another building category documented historically are stables. The distribution of horse related artifacts, such as horseshoe nails, horseshoes, stirrups, bits and harness fragments could potentially help identify these structures. Horseshoe nails were found along the western edge of the Carretera Moca, north of the National Park's entrance suggesting that the city stables may have been located here (Woods 1999: 19-20). This supported an earlier assertion by Eugenio Pérez-Montás of the potential location of the stables (1984: 88). The area suggested by Pérez-Montás had few subsurface masonry remains, but had high concentrations of horseshoe nails (Woods 1999: 19-20).

Slaughterhouse

Concepción's economy during the second period of study (1515-1564) depended in large part on cattle product processing, and historical accounts confirm the existence of a slaughterhouse in Concepción in 1532 (Patronato 1995: 56; Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 107). According to sixteenth century Spanish town planning precepts, slaughterhouses were supposed to be close to the river or the seaside (Deagan and Reitz 1995: 283), so this building should be formed far away from the urban center of the city. Pérez-Montás (1984) suggests a southwestern location for the Concepción slaughterhouse, close to the Medranche Creek (see Figure 4-1). However, a closer location is suggested by historical records, indicating that the slaughterhouse's manure was accumulating near the Cathedral grounds (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 107).

Archaeological and historical research at the northern coastal town of Puerto Real may shed a light on this situation, since that town's slaughterhouse was found on the southwest end (downwind) of the central *plaza* (Deagan and Reitz 1995: 283). It may have been that in inland communities, the slaughterhouse may have been placed closer to, but downwind of the central part of the city. The distribution of faunal remains map generated by the 1996-98 sub-surface

survey does show that the highest concentration of faunal remains is indeed found west of the Cathedral (Woods 1999), suggesting this indeed may be the slaughterhouse location.

Cemeteries

If Concepción's organization followed that of other major Spanish colonial towns of this period, it would be expected that human burials would be present within the site. To date, few burials have been found, undoubtedly due to the inability of archaeologists to work in the vicinity of the Cathedral (see Chapter 4). Pérez-Montás identified a possible location across the *Camino Aljibe* from the Cathedral for the cemetery, but little physical evidence has been gathered to support this claim (see Cohen 1997; Woods 1998; Deagan 1999). Only one cemetery has been definitely identified at Concepción, that of the Franciscan Monastery.

Several of the graves excavated at the Monastery in 1980-81 are currently exposed in an area within the Monastery compound, outside the Church's structural walls. Because no physical anthropological analyses have been carried out on the burials, their racial affiliation is as yet unknown. These are burials in both a flexed position (identified with non-Christian Taínos), and the traditional Christian position, that is, laid out face-up with hands crossed on the chest, indicating that some of these remains may be Christians. Although it is possible that this cemetery may have been located over a Pre-contact Taíno burial site, which may account for the remains in the flexed position, historical documents indicate that some Native Americans servants may have been buried in the cemetery, as was the case of the Lucayan (Bahamian) servant and concubine of the Cathedral Dean – Alvaro de Castro (Patronato 1995: 151).

The only other human remains excavated at Concepción were found at the western base wall of the fort. These remains appear to have been those of a Native American woman, buried in a face-up, extended position, with her hands crossed on the chest (Gonzalez and Pimentel 1985, 1990). The significance of this burial is unknown.

It is possible that when Concepción was moved to its present-day location (the city of La Vega), the relocating colonists took their family remains with them. This practice did exist at the time, as is evidenced by the example (cited above) of the Columbus family (Incháustegui 1955: 74).

Private Masonry Structures

There is historical evidence for numerous private masonry structures at Concepción, in addition to the public masonry structures discussed above (Palm 1955a: 82; Peguero 1975a: 213-14). Private masonry homes were probably concentrated around the main *plaza*, where the wealthiest *vecinos* traditionally lived (Crouch, Garr and Mundigo 1982: 30; Deagan 1995a: 429). By 1545, however, there were reports of 180 stone houses (Herrera in Peguero 1975a: 213-14), which means that stone houses must have extended far beyond the city's central area. In general, archaeological excavations are needed to identify the actual house layout. Archaeological evidence show that homes both at Puerto Real and Santo Domingo had a similar layout (Pérez-Montás 1984: 69), while private homes in St. Augustine (Manucy 1983, 1985) were smaller (Deagan 1995a: 431).

We do know from historical accounts that there were different styles of private masonry structures at Concepción in 1532 (Patronato 1995: 235). Some had two levels, while others were encircled by stone walls (Patronato 1995: 235). These private "homes" were comprised of more than living areas for the inhabitants. They also included animal pens, wells and perhaps some commercial or light industrial activities (Deagan 1995a: 431). One of Alvaro de Castro's houses had a store attached to it on Calle de la Fundición (Patronato 1995: 150). These multi-function domestic areas potentially confound the archaeological identification of private homes through material remains, and until an identified private structure has been excavated, identification remains tentative.

One particular architectural area, delineated during the sub-surface survey, serves as an example. This was a concentration of masonry and artifactual remains found between 3930N and 3940N, and 4040E and 4050E, suggesting a walled structure (Figure 5-5). Remains included vials, scythes, candlesticks, scissors, chain mail, a sword tip, a lock and a key (Deagan 1999). This could indicate the presence of a wealthy home, or a mercantile establishment, such as Alvaro de Castro's.

Most of the non-elite urban structures at Concepción were probably made of wood or thatch, and are more difficult to identify archaeologically without extensive excavation to identify post holes and wood-sleeper stains. This would help identify whether they lived in bohíos, or in European-style wooden homes. An alternative method of identification could be the use of nail distributions to determine the location non-masonry homes, but this could be hampered by fact that iron nails were only used in European-style wooden homes, and also a high nail concentration could indicate a stable, or a church, rather than a home (see above) (Woods 1999: 19).

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the importance and usefulness of the multi-evidentiary approach of historical archaeology in the study of Concepción's lifeways. If the site is studied only through one avenue of inquiry (archaeology, history, or architecture), the reconstructed lifeways are incomplete and even misleading. It is only through the combination of these methods of inquiry that we can get glimpses of the complex lives of those residing at Concepción.

Perhaps it is fair to say that this preliminary attempt at reconstructing Concepción's built environment has created more questions than it has answered. Was Concepción organized according to the grid-town layout pattern? Or was organized following another urbanization

model? If a grid-town layout was used, then when was this model implemented in the city? Given that Concepción rivaled Santo Domingo in size and importance during the Ovando governorship, could it be possible that its grid pattern layout was simultaneous with, or even earlier than Santo Domingo's?

It does appear that Concepción was laid out in some type of grid-layout pattern, although the core urban area is oriented along cardinal directions (Woods 1999: 17), while the other masonry remains in the area surveyed seem to have a northeast to southwest orientation (Woods 1999: 17). Given that the present fort ruins correspond to a structure completed in 1512, it would be safe to say that the grid-pattern layout was instituted close to the end of the Ovando governorship, as opposed to the beginning as it was for Santo Domingo (Pérez-Montás 1984: 66).

This assessment raises a new set of questions. If Concepción was indeed laid out on a grid like Santo Domingo during the Ovando governorship, why is there no historical documentation of large numbers of masonry buildings present at Concepción during the first period of study (1496-1514)? We do know large numbers of people were flocking to the gold mines, so where were they living? Is it possible that the increase in population was so sudden that there was a shortage of non-perishable materials, such as bricks and *tejas*, and most buildings were made of perishable materials, such as wood and thatch? At the same time, if Concepción's boom period corresponds to the first period of study, why were most of the masonry structures built during the second period of study (1515-1564), the supposed "bust" period? Were the authorities trying to lure people to stay rather than migrate after the disappointment of the 1514 *Repartimiento* (See Chapter 3)? Or, on the other hand, was there some economic endeavor in the city besides gold smelting which provided for enough funds to support 180 masonry houses in 1545 (Herrera in

Peguero 1975a: 213-14)? These people and their possible economic activities are discussed in more detail in the following two chapters.

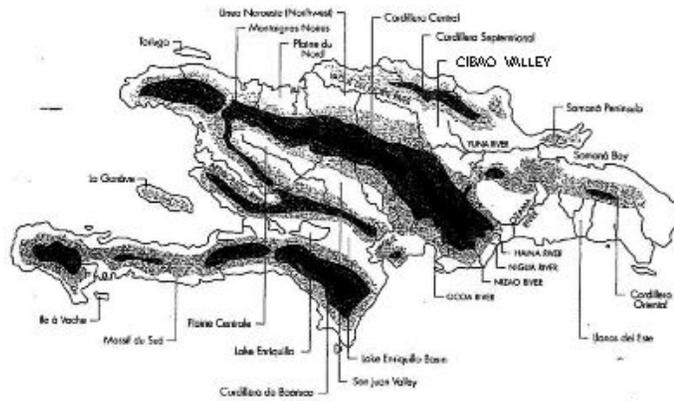


Figure 5-1. Geographical location of the Cibao Valley [Based on Moya-Pons 1998. *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (Map 1, p. 447). Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton.]

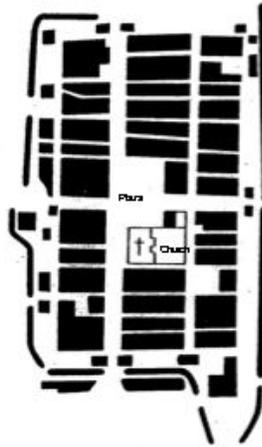


Figure 5-2. Figure-Ground Drawing of Santa Fe de Granada in 1491. [Based on Deagan, Kathleen, 1995a. Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola (Figure 1, p. 169). University Press of Florida, Gainesville.]

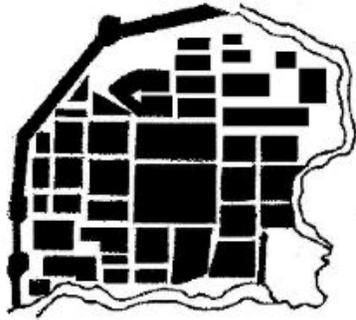


Figure 5-3. Figure-Ground Drawing of Santo Domingo in 1586 [Based on Deagan, Kathleen, 1995a. Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola (Figure 2, p. 422). University Press of Florida, Gainesville.]

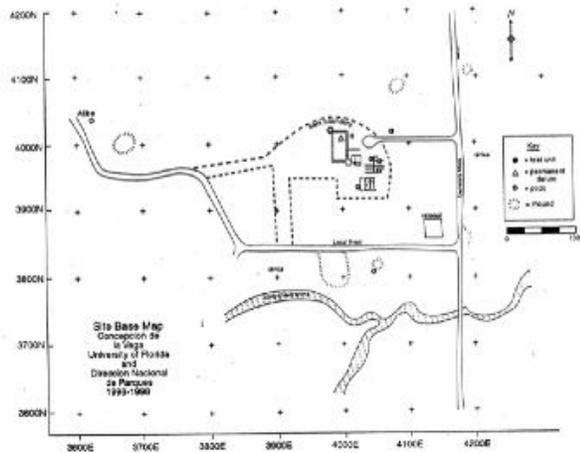


Figure 5-4. Sub-Surface remains and standing Sixteenth-Century structural ruins at Concepción [Reprinted with permission from Deagan, Kathleen, 1999. Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 9). Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.]

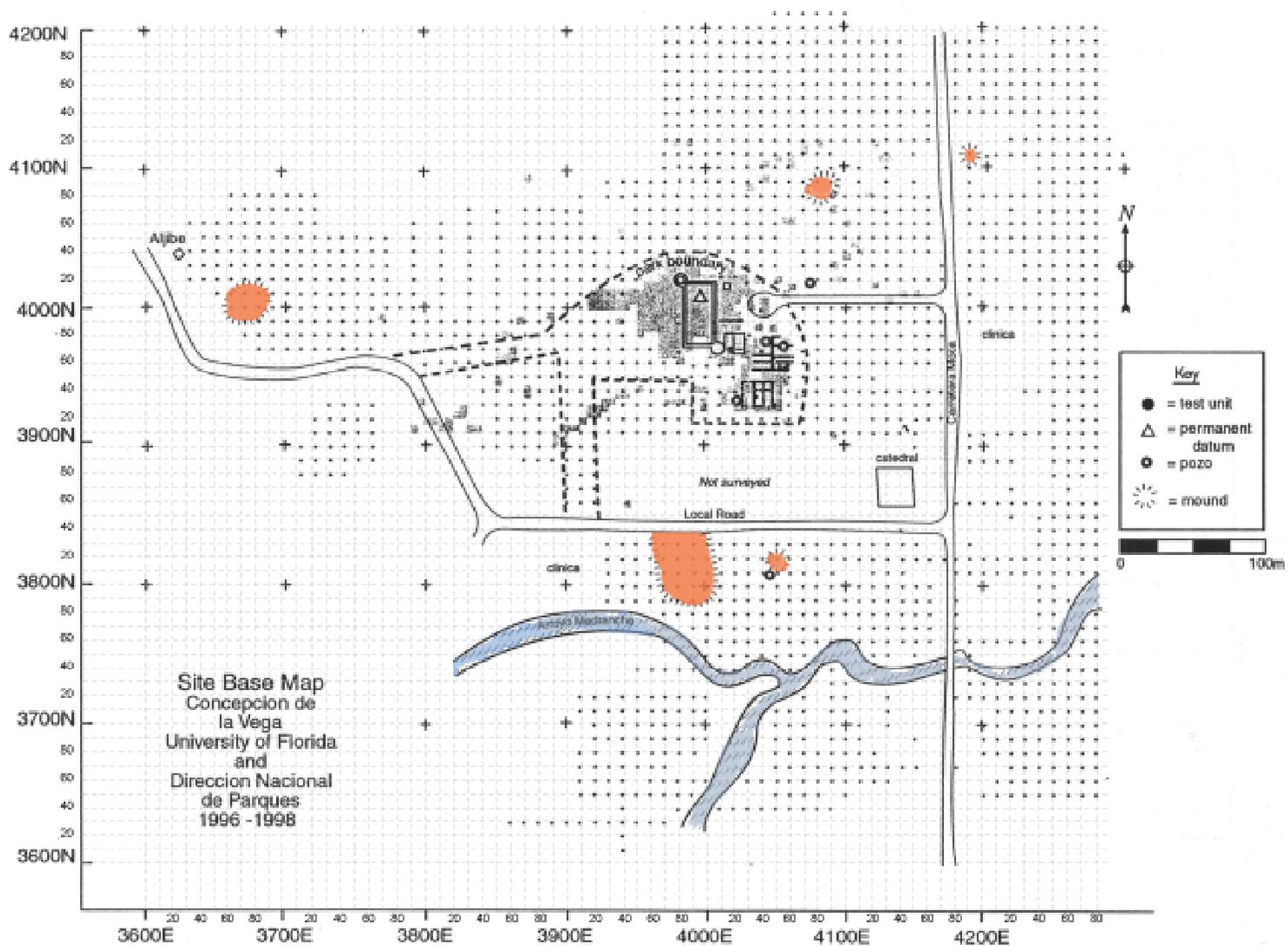


Figure 5-5. Site Base Map with Identified Mounds [Based on Deagan, Kathleen, 1999. Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 9). Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.]

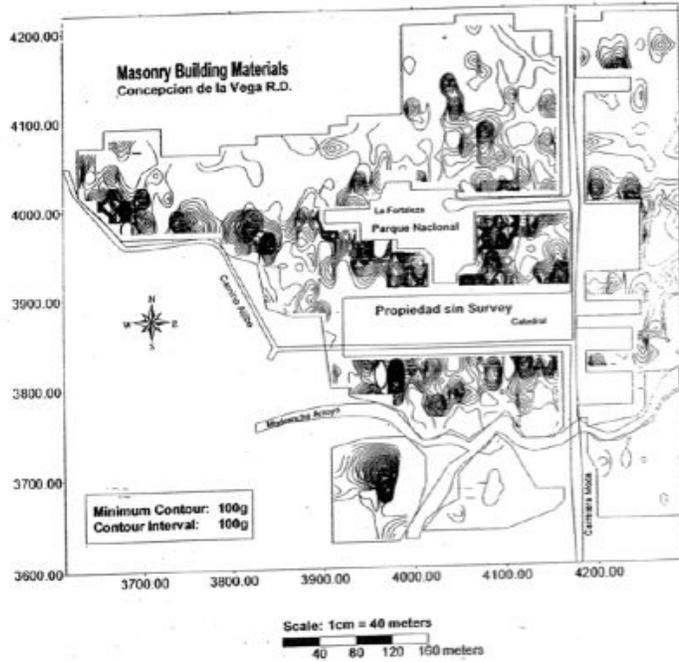


Figure 5-6. Distribution map of the masonry building remains at the Concepción site [Reprinted with permission from Deagan, Kathleen, 1999. Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 19). Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.]

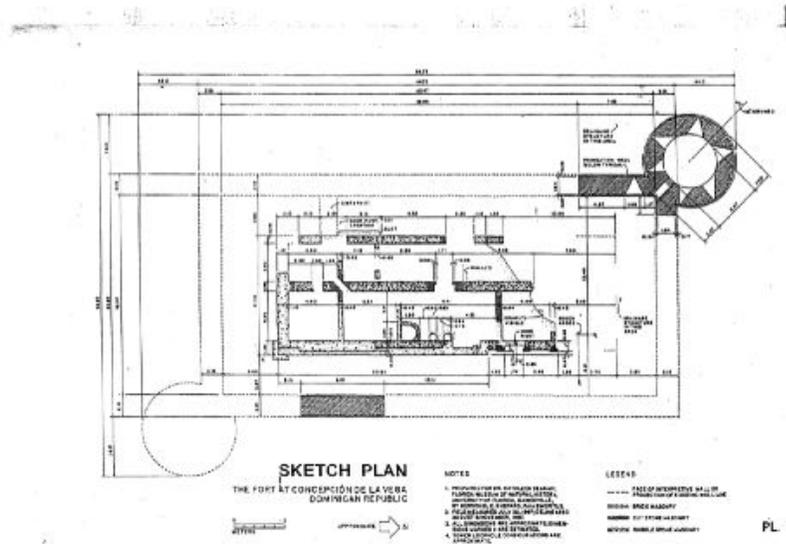


Figure 5-7. Architectural plan view of Concepción fort. [Reprinted with permission from Deagan, Kathleen, 1999. Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 17). Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.]



Figure 5-8. Remains of the Cathedral (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)



Figure 5-9. The Aljibe (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)

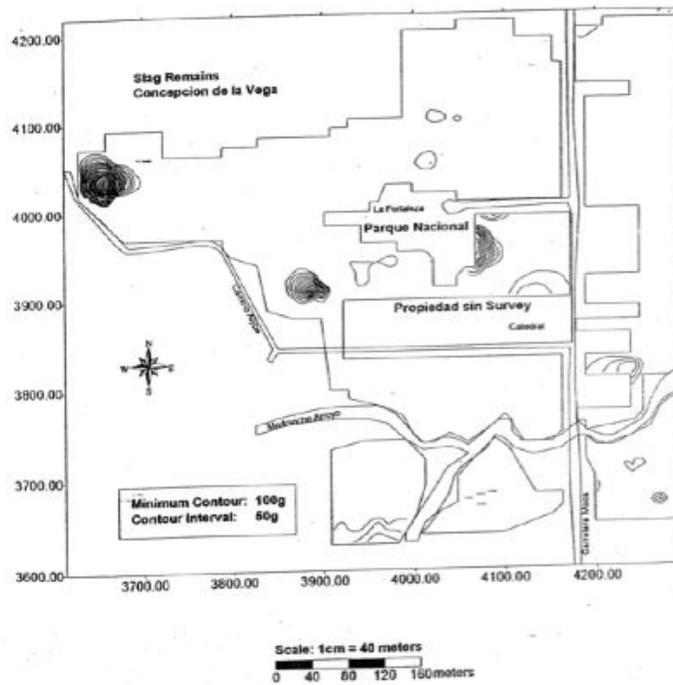


Figure 5-10. Distribution of slag remains at the Concepción site. [Reprinted with permission from Deagan, Kathleen, 1999. Cultural and Historical Resources at the Parques Nacionales Concepción de la Vega and La Isabela. Final Report (Figure 14). Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.]



Figure 5-11. Hispanic medicine vial forms ca. 1500-1550. [Based on Deagan, Kathleen, 1987. *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800*, Vol. 1, Ceramics, Glassware and Beads (Figure 6-12, p. 136). Smithsonian Press, Washington D.C.]



Figure 5-12. Medicine vial fragments from Concepción de la Vega (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)

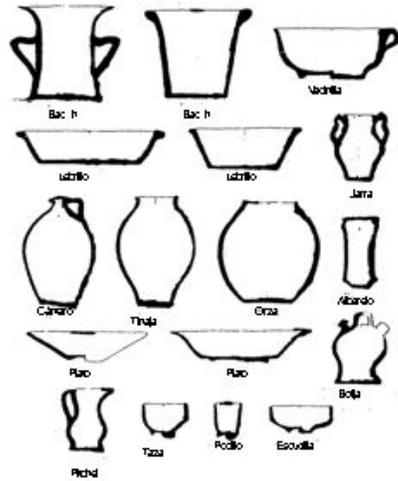


Figure 5-13. General forms of Hispanic ceramics. [Based on Deagan, Kathleen, 1987. *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800, Vol. 1, Ceramics, Glassware and Beads* (Figure 4-2, 27). Smithsonian Press, Washington D.C.]



Figure 5-14. Candeleros (candlesticks) from Concepción (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)

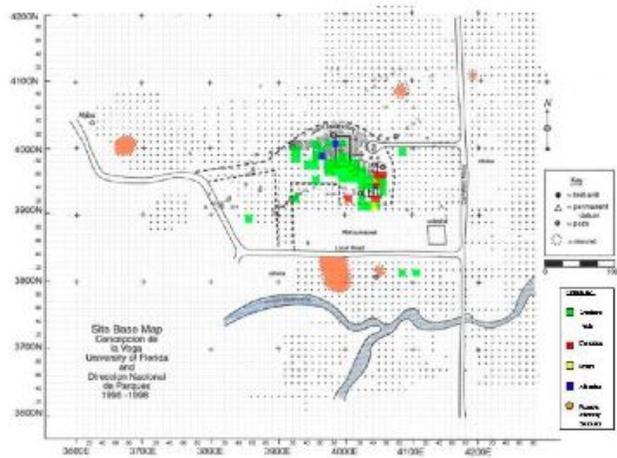


Figure 5-15. Distribution map of Hospital-related artifacts

Table 5-1. Building Construction Timeline (1492-1890)

| Date Start of Construction | Structure |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1494 | First fort, lasted a year (1494-1495)(non-masonry) (3) |
| 1494? | Temporary non-masonry churches (7) (13)(18) |
| 1495 | Second fort (1495-1512) (masonry) (1)(3)(10) |
| 1502-1509 | Royal Foundry (masonry?) (6)(8) |
| 1503? | San Francisco Monastery (non-masonry) (4) |
| 1509? | Casa de Cabildo (non-masonry) (5) |
| 1508-1509 | masonry private houses (13) |
| 1510? | overseer house (masonry) (10) |
| 1510? | Hospital (non-masonry)(11) |
| 1511 | Santo Cerro Church (masonry)(12) |
| 1512 | Third fort (masonry) (10) |
| 1512-1525 | Aqueduct/aljibe (masonry) (10) |
| 1514 | 8-9 monks at San Francisco Monastery (9) |
| 1520s | Calle de la Fundición (Foundry Street) (2) (15) |
| 1520s | Alvaro de Castro store on Calle de la Fundición (2) |
| 1525-1528 | San Francisco Monastery (masonry) (14) |
| 1525-1528 | Cathedral (masonry). Completed by 1533 (11) (14) (19) |
| 1527 | Mercedarian monastery (masonry) (18) |
| 1527 | 1511 Santo Cerro Church replaced (masonry) (12)(18) |
| 1528 | Casas de Cabildo (masonry)(11)(12) |
| 1528 | Masonry Church (Cathedral?)(13) |
| 1528 | 25 masonry buildings (11) |
| 1529 | <i>Casa de Consejo</i> (masonry) (10) |
| 1532 | Alvaro de Castro house on Calle de la Fundición (masonry?)(15) |
| 1532 | Jail (masonry)(15) |
| 1532 | Rural chapels (non-masonry?)(6) |
| 1532 | Slaughterhouse (masonry ?)(15) |

Table 5-1. Continued

| Date Start of Construction | Structure |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1532 | Monastery cemetery (15) |
| 1532 | Dominican Monastery ? (masonry?) (15) |
| 1532 | Highway between Concepción, Santiago, Puerto Plata, Lares de Guahaba, Jaragua and Jaquimo (15) |
| 1532 | Roads between Cibao gold mining regions, Concepción, Puerto Real and Puerto Plata (15) |
| 1545 | Caja Real (masonry)(16) |
| 1545 | 180 masonry houses (16) |
| 1545 | More than 180 non-masonry houses (16) |
| 1545 | 11 Taíno pueblos (16) |
| 1562 | 7 Taíno pueblos (17) |
| 1880 | Reconstruction of Santo Cerro complex (18) |
| 1886 | Reconstruction of the Santo Cerro Church with fort bricks (13) |
| 1890s? | Restoration of top of fort (13) |

1. Anghiera 1989: 77
2. Benzo 2000
3. Cohen 1997: 3, 4
4. Errasti 1998: 25-26
5. García 1906: 70
6. Guitar 1998: 117, 222
7. Kubler 1948:322
8. Lamb 1956
9. Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 536
10. Marte 1981: 68, 70, 86, 90, 342
11. Palm 1950: 34, 35
12. Palm 1951: 21, 111
13. Palm 1955a: 23, 54, 82
14. Palm 1955b: 22-23
15. Patronato 1995: 151, 157, 237, 248, 269
16. Peguero 1975a: 213-14
17. Peguero 1975b: 11
18. Rodriguez-Demorizi 1946: 65, 67
19. Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 91

CHAPTER 6 LABOR AND PEOPLE AT CONCEPCION

Introduction

A central element that structured life in Spanish-American colonial cities was the interaction the groups of people of different cultural origin that inhabited these settlements. Inter-racial and intercultural exchange was characteristic of nearly all of the culturally diverse 16th century towns of the circum-Caribbean area (Ewen 1991; Deagan 1995a, 1996, 2004: 622). However, historical and archaeological evidence points towards an particularly intense interaction at Concepción, owing in large part to its condition as a mining town, where typically the quest for wealth often united disparate peoples (DeFrance 2003: 99).

As in all settings, cultural interactions at Concepción were conditioned by cultural origin, race, gender, social class, and labor relations. The organization of labor cut across these and shaped a complex colonial social hierarchy. This chapter will attempt to present this social hierarchy with emphasis on labor and class.

Cultural Origins

Three distinct cultural-racial groups of people comprised the Spanish-American colony of Hispaniola; the Native Americans (Taíno and other indigenous people), the European (Spaniards), and the Africans (people from the African continent that had previous contact with European culture). Brief synthetic discussions of the background and origins of these groups will be followed by a consideration of the labor regimens through which they interacted at Concepción.

Native American Social Organization on Hispaniola Pre-Contact

The native inhabitants of Concepción, as well as the rest of those from Hispaniola and the rest of the Greater Antilles, have been referred to as “Taíno” since the sixteenth century (Deagan

and Cruxent 2002b: 23; Veloz-Maggiolo 1972). The name “Taíno” was first used by Peter Martyr in his chronicle of Columbus’s second voyage (Deagan 1995b: 64), meaning “the good people” in their language (Tavares 1976: 7), which is part of the Arawak linguistic group (Wilson 1990a). At the time of Columbus’s arrival, the Arawak linguistic group extended throughout the Caribbean, the north coast of Venezuela (Cruxent and Rouse 1969; Deagan 2004: 600; Tavares 1976: 7; Veloz-Maggiolo 1972), and northern Brazil (Heckenberger et al. 2003).

The Taínos are the most studied segment of contact period Hispaniola’s population by modern historians and archaeologists, however, nearly all of the work has focused on the Taíno outside of Concepción. A great part of these studies focus on the reconstruction of Taíno lifeways before the arrival of the Spanish in 1492. It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss pre-contact Taíno life at length since it does not fit the scope of research, but a brief synthesis is presented below for post-contact comparative purposes, and assessment of Taíno influence at Concepción. (For exhaustive bibliographies dealing with the Pre-contact Taíno, see Alegría 1997; Anderson-Córdova 1990; Bertch et al 1997; Guitar 1998; Keegan 1992, 2000; Oliver 1998: 59-93; Pagan 1978; Rouse 1992; Sued-Badillo 1977; Veloz-Maggiolo 1972; Wilson 1990a, 1997a).

The Taíno occupying Hispaniola before 1492 belonged to the “Classic Taíno,” according to the Rouse classification (1992). The Classic Taíno have been described as having a complex social hierarchy and an economy based on manioc production, both linked to elaborate artistic and religious expressions. The Classic Taíno were associated with the generalized Ostionoid cultural tradition, especially in regards to their ceramic tradition (Rouse 1992: 9-17, 112).

The island was originally known by two names: “Haiti,” which means “mountainous land,” and Quisqueya, or “mother earth” (Tavares 1976: 8). Most of the inhabitants lived on the

coasts and interior valleys (Tavares 1976: 8). The island was divided into five major cacicazgos - land divisions governed by a cacique - although the locations and boundaries of these divisions are still not fully understood today (Cassá 1974; Las Casas 1994; Rouse 1992; Tavares 1976: 33; Wilson 1990a, 1997b: 46) They included:

- A) Maguá: governed by Guarionex, in the Central Valley (later La Vega Valley)
- B) Jaragua: governed by Bohechio in the Western part of the island.
- C) Marién: governed by Guacanagarix, found in the Northeast.
- D) Higüey: in the East, governed by Cayacoa
- E) Maguana: covering the Southwestern region and governed by Caonabo

It appears that some inter-chiefdom warfare may have occurred among the Taíno, but for the most part they were united against a common enemy - the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 32). Little is known about the Caribs, except for their fierce reputation for stealing Taíno women, and having cannibalistic behavior (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 32). Archaeological research has confirmed that these were also members of the Arawak-language group and there is no evidence of cannibalistic behavior (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 32).

It appears that before the arrival of the Spanish, the Taíno were organized into hierarchical, non-egalitarian chiefdoms, each headed by an absolute ruler known as a cacique (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 30). Caciques could be either men or women, and commanded centralized political and ritual power. They lived in special houses called *caney*s, wore special garments, and ate special food (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 31).

Society was highly stratified, and separated into two major categories, the *Nitáino* (elites) and the *Naborias* (non-elite) (Deagan 2004: 600; Moscoso 1981, 1986; Moya-Pons 1992). The *Naborias* were required to pay a tribute to the *Nitáinos*, both in produce and labor (Moscoso 1981, 1986; Tavares 1976: 28). The tribute collection and redistribution was then undertaken by

the caciques (Moscoso 1981, 1986). (For more detailed information on the Taíno class system, see Moscoso 1986).

It appears descent was matrilineal, and the elites may have had avunculocal residence patterns (residence and inheritance through the mother's brother) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 30). Gender relations appear to have been egalitarian, although women were mostly responsible for agricultural activity, while the men did the fishing and water-related activities (Deagan 2004). Many of the Taíno economic activities depended on water transportation, and the Taíno were skilled at sailing in the Caribbean waters (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 36).

Taíno settlements varied from small to very large (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 33). Las Casas described Taíno settlements as not having any distinct streets, with the ruler's house found in main place or position (possibly the center). A well-swept and leveled rectangular open space was found in front of this dwelling. This space, known as the *batey*, was used for a special ball game. Large settlements had several *bateys* within them (Las Casas in Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 33).

Taíno settlements were supported by manioc agriculture in raised mounds known as *conucos* (Deagan 2004: 601; Ferbel 2002: 6; García-Arévalo 1988: 10; Tavares 1976: 17). The manioc was grated to produce cassava bread, their main food staple (García-Arévalo 1988: 10; Tavares 1976: 15). The Taíno also grew and ate corn, but not on the same scale as in Mesoamerica (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 36). They also ate a great variety of fish, rodents, reptiles, birds and insects (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 36).

One of the biggest controversies surrounding regarding the Pre-Contact Taíno is their population size on Hispaniola before the arrival of Columbus in 1492. Much has been written over the years about this subject, as evidenced in Henige's 90-page bibliography on the subject

in *Numbers from Nowhere* (1998), as well as the lengthy discussion found in *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus* (Mann 2005).

The subject is controversial because the higher the number of Taíno pre-contact, the more devastating the effects of colonization. As seen in Chapter 3, this has been a concern since the 16th century when the Dominican priests, especially Bartolomé de las Casas, decried the Spanish actions towards the native peoples of the Americas. In fact, he was the first to offer an estimate of the number of Taíno inhabitants on Hispaniola, roughly 3 to 4 million (1985, vol. 2, Ch.1). He calculated this number based on the death rates during the 1518 smallpox epidemic (Mann 2005: 147).

In the 20th century several historians tried to prove or disprove Las Casas's estimates (Mann 2005: 142), or come up with calculations of their own based on 16th century documentary data such as censuses (Mann 2005: 104). Two distinct groups were formed, those known as the "Low Counters" vs. the "High Counters" (Mann 2005: 112). Low Counters include Mira-Caballos (1997: 34) and Rosenblatt (1954: 102) who estimate a population of 100,000 Taíno. High Counters include David Watts (1978), who shares Las Casas's estimate of 3 to 4 million (1985, vol.2, Ch1), and Cook and Borah (1971), who estimate of 6 to 8 million Taíno for all of the Greater Antilles. Moya-Pons (1987: 187) and Anderson-Córdova (1990) fall in the middle with estimates of 400,000 and 500,000 respectively. Unfortunately, none of these sources can help determine the exact number of Taíno who may have lived in the Concepción area pre-1492, and any determination of this is beyond the scope of this study.

Spanish Social Organization in Spain Previous to 1492

Castilian institutions, social classes and economy served as models for the society created in the early colonial contact period (Moya-Pons 1983: 15; Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Willis 1984: 12). The Castilian institutions of the 15th century were formed during the *Reconquista*, an

800 year war which had the Christianization of the Spain as its principal purpose (Moya-Pons 1983: 11; Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Pérez de Tudela 1955a. See Chapter 3). The Castilians used a specific model to re-settle the land they had conquered. This model saw Christians as a force on a military offensive, and then as a colonizing presence which would distribute land, convert the infidel and establish municipal structures (Pérez-Collados 1992: 116; Pérez de Tudela 1954:317-318).

Spanish society was categorized, in descending order, of nobles, professionals, merchants, servants and farmers/herdsmen (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 5). There was however, some degree of upward mobility. The noble class and the hidalgos did not pay taxes, and were exempt of judicial obligations (Moya-Pons 1983: 14). Certain professionals, such as lawyers and doctors, were able to gain some privileges comparable to those within the nobility (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 5). Church officials were outside of this system, but also had special privileges (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 5). They shared the attitudes and lifestyle of certain professionals, such as lawyers and doctors, which were comparable to those within the nobility (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 5).

Those who did not the access to or the funds for education, or to become part of the Church, might earn noble status through the art of war, or through faithful service in the Royal employ (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 5). The importance of the art of war, or chivalry, became a means unto itself, and was known as hidalguismo (Elliott 1963: 38; Vicens-Vives 1969: 349. See Chapter 3).

One of the main precepts of hidalguismo was the disdain for manual labor (Moya-Pons 1983: 12). They considered work done by tradesmen, merchants and those involved in

agricultural labor to be of less “quality, an attitude reinforced by the fact that a lot of this work was done by non-Christians (Moya-Pons 1983: 12).

Urban organization of society was important within the Castilla-León and Hispaniolan *Reconquista* model (Moya-Pons 1983: 11). This focus helped alleviate the concerns caused by the concentration of land in the hands of a few aristocrats (Moya-Pons 1983: 13). The nobles, including the King and Queen, military orders, and high Church officials, made up about 2% of the population, and owned 97% of the land (Moya-Pons 1983: 14).

At the same time, the land in Spain, for the most part, was not ideal for farming, and the *Mesta* (wool production and trade), became the main economic activity in Spain during this period (Moya-Pons 1983: 14). Since the *Mesta* did not require large numbers of men for its labor force, Spanish men were frequently able pursue other activities, namely the art of warfare (Elliott 1963: 38; Vicens-Vives 1969: 349).

Municipal centers and towns were led by a group of landowners who chose their leaders from among themselves (Moya-Pons 1983: 16-17). 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 (Moya-Pons 1983: 16-17).

The common clergy, small-scale landowners and merchants made up 4% of the population, lived mostly in urban areas (Moya-Pons 1983: 14). The rest of the population was divided into urban and rural dwellers. The urban dwellers were mostly artisans and day-workers (*jornaleros*), a large majority of which were of Moorish descent (Moya-Pons 1983: 14). The rural workers mostly farmed or tended sheep, and owned approximately 3% of the farmland (Moya-Pons 1983: 15).

African Social Organization in Spain Prior to Arrival in the New World

Most of the Africans who came to Hispaniola during the first period of study (1495-1514) came from Spain, not Africa. Most of the African slaves had lived in Spain for several years and had already been taught Spanish language and customs (Deive 1989: 20). In fact, African slaves had been introduced to Spain by the Muslims in 711, and played an important role in southern Spanish society from the 13th Century onward (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; Landers 1999: 7).

African men, both slave and free, performed menial labor for the city, as stevedores, in the public granary, in the slaughterhouse, in the public gardens, in soap factories. They also transported goods and people around the city (Landers 1999: 8). African women mainly worked as servants in the households (Deive 1989: 20; Landers 1999: 8).

It would have been difficult to distinguish the free from the enslaved Africans in Seville because most slaves worked under the *jornal* (day wage) system (Landers 1999: 16). The *jornal* system allowed the slaves to live independently, in their own homes, in exchange for paying their masters a certain daily amount (Landers 1999: 16). The work could be assigned by the master, or could be done about town independently (Deive 1989: 20; 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 (Landers 1999: 16).

It is important to point out that not every Spaniard could afford an African slave. Slave ownership was limited to the rich and nobles (Deive 1989: 20). They were a luxury item, and as such, laws governed their care to “ensure the investment” (Deive 1989: 20).

Native American Social Organization at Concepción Post-Contact

For many years it was assumed by researchers that the contact between the Taíno and the Spanish resulted in the total annihilation of the Taíno people (see discussion in Deagan 2004). This was in large part supported by the chronicles of official Spanish historians such as Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. However, in recent years, the more in-depth study of historical, anthropological and archaeological data has suggested that the Taíno “extinction” may not have been as sudden or as complete as once claimed (Deagan 2004: 597; Guitart 1998). This is especially relevant to the first 70 years of Conquest, the time period of Concepción’s occupation.

One account of the first years of Taíno-Spanish contacts at Concepción does exist in the writings of Fray Ramón Pané (Pané 1974). Ramón Pané, a Jeronymite friar assigned by Columbus to study Taíno religion (Arrom 1988), Pané attempted to record Taíno religious tradition in the area from 1496 to 1498 (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 39; Las Casas 1958: 417; Pané 1974). Although most of his account deals with Taíno beliefs at the time of contact, Pané also records some incidents he experienced first hand at Concepción, including the first baptisms, and the first Taíno uprisings (Pané 1974).

It is in documents related to the *Repartimiento* labor system that we find most of the information about the Taínos at Concepción during this time period. There are specific records of the numbers of Taíno workers distributed at the 1510 and 1514 *Repartimientos*. Even though Spanish chroniclers kept meticulous records of the Taínos distributed as labor, they did not keep records of the segments of the Taíno population that did not work, such as the *Nitáinos*, elderly, children and pregnant women (Arranz-Márquez 1991).

It is possible to find the names of some of the *Nitáino* chiefs at Concepción in the *Repartimiento* documents (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Rodríguez-Demorizi 1971) (See Table 6-1). Of the 56 names of caciques, only 23% are Taíno, and 41% of the names are completely Spanish.

A full 20% of the caciques are women. Eighteen percent of the names have a Spanish first name and a Taíno last name, possibly suggesting that they may have been those who were baptized Christians. Some of the Spanish names could also be due the Taíno *guaitiao* ritual (Guitar 1998: 136). The “Guaitiao,” meaning friend, involved name exchange between a Spaniard and a Taíno as a symbol of brotherhood (Guitar 1998: 136). In either case, the large number of Spanish names among the caciques reflects the interaction between the Taíno upper class and the Spanish (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b).

It has been suggested that most of the laborers within the *Repartimiento* were non-elite Taíno men and that this was the group most affected by contact with the Spanish (Deagan 2004: 597). Recent archaeological research at another first contact site on the island (En Bas Saline) seems to suggest that despite this impact, there were few changes in the overall non-elite Taíno lifeways in Taíno towns during the early contact period (Deagan 2004: 597). This is due to the fact that even though the working men were mobilized from their native regions to gold mining regions, such as Concepción (Cassá 1978: 39, 41; Deagan 2004: 609), they were allowed to return to farm their land between work seasons (Cassá 1978: 44; Deagan 2004: 603). It appears that the women and children who stayed behind took care of the crops and continued their pre-contact lifeways, at least during the first decade of the 16th century (Anderson-Córdova 1990; Deagan 2004: 621).

By 1508, the loss of non-elite Taíno laborers to disease and working conditions forced Spanish authorities to find new sources of laborers (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 209; Guitar 1998: 127). The Crown gave colonial authorities permission to add more *Naboria* workers to the *Repartimiento* system (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 210; Las Casas II, XLIII 1985, vol.2: 346-48), from a group called “*Perpetual Naboria*.” The *Perpetual Naboria* group was composed of

Native Americans who ran away, or fought against the Spanish after the declaration of “just war” upon first encounter (Cassá 1978: 53; Guitar 2002: 6). Unlike Taíno “free” subjects, who were controlled through a cacique, *Perpetual Naborias* were private property and could be inherited (Cassá 1978: 53), effectively making them slaves in all but name.

Although the first *Naborias* were Taíno, the Spanish started to look outside Hispaniola for more workers. The first non-Taíno *Naborias* were the Caribs, from the gold-less Caribbean islands of the Lesser Antilles, including Trinidad, San Bernardo, Fuerte, Las Barbudas, Dominica, Matenino, Santa Lucía, San Vicente, Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire; as well as the Lucayan Taínos of the Bahamas (Arranz-Márquez 1991: 79-26; Keegan 1992: 221-223; Marte 1981: 89; Moya-Pons 1978; Rogozinski 2000: 31).

Historical accounts justified their enslavement by claiming cannibalistic habits, but research by later scholars has shown that these appear to have been a Spanish excuse for their capture (See Cassá 1978: 53-54; Keegan 1992: 8-10, 226; Rouse 1992: 21-25, 145-146; Tavares 1976: 20). From 1508-1513 more than 40,000 Amerindians were brought from the Lesser Antilles to Hispaniola (Moya-Pons 1978). Although the Caribs also were part of the Arawak group, the Taíno considered them as enemies - a distinct group different from themselves (Dunn and Kelley 1989: 166-167.) Their presence, no doubt, caused distress to the Taíno (Guitar 2001).

By 1512 some Spaniards on Hispaniola possessed hundreds of Amerindian *Perpetual Naborias* (Guitar 1998: 90). It appears that in the 1510s there were close to 30,000 *Perpetual Naborias* slaves (Guitar 1998: 90). Records also show that the majority of the Non-Hispaniolan Indigenous slaves arrived between 1510 and 1530 (Guitar 1998: 313). In terms of gender, it is possible to assert that most of the Native American women in the colony were Taíno. This is due

to the fact that most of the *Perpetual Naborias* introduced into the colony were men brought in to work in the gold mines (Cassá 1978).

Demand for non-Hispaniolan laborers increased in the second decade of the 16th century as more *Repartimiento* laws were instituted in an effort to save the Taíno workers. *Perpetual Naborias* were brought from Colombia, Florida, the coasts of Mexico and Yucatán, the coast of Central America, northern South America, and even mainland Brazil (Arranz-Márquez 1991: 79-26; Cassá 1978: 54; Deagan 1999: 11; Incháustegui 1955: 113; Marte 1981: 89; Otte 1958: 5-6; Rogozinski 2000: 31). By 1519, only 150 Taíno workers could be held per Spaniard (Guitar 1998: 179), while no limit was set on the number of *Perpetual Naborias*. Perhaps to enforce compliance with these regulations, *Perpetual Naborias* were branded to differentiate them from the Taíno (Guitar 1998: 95).

It is unknown whether Indigenous peoples from the different regions lived together, or if they could maintain pre-capture cultural practices, or if they adapted to local Taíno cultural patterns. It is perhaps significant, however, that although there are historical records of non-Hispaniolan Amerindians running away and joining rebel groups, there is no historical evidence of rebel groups made up exclusively by a specific Amerindian group (i.e. Mayan, or Carib), as was the case with African rebel groups (See discussion below of the 1522 Wolof revolt). This may point to a mixing of Amerindian workers on sites, rather than an effort to keep “tribes” together. Anthropologically this implies there was little chance of replicating cultural practices undertaken before arriving on Hispaniola.

From 1515 to 1527, 68 slave capturing expeditions were sent to the Venezuelan Caribbean coast (Guitar 1998: 191). Already by 1520, records show that the northern or Leeward Islands, from the Virgin Islands to Barbuda, had been depopulated, with the exception of St. Kitts and

Nevis (Moya-Pons 1983: 28; Rogozinski 2000: 31), prompting the capture of Amerindians in the Curacao group, Barbados, St. Lucia and Tobago (Rogozinski 2000: 31). This decrease in population prompted the implementation of regulations on the *Perpetual Naboria* trade, including a 1536 law stating that no Amerindian could be sold without a license from governor of the originating province (Guitar 1998: 192).

The non-Hispaniolan Amerindian slave trade 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; Rueda 1988: 25). Las Casas championed the idea of “non-violent pacification” of Amerindians, meaning that “just war” could no longer provide *Perpetual Naboria* workers. Las Casas was successful in his campaign, which culminated in the New Laws of 1542 (Rueda 1988: 25). These, greatly improved Amerindian working conditions outside the Greater Antilles, leading to the survival of many Amerindian cultures.

As stated above, for many years it was believed that the Taíno had not survived to see the New Laws of 1542. Recent studies, however, suggest otherwise. According to ethnohistorical studies by Karen Anderson-Córdova (1990: 122-133) and Lynne Guitar (1998: 222-227) it appears that certain biases were introduced into primary historical sources used to calculate the number of Taíno present in the colony for the purpose of slave importation. For example, decreases due to diseases were exaggerated in order to gain royal permission to import slaves (Ferbel and Guitar 2002: 1, 7). Also, many Taíno were re-classified as *Perpetual Naborias* after 1542 (when the Taíno were “freed”) to retain their labor (Ferbel and Guitar 2002: 7). Ferbel and Guitar (2002) also contend that Taínos must have survived far beyond the mid-16th century to be able to legate the vast wealth of Taíno cultural traditions still present in Dominican culture, including words, foodways and agricultural methods.

Given Concepción's prominence in the colony, a significant proportion of non-Hispaniolan "*Perpetual Naborias*" were undoubtedly present in the town. The few names of Non-Hispaniolan Amerindians recorded at Concepción belong to working women mentioned in the Alvaro de Castro trial of 1532. These women, Beatrizica and Catalina (Catalinica) were Lucayan (Bahamian) *criadas* (maids) (Patronato 1995). The court documents also accuse Castro of having an affair with Catalinica (Patronato 1995).

Inhabitants from Europe (Spanish)

Being "Spanish" during this time period on Hispaniola involved following certain lifestyle rules, perhaps even more than national origin or genetic assignment. One important way in which the Crown tried to guarantee the maintenance of this idealized Spaniard was through immigration policies (in Table 6-2). These included the prohibition of travel to anyone who was not a Castilian, or who was a Jew, Moor, or converted from these religions (Boyd-Bowman 1976; Haring 1939: 131; Incháustegui 1955: 62), but these policies had only limited success. This difference between official policy and reality is evident in both the archaeological and historical records, as discussed below.

Elite "Castilian" (Spanish) Colonists at Concepción

At Concepción, the local elite were those known as "*vecinos*" or property-owning families. Most of the historical information about these families comes from documents related to the 1514 *Repartimiento*, since only they were supposed to acquire Native American *Repartimiento* laborers.

Although the 1514 *Repartimiento* records show that some minor nobility did live at Concepción during this time period (See Tables 6-3, 6-4), most notably hidalgo Antón de San Miguel (Benzo 2000), in practice those with the longest time at the colony rose to the top (Benzo

2000). This was partly due to their knowledge of the colonial culture, and also to the wealth they had gained through the gold industry.

There is abundant evidence of personal wealth during this time period at Concepción. Concepción's archaeological assemblage contains more luxury items than most other Spanish colonial cities of the same time period, including La Isabela, Puerto Real, Santo Domingo and Nueva Cadiz (see Deagan 1987, 1988, 1995; Goggin 1968; Long 1967; Ortega 1982; Willis 1976).

This material wealth allowed many men, who would not have been elites in Spain, to become *vecinos* on Hispaniola (Lockward and Schwartz 1983: 67). Wealth allowed them to achieve two of the main colonial markers of elite status: marriage to an upper class Spanish woman, and/or a political post (Moya-Pons 1978: 111). One of the first to achieve this new status was Christopher Columbus's own son, Diego Columbus. Wealth allowed Diego to marry the King's niece, María de Toledo, and her family influenced his designation as Governor on Hispaniola during this time period (Pérez-Collados 1992. See Chapter 3-History).

Marriage to an upper class Spanish woman at Concepción, as in the rest of Hispaniola, was difficult to achieve, in spite of material wealth. There were few highborn Spanish women in the colony (Lavrín 1978, 1989), and the largest group of elite women during the first part of the century was composed of the ladies in waiting for María de Toledo, Diego Columbus's wife, who did not wish to leave Santo Domingo (Rueda 1988: 106). As shown in Table 6-4, about half of Concepción's married *vecinos* were married to Taíno women in 1514 (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Deagan 1999:10).

We can assume that the elite status of many of Concepción's elite comes from wealth and political appointments, since in fact many of them were not Castilian. The need to control this

wealth also attracted a large number of ex-members of King Ferdinand's court to Concepción, many of them Aragonese, not Castilian (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 55; Pérez-Collados 1992: 122). Also, the need for qualified government officials often allowed for a converted Jew to migrate to Hispaniola (Benzo 2000).

Since wealth could change a Spaniard's social status on Hispaniola, the ability to create more wealth (i.e. mine more gold) was integral to the Hispaniolan social organization. In other words, 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 1997: 5; García 1906: 78; Guitar 1998: 134; Moya-Pons 1983: 27). This period is fraught with complaints against *Repartimiento* biases, most notably the dispute between the *Servidores*, most of who were Crown officials, and the *Deservidores*, who were Governor Diego Columbus's friends and relatives (see Chapter 3).

These disputes, as well as the short supply of Taíno workers prompted the Crown to halt *Repartimientos* after 1514 (Arranz-Márquez 1991). This reduced the possibility of bribing an official for the chance to receive more workers, and made it much harder to quickly change one's social status. It also solidified the base for Hispaniola's elite class structure at this time for the rest of the colonial period, giving a select few the control of most the workforce (Arranz-Márquez 1991). This made it difficult to accumulate the wealth and power needed to enact the social mobility mechanisms possible during the early decades of the settlement. This limit on opportunity was furthermore exacerbated after ca. 1520 by the effort to change colonial

production from gold to sugar production, which centralized government power in Santo Domingo, isolating other Spanish settlements.

Table 6-4 shows the 1514 *Repartimiento* data at Concepción. There are 59 *vecinos* listed. If we ignore those who lived in Spain, we can assume that Miguel de Pasamonte, Juan de Villoria and Juan de Albuquerque were the most influential men in the colony, since they received over 100 Taíno workers (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000). A relatively large number of Spanish received close to 80 Taíno workers, including Cristóbal Guillén, who unlike others such as Juan Fernandez de Guadalupe and Alonso de Parada, did not have a political appointment, but rather was simply “a first settler.” Some Castilian women were also given Taínos under a law which allowed certain widowed women to hold their husband’s Indians for a year (Arranz-Márquez 1991: 172).

One of the reactions to the concentration of power in the hands of a few Concepción *vecinos* was a mass migration by the elite to Santo Domingo (Moya-Pons 1983: 37), and to the mainland settlements, particularly Central America, Mexico and later Peru (Guitar 1998: 145; Incháustegui 1955: 99; Moya-Pons 1983: 33; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 67). This migration was mostly restricted to the elite class, and did not include many of the non-elites.

The Spanish Crown started programs to motivate elite migration back to Concepción, going so far as offering 6 African slaves to anyone who settled in the area (García 1906: 93). At the same time, the Crown prohibited the recruitment of elite settlers in the Caribbean by those planning excursions to the Mainland (García 1906: 102; Incháustegui 1955: 99) (Table 6-2). Despite these measures, by the 1540s less than a dozen elite families lived in the area (Deagan 1999: 11; Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 123), as opposed to the numerous families found in earlier times.

Those who stayed were plagued by the problems caused by the *Casa de Contratación's* trade monopoly, namely lack of food, high taxes and commerce restrictions (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 67). These restrictions may have helped motivate some of the elites to become engaged in the contraband trade, as did Bachiller Alvaro de Castro (Patronato 1995: 134). In the 1530s and 1540s, the Spanish elite, especially the women and children, started to live a more sheltered, urban life, after rebel Taíno and African attacks on the Spanish settlements (Marte 1981: 401; Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 107). The Spanish traveled in heavily armed groups, prompting many to avoid travel too far from their homes (Guitar 1998: 281; Moya-Pons 1983: 36). This probably contributed to the urban environment being more culturally and genetically Spanish than the rural areas.

Much of the information available about life specifically at Concepción during the second period of study (1515-1564) comes from the trial of Bachiller Alvaro de Castro undertaken in 1532 (Patronato 1995). Castro, Dean of the Concepción Cathedral (and later the Treasurer of the Santo Domingo Cathedral), was accused of various crimes, including bringing illegal African slaves into the colony in collusion with an Genoese merchant in Seville (Patronato 1995: 16). Other Spaniards were also accused of bringing illegal slaves at the same time, namely the Caballero brothers of Santo Domingo (Guitar 1998: 214), but it was deemed worse for Castro because he was part of the clergy. Castro was, in fact, the Inquisition representative (Patronato 1995: 96) when he committed some of his other crimes, including adultery, with a “beata” or pious woman living at the Concepción Cathedral (Patronato 1995: 9) and with a Lucayan slave (Patronato 1995: 136). His other crimes included ownership of various stores (Patronato 1995: 212) and extortion of Church goers (Patronato 1995: 120). It appears one of his favorite antics

was to condemn those who ate meat on Fridays and later absolve them upon payment (Patronato 1995: 56, 120).

Although the clergy represented a separate social category and were closely aligned with the elite, there were also non-elite church servants, such as the Cathedral's sexton, Francisco Toro, and the steward, Juan Cordoba (See Table 6-5). Not all of the clergy had the same disregard for the Crown authorities as Alvaro de Castro did. The Franciscans taught the Taíno elite at the Monastery (Marte 1981: 112; Peguero 1975a: 140; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 83-85), and it is possible that some Spanish and African children may have also attended the classes (Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 83-85). Meanwhile, the Dominicans seem to have held theological conferences and debates for the older members of the colony, both clergy and laity (Patronato 1995: 248).

Non-Elite Spanish Colonists

Although it is possible to identify by name some of Concepción's non-elite Spanish inhabitants in the *Repartimiento* and other records owing to their trades (Benzo 2000 - See Tables 6-6, 6-7), it is difficult to determine their number during this time period. As noted above, Spanish documents did not often focus on non-elite individuals. It is also difficult to estimate a number through archaeological data, since it is not yet known what portion of Concepción's obviously large area of occupation was composed by this group. Another factor that hinders the identification of the Spanish non-elites was the relative ease through which upward mobility was achieved during this period. Although most non-elite Spanish migrated for the purpose of undertaking 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.

The first significant group of Spanish non-elites to arrive at Concepción was the ex-Roldanistas. This group, originally common soldiers, farmers and artisans, revolted against Columbus's authority at La Isabela, and moved to live in Indian communities in the western side of the island (Chapter 3, Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 201). In exchange for peace, the Crown offered these rebels, amongst other things, what amounted to elite status through grants of land and Native labor (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 201; Moya-Pons 1983: 24). Many then moved to the Concepción area (Charlevoix 1730a: 153).

The rise of the Roldanistas to elite status created a shortage of non-elite Spanish farmers and artisans in the colony, prompting the creation of incentives to attract migration (Guitar 1998: 193). The first group of non-elite workers to arrive at Concepción came with Ovando in 1502 (Moya-Pons 1974). Although they arrived in the colony as farm laborers, most decided to become gold prospectors instead (Moya-Pons 1978: 188). The Roldanistas's success probably motivated this change.

As the Ovando government progressed, efforts were made to have married couples migrate to increase the Spanish presence on the island (See Table 6-2). 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), many not of the high moral standards demanded by the Crown (Moya-Pons 1983: 15).

The 1514 *Repartimiento* gives the names of several tradesmen who received Taíno workers to help them at their craft (See Table 6-4). The fact that these tradesmen received workers point to the importance of these following trades at Concepción: mining, food production, construction, weaponry, tailoring, barber, and smiting (These trades and their appearance in the

archaeological record is discussed in Chapter 7-Economy). Unfortunately, other details of Taíno life were not considered important enough to record, such as whether they were married, and if they were, whether their wives were Spanish or not.

Many historians have postulated that the mass migration of elites after ca. 1515 was the cause of much the colony's decline (Charlevoix 1730a; García 1906: 102; Moya-Pons 1983: 28). Little attention has been paid to the influence of these non-elites within the system and their role in maintaining the Spanish hegemony.

Although non-elites during the later period may have been just as discontented with government policies as the elites, they did not seem to have migrated out of Concepción as readily, undoubtedly owing to the lack of means to leave and the fact that the Crown gave non-elites more incentives to stay than they gave elites (Incháustegui 1955: 121). These included include free passage, free food for a year and agricultural implements (see also Table 6-2 and Incháustegui 1955: 121).

The motivation to give incentives to non-elites came from the Spanish Crown's effort to change from gold production to agricultural production, namely sugar and later cattle ranching, as discussed in Chapter 3 (Haring 1939: 133, 1947: 217; Incháustegui 1955: 121). These types of productive systems needed more "middle management," (overseers and supervisors), a service that Spanish non-elites could provide (Guitar 1998: 126).

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. Although only good Castilian Christians (i.e. no new converts, or those investigated by the Inquisition) were allowed to migrate, in fact citizens from other countries, such as Genoese and Portuguese, were present at Concepción (Table 6-2; Guitar 1998: 193).

According to information contained in the 1532 Castro Trial proceedings, many non-elite residents of Concepción were not involved in agricultural production, but rather were still prospecting for gold (Patronato 1995: 246). Many lived on Castro's property, and were given food and equipment on credit by this Church official (Patronato 1995: 246). Historical records also document the names of several of Castro's servants (Benzo 2000), including Juan de la Fuente, Juan de Gamarro, Pero Gómez, Pero Goncales, and Pedro de Valladolid. Due to Castro's position as a high-ranking Church official, his trial records the name of several low-level Church officials (Table 6-7), including the sextons Lorenzo de Cuellar and Juan Martin de la Fuente Sabz, and the Maestrescuela Antonio Márquez.

Africans at Concepción

Residents of African descent in Hispaniola were categorized into four major groups: *Ladinos*, *Bozales*, *Cimarrones*, and *Libertos*. *Ladinos* were slaves of African ancestry, brought from Spain, who already knew Spanish language, religion and culture because they had resided in Spain for at least a year. *Bozales* were slaves brought directly from Africa. The *Cimarrones* (also known as *Maroons*), were ex-slaves who had managed to escape their masters. *Libertos* were free Africans who either came from Spain as free citizens, or managed to gain their freedom while on Hispaniola (Deive 1989; Franco 1975). (See Table 6-8).

It is quite probable that the first Africans to arrive at Concepción were *Liberto* colonists on Ovando's 1502 expedition (Deive 1980: 19). Most of the other Africans who arrived in Hispaniola during this period were not *Libertos*, but instead *Ladino* slaves (Guitar 1998: 124). Only *Ladino* slaves were allowed to travel to the New World during the first study period (1495-1514) (Deive 1980, 1989; Franco 1975; García 1906: 67 Marte 1981: 15; Larrazabal 1975: 13, 17; Rogozinski 2000: 51).

It appears the first *Ladinos* came as mine workers in 1505 to work in the Puerto Real copper mines (Incháustegui 1955: 114; Larrazabal 1975: 13). Soon after other *Ladinos* were brought in to work in the gold industry in other parts of the island, including Concepción (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 211; Fox 1940: 23-24). By 1510, *Ladinos* were considered better workers than the Taínos by Hispaniola's colonial authority (Deive 1980: 31), who claimed that the work of one African was worth that of four Indians (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 211; Deive 1980: 31; Incháustegui 1955: 113). This was in large part owing to the Africans' resistance to many European diseases (Rogozinski 2000).

However, due to their high prices, these *Ladino* slaves were considered to be a luxury (Deive 1989: 20). Until 1519, most African slaves could only be brought into Hispaniola by a select group of elite Spaniards, which often employed them in urban work (Landers 1999). *Ladino* women were the domestic servants at the elites' homes (Deive 1989: 20; Landers 1999: 8; Larrazabal 1975: 13), while *Ladino* men performed menial labor around the city, including construction (Deive 1989: 24; Larrazabal 1975: 13). Both men and women probably worked under the *jornal* system, which allowed slaves to live and work independently, in exchange for a daily payment to their owners (Landers 1999: 16). It is also possible that only *Ladino* women worked in town, while the *Ladino* men worked in the gold fields (Larrazabal 1975: 13). In this scenario, women would live in their masters' homes and the men would live in the fields they worked.

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 (Marte 1981: 317-318). It appears that most of these illegal slaves were *Bozal* men, who were brought straight from Africa to work in gold prospecting (Landers 1999: 16).

African *Liberto* men were also present in the gold fields during this first study period. Evidence seems to point towards the existence of African *Liberto* men supervising groups of 10 workers in the fields (Guitar 1998: 125). In fact, most *Libertos* held *criado* (servant) posts, with responsibilities similar to those of non-elite Spanish (Guitar 1998: 199). *Liberto* women probably also worked in Spanish households, but at a higher position than the women slaves. Most of the *Libertos* on Hispaniola seem to have arrived as such from Spain (Guitar 1998: 199).

Little is known about the many runaway slaves of the period in the Concepción area. This partly due to the nature of gold production, the prevalent economic production prevalent during the early colonial period. Unlike plantation industries - like sugar production - which required permanent lodging for the slaves, gold prospecting involved traveling from spot-to-spot in search of gold and living in temporary quarters. At the same time, since the *Ladinos* and the Taínos could communicate in Spanish, they often helped each other escape (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 157; Rogozinski 2000: 52). It is important to note, however, that no organized communities of escaped slaves existed before 1515 (Larrazabal 1975: 17). After 1515, African lifeways on Hispaniola changed dramatically due to shifting economic production systems (from gold to sugar), as well as the smallpox pandemic that depleted the Indian population.

Sugar, however, required a different type of worker. This seemed like a logical solution since the Spanish already had experience with working with Africans in the Canarian sugar industry (Guitar 1998: 184). At the same time, Africans had proven themselves immune to European diseases and resisted the Caribbean weather (Guitar 1998: 175; Rogozinski 2000). This change in requirements altered African slavery on Hispaniola making it different from the eminently urban setting in Spain, and causing a change in laws regarding manumission, miscegenation and enslavement (Landers 1999: 11).

Due to the need for different type of slaves, the Crown changed its slave importation policy during this period, namely preferring *Bozal* slaves to *Ladinos* (Deive 1989: 27). *Bozales* had not been acculturated in Spain previous to their arrival on Hispaniola, and spoke no Spanish (Deive 1989; Moya-Pons 1983: 34). It was believed that these slaves were better because they had not been contaminated by the “evils of civilization” (Guitar 1998: 196). 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).

This change in policy of importing only *Bozal* slaves started during the Jeronymite government (1516-1519) (Deive 1989: 26; Larrazabal 1975: 14, 21), and was made into law in 1526 (Deive 1989: 32; 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 (Guitar 1998: 256; 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; Patronato 1995: 224). There is some evidence that *Bozal* slave women may have panned for gold (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 208). Many of them arrived to substitute the Taíno who had died during the smallpox pandemic in 1518 (Guitar 1998: 182). Throughout this time period, slaves were bought from merchants who came into town during the fundición (smelting) period at a cheaper price than if they went for them in Santo Domingo (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 106-107).

Although the importation of *Ladinos* from Spain was outlawed in 1526 (Deive 1989: 32; Larrazabal 1975: 100), this did not mean that this group was not present in the colony. In fact,

most *Bozal* slaves became *Ladinos* after learning Spanish, and becoming “Christian.” Historical records show that owners seemed to give higher posts to Ladinized workers (Larrazabal 1975: 107), especially women in domestic labor (See Patronato 1995: 214).

It appears that, among the *Bozal* and *Ladino* populations, women had more freedom of mobility than men did (Larrazabal 1975: 110). Rules for mobility were set up by the different Slave *Ordenanzas* (laws) emitted in the colony, especially the ones prepared in 1528 and 1544. The 1528 *Ordenanzas* allowed African slave women to sell vegetable wares on the streets and *plazas*, but the men could only sell the same wares in small quantities with the permission of their masters (Larrazabal 1975: 110). By 1544, African slave 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 building construction (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 91), or the sale of livestock innards at the slaughterhouse (Larrazabal 1975: 110). *Ladinos* could not own taverns, or even drink wine (Larrazabal 1975: 110). They could not go into the countryside to buy produce, or sell it without their masters’ permission (Larrazabal 1975: 110). They were also banned from selling clothes (Larrazabal 1975: 110). Most importantly, slaves were not allowed to carry weapons of any kind (Larrazabal 1975: 107).

Another change in African lifeways on Hispaniola was a consequence of the Enriquillo rebellion. Enriquillo’s followers not only included escaped Amerindian slaves, but also *Cimarrones* (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 157; Rogozinski 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). After the 1522 Wolof rebellion, the Crown issued the 1522 *Ordenanzas* which put a set of deculturization mechanisms

in motion. These included the mandate to create plantation workforces out of different African ethnic and language groups to avoid unity (Deive 1989: 35, 217).

The slave trade was a complicated system which caused problems for the Crown and the colonial authorities. To overcome these problems, the authorities on both sides of the Atlantic, starting in 1526, promoted the creation of a Hispaniolan born workforce. A Royal decree declared that at least 1/3 (later ½) of the *Bozales* imported must be women, while at the same time, married slaves could not be freed, and their children could not be free (Guitar 1998: 259; Moya-Pons 1978). As with the earlier plan to motivate the travel of married Spanish couples, this effort did not work, mainly because it was not compatible with the labor requirements of the sugar production system (Guitar 1998: 280).

After 1540 and into 1560s, most of the slaves taken to the mainland were acculturated on Hispaniola before arriving there (Larrazabal 1975: 37; Rogozinski 2000: 52). By 1555, historical records say many *vecinos* in Hispaniola preferred to sell slaves rather than work them, causing a shortage in workers (Larrazabal 1975: 40). The threat to be sold to the mainland was, quite likely, a motivation for slaves to run away and become *Cimarrones*.

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

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 escape with the intent of living in

autonomous communities (Price 1979: 3; Weik 1997: 81). On Hispaniola as in most regions of the Caribbean, Grand Marronage also included armed rebellions (Guitar 1998: 340; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 66; Rueda 1988: 122).

Both *Bozal* and *Ladino* slaves ran away from the Spanish (Guitar 1998: 235), often returning after a few days (Price 1979:3; Weik 1997: 81). The 1528 *Ordenanzas* allows for these occasional escapes, allowing 15 to 20 days for the slaves to return (Larrazabal 1975: 107). *Ladinos*, however, were more apt to escape permanently and live in autonomous communities, often with escaped Amerindians (Deive 1989: 271; Weik 1997: 89). These communities were on the margins of colonial society, outside the scope of governmental control, but tied to it by familial and friendship ties (Deive 1989: 11; Weik 1997: 86).

Although for men the *Cimarrón* lifestyle was a conscious choice, many of the women within *Cimarrón* communities were taken there against their will (Deive 1989: 264). Historical records show that the capture of slave women was an important element of *Cimarrón* raids on Spanish communities (Deive 1989: 264).

In the Concepción area most of the *Cimarrones* escaped from the gold mines (Guitar 1998: 277). Concepción was the second largest area of *Cimarrón* activity on the island in the 1530s and 1540s, with rebellions led by Diego de Guzmán, Diego de Ocampo and Dieguillo de Ocampo (Guitar 1998: 277; Marte 1981: 301).

Not all people of African origin in early colonial Hispaniola were slaves. Many of the *Libertos* on Hispaniola seem to have arrived as such from Spain (Guitar 1998: 199), and many others were *Cimarrones* who had been pardoned by the colonial authority, as was the case of Diego de Ocampo and Diego Guzman (Guitar 1998: 278; Marte 1981: 414).

Although slave *ordenanzas* included ways in which slaves could become free (Deive 1980; Landers 1990; Larrazabal 1975), conditions for freedom became increasingly more intricate with each revision of these regulations. Especially harsh were the 1526 provisions that Africans slaves could not have free children (Guitar 1998: 259).

Several colonial institutions, like the Church and the judges of the *Real Audiencia*, did not agree with these harsh conditions (Guitar 1998: 199, 259). Both institutions believed that *Libertos* were more beneficial for the colony, but were opposed by the sugar mill owners, most of whom were members of the old *Servidores* group (see Chapter 6), and held most of the colonial governorship posts during this period (Guitar 1998: 199).

Although the Spanish were supposed to have a tally of their slaves, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Africans in the Concepción area, and Hispaniola in general throughout this period (Guitar 1998: 261; Larrazabal 1975: 39). This is due to factors like contraband, Petit Marronage, and the great fluidity between categories.

The only African names recorded in relation to Concepción during this time period are the names of three *Cimarrones* active in the area: Diego de Ocampo, Diego Guzman and Dieguillo de Ocampo. From the mid 1530s to 1548, the area around Concepción was attacked by these leaders who followed the *Cimarrón* leader Lemba (Guitar 1998: 277, 278; Marte 1981: 413). Historical evidence seems to point to the possibility that Ocampo may have been a slave at Concepción (Guitar 1998: 278). He may have been owned by a *vecino* last named Ocampo (see Table 6-5). The amount of information available about these individuals reveals both how dangerous the Spanish authorities thought these rebellions were and how pacific slaves seemed to lack an identity.

From Labor System to Colonial Society

Given that the three distinct cultural/racial groups discussed here had never interacted together before the creation of the Hispaniola colony, it was, and still is, difficult to classify the particular cultural/racial groups that existed at Concepción during both periods of study. 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 regards to terms to be used for those people of mixed heritage, which did not exist until the 1580s (Guitar 2002: 8). Certain social characteristics, however, were used to identify people within the colony, particularly where they fit within the established labor system, namely the *Repartimiento* (discussed above - Chapter 3) and this practice became the basis of the established colonial social system by 1515.

As noted in Chapter 3, large number of Africans did not start to arrive on Hispaniola until 1502, so originally the labor system was set up for the Taíno workforce.

The *Repartimiento* divided the Native American workforce into three major categories (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Tavares 1976: 28):

- · Nitaínos
- · Trabajadores libres (“Free” laborers) – also known as Repartimiento Taíno
- · Perpetual Naborias

The *Nitaínos* were the Taíno nobles of the elite class. It appears that the Spanish, during this period, considered the *Nitaíno* to be equivalent to the “lesser nobility” in Spain (Guitar 2001). These included the *cacique* (chief) and the tribe elders. 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 Taíno workers and the Spanish authorities (Deagan 2004: 608; Guitar 2001). In order to do this, the Spanish selected the sons of cacique

chiefs to be educated within the Spanish system at selected monasteries in the colony (Guitar 1998: 170; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 83-85).

The *Trabajadores libres* (“Free” laborers) were the main worker group under the *Repartimiento* guidelines and corresponded to the non-elite Spanish class. They did not belong to one owner, and were not private property (Cassá 1978: 44). 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). According to the Crown, these Taíno workers worked for a certain length of time, with long periods of “rest” assigned between work seasons (Deagan 2004: 603). 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). A system called *demora*, or the extension for several months of the mining work, was created in 1504, eventually lead to continuous work cycles (Cassá 1978: 44). It is important to note that most of these “free” subjects were non-elite men, and their removal from their communities most likely altered the gender ratios within this social class (Deagan 2004: 610). However, in spite of this gender imbalance, studies seem to show that the members of this Taíno social strata continued to maintain many of their pre-contact cultural practices (Anderson-Córdova 1990; Deagan 2004: 621).

The last group, the *Naborias*, was made up of the servants of the *Nitáinos* and the Spanish overlords. These were not under the jurisdiction of a cacique, or linked to a Taíno conglomerate (Cassá 1978: 53). They did not benefit from the 40 days of rest ordered by the Crown. This group included a sub-group “*Perpetual Naborias*,” which were captured Native American Indians who had rebelled against the Spanish (Cassá 1978: 53; Guitar 1998: 90). *Perpetual*

Naborias were slaves for all practical purposes. They were private property and could be inherited (Cassá 1978: 53).

At Concepción, the *Repartimiento* labor system was first instituted to organize Native American labor within the gold mining industry, but was later adapted to fit other needs, both social and economic, by incorporating elements of the Spanish class system and slavery systems. In terms of economic needs, the same basic labor structure was used upon the introduction of other industries, such as sugar and cattle, to the city (for a detailed description of these industries see Chapter 7 - Economic Industries at Concepción). In social terms, the division of labor within the *Repartimiento* labor system evolved to become the basis of the social hierarchy.

Table 6-1. List of Caciques at Concepción (1514)

| Name | Male or Female | Spanish or Taíno Name |
|--|----------------|---------------------------|
| Acanaorex | Male | Taíno |
| Almirantito | Male | Spanish |
| Alvarico | Male | Spanish |
| Anaorex | Male | Taíno |
| Arévalo, Gonzalo de | Male | Spanish |
| Ayala | Male | Spanish |
| Ayraguay | Male | Taíno |
| Barahona | Female | Taíno |
| Baraona del Marién | Male | Taíno |
| Beatriz | Female | Spanish |
| Casambanas, Ynamoca de | Female? | Taíno |
| Collado | Male | Spanish |
| Colón, Diego | Male | Spanish |
| Contreras | Male | Spanish |
| Cotuy, Lucas de | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Cotuy, Vega del | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Elvira (Pérez de Nava, Alvar) | Female | Spanish |
| Elvira (Guevara, Sebastián de) | Female | Spanish |
| Escobar del Marién, Antonio | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| García Carabi, Juan | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Gómez | Male | Spanish |
| González, Martín | Male | Spanish |
| Gonzalo | Male | Spanish |
| Gracia | Female | Spanish |
| Guacón, Diego Enrique | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Guacoquex, Diego de | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Hernandico el Tuerto | Male | Spanish |
| Horosco | Male | Spanish |
| Juan, Don | Male | Spanish |
| Lucia | Female | Spanish |
| Blanco, G. (dead) | Male | Spanish |
| Luisa | Female | Spanish |
| Luna, María de (Lope de Mesa, Pero) | Female | Spanish |
| Luna, María de (Díaz de Pastrana, Pedro) | Female | Spanish |
| Macorís, Salamanca del | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Macote | Male | Taíno |

Table 6-1. Continued

| Name | Male or Female | Spanish or Taíno Name |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| Maniacotes | Male | Taíno |
| Mari-Sanchez | Female | Spanish |
| Marién, Cristóbal de | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Masedro | Male | Spanish |
| Mata Boronex | Male | Taíno |
| Maxaguan | Male | Taíno |
| Maymotonex | Male | Taíno |
| Mendoza | Female | Spanish |
| Miquito | Male | Spanish |
| Nacory, Alonso | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Nibagua | Male | Taíno |
| Ortiz y Nitaino, Tamayo | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Roman, Alonso | Male | Spanish |
| Salcedo, Juanico | Male | Spanish |
| San Benito, cacique de | Male | Spanish |
| Simenex | Male | Taíno |
| Vacarex, Martin | Male | First-Spanish; Last-Taíno |
| Vega, Pedro de la | Male | Spanish |
| Velásquez, Diego | Male | Spanish |
| Velásquez | Male | Spanish |
| Vera, Juan de | Male | Spanish |

Based on Arranz-Márquez, Luis, 1991. Repartimientos y encomiendas en la isla Española. Ediciones Fundación García-Arévalo, Santo Domingo.

Table 6-2. Spanish Population Policies

| Date | Policy |
|-----------|---|
| 1493 | La Isabela conceived as mix of Spanish colonial experiences and those of Portuguese factorías (5) |
| 1495 | Columbus establishes Concepción in Cibao Valley near Guarionex's village (6) |
| 1498 | Santo Domingo founded (17) |
| 1499 | Agreement reached with Roldán (5) |
| 1501 | No heretics, Jews or Moors are allowed, unless are slaves under Spanish control (9) |
| 1502 | Expulsion of the Moors from Spain (4) Ovando arrives with 30 ships, 2,500 settlers (including women and children) (15) There were 360 people previously on the island (11) Franciscans headed by Alonso de Espinal set up residence in Concepción (6)(12) 1,000 die, 500 sick amongst Ovando's settlers (1) |
| 1502-1508 | Bad grain crop in Castile. Can't be imported from elsewhere (1) |
| 1503 | Only Christians can come to New World (8) Spanish villas in Ovando's time: Lares de Guahaba, Puerto Real, Puerto Plata, Santiago, Concepción, Cotui, Bonao, Santa Cruz de Icacagua, Higüey, Santo Domingo, Buenaventura, Azua, San Juan de la Maguana, La Vera Paz, Yaquimo, and La Sabana (5) |
| 1504-1507 | Large immigration from Castile to Hispaniola (1) |
| 1507 | Ovando asks the King to prohibit migration of those who will not work (1) |
| 1509 | Diego Columbus complains of 3,000 vagrant single men (1) María de Toledo brings ladies-in-waiting, which marry important rich men of colony (16) |
| 1510 | <i>Repartimiento</i> by Diego Columbus (2) 1,000 Spanish leave with Hojeda and Nicuesa to Tierra Firme. Took Indians slaves with them (1) |
| 1511 | Casa de Contratación no longer forbids converse immigration (1)(8) Ecclesiastical posts for legitimate sons of <i>vecinos</i> and <i>peninsulares</i> . Must know Latin.(14) |

Table 6-2. Continued

| Date | Policy |
|-----------|--|
| 1512 | King suggests sending white slaves (Moors and indentured servants) to Hispaniola (8) |
| 1514 | Rodrigo de Alburquerque conducts <i>Repartimiento</i> (11) |
| 1515-1517 | More than 800 <i>vecinos</i> abandon island (8) |
| 1517 | Letter from Jeronymites reports depopulation, noting both indigenous and Spanish residents are few (8) |
| 1518 | Zuazo asks for settlers from everywhere, except Jews, Moors, their children and grandchildren (13) |
| 1519-1533 | Enriquillo Rebellion caused in part by massive Spanish migration (5) |
| 1519 | Canarians are encouraged to emigrate due to their experience in the sugar industry (8) Crown attention shifts to mineral-rich, heavily populated Mexico (7)(8) Many who did not receive Taíno in <i>Repartimiento</i> leave for Mexico and Central America.(2)(3) |
| 1520 | Attacks by <i>Cimarrones</i> make gold extraction dangerous, causing depopulation and agricultural products concentrated in safe areas (5) |
| 1521 | All Spaniards who wish to remain in Indies must bring their wives, unless by royal permission (8) |
| 1526 | Crown signed provision that said Africans were not to be set free if married, or would have free children (8) Royal decree prohibiting migration under penalty of death. Cannot take other Span or Indians with them (8)(11) |
| 1527 | <i>Vecinos</i> who abandoned their homes must return to them, under the pain of having their Taíno workers taken away (8) |
| 1528 | Genoese and Portuguese immigrants are especially encouraged due to their sugar industry experience, but can only stay 2 years (8) Towns: Santo Domingo, Concepción, Santiago, Puerto Real, Higüey, San Juan de la Maguana, Santa María del Puerto, Salvatierra de la Sabana and Yaguana (10) Crisis of depopulation on island (14) |
| 1529 | Crown offers concessions to peasants who go to New World (8) |

Table 6-2. Continued

| Date | Policy |
|-----------|---|
| 1530 | Crown offers free lots to settlers (8) |
| 1531 | Crown gives free passage to peasant immigrants (8) |
| 1534 | For 10 years no one can leave the island or province where they are a resident to go to another, under pain of losing their offices and any Indians they may have (8) |
| 1535 | Foreign immigrants can only stay for 2 years. Those that stay longer without a license have their goods seized and sent to the Casa de Contratación (8) |
| 1543-1548 | Cerrato finds island in a state of fear. White population never left their farms on groups of less than 15-20 armed men (11)(16) |
| 1545 | Canarian immigrants are still encouraged to come to Hispaniola (8) |
| 1546 | Crown prohibits single men passage to Indies.(8) |
| 1547 | <i>Vecinos</i> are attacked by <i>Cimarrones</i> when they try to move into country, away from city center (14) |
| | Mass immigration, especially in Concepción which only has 17 <i>vecinos</i> (14) |

Sources

1. Arranz-Márquez 1979: 15, 16, 19, 18, 24
2. Arranz-Márquez 1991
3. Benzo 2000
4. Brown 2000: 74
5. Cassá 1978: 32, 36, 39, 42, 60, 63
6. Cohen 1997: 4, 6
7. Deagan 1991: 4
8. Guitar 1998: 124, 125, 145, 158, 186, 188, 189, 190, 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 258, 259, 300, 340
9. Marte 1981: 15
10. Moya-Pons 1974: 75
11. Moya-Pons 1978
12. Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 59
13. Rodriguez-Demorizi 1971: 267
14. Rodriguez-Morel 2000: xv, xvii, 57, 106, 107
15. Rogozinski 2000: 28
16. Rueda 1988: 106, 224
17. Suarez-Marill 1998: 8

Table 6-3. Partial List of Concepción de la Vega's First Inhabitants

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino in 1514 | # of Indians Received (1514) | Comments |
|--|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|---|
| Alburquerque, Rodrigo de (S) | | Concepción | 287 | -Repartimiento (1514) -Law representative |
| Ayala, Juan de (S) | | Santo Domingo | | Mayor of the Fort (1495) |
| Ballester, Miguel de (Ballesteros) (S) | | | | -Warden of fort (1497) -Mayor of the Fort -First sugar producer |
| Barrantes, García de (S) | | Higüey | | -Captain -Commander against Guarionex (1497) |
| Becerra, Ana Doña (Castilian woman) | Castilian | | | Wife of Lic. Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón |
| Fernández, Catalina (Castilian woman) | Castilian | | | Wife of Antón de San Miguel |
| Garcés, Juan (S) | Taíno | | | |
| García, María (Castilian woman) | Castilian | Concepción | | wife of Rodrigo de Villadiego |
| Godoy, Diego de (S) | | | | Servant of Rodrigo de Villadiego |
| Guillén, Cristóbal (S) | | Concepción | 80 | |
| Gutierrez de Aguilón, Alonso (S) | | Concepción | | First sugar producer |
| Herrera, Ortiga de (S) | | | | Servant of Rodrigo de Villadiego |
| Manso, Don Alonso (S) | | | | -First Inquisitor in the Indies -Bishop of Puerto Rico |
| Martín, Gonzalo (S) | | | | Servant of Rodrigo de Villadiego |
| Mexia, Rodrigo (S) | | | | |
| Muñoz, Toribio (S) | Castilian | Concepción | 36 | |
| Nuñez, Bartolomé (S) | | | | |
| Pallares, Alonso de (S) | | | | |
| Pastrana, Juan de (S) | | Dead | | |
| Rambla, Gonzalo de la (S) | | | | soldier (1497) |

Table 6-3. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino in 1514 | # of Indians Received (1514) | Comments |
|---|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|--|
| Rodríguez, Cristóbal (S) San Miguel, Antón de (S) | Castilian | | | Translator -Hidalgo -Husband of Catalina Fernández |
| Soto, María de (Castilian woman) | Castilian | | | Wife of Diego de Villadiego |
| Vásquez de Ayllón, Lic. Lucas (S) | Castilian | Santiago | | -Graduate/ mayor/ miner/ cattle rancher -Husband of doña Ana Becerra |
| Villadiego, Diego de (S) | Castilian | | | -Husband of María de Soto |
| Villadiego, Gonzalo (S) Villadiego, Rodrigo de (S) | Castilian | Concepción | 46 | -Merchant -Husband of María García |

(S)=Spanish

Based on Arranz-Márquez 1991 and Benzo 2000

Table 6-4. Partial List of Concepción de la Vega's Inhabitants in 1514

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received | Comments |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|--------|-----------------------|--|
| Arcipreste de la Concepción (S) | | | 1 | Archpriest |
| Canónigo de Toro (S) | | | 1 | Canon |
| Acevedo, Aldonza de (Castilian woman) | Castilian | | | -Noble (doña) -Wife of Juan de Villoria |
| Aguilera, Juan de (S) | | X | 2 | |
| Albuquerque, Juan de (S) | | X | 115 | Alderman |
| Albuquerque, Rodrigo de (S) | | X | 287 | -Repartidor -Law representative |
| Alcántara, Fernando de (S) | | X | 53 | Miner |
| Alcázar, Rodrigo de (S) | Castilian | X | 75 | -Alderman -Crown silversmith |
| Alonso, Blas (S) | Castilian | X | 2 | |
| Arce, Alonso de (S) | | X | 45 | Notary |
| Arrobal, Pedro de (Arroyal) (S) | | X | 4 | |
| Atienza, Pedro de (S) | | X | 82 | Alderman |
| Avila, Cristóbal de (S) | | | 3 | Tailor |
| Balbas, Juan de (S) | | X | | |
| Becerra, Juan (S) | | | | Bachiller |
| Benalcázar, Francisco de (S) | | | 4 | |
| Berdejo, Alonso de (Verdejo) (S) | | X | | |
| Borda, Fernando de (S) | | X | | |
| Bresan, Rafael (S) | | X | | |
| Cabrera, Luis de (S) | Taíno | | 6 | |
| Cepeda, Alonso de (S) | Taíno | X | 59 | |
| Covarrubias, Francisco de (S) | | | 3 | Tailor |
| Cuba, Jorge de la (José) (S) | | X | 2 | |
| Díaz, Elena (Castilian woman) | | | 2 | Probable widow |
| Díaz de Pastrana, Pedro (S) | | X | 43 | |
| Diez, Diego (S) | Castilian | X | | Woolcarding official |

Table 6-4. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received | Comments |
|---|------------------|--------|-----------------------|---|
| Fernández, Catalina (Castilian woman) | Castilian | | | Wife of Antón de San Miguel -First settler |
| Fernández, María (Castilian woman) | | | 3 | Probable widow |
| Fernández, Francisco (S) | | X | | -Bachiller -Doctor/surgeon |
| Fernández de Guadalupe, Juan (S) | | X | 89 | Alderman |
| Fernández Marmolejo, Alonso (Bartolomé) (S) | | X | 47 | |
| García, María (Castilian woman) | Castilian | X | | wife of Rodrigo de Villadiego |
| Godoy, Diego de (S) | | | | Servant of Rodrigo de Villadiego |
| Gómez, Ruiz (S) | | | 7 | Constable |
| Gomiel, Pedro de (S) | Castilian | X | 32 | |
| Guevara, Sebastián de (S) | Taíno | X | 30 | |
| Guillén, Cristóbal (S) | | X | 80 | First settler |
| Guzmán, Diego (S) | | X | 42 | |
| Hernández, Francisco (S) | | | 3 | -Doctor/surgeon /apothecary -Bachiller |
| Herrera Carrillo, Francisco de (S) | | | 42 | |
| Hierro, Blas (S) | | | 1 | Bishop's prebendary |
| Hinojosa, Juan de (S) | | | 2 | |
| Lope de Mesa, Pero (S) | Castilian | X | 87 | -Residencia advisor -Tax collector |
| López, Vicente (S) | | | 2 | Notary public |
| Luzón, Hernando de (S) | | | 2 | |
| Martín, Goncalo (S) | | | | Servant of Rodrigo de Villadiego |
| Monte, Gonzalo (S) | | X | 33 | |
| Monterero, Cristóbal de (S) | Castilian | | | |

Table 6-4. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received | Comments |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|--------|-----------------------|--|
| Morón, Gómez de (S) | | X | 2 | Crossbowman |
| Muñoz, Toribio (S) | Castilian | X | 36 | First settler |
| Murcia, Miranda (Castilian woman) | Castilian | | | Wife of Pedro de Murcia |
| Murcia, Pedro de (S) | Castilian | X | 43 | Husband of Miranda de Murcia |
| Murcia, Pedro de (S) | | | 3 | Doctor/Apothecary/Barber |
| Nisa, Pero (S) | | | 2 | Blacksmith |
| Núñez, Vasco (S) | | X | | |
| Pallares, Alonso de (S) | | X | | |
| Palma, Juan de (S) | Taíno | X | 13 | |
| Parada, Alonso de (S) | | X | 86 | -Bachiller -Residencia judge |
| Pasamonte, Miguel de (S) | | X | 251 | -Royal Treasurer -Assistant of the 1514 Repartimiento |
| Pérez, Pero (S) | | | 1 | Notary |
| Pérez de Almonte, Alonso (S) | Taíno | X | 30 | Navigator |
| Pérez de Nava, Alvar (S) | Castilian | X | 46 | |
| Pérez de Villanueva, Pero (S) | | | 2 | |
| Ponce de León, Hernán (S) | | X | 109 | -Alderman/ Visitador -Procurator/representative |
| Porras, Alonso de (S) | | X | 105 | Visitador |
| Príncipe, Cristóbal (S) | | X | | |
| Ramírez, Juan (S) | | | 3 | Barber |
| Ramírez, Ramiro (S) | | X | 2 | |
| Reguero, Martín (S) | | X | | |
| Rendón, Melchor (S) | Castilian | | 2 | master constructor |
| Robles, Juan de (S) | | | | Farm owner |
| Rodrigo, Diego (S) | | | 2 | Locksmith |
| Román, Alonso (S) | Taíno | X | 40 | |
| Romano, Alonso (S) | | X | | |
| Salamanca, Alonso de (S) | Taíno | X | 3 | |

Table 6-4. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received | Comments |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|--------|-----------------------|---|
| Salamanca, Blas de (S) | | X | 2 | Crossbowman |
| Salamanca, Miguel de (S) | Taíno | X | 31 | |
| San Miguel, Antón de (S) | Castilian | | | First settler/Hidalgo -Husband of Catalina Fernández |
| Seña, Hernando de (Peña) (S) | | | 1 | Market-gardener |
| Soto, María de (Castilian woman) | Castilian | | | -First settler -Wife of Diego de Villadiego |
| Suárez de Deza, Pedro (S) | | | 6 | Assigned Bishop |
| Taborda, Hernando de (S) | | X | 33 | |
| Tapia, Sebastián de (S) | | | 1 | Miner |
| Tejerina, Juan de (S) | | | 1 | |
| Termino de Velasco, Lope de (S) | Castilian | X | 6 | |
| Terreros, Francisco de (Tenedos) (S) | | X | 54 | |
| Toledo, Juan de (S) | Castilian | X | 4 | |
| Vadillo, Miguel de (S) | | X | | |
| Valdenebro, Alonso de (S) | | | | |
| Valdenebro, Diego (S) | | X | 52 | Crossbowman/Visitador |
| Valera, Pedro de (S) | | | 2 | Master constructor |
| Valverde, Francisco de (S) | Taíno | X | 6 | |
| Verde, Diego (S) | | X | | |
| Villacorta, Lope de (S) | | X | 51 | |
| Villadiego, Diego de (S) | Castilian | | 3 | Husband of María de Soto |
| Villadiego, Rodrigo de (S) | Castilian | X | 46 | Merchant / First settler -Husband of María García |
| Villoldo, Gerónimo de (S) | Taíno | | 2 | |
| Villoria, Juan de (S) | Castilian | X | 199 | -Alderman -Husband of Doña Aldonza de Acevedo |
| Viniegra, Diego de (S) | | X | | |

Table 6-4. Continued

| |
|---|
| Spanish vecinos : 41 |
| Married encomenderos: 19 |
| Married to Castilian women (vecinos and non-vecinos): 9 |
| Married to Taíno women (vecinos and non-vecinos): 10 |
| (S)=Spanish |

Based on Aranz-Márquez 1991 and Benzo 2000

Table 6-5. Partial List of Concepción de la Vega's Inhabitants after 1515

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received in 1514 | Comments |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--|
| Aguilar, Marcos de (S) | | | | Inquisitor (1532) |
| Alcantara, Hernando de (S) | | X | 6 | -Miner -Will executor(1532) |
| Alonso de Valencia, Hernando (S) | | X | | 1530 |
| Alpargas, Catalina (S) | | X | | "lived in sin" with Alvaro Castro (1532) |
| Arciniega (S) | | | | 1532 |
| Atienza, Pedro de (S) | | X | | alderman (1532) |
| Avila, Alonso (S) | | X | | alderman |
| Avila, Juan de (S) | | | | Notary |
| Avila, María de (S) | | X | | |
| Baldeca, Lope de (S) | Castilian | | | 1532 |
| Basyniana, Pedro Benito (G) | | | | Genovese merchant from Seville, partner of Alvaro de Castro (1532) |
| Beatrizica (L) | | | | -Lucayan woman (1532) |
| Buviesca, Juan de (S) | | | | Adolescent |
| Cabra, Alonso de (S) | Castilian | | | -Husband of Beatriz de Salas |
| Camargo, Hernando de (S) | | | | Cleric/Vicar-general (1532) |
| Camora, Juan de (S) | | X | | |
| Campos, Antonio de (S) | | | | Appellate judge/Chief constable |
| Castillo, Hernando del (S) | | X | | |
| Castro, Alvaro de (S) | | | | Bachiller/ Cathedral Dean/ Inquisition commissary / Canon |
| Castro, Ana de (S) | Castilian | | | -Niece of Alvaro de Castro (1532) -Wife of Martin de Landa |
| Castro, Leonor (S) | | X | | |
| Castro, Pedro de (S) | | X | | alderman |

Table 6-5. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received in 1514 | Comments |
|------------------------------------|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--|
| Catalina (Catalinica) (L) | Castilian | | | -Lucayan Indian (1532) -Lived in sin with Alvaro de Castro |
| Cavallero, Hernando (S) | | X | | |
| Cespedes, Sancho (S) | | | | Archdeacon (1532) |
| Cobo, Juan (S) | | | | Farm owner (1532) |
| Cordoba, Juan de (S) | | | | Church steward (1532) |
| Cornejo, Pedro (S) | | X | | |
| Cuellar, Lorenzo de (S) | | X | | Farm owner/ Sexton (1532) |
| Davila, Cristóbal (S) | | X | | Tailor (1532) |
| Davila, Juan (S) | | | | Notary (1532) |
| Deza, Cristóbal de (S) | | | | Canon/vicar-general (1532) |
| Díaz de Peravia, Pero (S) | | | | Buyer of African slaves (1532) |
| Díaz de Pastrana, Pero (S) | | X | | (1532) |
| Fernández, Gonzalo (S) | | | | (1532) |
| Fordillo (Gordillo) (S) | | | | Executive constable (1532) |
| Fuente, Juan de la (S) | | | | Alvaro de Castro's servant (1532) |
| Fuente Sabz, Juan Martin de la (S) | | X | | Sexton (1532) |
| Gamarro, Juan de (S) | | X | | -Alvaro de Castro's servant -Cleric of First Tonsure (1532) |
| García de Paredes (S) | | X | | Estante (1532) |
| Gaviria, Miguel de (S) | | | | Crown notary |
| Gomes, Gonzalo (S) | | X | | Farm owner |
| Gómez, Pero (S) | | X | | Alvaro de Castro's servant (1532) |
| Goncales, Pero (S) | | X | | Alvaro de Castro's servant (1532) |
| Granadaces, Alonso de (S) | | X | | (1532) |

Table 6-5. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received in 1514 | Comments |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|---|
| Gutierre, Myllan (S) | | | | Bachiller en Artes (college graduate in Humanities) /Mass cleric/ Bishopric vicar-general/ Preceptor (1532) |
| Hernández, Juan (S) | | X | | Lived close to <i>plaza</i> (1532) |
| Hernández de Guadalupe, Juan (S) | | X | | |
| Hinojos, Francisco de (S) | | X | | Farm owner |
| Hurtado, Juan (S) | | | | Governor deputy |
| Landa, Martín de (S) | Castilian | | | Husband of Ana de Castro (1532) |
| León, Alvaro de (S) | | X | | -Canon / knight commander/ -Cathedral vicar-general (1532) |
| López, Blas (S) | | | | Cleric/ Bishop's chaplain |
| Lope de Mesa, Pero (S) | Castilian | X | 87 | -Residencia advisor (1532) -Tax Collector/Chief constable |
| Manso, Alonso (S) | | | | -Ex-Bishop of Puerto Rico -Inquisitor |
| Márquez, Antonio (S) | | | | Maestrescuela (1532) |
| Madrid, Diego de (S) | | | | Father of Juan Solano (1532) |
| Martín, Alonso (S) | | | | -Canon (1518) -Cattle rancher on Alvaro de Castro's land |
| Martín, Diego (S) | | | | Sexton (1532) |
| Martín de Hojeda, Antonio (S) | | X | | |
| Martín Callejas, Martín (S) | | | | Galley sergeant/ miner/merchant |
| Martin de Trebejo, Juan (P) | | X | | Mule driver/salt transporter |
| Martín de Xagua, Juan (S) | | | | Miner |
| Mendoza, Francisco de (S) | | | | Vicar-general (1532) |
| Merchán, Juan (S) | Castilian | | | Husband of Ines de Salas |

Table 6-5. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received in 1514 | Comments |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--|
| Monegro, Antón de (S) | | X | | Mayor (1532) |
| Montesino, Macias (S) | | X | | (1532) |
| Morales (S) | | X | | Tailor (1532)/Sold clothes with Alvaro de Castro |
| Morales (S) | | | | Bachiller |
| Morales, Luys de (S) | | | | Church Prebendary |
| Morón, Gómez de (S) | | X | 2 | Crossbowman (1532) |
| Mosquera, Juan (S) | | | | Mayor (1532) |
| Muñiz, Juana (Juana Nuñez) | | X | | Widow |
| Muñiz, Juan (S) | | | | (1532) |
| Muñoz, Toribio (S) | Castilian | X | 36 | First settlers |
| Núñez, Vasco (S) | | X | | |
| Ocampo, Francisco de (S) | | | | Mayor /Tax Collector |
| Orellana, Juan de (S) | | | | Servant of Blas López |
| Orejón, Francisco (S) | | | | sugar mill owner/ Mayor |
| Ortega, Diego de (S) | | X | | cattle rancher |
| Ortiz, Juan (S) | | X | | Royal notary (1532) |
| Palma, Juan de (S) | | X | | (1532) |
| Palomo, Pedro (S) | | X | | Barber/Public prosecutor/ Constable (1532) |
| Pastor, Alonso (S) | | X | | Servant of Alonso Román |
| Pedroso, Fr. Antonio de O.F. (S) | | | | Franciscan Frair |
| Pérez, Juan (S) | | | | Vicar-general |
| Pérez de Landa, Martín (S) | | X | | Notary Public |
| Pineda, Pedro (S) | | X | | Shoemaker |
| Pérez, Pero (S) | | | | |
| Ponce de León, Francisco (S) | | X | | Alderman |
| Pozo, Gil del (S) | | | | (1532) |
| Prado, Francisco de (S) | | X | | Graduate (1532) |
| Rio, Diego del (S) | | | | cleric ? (1532) |
| Rodríguez, Alonso (S) | | | | Shepherd (1532) |

Table 6-5. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received in 1514 | Comments |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--|
| Rodríguez, Bartolomé (S) | | | | |
| Rodríguez, Isabel (S) | | | | -(Castilian woman) -probable widow |
| Román, Alonso (S) | Taíno | X | 40 | Owned a sugar mill with Francisco de Orejón / Alvaro de Castro's servant |
| Ruis (S) | | | | canon |
| Sabcedo, Cristóbal de (S) | | | | vicar-general (1532) |
| Salamanca, Blas de (S) | | | | (1532) |
| Salas, Beatriz de (S) | | | | Devout woman (1532) (Castilian woman) |
| Salas, Ynes de (S) | Castilian | | | -Alvaro de Castro's mistress - Wife of Juan Merchán |
| Sánchez Ruiz, Diego (S) | | | | Apostolic Notary (1532) |
| Sánchez, Francisco (S) | | | | Merchant |
| Sánchez, Gonzalo (S) | | | | Cleric/ presbyter /vicar |
| San Martín, Tomás de (S) | | | | Dominican Friar (1532) |
| San Miguel, Antón de (S) | Castilian | | | -First settler/ hidalgo -Husband of Catalina Fernández |
| Santa María, Juan de (S) | | | | -Cleric -Archpriest |
| Santos, Pedro (S) | | X | | |
| Sarmiento, Diego (S) | | | | -Father of Pedro Sarmiento (1532) |
| Sarmiento, Pedro (S) | | | | Public prosecutor /collector -Son of Diego Sarmiento (1532) |
| Sieza, Alvaro de (S) | | X | | Alderman (1532) |
| Solano, Juan (S) | | | | -Son of Diego de Madrid (1532) |
| Soria, Francisco de (S) | | | | Apostolic Notary (1532) |
| Soto, Juan de (S) | | | | Notary Public (1532) |
| Toro, Francisco de (S) | | | | Sexton (1532) |

Table 6-5. Continued

| Inhabitant | Origin of Spouse | Vecino | # of Indians Received in 1514 | Comments |
|--|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|---|
| Ulloa, Pedro de (S) | | X | | (1532) |
| Valladolid, Pedro de (S) | | X | | Servant of Alvaro de Castro |
| Velasco, Runyno de (S) | | | | Magistrate (1520s) |
| Velázquez, Hernán (S) | | | | Mayor (1532) |
| Verde, Diego (S) | | X | | (1532) |
| Viguera, Jorge de (S) | | | | Precentor/vicar-general (1532) |
| Vila, Vicente de (S) | | X | | |
| Villadrando (o Villandrés) (S) | | X | | Swordmaker/Commercial agent at A. de Castro's store/Related to A. de Castro |
| Villegas, Juan de (Oían de Villegas) (S) | | X | | Stable owner |
| Zuazedo, Cristóbal de (Salcedo) (S) | | | | Church vicar-general |
| Zúñiga, Juan de (S) | | | | Constable |
| Comendador de la Merced (S) | | | | (1532) |
| Portuguese woman | | | | (1532) |
| 2 Mestizos | | | | Witnesses in a lawsuit filed by Alvaro de Castro against Cristóbal de Deza (1532) |
| Black woman attacked by Alonso Rodríguez | | | | Servant of Alvaro de Castro (1532) |

(S)= Spanish

(P) Portuguese

(G) Genoese

(L) Lucayan

Based on Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000.

Table 6-6. Inhabitants at Concepción by Activity 1495-1514

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--------------------------|
| Gold Industry | <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="410 430 592 714"> <u>Miner:</u> -Fernando de Alcantara -Sebastian Tapia -Lic. Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón </td> <td data-bbox="617 430 917 609"> <u>Visitador:</u> -Hernán Ponce de Leon (c) -Alonso de Porras -Diego Valdenebro </td> </tr> </table> | <u>Miner:</u> -Fernando de Alcantara -Sebastian Tapia -Lic. Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón | <u>Visitador:</u> -Hernán Ponce de Leon (c) -Alonso de Porras -Diego Valdenebro | |
| <u>Miner:</u> -Fernando de Alcantara -Sebastian Tapia -Lic. Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón | <u>Visitador:</u> -Hernán Ponce de Leon (c) -Alonso de Porras -Diego Valdenebro | | | |
| Food Production | <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="410 840 600 903"><u>Farm owner:</u> Juan de Robles</td> <td data-bbox="617 840 852 945"><u>Market gardener:</u> Hernando de Señá (Peña) (b)</td> <td data-bbox="933 840 1055 903"><u>Livestock Raising</u></td> </tr> </table> | <u>Farm owner:</u> Juan de Robles | <u>Market gardener:</u> Hernando de Señá (Peña) (b) | <u>Livestock Raising</u> |
| <u>Farm owner:</u> Juan de Robles | <u>Market gardener:</u> Hernando de Señá (Peña) (b) | <u>Livestock Raising</u> | | |
| Architecture, Construction and Masonry | <u>Master Constructor:</u> -Melchor Rendon -Pedro de Valera | | | |
| Weaponry | <u>Crossbowman:</u> -Diego Valdenebro -Gómez de Morón -Blas de Salamanca | | | |

Table 6-6. Continued

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | | |
|---------------------|--|--|---|--|
| Clothing | <u>Tailor:</u> - Cristóbal Avila -Francisco de Covarrubias | <u>Woolcarding:</u> Diego Diez | Shoemaker | |
| Transportation | <u>Blacksmith:</u> Pero Nisa | Stable Owner | | |
| Religion | <u>Cathedral</u> -Archpriest of Concepción -Canon of Toro | <u>Monastery</u> | <u>Bishop's prebendary:</u> Blas Hierro | <u>Bishop:</u> Pedro Suarez de Deza |
| Government | <u>Treasurer:</u> Miguel de Pasamonte | <u>Alderman:</u> -Juan Alburquerque -Rodrigo de Alcazar -Pedro de Atienza -Hernan Ponce de León, (c) -Juan de Villoria -Juan Fernández de Guadalupe | <u>Notary:</u> -Alonso Arce -Pero Perez -Vicente Lopez (Public) -Cristóbal Rodríguez (Translator) | <u>Constable:</u> Ruiz Gómez |

Table 6-6. Continued

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Government 2 | <u>Collector of Bienes de los Difuntos:</u> Pero Lope de Mesa (d) | <u>Residencia advisor:</u> Pero Lope de Mesa (d) | <u>Residencia judge:</u> Bachiller Alonso de Parada | <u>Procurator:</u> Hernán Ponce de León (c) |
| Government 3 | <u>Fort</u> -Juan de Ayala (Fort Mayor) (1495) -Miguel de Ballester (Fort warden/mayor) (1497) -García de Barrantes (Captain) (1497) -Gonzalo de la Rambla (soldier) (1497) | <u>Representative</u> -Rodrigo de Alburquerque -Hernán Ponce de León (c) | <u>Navigator</u> Alonso Pérez de Almonte | |

Table 6-6. Continued

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | | |
|---------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Health | <u>Apothecary:</u> -Pedro Murcia (a) -Bachiller Francisco Hernandez (e) | <u>Physician:</u> Bachiller Francisco Fernandez (f) | <u>Barber:</u> -Pedro Murcia (a) -Juan Ramirez | <u>Doctor:</u> -Pedro Murcia (a) -Bachiller Francisco Hernandez (e) Bachiller Francisco Fernandez (f) |
| Smiths | <u>Crown silversmith:</u> Rodrigo de Alcázar | <u>Locksmith:</u> Diego Rodrigo | | |
| Domestic Labor | <u>Servant of Rodrigo de Villadiego:</u> -Diego de Godoy -Gonzalo Martin -Ortiga de Herrera | | | |
| Commercial Activity | <u>Merchant:</u> Rodrigo de Villadiego | <u>Market gardener:</u> Hernando de Peña (Peña) (b) | | |

Table 6-6. Continued

-
- (a) Same man
 - (b) Same man
 - (c) Same man
 - (d) Same man
 - (e) Same man

Based on Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000.

Table 6-7. Inhabitants at Concepción by Activity (1515-1564)

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | | |
|--|--|---|-----------------------|--|
| Gold Industry | <u>Miner:</u> -Hernando de Alcantara (1525) -Juan Martin de Xagua (1530) -Martin Callejas | | | |
| Food Production | <u>Farm Owner:</u> -García de Paredes (Estante) | <u>Farm owners:</u> -Juan Cobo (c) (1525) -Gonzalo Gómes (1525) -Francisco de Hinojos (1525) -Alonso Rodriguez (d) (1518/1532) -Lorenzo de Cuellar (g) | <u>Slaughterhouse</u> | <u>Livestock raising:</u> -Diego de Ortega (cattle rancher) -Alonso Martin (Cattle rancher on A. de Castro's land) -Alonso Rodríguez (shepherd) |
| Architecture, Construction and Masonry | Master Constructor | | | |
| Weaponry | <u>Sword-maker:</u> -Villadandro (1520) | <u>Crossbowman:</u> Gómez de Moróm | | |
| Clothing | <u>Tailor:</u> - Cristóbal Davila (1520) -Morales (1532) | <u>Shoemaker:</u> Pineda, Pedro (1530) | Woolcarding | |
| Transportation | <u>Stable owner:</u> Juan de Villegas | <u>Mule driver:</u> Juan Martín de Trebejo | | |

Table 6-7. Continued

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Religion | <u>Vicar-general:</u> - Juan Pérez (1520) -Cristóbal Deza (1525) (a) -Alvaro de León (Cathedral) (1526) (b) -Cristóbal de Zuazedo | <u>Sexton:</u> -Francisco Toro (1530) -Juan Martin de la Fuente (1530) -Diego Martin (1530) -Lorenzo de Cuellar (1532) (g) -Juan Martin de la Fuente Sabz (1532) | <u>Cathedral:</u> -Juan Cordoba (steward)(1525) -Luys de Morales (Prebendary) (1528) -Jorge de Viguera (Chantre)(1528) -Gonzalo Sanchez | <u>Canon:</u> -Alonso Martin (1520) -Alvaro de León (1526)(b) -Cristóbal Deza (1525) (a) -Alvaro de Castro (j) -Ruis |
| Religion 2 | <u>Apostolic Notary:</u> -Diego Sanchez Ruiz -Francisco de Soria (1532) | <u>Cleric:</u> -Hernando de Camargo (1530) (i) -Juan de Gamarro (1525) (h) -Myllan Gutierre (1520s?) (k) -Blas López (1520s) (Bishop's chaplain) -Juan de Santa María (1520) -Diego del Rio -Gonzalo Sánchez (l) | <u>Maestrescuela:</u> Antonio Márquez (1530) | <u>Dean:</u> -Alvaro de Castro (1526 -1532)(j) |

Table 6-7. Continued

| <u>Activity Categories</u> | <u>Inhabitants by Activity</u> | | | |
|----------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Religion 3 | <u>Vicar-General:</u> -Alvaro de León (Cathedral)(b) -Hernando de Camargo (i) -Cristóbal Deza (a) -Myllan Gutierre (Bishopric) (k) -Francisco de Mendoza -Juan Pérez -Cristóbal de Sabcedo -Jorge de Viguera -Gonzalo Sánchez (vicar)(l) | <u>Friars:</u> - Fr. Antonio Pedroso (Franciscan) -Tomas de San Martin (Dominican) | <u>Inquisitor:</u> -Marcos de Aguilar -Alvaro de Castro (commissary) (j) | <u>Various:</u> -Sancho Cespedes (Archdeacon) -Juan de Santa María (Archpriest) |
| Government | <u>Governor deputy:</u> Juan Hurtado (1530-31) | <u>Alderman:</u> -Pedro Castro (1519) -Francisco Ponce de León (1522) -Pedro de Atienza (1532) -Alonso Avila -Alvaro de Sieza (1532) | <u>Chief constable:</u> -Antonio de Campos (1517) -Pero Lope de Mesa (1530)(e) | <u>Constable:</u> -Juan de Zuñiga (1518) -Pedro Palomo (1532) (f) -Fordillo (Executive constable) |

Table 6-7. Continued

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | | |
|---------------------|--|---|---|--|
| Government 2 | <u>Notary:</u> -Juan de Avila (1522) -Miguel de Gaviria (Crown) (1527) -Martin Pérez de Landa (public)(1526) -Juan Soto (Public) (1532) -Juan Ortiz (Royal)(1532) | <u>Magistrate:</u> -Lope Termino de Velasco (1519-1520) -Ruanyno de Velasco (1530) | <u>Mayor:</u> -Juan Monegro (1530) -Francisco Orejón (1526) -Antón de Monegro (1532) -Francisco de Ocampo -Hernan Velázquez (1532) -Juan Mosquera | <u>Collector of Bienes de los Difuntos:</u> -Francisco de Ocampo (1526) -Pero Lope de Mesa (e) -Hernando de Alcantara (will executor) |
| Government 3 | <u>Notary:</u> Juan Davila | <u>Court</u> -Antonio de Campos (Appelate judge) -Pedro Palomo (Public prosecutor)(f) -Pedro Sarmiento (Public prosecutor) | <u>Residencia advisor (1532)</u> Pero Lope de Mesa (e) | <u>Knight commander</u> Alvaro de León (b) |
| Health | <u>Barber:</u> -Pedro Palomo (1532) (f) | Apothecary | Physician | Doctor |

Table 6-7. Continued

| Activity Categories | Inhabitants by Activity | | |
|---------------------|---|---|--|
| Smiths | Silversmith | Locksmith | |
| Commercial Activity | <u>Merchant:</u> -Villadandro (1520) -Juan Martin Callejas (1525) -Alvaro Castro and Morales (clothes) -Francisco Sánchez | <u>Salt:</u> Juan Martin de Trebejo | <u>Sugar mill:</u> -Alonso Roman (1518) -Francisco Orejón (1518) |
| Domestic Labor | <u>Alvaro de Castro's Servants:</u> -Catalina Alpargas (1525) -Alonso Román (1532) -Pero Gómez (1525) -Pero Goncales (1525) -Pedro Valladolid (1525) -Juan de Gamarro (h) -Juan de la Fuente -Beatrizica Lucayan woman (1532) -Catalina: Lucayan woman (1532) -Black woman attacked by Alonso Rodriguez | <u>Alonso Roman's servant:</u> Alonso Pastor | <u>Blas López's Servant:</u> Juan de Orellana |

Table 6-7. Continued

- (a) Same man
- (b) Same man
- (c) Same man
- (d) Same man
- (e) Same man
- (f) Same man
- (g) Same man
- (h) Same man
- (i) Same man
- (j) Same man
- (k) Same man
- (l) Same man

Based on Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000.

Table 6-8. African Population Policies (1500-1564)

| Date | Policy |
|-----------|---|
| 1501 | Crown allows Ovando to bring Lladinos born in Castile (3)(4) |
| 1503 | Ovando briefly stops African slave trade because of large number of escaped slaves living with the escaped Taíno. (4) |
| 1505 | First <i>Bozales</i> brought (3) |
| 1505-1562 | Illegal slaves being brought in (3) |
| 1510-1514 | Each <i>vecino</i> is authorized to own an African maid for domestic services (4) |
| 1513 | African slave trade legalized in part to forestall Portuguese smuggling (10) Government begins to grant licenses to bring slaves directly from Africa (10) |
| 1514 | Bishop Deza asks King for money and a license for 10 slaves to work on Cathedral and other churches in the bishopric (9) |
| 1515-1516 | After Cisneros's death the African slave trade is briefly suspended (2)(4) |
| 1516-1519 | Jeronymites ask for <i>Bozales</i> for the sugar industry from Cape Verde and Guinea (2)(4) |
| 1517 | Flight from Spanish common (3) |
| 1518 | After smallpox epidemic of 1517-1518, Africans in great demand (3) Most encomenderos ask for <i>Bozales</i> , not ones born in Castile (3) |
| 1520 | A. de Castro of Concepción is given license to bring in 200 African slaves (3) Slave trade is intensified (7) Attacks by <i>Cimarrones</i> make gold extraction dangerous, causing depopulation, and agricultural production concentrated in safe areas (1) |
| 1521 | Slaves of revolt on Diego Columbus's sugar mill reported to be Wolof from Senegambia-Cape Verde (mostly Muslim)(3) |
| 1522 | First African slave ordinances in the New World (3) Slaves must be married (3) |
| 1524 | African slaves have joined Enriquillo (3) |

Table 6-8. Continued

| Date | Policy |
|------------|---|
| 1526 | <p>Crown signed provision that Africans were not to be set free if married, or have free children (3)</p> <p>Royal decree prohibiting migration under penalty of death, cannot take slaves with them (3)</p> <p>Royal decree that 1/3 of Africans imported must be women (6)</p> <p>No Ladinos can be brought to Spanish Americas, only <i>Bozales</i> (2)(4)</p> |
| 1528 | <p>New Slave Ordinances (4)</p> <p>Island administrators want each settler to be allowed 100 slaves and their women without taxes (3)</p> |
| 1529 | <p>Oidores suggest 50 African couples be sent to repopulate the 15 towns founded by Nicolas de Ovando.(3)</p> |
| 1530s | <p>When Spanish leave, they take their slaves (3)</p> |
| 1530s-1547 | <p>Sebastian Lemba revolt (3)</p> |
| 1532 | <p>Wolofs cannot be brought to America (3)</p> |
| 1533 | <p>Peace treaty with Enriquillo (8)</p> |
| 1539 | <p>Crown's required import ratio of <i>Bozales</i> changed from 1/3 to 1/2 females (3)</p> |
| 1540 | <p>Slaves can be brought directly from Portugal, Guinea and Cape Verde (previously all slaves must be shipped from Seville)(4)</p> |
| 1542 | <p>25,000-30,000 Africans brought to island. Only 1,2000 working in sugar, the rest are rebelled (3)</p> |
| 1544 | <p>Island in state of fear. White population never left their farms except in groups of 15-20 armed men (6)</p> <p>New Slave Ordinances (4)</p> |
| 1543 | <p>Many rebelled Africans (11)</p> |
| 1545 | <p>African slaves taken by owners to Honduras, New Spain and Peru. Most others are rebelled. Few slaves (5)</p> |

Table 6-8. Continued

| Date | Policy |
|-------|--|
| 1546 | <i>Bozales</i> sold in Tierra Firme were first brought to Hispaniola to be instructed and then sold (3) Owners soft on slaves for fear of rebelled Africans and Indians (5) |
| 1550s | 2,000 African slaves brought into the island per year, including those brought as contraband (4) |

Sources

1. Cassá 1978: 63
2. Deive 1989: 25, 26, 32
3. Guitar 1998: 124, 125, 182, 189, 196, 198, 199, 235, 246, 252, 256, 257, 259, 273, 275, 280, 300, 340
4. Larrazabal 1975: 13, 17, 14, 21, 37, 39, 100, 107
5. Marte 1981: 406, 415
6. Moya-Pons 1978
7. Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 65
8. Pichardo 1944
9. Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 14
10. Rogozinski 2000: 51
11. Rueda 1988: 224

CHAPTER 7 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AT CONCEPCION DE LA VEGA

Introduction

Archaeological data reveal that Concepción de la Vega had one of the richest, and most abundant arrays of material culture among all archaeologically documented early sixteenth century Caribbean sites, including La Isabela, Puerto Real, Santo Domingo or Nueva Cadiz (see Deagan 1987, 1988, 1999: 30, 1995; Goggin 1968; Long 1967; Ortega 1982; Willis 1976). This abundance points to wealth within the community. Historical and archaeological records show that large-scale and small-scale economic activities flourished at Concepción, both in the rural and urban setting. This chapter attempts to identify and describe these activities through the integration of historical, archaeological and architectural evidence.

The first section of the chapter will describe the large-scale rural economic industries present at Concepción, since these are among the most evident in both historical and landscape-level archaeological records. These economic activities exploited primary resources and helped sustain the overall site economy. Gold was the city's main economic industry during the first period of study (1495-1514), but during the second period (1515-1564) other industries were added, such as cattle ranching, and agricultural production, mostly sugar.

The second section will describe urban economic activities, both at a large and small-scale. Large-scale urban economic activities included construction and government, while small-scale activities included clothing production, weaponry manufacture, blacksmithing, commercial activities and street vending. Special consideration will be given to the changes these activities undertook during the economic diversification of the second period of study (1515-1564).

Large-scale Rural Economic Industries: Gold

Although the Taíno did process gold into artifacts before the arrival of the Spanish (Tavares 1976: 14; Vega 1979), large-scale, industrialized extraction of gold on Hispaniola did not begin until the establishment of the Taíno tribute system in 1495 (Vega 1979). As discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, Taíno communities had to pay one hawk's bell full of gold every three months for each member of their community over 14 years of age (Cassá 1978: 33; Charlevoix 1730a: 110; Wilson 1990a). Forts, including Concepción, were established in places where gold was found in order to collect the tribute (Cassá 1978: 33; Cohen 1997: 4). Under Columbus's settlement plan (based on the *factoria* model), the Spanish at the fort were only allowed to collect the gold, not mine it (Moya-Pons 1983).

Gold mineral and/or Taíno laborers must have been plentiful at the first Concepción fort in 1495, the first year of the Taíno tribute, since Guarionex, chief of the Taíno settlement close to Concepción, was the only chief able to fulfill the tribute demands (Cassá 1978: 33; Moya-Pons 1978: 13). On the rest of the island, the failure of the tribute system brought down the Columbus regime, eventually leading to Columbus's destitution, and the appointment of Francisco de Bobadilla as governor (Cassá 1978: 36; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 47; Pérez-Collados 1992: 161).

Under Bobadilla's governance, the Monarchs claimed the right to control the land and its resources (Pérez-Collados 1992: 163). Spanish miners were granted licenses to extract the metal, and were obliged to pay the government 1/5 of the gold profits earned known as the *quinto*) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 201; Guitar 1998: 116). Until 1550, only Buenaventura (close to San Cristóbal on the south coast) and Concepción were permitted to smelt gold (see Table 7-1). As the location of the northern Royal Foundry, Concepción received the gold mined in the Cibao and in the area around Puerto Real (Anghiera in Guitar 1998: 117).

In the Concepción area, as in the rest of Hispaniola, most of the gold discovered was placer gold (Guitar 1998: 127; 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). Gold panning on Hispaniola involved a mixed group of people, including Taínos under *Repartimiento*, Native American and African slave men and women, and a Spanish miner as leader (Deive 1989: 267; Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). Non-elite Spaniards also worked as mining supervisors and overseers (Guitar 1998: 126). Often a group of neighbors shared the workers which were organized into *compañías*, also known as *cofradías* (Marte 1981: 401; Ovando in Rueda 1988; Patronato 1995: 60).

The mining process of the time involved several steps. The miners would stake out an area of land 18-20 steps in diameter, as dictated by Spanish law (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). These areas were often near bodies of water, such as streams and lagoons (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). African slave and *Perpetual Naboria* (Amerindian) men cleared it of trees and rocks, and excavated a hands-width at a time (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). The resulting hole was washed out with water to try to reveal possible gold veins (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). The excavated soil was taken to the panniers, on the banks of the nearby body of water (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). The soil was usually carried to the water's edge by Amerindian men in flattened gourds called *bateas* (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). Gold could also be obtained by draining small lagoons and lakes, or by taking small streams off-course and panning the earth on the riverbed until hitting bedrock (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 212).

The panniers were mostly African and Amerindian women, who had this job because, according to Oviedo, "they were more sensitive" (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). As they sat in water up to their knees, the panniers poured the earth into bigger *bateas* and swirled the mud

until gold appeared (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217). This whole process was repeated until bedrock was reached in the staked out plot (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 208-217).

To maximize production it was important that the process be on-going, and that all workers be occupied. Gold had to be mined as quickly as possible in the period prior to 1514 because each change in government brought about a new *Repartimiento* of the Taíno laborers and a new land distribution, often giving the mine to a new owner (Ovando in Rueda 1988). Oviedo calculated an average operation to have 50 workers: 10 panniers, 20 earth-carriers and 20 diggers (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 212). Each group of 10 slaves in the mines was supervised by a *criado*, usually of African descent (Guitar 1998: 125). The mining camp also included women who cooked cassava bread for the most part (Ovando in Rueda 1988: 212).

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 in Rueda 1988). The nomadic nature of this activity made it distinct from those of the other large-scale activities described in this chapter, and had abundant problems such as the spread of mosquito-borne diseases and the lack of permanent housing. Consequently, these activities left very little trace in the archaeological record.

In spite of a fairly organized methodology, success in extracting gold was by no means guaranteed. Various practices were believed to improve a miner's luck in finding gold, the most interesting of which may have been the one Christopher Columbus tried to institute in the early days of the colony (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 150). Columbus affirmed that the Taíno Indians followed a particular religious ritual which involved chastity and fasting previous to gathering gold (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 150). He believed the Spanish should also follow these principles, in addition to confessing and receiving communion before trying their luck (Oviedo in Rueda

1988: 150). He reinforced this belief by refusing to give gold licenses to those who did not comply (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 150). Many Spaniards protested these provisions by stating that their wives were in Spain (being involved with Amerindian women did not count), that they “died of hunger and had to eat roots” (manioc and many other Taíno staples are tubers or roots), and that the Church only required confession once a year (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 150). It is not known whether African and Amerindian workers were required to follow these guidelines as well.

Regardless of the methods used, once gold was found, the Royal authorities were notified in order to avoid having the mine taken over by other miners (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 208). The Royal authorities were also in charge of smelting the gold and verifying its purity, since gold quality varied greatly on Hispaniola (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 185; Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 208).

To purify the gold, it had to be refined. Although there were two refining methods available at the time, cupellation (heating of the alloy) and amalgamation (mechanical separation) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 185), historical records seem to point towards the use of the amalgamation process during the early period of study (1495-1514) (Marte 1981: 93, 122). During amalgamation, the ore is crushed, mixed with water and mercury, and then agitated. The mercury and gold form an amalgam which sinks to the bottom and the other particles wash away (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 186). This gold-mercury mix was then placed in porous leather or cloth bags. The mercury would drip out and gold dust would be left in the bag (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 186).

This gold was then kept until it was time for the “fundición,” or smelting. This process was only done twice a year, and only at an official Casa de Fundición (Charlevoix 1730a: 221; García

1906: 68; Anghiera in Guitar 1998: 117). Concepción held the only Casa de Fundición for the northern part of the island (Charlevoix 1730a: 221; Anghiera in Guitar 1998: 117; Peguero 1975a: 153). The gold was received, smelted into bars and the *quinto* was taken by the Crown. The rest went to the miner (Guitar 1998: 117). The Escribano de Minas, who for most of Concepción's existence was Melchor de Castro (1508?-1543?), was in charge of supervising the smelting process, and the collection of the Crown's percentage (Marte 1981: 401).

Many historians (see, for example, Floyd 1963: 68-69; Moya-Pons 1983, 1987) have assumed that gold itself became scarce at Concepción shortly after 1514, however a careful reading of primary sources (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), and Concepción continued to be the main northern foundry until the mid-1540s (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 106).

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 Taíno workers in the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Moya-Pons 1983: 28). A second reason was the institution of Jeronymite program to substitute gold production for sugar production by African slaves (Cassá 1978: 58). Another was the fact that mining groups were attacked by *Cimarrones*, to steal either slaves or the gold produced.

One important difference in the gold industry during this later period was the fact that most of the gold prospecting was done on cattle ranching lands (Patronato 1995: 216, 220), probably as a means for protection. Another difference was that *cofradías* during this period were not allowed to roam the countryside, but rather had to return to the master's home every night to

prevent slaves from escaping (Larrazabal 1975: 109). According to the 1528 *Ordenanzas*, these work groups had to be accompanied by a Christian foreman, who was a non-elite Spaniard (Patronato 1995: 246), or possibly a *Ladino* slave (Larrazabal 1975: 107).

Gold mining was also undertaken by the Spanish Crown during this period, with the labor being carried out by African slaves rather than *Repartimiento* Tainos (Guitar 1998: 128). The Crown did not suffer from labor shortages, since it allowed itself access to a large number of slaves, but restricted licenses to private individuals (Guitar 1998: 128).

Other evidence of gold mining at Concepción during the second period of study (1515-1564) comes from the accounts dealing with the *Cimarrón* attacks which occurred from the mid 1530s to mid 1540s. These indicate that Concepción was the second most attacked area of the colony, and that gold-mining teams were the main source of members for the *Cimarrón* groups (Deive 1989: 264). This suggests that gold prospecting, if not necessarily the whole production process, was prevalent in the area during this time period. Historical accounts say that gold was no longer officially smelted at Concepción by 1547 (Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 106). However, it is possible that gold may have been illegally smelted by individuals on a small-scale, as had been done earlier at La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 186).

Large-scale Rural Economic Industries: Agriculture and Sugar

The cultivation of cash crops was attempted at Concepción, and in the rest of Hispaniola, during both of the periods of study. Some of the crop production attempted included sugar, dyewood, wild cinnamon, cotton, manioc, cañafistola (Cassia fistula - a medicinal plant used as a laxative) and medicinal herbs (García 1906: 84; Guitar 1998: 203). Historical records only document the attempt to grow two cash crops at Concepción, namely sugar cane (Concepción 1981, 1982; Guitar 1998: 206; Ortiz 1947; Oviedo 1959: Book 4, Ch. 8) and cañafistola (Guitar 1998: 203; Patronato 1995: 60) (See Table 7-2).

Although both endeavors were short-lived, sugar production at Concepción played an important part in the introduction and imposition of this industry in the New World. Not only was it the first place where sugar was successfully produced, but also its Bishop was an important force behind the Jeronymite program to transform the colony's workforce from Native American to African-based.

When Columbus returned to Hispaniola on his second voyage, he fully expected to create an extractive *factoria* colony which was to trade for gold (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 47), but he also brought some crops for potential cash production (Guitar 1998: 203). One of these was sugar cane (Ortiz 1947). He was unsuccessful in its production, as was Governor Ovando in 1503 (Rogozinski 2000: 51).

Sugar was first produced commercially in the New World at Concepción in 1506 (Cohen 1997: 5; Concepción 1981, 1982; Guitar 1998: 206; Ortiz 1947; Oviedo 1959: Book 4, Ch. 8). Sources differ as to who was responsible: Miguel de Ballester, *alcalde* of the fort and local businessman (Cohen 1997: 5; Moya-Pons 1974: 71), Pedro de Atienza (Oviedo in Rueda 1988) in association with Ballester (Guitar 1998: 206), or Alonso Gutierrez de Aguilón - *encomendero* in La Vega and Azua (Las Casas in Rueda 1988; Moya-Pons 1983: 31; Guitar 1998: 206).

The first sugar produced at Concepción 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 1947: 263; Guitar 1998: 206). The results must have been encouraging, because that same year, Concepción's Bishop, Bishop Deza, proposed to change the colony's main mode of production from gold being mined by Taínos under the *Repartimiento*, to sugar being mined by African slaves (Moya-Pons 1978: 176).

Why would Bishop Deza suggest this change? First, as a Dominican, he supported Fray Montesinos' questioning of the Taíno working conditions, and saw the need to find a way to save them from extinction (See Chapter 3 - History). At the same time, the colony had to be supported economically and a viable alternative had to be offered to gold production. Sugar, at that time, 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 (Guitar 1998: 194), including the use of an African labor force familiar with Spanish language and culture (*Ladino* slaves, described in Chapter 6). Another important advantage of sugar production was its sedentary nature, as opposed to gold prospecting, which required the mining teams to roam the countryside. By being sedentary, sugar production allowed a slave owner to have better control over the possibility of slave escapes.

Bartolomé de las Casas championed Deza's ideas in Court, and the Jeronymite government (1516-1519) instituted sugar production as part of their governmental plan

(Incháustegui 1955: 127; Moya-Pons 1978). This plan included loans to *vecinos*, which came out of the gold *quinto* belonging to the Crown (Cassá 1978: 66; Moya-Pons 1978: 180), the elimination of taxes on mill equipment (Guitar 1998: 209; Incháustegui 1955: 127; Ortiz 1947: 271-272), and exemption from having sugar mills seized upon bankruptcy (Cassá 1978: 67; Incháustegui 1955: 127; Wright 1916: 769-771).

Concepción's early participation in the sugar industry is reflected archaeologically by a large number of broken *hormas*, or ceramic sugar molds, recovered from the site. Nevertheless, despite Concepción having been the first place on the colony where sugar was produced commercially, historical accounts characterize sugar production at Concepción as a short-lived failure (Guitar 1998: 206).

There is very little historical mention of sugar production at Concepción. The first well-documented evidence for a working mill was not until 1547 (Guitar 1998: 279), and the final historical notice was in 1550 (Rodríguez-Morel 2000: 50). There is no mention of sugar mills at Concepción in the 1530, 1533 or 1545 censuses (Guitar 1998: 326-329; Mira-Caballos 1997: 155; Peguero 1975a: 217-221; Sáez 1994: 267-272).

It is possible that there may have been an earlier mills in operation, since there is a record of a loan given to Alonso Roman and Francisco Oregon of 500 pesos and 100 Indians to construct a sugar mill in 1520 (Benzo 2000). Apparently this amount was not enough, for by 1532 the *ingenio* did not exist.

During the 1530s and 1540s, most of those who had previously been members of Concepción's elite class during the first period of study (1495-1514), lived in the south coast in the area close to Santo Domingo and owned sugar mills. There is some confusion as to whether the *vecinos* moved to Santo Domingo because of geographical advantages for the sugar industry (rivers and ports) (Cassá 1978: 67; Concepción 1981, 1982; Ortiz 1947), or whether the sugar industry was established in this area because the elite already resided there - a product of the mass migration caused by the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Moya-Pons 1983: 31).

It has also been argued that *Cimarrón* attacks played a role in the failure of Concepción's sugar industry. Some have suggested that the *Cimarrón* attacks on the roads made travel between cities unsafe, consequently making sugar marketing quite difficult (Guitar 1998: 262; Patronato 1995: 250). Others (e.g., Moya-Pons 1983: 37) do not see the attacks really affecting the sugar production. A careful study of both points of view seems to point to the possibility that *Cimarrón* impact on sugar production was restricted to certain areas, like Concepción, which had high incidences of attacks (Marte 1981: 301).

It appears then, according to historical accounts, that sugar was never grown at Concepción at a large-scale. In the last thirty years of occupation (1530-1562), cattle ranching was listed as the main mode of production in the area (García 1906: 114).

Large-scale Rural Economic Industries: Cattle Ranching

Cattle ranching for the production of hides, with meat as a by-product, was a more feasible mode of production for Concepción than sugar, especially after the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Cohen 1997: 8; Moya-Pons 1978, 1992) (See Table 7-3). It became the main economic industry at Concepción during the second period of study (1515-1564) (García 1906: 114). Unlike sugar and gold production, cattle ranching required a smaller workforce (García 1906: 114), and hides, as a non-perishable product, were easier to transport and sell (Cohen 1997: 8). Historical records show that cattle hides produced at Concepción were shipped to Spain (Marte 1981: 402), but it may be possible that some of its cattle products may have been used in the contraband trade (Deive 1989: 60).

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 slaves. 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). Other researchers (Cassá 1978: 63; Incháustegui 1955: 74; Patronato 1995: 17), however, 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 (Patronato 1995: 56).

Officially, all hides were to be exported from Santo Domingo (Moya-Pons 1983: 52). The rest of the colony had to send live cattle to Santo Domingo and have them processed there, due to the high cost and dangers of traveling between cities (Moya-Pons 1983: 52). However, there is archaeological evidence that slaughterhouses existed in Puerto Real, on the northern end of the

island, implying that hides could have been at least partially processed there (Deagan and Reitz 1995: 282). This could help explain the existence of a large slaughter facility in this town.

Regardless of how the cattle industry was undertaken, it was extremely lucrative. It is even believed that most cattle were killed only for their hides, wasting much of the meat (Deagan and Reitz 1995: Chapter 9; Moya-Pons 1983: 52). Some of the meat by-product was used to feed the workers living on the *hatos* (Cassá 1978: 63; Patronato 1995: 224), as well as those working in the gold and sugar industry (Moya-Pons 1983: 51). Alvaro de Castro, for example, gave meat to gold prospectors on credit, to be paid at smelting time (Patronato 1995: 265). It has been suggested that by the mid-sixteenth century, the cattle ranchers had as much influence on colonial politics as did sugar producers (Incháustegui 1955: 74).

Urban Economic Activities and Occupations

As the location of the northern Royal Foundry, and its proximity to gold mining areas, Concepción received a large influx of Spanish settlers during the early years of its occupation (Deagan 1999: 9; Anghiera in Guitar 1998: 117; see Chapter 3). Large and small-scale urban industries were required to accommodate and organize these colonists. The large-scale industries included construction and government, while small-scale industries included clothing manufacture, street vending and smiting, among others. After 1514, however, there was undoubtedly less money to spend in the city as it became difficult to procure the large, stable workforce needed to undertake the large-scale industries. Example of how this affected the different industries is examined below.

Construction Industry at Concepción

The masonry and wooden buildings comprising the city of Concepción have been discussed in Chapter 5, and only the labor aspects of large-scale masonry constructions will be discussed here. This industry would have included not only those who put the buildings together,

but those who designed them, as well as those who produced the necessary materials (bricks, tiles and nails), those who produced the roofing tiles, and the bricks used on walls and floors (see Tables 6-6, 6-7). There is no evidence of any women involved in the large-scale construction industry (Deive 1989: 24; Larrazabal 1975: 13).

As discussed in Chapter 5, most of the buildings constructed at Concepción during the first period of study (1495-1514) were made of perishable materials and were later replaced by masonry buildings during the second period (1515-1564). Although Spanish architects were present on Hispaniola during both periods, 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, led by a man called “Zafra” (Palm 1952: 115).

Taíno *Repartimiento* workers were involved in other aspects of masonry construction during the first period of study (1495-1514), such as brick and tile-making, and carpentry, as evidenced by the 1514 *Repartimiento* documents (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Guitar 1998: 150)(see Table 6-4). Many of these Taíno were assigned as apprentices to non-elite Spanish tradesmen, such as bricklayers Melchor Rendón and Pedro de Valera (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Rodriguez-Demorizi 1971).

During the second period of study (1515-1564), the menial construction workforce was probably composed of *Bozal* slaves, given the changes which occurred in the overall island workforce (see Chapter 6), although no historical or archaeological evidence exists at this point to confirm this. Historical documents do show that during the 1520s, Dean Alvaro de Castro brought some carpenters from Spain to work on his properties (Patronato 1995: 238), but it is doubtful they did the actual work, but rather managed a group of African workers.

Urban Economic Activity at Concepción: Government

Although government employment at first glance may not seem like an economic activity, this sector employed a large portion of Concepción's 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.

In spite of the fact that Concepción was not the colony's capital, the government sector was as a large-scale urban job source for 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, and are shown in Tables 6-6 and 6-7.

Most government jobs during the first period of study (1495-1514) were reserved for the Spanish elite. A great number of the government officials present at Concepción during this period had previously been part of the Aragonese court in Spain. The most important of these was Miguel de Pasamonte, the colony's Treasurer, who not only received a salary and a portion of the gold smelted (García 1906: 69; Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 98), but also used his position to receive many benefits, including more Taínos in the *Repartimiento* (Cohen 1997: 5; García 1906: 78; Guitart 1998: 134; Moya-Pons 1983: 27). The few government jobs reserved for the Spanish non-elite include being constables, and different types of scribes (Benzo 2000).

During the second period of study (1515-1564), there were fewer government positions available at Concepción due to the consolidation of religious and political authorities in the colony in 1524 (see Chapter 3 for a more complete description of this process). Thanks to the records of Alvaro de Castro's trial, however, we know the names of many of the top city officials in the 1520s and 1530s (See Table 6-7).

Small-Scale Urban Economic Activities

Many of Concepción's residents made their living working at small-scale economic activities such as clothing manufacture, weapon manufacture and smiting, or as merchants, domestic servants, or street vendors. These activities thrived at Concepción while the city was the site of the northern Royal Foundry, since miners had their gold earnings to spend. After 1514, however, there was undoubtedly less money to spend in the city as it became difficult to procure the large, stable workforce needed to undertake the large-scale industries.

All commercial transactions at Concepción, according to Crown law, were to be conducted using money (Marte 1981: 401). These transactions are evidenced by the large numbers of coins that have been found at the site, both archaeologically and surfacing through looting activities (Abreu 1998; Deagan 1999: 30; Deagan and Cruxent 2002a: 288; Stahl in Deagan 1999). Most of the coins stored at the site come from the first period of study (1495-1514), specifically from different periods of King's Ferdinand reign: the joint reign with his wife, the joint reign with his daughter, and a period when he alone ruled. Although this could be interpreted to mean that this was the period when more coins were available, probably in the hands of his loyal Aragonese servants (later known as the *Deservidores*), it must be noted that these coins are probably not truly representative of the total coins found at the site, and are just the least attractive of the lot.

There is evidence that other kinds of commercial transactions and payment methods were also used. These include barter in unrefined gold, foodstuffs, and used clothing (Marte 1981: 401; Patronato 1995: 55, 212), and credit transactions (Patronato 1995: 212, 265).

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 division 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 slave men to prevent their escape (Larrazabal 1975: 110).

Clothing Production and Mending at Concepción

The production and repair of clothing was widespread at Concepción, as it was in other colonial settlements (Deagan 2002). The clothes-making industry at Concepción was affected by the wealth generated by the gold boom of the early period. The newly rich demanded clothes and a shortage ensued, both in the clothes themselves and the cloth to make them. Historical data suggests that these clothes were manufactured, for the most part, from cloth imported from Spain (Patronato 1995: 136). Few ready-made new clothes appear to have been available at the time (Patronato 1995: 212)

Although sewing was an activity primarily undertaken by women at Spanish colonial sites (See Deagan 2002), and dozens of pins and needles, as well as several thimbles have been recovered archaeologically at the site (Deagan 1999; Pimentel 1998), there is no historical evidence of their contribution to this economic activity. Only the men involved in this industry are mentioned, once again confirming the importance of using various avenues of inquiry to reconstruct a site's lifeways.

Among those men that are mentioned in relation to the clothing business is a wool carding official, Diego Diez, present during the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000; Rodriguez-Demorizi 1971). He did not receive, however, any Taíno who could have served as apprentices (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000; Rodriguez-Demorizi 1971).

At least 8 men were involved in tailoring during the first period of study (1495-1514). Two of the tailors (Cristóbal de Avila and Francisco de Covarrubias) in the first period of study were non-elite Spaniards, while the remaining 6 were the Taíno apprentices they received

through the *Repartimiento* (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Guitar 1998: 150; Rodriguez-Demorizi 1971).

There are records of four tailors and one shoemaker at the site during the second period of study (1515-1564) (see Table 6-7). The shoemaker, Pedro Pineda, was there during the later period, rather than during the more prosperous earlier period (See Tables 6-6, 6-7). However, cattle ranching for leather production was one of the main large-scale economic industries during this period, suggesting that leather would have been plentiful and available.

Historical records show that native cotton was also used for clothing manufacture (Sáez 1994). This cloth was produced by Taíno women (Deagan 2004: 609) as part of the Taíno tribute (Charlevoix 1730a). The cloth was used to make the garments worn by Taíno under the *Repartimiento* and African and Native American slaves during the second period of study (Sáez 1994). It appears Spaniards wore clothing manufactured in Spain, with the wealthy wearing new clothes, and the non-elites wearing used clothing (Patronato 1995; Suarez-Marill 1998: 15).

Merchants and Commerce at Concepción

Concepción's position as an economic, religious and political center ensured that merchants and commerce would be available to facilitate the flow of goods and money. During the two fundiciones undertaken at Concepción annually, many goods were sold to the miners present. Two types of merchants existed in the city - the Spaniards selling items, such as second-hand clothes, food, tablewares, and even slaves in their shops; and street vendors who sold vegetables, water, charcoal, or even livestock innards (Larrazabal 1975: 110).

To understand how commerce functioned at Concepción it is necessary to review the Spanish mercantile system in operation during both periods of study on Hispaniola. The mercantile system restricted colonial importation and exportation to Spain only (Deagan 1983:

19). This was done through a monopoly established by Sevillian merchants on the shipping trade between locations (Deagan 1983: 19).

The limiting Spanish mercantile system was based on the Treaty of Tordesillas, which in 1494, divided the Atlantic between the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile (Pérez-Collados 1992: 66). Based on a Papal Bull, this treaty gave Spain legal and religious jurisdiction over most of Spanish America (Tavares 1984: 103; Deagan 1983: 21). However, as the Protestant movement began to question Catholicism, the Catholic hierarchy, and its close relation to the Spanish Crown, many began to question Spanish jurisdiction over the New World (Tavares 1984: 25; Guitar 1998: 264). With this in mind, France, Portugal, England and the Netherlands undermined the Spanish mercantile system in the Caribbean. It was first done through illegal trade, and later through piracy (Deagan 1983: 21; Haring 1964: 122).

At first on Hispaniola, when little local production existed, and large amounts of money were available, the mercantile system was advantageous on both sides of the Atlantic. This was especially true during the very prosperous Ovando government (1502-1509) (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 208; Chaunu and Chaunu 1955, vol.2: 20-23).

During the first period of study (1495-1514) only one merchant is identified at Concepción, Rodrigo de Villadiego. He is identified as such in the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Arranz-Márquez 1991). Although the *Repartimiento* documents do not specify what type of goods Villadiego sold, he was a *vecino*, and received 46 Taínos in the *Repartimiento*, suggesting that he commercialized at a relatively large scale.

However, by the second period of study (1515-1564), with the development of mainland settlements, Hispaniola was no longer a priority, and by the end of the first half of the 16th century, major shipping did not arrive on the island (Deagan 1983: 19). Major shipping did not

arrive on Hispaniola due to the way shipping was organized by the *Casa de Contratación*. Goods were shipped twice a year to the colonies, and products were sent to Spain just as often, both times in large shipping convoys only stopping at Havana in the Caribbean (Deagan 1983: 20). All articles involved in this exchange were set to pass through the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade) in Seville (Deagan 1983: 20).

These changes in shipping practices, coupled with the lack of a large, stable workforce, caused a change in the merchant activities at Concepción during the later period of study. Few people could afford to buy and maintain a slave (Larrazabal 1975: 39; Marte 1981: 401), prompting them to turn to other revenue-making activities that did not require slave labor, including the sale of items such as tools for the gold and cattle business (Patronato 1995: 212; Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 106-107), and clothes (Patronato 1995: 212, 213, 221).

Unfortunately for Hispaniola, when this shipping arrangement was made official in 1543 (Moya-Pons 1978: 42; Peguero and de los Santos 1983: 70; Tavares 1984: 103), Havana, not Santo Domingo, was chosen as the main Caribbean port (Moya-Pons 1974: 99). Hispaniolan colonists had to ask for *suelos*, or non-convoy ships, to receive goods from Seville (Deagan 1983: 19). However, the *suelos* were not profitable for the Sevillian merchants, and few *suelos* were sent (Deagan 1983: 19). The situation deteriorated further by the irregular scheduling of the convoys, hurricanes, shipwrecks, as well as the taxes added to already high prices (Deagan 1983: 20; Wright 1939: 341-43; Haring 1964: 115-122).

The conjunction of all of these unfavorable elements caused many colonists to turn towards contraband trade as a means to both sell and buy much needed products (Deagan 1983: 19; Andrews 1978: 70). This trade, also known as *rescate* among the Spanish (Deagan 1983: 191), involved, for the most part, the exchange of sugar and cattle hides to the French, English,

Dutch or Portuguese traders for European items and/or African slaves (Tavares 1984: 29; Guitar 1998: 264). Some of the items the Hispaniolans traded for included soap, wine, flour, cloth, perfume, nails, shoes, medicine, paper, dry fruit, iron, steel, and knives (Moya-Pons 1983: 44).

It is often assumed that contraband began to have a major influence in Caribbean commerce after the formation of the *flotas*, roughly between 1550 and 1580 (Deagan 1983: 21; Haring 1964: 122; Moya-Pons 1983: 53; Parry 1969: 187-88). If this were true, contraband would have had little influence on commerce in Concepción, since the city disappeared in 1562. There is, however, evidence of the possibility of contraband trade occurring earlier.

First, non-Spanish ships were known to call in Hispaniola from 1527 onward (Guitar 1998: 264; Tavares 1984: 103. Other examples can be seen in Table 7-4). Furthermore, complaints against the mercantile system had been occurring since the early years of the settlement. The petition of elimination of restrictions within the mercantile system was discussed in 1518 at the meeting of city representatives sponsored by the Jeronymites. The request was not granted by the Crown (Incháustegui 1955: 123) (For a comprehensive summary of the proceedings, see Gimenez-Fernandez 1953: 132-137). The sugar producers also petitioned the Crown to allow them to sell sugar outside the mercantile system every year from 1520 to 1525, but their request was also rejected (Guitar 1998: 210).

Contraband trade was at the center of the trial against Dean Alvaro de Castro, one of the most important merchants at Concepción during this later period. Castro was accused of selling illegal African slaves, as well as being involved in the commerce trade in spite of being a “man of the Church” who was not to engage in commercial ventures (Patronato 1995: 136). He evaded the restriction on being a merchant by not selling goods himself, but rather by owning a store run by Morales and a relative called Villandrés (Patronato 1995: 150). He sold tools for gold

prospectors and the cattle industry, but his main business was in clothing (Patronato 1995: 212). He hired a tailor to sew and sell garments made from cloth which was destined for priests (Patronato 1995: 155), but also sold a large amount of second-hand, ready-made clothes (Patronato 1995: 155). The ready-made clothes included capes, corselets and pointed hoods (Patronato 1995: 213, 221). Castro also sold purple cloth to whoever could afford it, although it was supposed to be reserved for religious functions (Patronato 1995: 136). All of this merchandise could be bought on credit and paid in money, unrefined gold, or in clothing (Patronato 1995: 212).

Historical records also give the names of other later merchants at Concepción, such as Juan Martin Callejas and Francisco Sanchez (Benzo 2000). Unfortunately, there is no information about their shops or what these merchants sold. There were also non-Spanish merchants at Concepción during this period. Such is the case of Juan Martin de Trebejo, a Portuguese man who sold salt, and was also a mule driver (Benzo 2000), and Pero Diaz de Peravia, an Italian who was involved in the illegal slave trade with Alvaro de Castro (Benzo 2000; Patronato 1995).

While all of those identified as merchants with shops sold goods imported from outside the island, street vendors, often selling local products also worked in Concepción's urban environment. Many, if not most of these vendors were of African origin (Deive 1989: 20; Landers 1999: 8). These vendors could be free or enslaved, although it appears that, especially after 1544, most were African *Ladino* women, due to the restriction placed on African slave men's movements after the increase in *Cimarrón* activity in the 1530s and 1540s (Larrazabal 1975: 110).

In 1528 African *Ladino* women were allowed to sell vegetables on the streets and *plazas*, but the African men could only sell water and charcoal on the street (Larrazabal 1975: 110), or

sell livestock innards at the slaughterhouse (Larrazabal 1975: 110). African slave men were furthermore not allowed to sell clothing on the streets (Larrazabal 1975: 110); however *Cimarrón* men often went into the towns to trade for the goods they had captured, prompting the 1544 prohibition (Larrazabal 1975: 110).

Crafts and Occupations at Concepción

Several economic occupations undertaken by craftsmen can be identified at Concepción both through the historical and archaeological record. These crafts include crossbow and sword making, as well as different types of smiting. Unlike La Isabela, where few metal tools were able to survive due to the unstable moisture and the salinity of the beachside soils (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 247), there is a considerably large amount of metal artifacts stored at Concepción.

Historical records show that 3 crossbow makers lived in Concepción during the first period of study (1495-1514). These were Gómez de Morón, Diego Valdenebro and Blas de Salamanca (Benzo 2000). According to the 1514 *Repartimiento* records, both Gómez de Morón and Blas de Salamanca received 2 Taínos under the *Repartimiento* (Arranz-Márquez 1991; Benzo 2000). Gómez de Morón continued to work in Concepción during the later years of its occupation, making him one of the few *vecinos* who is recorded as having lived at Concepción during both periods of study (Benzo 2000). There are, however, no artifacts in the cultural record which can serve as evidence for this activity.

Blacksmiths and locksmiths were both present at Concepción during both periods of study. According to historical records, gold, copper and iron items were processed at Concepción (Guitar 1998: 210). There is no doubt that the gold processed at Concepción originated from Hispaniola, but the copper and iron may have been imported from Spain. The origin of the latter two materials would have influenced the actions undertaken by the different smiths within the

city. Documents record the names of Spanish smiths who lived at Concepción during the first period of study, blacksmith Pero Nissan and locksmith Diego Rodrigo. Neither of these men were *vecinos*, however both of received 2 Taínos in the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Arranz-Márquez 1991), probably as apprentices.

Blacksmiths were critical to all sixteenth century towns, producing nails and fasteners, building hardware, iron tools, horseshoes and horse equipage, and domestic implements. Examples of all of these have been recovered archaeologically at Concepción, although it is not possible to determine which were produced locally and which were imported. The presence of a farrier is suggested by records of a stable owner at Concepción during this time period, Juan de Villegas (Benzo 2000). Also Alonzo de Suazo, when he visited the town in 1517, described the town as having at least 40 horses (Parry and Keith 1984: 274). Horseshoes and nails, bridle and bit pieces, axes and stirrups have been recovered archaeologically from Concepción (See Deagan and Kulstad 1998).

Locksmiths confected both locks and their keys out of iron, examples of which are quite prevalent in the Concepción archaeological assemblage (Deagan and Kulstad 1998). There are 7 key locks and 6 keys stored in Concepción special collection, all of which have been preserved. The historical record presents Diego Rodrigo as a locksmith living in the city during the first period of study (1495-1514), and he received 2 Taíno in the 1514 *Repartimiento* (Benzo 2000).

No names of smiths are recorded during the later years of occupation, but there is the name of a sword-maker (Benzo 2000). It is possible that much of the smiting may have been undertaken by African *Libertos*, or even African *Ladino* men whose names were not recorded (Davidson 1980: 17-18; Guitar 1998: 123; Landers 1999: 16). The fact that the name for the

town's sword-maker is recorded (Villandro) suggest, however, that certain crafts (such as sword-making) were still reserved for Spaniards.

Domestic Labor at Concepción

Domestic labor was influenced by the great wealth generated by Concepción's gold boom. Domestic urban labor at Concepción throughout both periods of study included Spanish, Native American and African servants.

Historical accounts record the names of two Spanish servants during the first period of study (1495-1514) Diego de Godoy and Gonzalo Martin (Benzo 2000). Both worked for Rodrigo de Villadiego, the city's main merchant (Benzo 2000). It seems less likely that Spanish female servants were present at Concepción, given the small number of Spanish women who traveled to the New World during those years (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6).

There is no historical record confirming that Taíno non-elite women worked as domestic servants in "Spanish" households at Concepción. Although it is commonly assumed that Native women provided domestic labor, this may not have been prevalent at Concepción, since there was a shortage of Taíno non-elite men for agricultural production, and the lack of a large-scale food production economic industry may have prompted the need for Taíno women to grow the Native crops.

It is also possible that elite Taíno women from the *Nitáino* class, married to Spanish *encomenderos*, had their pre-contact servants present in the household. It would be interesting to see if these households had more or less Taíno influence than a household with Taíno servants, but headed by an elite Spanish wife. It would also be instructive to learn whether "Spanish" households with a Taíno wife also had access to African slave servants. How much influence did these non-Spanish women (assuming both Taíno and African servants were present) had on general Spanish household decisions such as food preparation Concepción is open to debate. In

1514 half of the “Spanish” households at Concepción included Taíno women as wives and mistress of the house (See Chapter 6).

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; Larrazabal 1975: 13). However, not every Spaniard could afford an African slave. They were a luxury, and were used in an urban setting to safeguard the investment (Deive 1989: 20). There is reference to both male and female servants, but the vast majority of these urban dwellers were women. Although there is evidence that African *Liberto* (Deive 1989: 19; Landers 1999: 7), or *Bozal* women were employed in domestic service, the majority of these women were African *Ladino*. They had lived a portion of their life in Spain, spoke Spanish and were familiar with Spanish cultural traditions (Guitar 1988: 150).

The *jornal* system (used by African slaves and their owners in Seville during this period), may have been followed at Concepción during its early years. This system allowed the slaves to live independently, in their own homes, in exchange for paying their masters a certain daily amount (Landers 1999: 16). The work could be assigned by the master, or could be done about town independently (Deive 1989: 20; 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 (Landers 1999: 16).

Perhaps no other urban activity was more greatly affected by the decrease in gold production than that of domestic labor. Many of the Spanish who had servants before the 1514 *Repartimiento* could no longer afford them, and it appears that some undertook this labor to pay for outstanding debts. This was the case for Alonso Roman, who became Dean Alvaro de

Castro's servant (Benzo 2000). Castro was one of the few Concepción residents wealthy enough to maintain servants after 1514, including some Lucayans (Benzo 2000).

The nature of African servants changed drastically after 1526 when the importation of *Ladinos* from Spain was outlawed (Deive 1989: 32; Larrazabal 1975: 100). This made it difficult to procure African servants who knew Spanish language and customs. The Slave *ordenanzas* (laws) enacted in 1522, 1528 and 1544 required all slave servants to live with their owners (Larrazabal 1975: 110). These laws did not govern the movements of *Libertos*. Historical records imply that owners seemed to have special deference for African *Ladino* female servants brought during the earlier period (Larrazabal 1975: 107; Patronato 1995: 214). It is possible that some of the African servants after this time may have been *Liberto* women who had gained their liberty through the *jornal* system.

Table 7-1. Highlights in Hispaniola's Gold Economy (1492-1564)

| Date | Event Related to Gold Economy |
|-----------|---|
| 1493-1519 | Given available technology, Spanish miners can mine gold from high grade surface ores (12) |
| 1497 | Scarcity of Spanish food and scarcity of gold (2) |
| 1499 | 1/3 of gold mined belongs to Crown (2) |
| 1500 | Bobadilla only gives Crown 1/11 of gold mined (2) |
| 1501-1508 | Rodrigo de Alcazar is Ovando's gold official. Received 1% of fundicion (1) (4) |
| 1502 | Royal orders that smelting can only be done in presence of overseer (4) |
| 1502-1510 | Average of 500,000 pesos of gold smelted annually (2) |
| 1503 | Assignment of 1/5 of gold (<i>quinto</i>) for Crown (4) |
| | Ovando establishes 4 smeltings a year: 2 in Buenaventura, 2 in Concepción (4) |
| | Gold must be sent to Casa de Contratación(2)(4) |
| 1508 | Ready availability of gold on Hispaniola lowered its value and created severe inflation (4) |
| 1509 | Gold production reached peak (12) |
| 1510 | Gold tokens are minted at Concepción to celebrate Las Casas first mass (5) |
| 1511 | 1/3 of <i>Repartimiento</i> Taíno must work at Royal Mines (4) |
| 1511-1515 | Hispaniola's yearly gold average: 239,111 pesos (13) |
| 1514 | Almost half of the Taíno workers are concentrated in four mining towns: Concepción, Santiago, Santo Domingo and Buenaventura. (7) |
| 1515 | Letter from Rodrigo Mamorro stating more Taíno would work in the sugar industry if not for order that 1/3 Indians work in Royal mines (4) |
| 1515 | Pasamonte has 2 nuggets: one 7 lbs and another 5 lbs (8) |
| 1517 | 12,000 pesos of gold smelted (2) |
| 1517 | Loans to create sugar mills comes from gold <i>quinto</i> (2) |
| 1517-1518 | December and January: smallpox epidemic kills 1/4 of Taínos (4) |

Table 7-1. Continued

| Date | Event Related to Gold Economy |
|-----------|---|
| 1519 | Gold mining virtually ceased (12) Fundicion done at the end of the year (6) Cortes conquers Mexico (4) |
| 1520 | Attacks by <i>Cimarrones</i> make gold extraction dangerous. (2) |
| 1521-1525 | Average gold production annually on Hispaniola: 10, 412 pesos (13) |
| 1528 | Fundicion this year in November. Fundicion not done 2 times a year (6) |
| 1531 | Fundicion at Concepción: 16,357 pesos mined by slaves, and 861 pesos mined by naborias (6) |
| 1532 | A. de Castro accused of illegal trade of African slaves to work in gold mines (9) (11) Gold mined in same areas where cattle ranching is done (9) |
| 1533 | Mines prime target for Taíno rebels (6) |
| 1535-1543 | Indians and Africans work together in mines (4) |
| 1539 | Fundicion at Concepción done at beginning of year ((6) |
| 1543 | Unsmelted gold used to pay for goods (6) |
| 1545 | Little gold is being mined (6) |
| 1545 | Discovery of San Luis de Potosi in Upper Peru (12) |
| 1545-1558 | Silver mines of Potosi, Bolivia and Zacatecas and Guanahuato, Mexico begins to be used. (3) |
| 1547 | Gold no longer being taken to Concepción to be smelted. People leave for Santo Domingo 2 times a year to smelt it there.(11) |
| 1547 | Dean of Concepción suggests to King that President and Oidores should come and reside at Concepción for at least 6 months of the year to be present for a gold smelting. (11) |
| 1548 | Gold discovered in Guanahuato, Mexico (3) |
| 1550 | Before this date the only foundries are at Concepción and Buenaventura. This year a foundry is built in Cotuí (10) |

Table 7-1. Continued

Sources

1. Benzo 2000
2. Cassá 1978: 34, 40, 47, 58, 59, 63, 66, 67
3. Galeano 1997: 22, 134
4. Guitar 1998: 115, 116, 117, 120, 133, 144, 176, 186, 222
5. Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 526
6. Marte 1981: 295, 318, 337, 353, 380, 401, 406
7. Moya-Pons 1978
8. Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 216
9. Patronato 1995
10. Palm 1955a: 112
11. Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 87, 106
12. Rogozinski 2000: 28, 29, 36
13. Suarez-Marill 1998: 10

Table 7-2. Highlights in Hispaniola's Agriculture Economy (1492-1564)

| Date | Event Related to Agriculture Economy |
|-----------|---|
| 1493 | Farmers, soldiers, priests, artisans, and other workers recruited by Columbus to Hispaniola (2) Columbus brings sugarcane to Hispaniola (11) |
| 1494 | European food becomes scarce on Hispaniola (2) |
| 1503 | Ovando tries to plant sugar and is unsuccessful (11) |
| 1506 | Sugar is produced at Concepción. Sources differ on who was first. (3)(4)(6)(9) |
| 1506-1512 | Sugar produced is espumas (molasses) until 1512 (3) |
| 1510 | Rise in sugar prices in Europe (6) |
| 1512 | Aguillón and Ballester experiment in Concepción with crude presses to create crystalline sugar (3) |
| 1515 | Taíno would work more in the sugar industry if not for order that 1/3 Indians work in Royal mines (3) Price of local sugar low (3) Gonzalo de Velloso begins to produce golden or brown sugar using an animal powered mill (trapiche) (3) |
| 1516 | Jeronymites promote sugarcane. Can be produced by African slaves (2) Sugar mills could import African slaves (7) Jeronymites also promote cañafistola as a crop (2) |
| 1517 | Velloso and Tapia brothers produce commercial quality sugar (3) Loans to create sugar mills come from gold <i>quinto</i> (2) |
| 1517-1518 | December and January: Smallpox epidemic kills 1/4 of Taínos (3) Remaining Indians given to encomenderos building sugar mills (7) |
| 1518 | Crown grants Figueroa right to issue loans from Royal Treasury for sugar mills (3) |

Table 7-2. Continued

| Date | Event Related to Agriculture Economy |
|-----------|---|
| 1519 | <p>Canarians encouraged to emigrate because of sugar experience (3)</p> <p>Genoese agent arrived to deal with sugar and slaves (3)</p> <p>Smallpox epidemic used as excuse to bring more African slaves (3)</p> <p>Africans were technically proficient at sugar production in Canaries (3)</p> |
| 1520 | <p>40 sugar mills already in construction by July and November on the island (3) (7)</p> <p>Alonso Roman and Fancisco Oregon receive 500 pesos and 100 Indians to construct a sugar mill at Concepción (1)</p> <p>Crown eliminates taxes on sugar mill equipment (3)</p> <p>Pasamonte in charge of money for sugar mill construction (3)</p> <p>Native Americans work in sugar mills and cattle ranches (2)</p> |
| 1520-1525 | <p>Sugar mill owners request to be able to sell sugar on a free market but it was ungranted (3)</p> |
| 1520-1529 | <p>Agricultural experiments to send lumber, dyewood, wild cinnamon, cotton, manioc, cañafistola and medicinal herbs to Spain (3)</p> |
| 1520-1562 | <p>Money is invested in sugar mills by same European capitalists who sold African slaves (2)</p> |
| 1521 | <p>Royal gold foundries can be used to fire copper equipment needed for sugar mills (3)</p> |
| 1522 | <p>First significant shipment of sugar (2,000 arrobas) to Europe (3)(8)(11)</p> |
| 1527 | <p>25 sugar mills on Hispaniola (23 in the vicinity of Santo Domingo) (7)</p> |
| 1528 | <p>Genoese and Portuguese immigrants encouraged to migrate because of sugar experience, but can only stay 2 years (3)</p> |
| 1529 | <p>Cedula states sugar mills cannot be impounded, or the buildings and African slaves on them (2)</p> |
| 1530 | <p>Average sugar shipment: 90,000 arrobas (3)</p> |
| 1530-70 | <p>Sugar boom on Hispaniola (11)</p> |
| 1530s | <p>Attacks by <i>cimarrones</i> make gold extraction dangerous, cause depopulation and promote agricultural production concentrated in safe areas (2)</p> |

Table 7-2. Continued

| Date | Event Related to Agriculture Economy |
|------|--|
| 1532 | Sugar first cultivated in Brazil (8) |
| 1543 | Sugar export: 110,000 arrobas |
| 1545 | Sugar mill owners are high officials of the colony (2) |
| 1546 | No ships are available to take sugar and leather to Spain (5) |
| 1547 | Rebellion by Lemba's followers in a sugar mill in Concepción (3) |
| 1550 | There are no chapels in sugar mills at Concepcion (10) |
| 1555 | Tobacco brought to Spain for first time (8) |
| 1570 | Large scale sugar production disappears due to trade monopoly (11) |
| | Sugar cheaper to produce in Brazil (11) |
| | Sugar floods Iberian market (11) |

Sources

1. Benzo 2000
2. Cassá 1978: 32, 34, 58, 63, 66, 67
3. Guitar 1998: 133, 145, 176, 184, 185, 193, 194, 203, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 279
4. Las Casas in Rueda 1988
5. Marte 1981: 402, 414
6. Moya-Pons 1974: 71
7. Moya-Pons 1978
8. Moya-Pons 1983: 32
9. Oviedo in Rueda 1988
10. Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 50
11. Rogozinski 2000: 50, 51

Table 7-3. Highlights in Hispaniola's Cattle Economy (1492-1564)

| Date | Event Related to Cattle Economy |
|-----------|--|
| 1500 | Bobadilla gives cattle to settlers (1) |
| 1502 | Ovando brings cattle (5) |
| 1520-1529 | Agricultural experiments to send lumber, dyewood, wild cinnamon, cotton, yucca, cañafistola and medicinal herbs to Spain. There were also ranching efforts (3) |
| | Amerindians are taken to work in sugar mills and cattle ranches (1) |
| 1528-1535 | Cattle was so abundant only killed for their hides (3) |
| 1532 | A. de Castro gives meat on credit to new settlers (6) |
| | Gold mined in same areas where cattle ranching is done (6) |
| 1543 | 50,000 cattle hides produced (4) |
| 1546 | No ships are available to take sugar and leather to Spain (4) |
| 1547 | Cattle ranching done so close to Concepción's center that cathedral is manure collection place (7) |
| | Decree permits African and Indian slaves to eat meat during Lent because of lack of fish (3) |
| | People don't want to grow gardens in Concepción because cattle eat them (7) |

Sources

1. Cassá 1978: 40, 63
2. García 1906: 113
3. Guitar 1998: 203, 222, 281
4. Marte 1981: 402, 414
5. Moya-Pons 1978
6. Patronato 1995: 265
7. Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 107

CHAPTER 8 DOMESTIC DAILY LIFE AND PRACTICE AT CONCEPCION

Introduction

Lifeways at Concepción go beyond the public economic activities performed by its inhabitants. The historical and archaeological records can provide insight into other aspects of life at Concepción that are not directly related to economic ventures. These include those related to the domestic sphere: food, clothing, ornamentation, domestic material technology and entertainment. It is important to use all available avenues of inquiry because one may provide more or different information than another. For example, it is abundantly clear that religion played an important part in 16th century Spanish life, yet few religious artifacts are found in the archaeological record. This is because religious items were so valuable they were rarely discarded (McEwan 1995: 199).

Historical and archaeological research at other 16th century cities both in Spain and the Americas show a marked change in Spanish culture brought about by the great influx of wealth generated by the Conquista. Material wealth began to replace bloodlines as a means for social standing on both sides of the Atlantic (McEwan 1995: 198). The possession of Spanish goods took on a symbolic connotation of status in the colonies and these were displayed quite prominently (McEwan 1995: 199).

At the same time, the shortage of Spanish women, both as wives and servants, created a second, parallel, cultural phenomenon in which the less visible areas of life followed non-Spanish lifeways. This was played out in the domestic sphere, and was particularly true of those activities related to food consumption and preparation.

As will be described below, research at Concepción seems to suggest (although it does not demonstrate) that this pattern was also present there. Zooarchaeological studies, which would

better describe diet at Concepción are lacking, as well as more in-depth excavations at other, domestic areas of the site, i.e. beyond the fort and monastery.

Foodways at Concepción

Due to this lack of zooarchaeological research it is difficult at this point to accurately identify what the specific diet of any of the segments of Concepción's population may have been. It is possible, however, to extrapolate some similarities to other 16th century Spanish-American settlements and hypothesize on what these foodways may have been like. This said, a caveat must be added relating to Concepción's inland location, and Hispaniola's lack of large mammals in the period prior to contact with the Spaniards. Few, if any, fresh sea resources would have been consumed here due to its distance from all coasts, yet at the same time, some type of protein must have been consumed, given its large population, both before and after contact.

It known that root crop cultivation played an important part in pre-contact Taíno culture and foodways. The main element of the diet was manioc (also known as *yucca* or cassava). This cassava bread is still consumed in many parts of the Caribbean and Northern South America today. The Taíno also cultivated other tubers such as *batata* (sweet potatoes), *yautía*, *malanga* and *mapuey* (García-Arévalo 1988: 10; Peguero 1975a: 1975: 86; Tavares 1976: 15). Other crops included peanuts, *lerenes* (similar to boiled peanuts), and the *caimito* (palm tree core) as well as a large variety of fruits, such as pineapple (*Ananas comosus*); guava (*Psidium guajava* L.), papaya (*Carica papaya* L.), *guanabana* (soursop), and *mamey* (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 36; Vega 1997). Corn was also cultivated by the Taíno, but was not ground for consumption, but rather eaten in stew (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 36; Sturtevant 1961). (For more information on Taíno agriculture and food crops, see Newson 1993; Sturtevant 1961; Vega 1997; and Wing 1983, 1989).

Taíno protein sources included fresh fish, birds, turtles, and manatees (García-Arévalo 1988: 10; Tavares 1976: 17). Given Concepción's inland location, however, it appears unlikely that consumption of fresh marine resources, sea turtles or manatees may have occurred. It has been hypothesized that *hutías*, rodent-like Capromyids, which arrived to the West Indies from South America, may have been domesticated as a food source on Hispaniola (Garner 2001: 2, 5) and it is possible that these may have been consumed at Concepción.

The arrival of the Spanish dramatically changed foodways in Concepción due to their subjugation of the Taíno and their labor demands which disrupted the food cycle within the community.

Anthropologically it is known that foodways are one of the last cultural holdouts for immigrants. Time and time again, colonists tried to maintain their homeland diets, but interestingly enough, historical and archaeological records show that only those settlements that adapted to their lifeways to local conditions survived (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 288). This process, however, has always been defined by trial and error, and to analyze a settlement's level of adaptation, or non-adaptation, to local foodways it is necessary to look at both the historical and archaeological record. Concepción is part of this continuum in the Spanish colonial experience, so it is also necessary to examine 15th century foodways in Spain to be able to gauge the amount of adaptation or maintenance in the community.

We must state, however, that few, if any, thorough systematic archaeological studies of 16th century Iberian foodways in Spain exist (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 294). What is available often reflects the tastes of the upper classes, since this is what was recorded in historical documents (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 294).

From these records we see that in contact-period Spain, the nobility and the clergy had special access to meat, not only because they could afford it, but also because they were exempt from the meat tax (Perry 1980: 48; Reitz and McEwan 1995: 296). Chicken, and then beef, appear to have been the most expensive meats (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 298). Records also show that the Spanish elite also consumed raisins, almonds, sugar and fresh eggs (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 296).

The non-elites in Spain appear to have gotten their protein from fish, either salted cod, or wild fish caught in rivers or the ocean (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 299). Soldiers and sailors received bread, wine, fish, rice, beans, oil, vinegar, garlic and salt daily, but few fruits and vegetables, and sometimes pork or beef (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 296).

It appears that during the first study period at Concepción the elite tried to replicate their Iberian foodways. The large number of olive jars, used primarily for the transportation of food (Avery 1995), in the archaeological record reflects an active attempt to continue to consume European goods despite Concepción's distance from both the north and south coasts of the island. Imported food items at Concepción would have included raisins, wheat flour, vinegar, lentils, beans, almonds, olive oil (of course), and wine, as mentioned above (Moya-Pons 1978: 186).

A few historical records document what the Spanish non-elite were eating at Concepción during the first period of study. The Church enforced certain dietary restrictions imposed by the liturgical year, namely not eating meat during Lent and on Fridays, as well as other fasts throughout the year (Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 523). Interestingly, there is mention of the non-elites eating local foods, referred to as "roots and other distasteful delicacies" (Oviedo in Rueda 1988: 150).

Little known about post-contact Native American foodways. The lack of zooarchaeological research at Concepción is part of a much larger gap in post-contact archaeological studies caused by the once prevalent belief that the Taíno people were exterminated soon after contact and left little of themselves behind. However a recent excavation by Deagan (2004) and some historically-informed reports on Taíno in Spanish town contexts do exist (Ortega 1982; Smith 1995) which can be extrapolated to Concepción's case.

The sources suggest that post-contact Native American foodways at Concepción depended on class and labor status within the *Repartimiento* (Moscoso 1986). The Taíno elite diet may have been even more markedly rich and varied, since this group did not have to work within the *Repartimiento* system and were considered part of the nobility. Those young men being educated at the San Francisco Monastery would have probably eaten the same food prepared for the clergy, which in turn consumed a similar diet to that of the Spanish elite. The rest of the Native Americans on Hispaniola, which included the Taíno under the *Repartimiento* and the *Perpetual Naborias* had dietary differences amongst themselves (Deagan 2004: 608), shaped by nuances within the Hispaniolan labor system. Although the work they performed may have been the same, the *Repartimiento* Indians had one important right that the *Perpetual Naborias* did not, namely being able to return to their home communities and farm during the *demora* period (Deagan 2004: 603).

Archaeological evidence of one such community at En Bas Saline surprisingly reveals that the Taíno in this home community, for the most part, continued to follow their pre-contact dietary practices for at least the first 30 years after contact with the Spanish (Deagan 2004: 603). The only difference seems to be the decrease in *hutía* consumption (Hunting was a predominantly male activity) (Deagan 2004: 616). In spite of this decrease, there is little

evidence of incorporation of European livestock into the diet of the community (Deagan 2004: 621). The *Perpetual Naborias*, on the other hand, were obligated to work continuously and had to eat whatever food was provided by their masters.

The biggest change in dietary practices at Concepción occurred during the second period of study, with the rise of the cattle industry. The excess beef from the hide/tanning industry changed the diets of both elite and non-elite residents. In the Proceso de Alvaro de Castro, we find that fresh beef was boiled, and the excess was cut into strips, salted and dried in the sun (Patronato 1995: 56).

A tax on beef and wine during the 1530s and 1540s was used to pay for bounty hunters in charge of capturing escaped Taíno and African slaves (Deive 1989: 37), suggesting that they were regularly consumed on Hispaniola at the time.

Bearing in mind that both Concepción and Puerto Real had slaughterhouses and similar environmental conditions during the second period of study (1515-1564), it is possible to extrapolate some of the experiences with beef consumption which occurred at Puerto Real to Concepción. It had been shown that the Spanish diet at Puerto Real included far more beef than the diet of a contemporary Spaniard in Spain, and marking an adaptation to New World circumstances (Reitz and McEwan 1995: 332). This was probably true at Concepción as well.

Historical documents record what Africans were eating, and that their diets varied according to their social status, and rural versus urban location. Historical records make a distinction between *Bozal* and *Ladino* food, specifically mentioning that *Bozales* prepared coconut oil for their food (Deive 1989: 266). Most of the historical information available about *Bozal* diet during this time period is related to the sugar industry, but it could be extrapolated to the other industries. Sugar mill owners had to provide their slaves with a diet of cassava bread,

corn, peppers and abundant meat (Larrazabal 1975: 107). The need for abundant meat in the diets of those slaves involved in the gold and sugar industries was of constant concern to colonial authorities since they believed meat to be a source of strength, going so far as receiving a Papal dispensation for the slaves to eat meat during Lent in 1547 (Guitar 1988: 222, 280).

The slaves working in the cattle industry may have eaten more meat since the industry focused on hides rather than meat production (Moya-Pons 1983). Often the workers were allowed to eat the meat of the slaughtered animals (Patronato 1995: 209). They ate part of it boiled, and the rest they salted because it was often too much to eat all at once (Patronato 1995).

Domestic Material Technology at Concepción

Another way of understanding domestic lifeways at Concepción is through the analysis of artifacts related to domestic material technology such as eating utensils, plates, drinking goblets, etc. present in the material assemblage. Like most places in Spanish America, Concepción's domestic material culture was deeply influenced by Spanish political occupation and cultural influence. Ceramics played an important role in every facet of Spanish lifeways, and at the same time, reflected the changes occurring within the culture (Smith 1995: 338). Ceramic assemblages were usually affected by four factors: availability, need, function, and social status (Deetz 1973: 19; McEwan 1995: 222).

It is not the purpose of this thesis to describe and explain the characteristics and functions of the different types of pottery and ceramics found in Concepción's material assemblage. These have been well described and classified on the Historical Archaeology Digital Type Collection at the Florida Museum of Natural History (2004). This website will be referenced regarding the descriptions and images mentioned below.

The purpose here is to situate Concepción in the continuum towards the creation of the Spanish-American identity. Does Concepción exhibit aspects of conservatism that later

became obsolete, or does it show aspects of adaptation to the local environment? A caveat must be added to these questions concerning the fact that most of the in-depth archaeological excavations at Concepción took place in two male-dominated institutional locations - the fort and the monastery - and this may skew interpretation.

In other 16th century Spanish colonial cities, such as in Puerto Real (McEwan 1995: 222), the limited availability of Spanish ceramics made them a status symbol, and they were often used as a reflection of “Spanishness” by the colonists (McEwan 1995: 222). At the same time, non-Spanish ceramics were used in areas such as cooking and food preparation, and reflected the ethnic make-up of the persons performing these functions. The more visible, more Spanish aspect of material culture has been identified with more male-oriented activities, while the less visible, non-Spanish aspects have been identified with female-dominated activities (Deagan 1995b; Ewen 1991).

This appears to have been true at Concepción as well, where there is a preponderance of Spanish ceramics in the assemblage, as well as abundant examples of the area’s native population’s pottery - in this case in the Ostionoid (Taíno) style. There is also a third style of pottery which appears to have been made exclusively at Concepción - the *Cerámica de Transculturación*, which shows both Native American and Spanish characteristics (See Figure 8-1). At the same time it must be noted that in spite of the existence of Africans at Concepción, visible African influence in the Concepción pottery has not been recognized. (For Spanish ceramics see Deagan 1987. For Pre-Contact Taíno ceramics see Rouse 1992; Smith 1995. For *Cerámica de Transculturación* see Deagan 2002b; Ortega and Fondeur 1978).

McEwan states that certain Spanish vessel forms were introduced into the Americas to be used where no aboriginal equivalent was to be found (McEwan 1995: 223). This occurred

principally for tableware consumption vessels and shipping containers. An example of this is the *bacín* (chamber pot) (Figure 8-2), which was present in every Spanish household (McEwan 1995: 199), a concept undoubtedly foreign to the Taíno. Another utilitarian ware which shows continuity with European traditions is the olive jar, a vessel form used primarily for the storage and transportation of goods both overland and by sea (Goggin 1960: 6; Fairbanks 1972: 142) (Figure 8-3). It is interesting to note that 28% of all ceramics at Concepción are utilitarian wares, which shows that the community continued to have a strong tie to European lifeways. A more in-depth analysis of the olive jar fragments could help determine whether this tie was mainly during the gold boom period (1495-1514) when there was money to spend on importing expensive goods, or if this also continued through the less affluent second period (1515-1564).

In the tableware category there are those ceramics used, as their name implies, at the table. The 16th century Spanish used individual plates when eating, as opposed to the English and French non-elites of the same period (Deetz 1977). A great variety of tablewares exist and have been thoroughly studied by Deagan (1987), Goggin (1968) and Lister and Lister (1987). Tablewares in the Spanish Americas are distinguished by the preponderance of majolica, a tin-glazed tableware which is glazed and wheel-thrown (Deagan 1987: 53). There are numerous types of majolica, separated by characteristics such as place of manufacture, and the persons manufacturing it (for a more complete description of majolica categories see Deagan 1987). Majolicas make up 18% of the total ceramic assemblage at Concepción, but unfortunately, due to the type of large-scale attribute analysis performed at Concepción, it is difficult to determine the frequencies of the different types within the cultural assemblage. However, some of the more outstanding pieces were pulled out to become a part of the Especiales collection (see Chapter 4), giving a brief glimpse into what the general collection may contain.

The majolica in the Especiales collection can be divided into three main categories: Morisco wares, Italianate Spanish majolica, and Italianate or Old World majolica. Morisco wares are a common-grade majolica produced in Andalusia, particularly around Seville which shows a Christianized Muslim influence. Italianate Spanish majolica have a thinner body and paste than Morisco wares and show a shift from a more Muslim orientation in ceramic elaboration to a more Renaissance-influenced “Italianate” orientation. This was the result of an increased movement of both Italian potters and ceramics to Seville after 1500. By mid-16th century, Spanish versions of the Italian wares were being produced, most likely in the *alfarerías* of Seville. It can difficult to identify and classify Italianate Spanish majolica because it can confused with the contemporaneous, extremely similar Italian prototypes that provided the inspiration for the Spanish versions, known as Italianate majolica (Deagan 1987: 61).

There are three types of Morisco wares in the “Especiales” collection: Columbia Plain, Yayal Blue on White, and Isabela Polychrome (Deagan 1999). As in the rest of Spanish American sites in the circum-Caribbean, Columbia Plain majolica (http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=COLUMBIA%20PLAIN) is the most frequently encountered majolica in the Especiales and probably in the general collection as well. It is most often undecorated with a whitish color, and its most common forms are *escudillas* or saucer-like *platos* (Deagan 1987: 56) (Figure 5-13) (<http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery/gallery.asp>). Its period of manufacture ranged from 1490 to 1650 (Deagan 1987: 56). Another type found is Isabela Polychrome, named for the site of La Isabela, where it is quite prevalent (Deagan 1987: 58). It is recognizable by its manganese-purple and blue painted design on a white background (Deagan 1987: 58)

(http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=ISABELA%20POLYCHROME). The Arabic-influenced designs often found around the edges of the Isabela Polychrome plates are believed to be degenerated alafias, or Muslim expressions of goodwill. This type dates from early Spanish contact period (circa 1490) to about 1580 (Deagan 1987: 58) 1490-1580). The third type of Morisco ware found is known as Yayal Blue on White (http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=YAYAL%20BLUE%20ON%20WHITE). It is recognizable due to a design of simple concentric blue bands circling the interior of the vessel. It also dates from the early Spanish contact period (1490) and has also been found in contemporary sites in Spain (Deagan 1987: 58). It seems to have been quite popular around 1550, but is not as frequent in sites with later occupation periods (Deagan 1987: 58).

It must be noted here that one type of Morisco ware which was not found among the “Especiales” is the type named after the site-La Vega Blue on White (Deagan 1999) (See http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=LA%20VEGA%20BLUE%20ON%20WHITE). Goggin named this type after his visit in the 1950s, but later analysis by Deagan (1987) has cast doubt as to whether this should be a separate type, or whether the small sherds collected are actually from Yayal vessels with central medallion designs (Deagan 1987: 58). This assessment may change again after the examination of the general collection.

Like the Morisco ware, Italianate Spanish majolica also dates from the early Spanish contact period. Two types of this majolica are found in the “Especiales” collection: Caparra Blue (http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=CAPARRA%20BLUE) and Sevilla Blue on Blue

(http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=SEVILLA%20BLUE%20ON%20BLUE) (Deagan 1999). Caparra Blue *albarellos*, or Spanish drug jars, are important in that they are linked to medical matters, and are usually found in sites dating from before 1550 (Deagan 1987: 62). The other Italianate type is Sevilla Blue on Blue, which is recognizable due to its light- to medium-blue background enamel, on which darker blue patterns are painted.

The “Especiales” collection also includes the Italianate majolica type produced in Italy on which the Italianate Spanish majolica was based. Two types of this majolica are present: Montelupo Polychrome and Ligurian Blue on Blue. Like the Morisco and Spanish Italianate types, Montelupo Polychrome majolica

(http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=MONTELUPO%20POLYCHROME) is present in the early Spanish settlements and is not often found in places settled after 1550 (Deagan 1987: 68). The Ligurian Blue on Blue

(http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery_types/type_index_display.asp?type_name=LIGURIAN%20BLUE%20ON%20BLUE), however, is better known at sites settled after 1550 (Deagan 1987: 70). It is possible that these sherds could be misclassified Seville Blue on Blue, but it is also possible that this type may have been available in the New World earlier than previously thought.

Native American Domestic Technology Artifacts

Concepción’s historical and archaeological records show that Native American food and food technologies played a part in daily domestic life in the city. The percentage of Native American ceramics at Concepción is lower than at most other Spanish American sites, with the exception of La Isabela. This may be partially caused by the fact that most artifacts were found in two male-dominated areas - the fort and the monastery, but it could also demonstrate a

progression towards the creation of a criollo culture which integrates Native American elements in the domestic environment.

African Influence on Domestic Technology

It is difficult at this point to gauge the influence Africans may have had on foodways and foodway technologies in Concepción. There are no distinct examples of African-influenced ceramics in the material assemblage, and historical documents do not point to a dietary practice particular to this group in the settlement. This could be caused by several reasons. The simplest being that the Africans were not employed in local ceramic production. Another reason could be Africans produced non-ceramic objects out of perishable materials like gourds. A more complex reason could be that most Africans in the colony were *Ladino* and had already been acculturated into the Spanish culture. Most probably the archaeological material produced by Africans has not been recognized as such.

Clothing and Sumptuary Laws

Although it is difficult to find clothing in the archaeological record due to the perishable nature of cloth, data from clothing related items as well as the historical record can help determine the type of clothing that may have been worn at Concepción during its occupation. Clothing played an important role in Spanish America since it was used by the authorities as a means to distinguish between different social categories. Among the Spanish its was also used as a way to distinguish between laity and clergy. For the African slaves and Native American Naborias, the use of clothing was a marker of Christianity. The Repartimiento holder and slave owner had to provide the clothes as a sign of his Christian indoctrination effort (Larrazabal 1975: 108).

Historical sources tell the great wealth created by the gold boom on Hispaniola during this time period caused inhabitants to break these clothing laws (known as sumptuary laws) and wear

what they could afford rather than what they were permitted by law. The situation was so out of hand by 1509, that Governor Columbus had orders to limit cloth with gold and silver thread to the nobles (Moya-Pons 1978: 110; Suarez-Marill 1998: 15), most of which were in his household. Those who broke the laws could be expelled from the colony for 2 years (Moya-Pons 1978: 110). This did not stop those who wished to dress like the elite and had gold money to spend (Suarez-Marill 1998: 15). Not only did they buy clothes, but also the jewelry, weapons and horse accouterments of the upper classes (Suarez-Marill 1998: 15). The sale of clothing became an important industry in the colony in the early 1500s (Deagan 2002).

Meanwhile, the non-elite Spaniards wore clothing similar to those worn in Southern Spain, a loose shirt over pants and espadrilles (Suarez-Marill 1998). The clergy wore frocks and habits as were assigned by each religious order (Centro Franciscano de Documentación Histórica 1993; Suarez-Marill 1998).

Further research into the historical record needs to be undertaken to find specific references of what was worn at Concepción during the first period of study (1495-1514), but it was quite likely that there was a great display of these goods at the boom town of Concepción, in a similar manner to the extravagance later seen at the silver mining town of Potosí (Galeano 1997: 22). Information is available, however, on what was worn during the second period of study (1515-1564) thanks to the Alvaro de Castro trial. One of Castro's accusations is the breaking of sumptuary and clothing laws.

As a member of the clergy, Castro was to wear a habit or frock (Patronato 1995: 156) without breeches (Patronato 1995: 137). He was not allowed to ride a horse or carry weapons (Patronato 1995: 156, 213). Castro defends himself by saying that he cannot perform his duties,

which involve traveling around a dangerous countryside where there is a possibility of attacks by escaped Taíno and African slaves, wearing his clerical outfit (Patronato 1995: 156).

The trial documents go on to describe that the upper classes were allowed to wear jewelry and carry weapons (Patronato 1995: 55, 137, 238, 241). The men's basic outfit consisted of breeches (*calsas*) and a jerkin or doublet (*jubón*), over this a corselet (*cosete*) could be used, as well as a cape (*capote*) or a pointed hood (*caperuza*) (Patronato 1995: 137, 213, 221).

During the trial Castro was also accused of selling these illegal clothes, and cloth, to other people in the city (Patronato 1995: 136). The clothes were apparently ready-made (Patronato 1995:155), and included capes, corselets and pointed hoods (Patronato 1995: 213, 221). Some of the clothes were second-hand, especially the capes (Patronato 1995: 212). Castro also sold purple cloth to whoever could afford it, although it was reserved for religious functions (Patronato 1995: 136).

Meanwhile, among the Native Americans and Africans the use, or lack of, clothing became a way to identify escaped slaves. It appears that when the Taíno ran away they reverted to wearing no clothes, as was common in the pre-contact period. Such was the case of a Spanish speaking Indian caught in the Concepción area in 1543 (Rueda 1988: 225). Cimarrones probably used Spanish style clothing when they came into the cities to trade (Deive 1989). This would make them less noticeable, and less easy to re-capture. In the field, however, they wore the skins of escaped bulls (Larrazabal 1975: 142; Marte 1981: 301), which is probably why they became identified with the same name as these animals (Arrom and García-Arévalo 1986: 15-17; Price 1979: 1-2). This was especially true around the Concepción region where several people were captured wearing bull leather (Larrazabal 1975: 142; Moya-Pons 1974: 83).

Unfortunately, due to the perishable nature of cloth, no samples of clothing or bull leather have survived in the archaeological record at Concepción to corroborate the historical accounts. There are, however, some artifacts present in the material assemblage that appear to reflect this extravagant clothing practice. It is important to note, though, that it is difficult to determine which of the two time periods these artifacts belong to.

There are many belt buckles in the material assemblage, but one is of particular interest since it is shaped into a lion's head (<http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery/photoout1.asp?id=30>). The incorporation of art to a functional item seems to denote a concern for aesthetics beyond functionality.

There are several glass items that also denote some care for aesthetics by women, a fact which is not discussed in detail in the historical record. Several types of beads are currently stored in the Especiales, including some Nueva Cadiz, agate, and chevron beads. The most outstanding glass artifacts related to clothing, however, are portions of glass bracelets typically identified with young women in Northern Africa (Deagan 1999). Their existence presents the question as to which women may have been using them at Concepción. Were these a trade item given to Taino women, or were these worn by African slave women. Or, on the other hand, were they considered an item which denoted a certain level of "Spanishness" amongst the Spanish settlers themselves?

One last type of artifacts present at Concepción needs to be examined in relation to its possible use in clothing, namely the large number of rumbler bells present in the assemblage (Figure 8-4). Although rumbler bells are mostly recorded as being used mostly for horse/domestic animal related accoutrements (Deagan 2002), there is some evidence that these items may have been used in human clothing decoration, especially for Carnival costumes

(Valdez 1995). Given that Concepción was one of the first places where this practice was recorded on Hispaniola (see below), there is the possibility that some of these bells could be classified as Clothing Items (see Table 4-1).

Entertainment and Leisure

Most of the public entertainment at Concepción, as in other Spanish communities, was organized around Church events and feast days. Spaniards, Africans and Native Americans would have all participated in such activities. Discussions surfaced between the Church and colonial authorities in regards to the keeping of Christian Holy Days for slaves (Larrazabal 1975: 100). The Church insisted that Africans needed to keep these holy days as days of rest, as well as the opportunity to be indoctrinated in the Catholic faith (Guitar 1998: 281; Rodriguez-Morel 2000: 101). The slave owners, on the other hand, complained that the Africans revolted or ran away if there were too many days off in a row (Larrazabal 1975: 100).

The Proceso de Alvaro de Castro provides what may be the first evidence of the Concepción de la Vega Carnival (Patronato 1995) which remains one of the most popular carnival celebrations in the Dominican Republic today. The Proceso records horse races being held at Concepción, as well as a mock battle between “Christians” and “Moors” (Patronato 1995: 213). Mock battles between Moors and Christians are an important element of carnival celebrations in the Dominican Republic today (Valdez 1995).

Although religious feast days, carnival and church organized activities could be participated in by all residents, other historically documented forms of entertainment seem to have been largely restricted to the Spanish population. Although there is little direct historical evidence of entertainment at Concepción, there is considerable archaeological evidence that European forms of leisure were actively pursued. As noted before, Concepción’s elite had the

funds to be able to keep up with the most recent trends in Spain, including pastimes. These pastimes would have ranged from music and reading to gambling and prostitution.

Although the Crown (and the Church) may have condemned some of the more extreme forms of entertainment, it did recognize its need within the colony. Musicians and troubadours were among the settlers that came with Ovando in 1502 (Peguero 1975a: 94).

Non-elite residents in Concepción were probably unable to read and it was common at the time in Spain to have group readings of books (Diaz-Plaja 1995: 219), and this was probably done at Concepción. One of the favorite topics of these books was knight tales, which have been described as a mix of soap operas and action movies (Diaz-Plaja 1995: 225). Reading was also an entertainment option open to the Taíno *Nitaíno* class who were being taught Spanish grammar at the San Francisco Monastery (Arranz-Márquez 1991). There is evidence that the Franciscans brought several books to the Monastery besides the Bible (Diaz-Plaja 1995: 225).

Books also were used as means of demonstrating high social status. In the Siglo de Oro (16th century), books were expensive, and anyone who owned more than one was considered a scholar (Diaz-Plaja 1995: 219). Many elaborate book clasps have been found archaeologically at Concepción, especially at the Monastery and the center of town (Woods 1999), in keeping with the need of elite residents for social display (Figure 8-5).

Other, less refined, forms of entertainment also occurred at Concepción. Las Casas wrote in 1510 that most of the Spanish did not follow many Church rules (Las Casas in Rueda 1988: 523), and it is reasonable to expect that Concepción was not unlike many subsequent boom towns, such as Potosí, where gambling, drinking and prostitution flourished (Galeano 1997: 22).



Figure 8-1. Cerámica de Transculturación from Concepción (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)

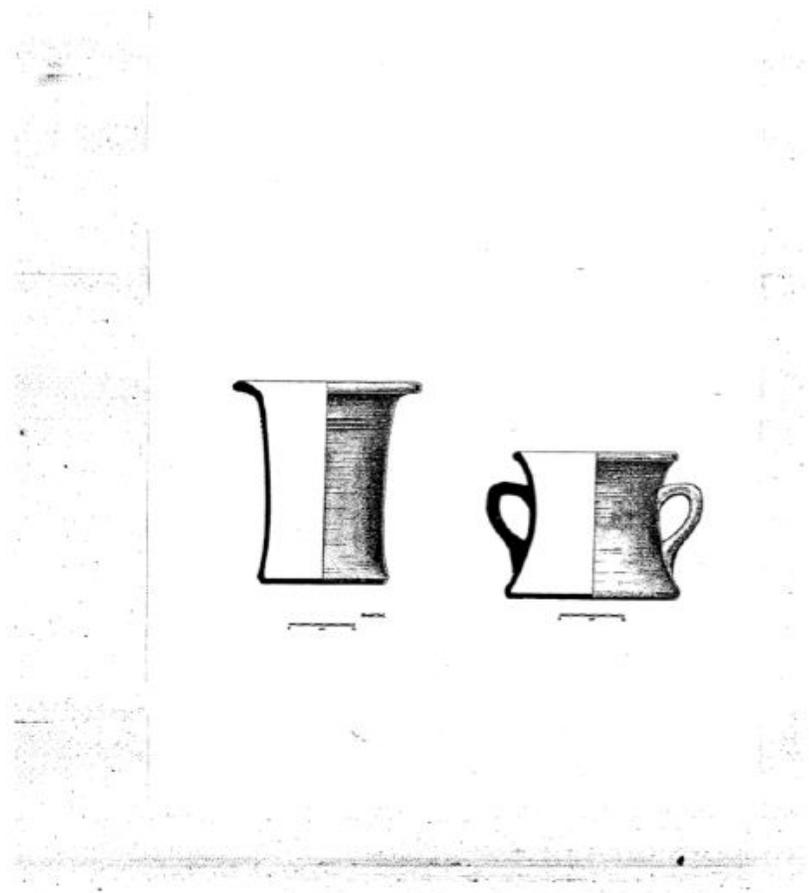


Figure 8-2. Utilitarian Wares: Bacines [Drawings by Merald Clark reprinted with permission from Deagan, Kathleen and José María Cruxent, 2002a. *Archaeology at La Isabela: America's First European Town*. (Figure 3, 149). Yale University Press, New Haven.]



Figure 8-3. Early-style Olive jar from Concepción de la Vega (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)



Figure 8-4. Hawks bells and rumbler bells from Concepción (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)



Figure 8-5. Book clasps found at Concepción (Photo by Kathleen Deagan, 1999)

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to integrate and synthesize the information from documentary and archaeological sources about everyday lifeways at Concepción de la Vega, Dominican Republic during the period from 1495 to 1564. It has focused on the expression of the social dynamics of the community, especially regarding the different activities undertaken at specific locations within the site. It is hoped that the combination of this historical and archaeological data about Concepción will help create a better understanding of the process through which the Spanish-American cultural tradition was created, and later disseminated, to the rest of Latin America.

The data presented in this thesis is drawn from both primary and secondary sources within various avenues of inquiry, and combined using the historical archaeology approach which takes information obtained from diverse sources such as history, archaeology, art history and architecture, to create a more complete picture of the inhabitants of a particular community (Deagan and Cruxent 2002b: 4; Scott 1994; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Singleton 1998). It informs on foodways, material possessions, architecture, and urban planning thanks to interpretation of the material record found in the ground (South 1977; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1967; Deagan 2002). In this way the contributions of all members of the society, not just those of the dominant social, political and economic group, can be examined (Scott 1994: 3; Little 1996: 45).

Analysis of the data presents a city which went through two distinct periods of occupation: 1495-1514 and 1515-1564. These periods roughly correspond to the boom and bust period of the gold economy at Concepción; a boom and bust caused by abundance and lack of labor, rather than the lack of gold itself. The *Repartimiento* of 1514 marks the division between the two

periods due to its final distribution of gold workers at Concepción, which caused subsequent loss in social and economic mobility. The second period is also marked by various attempts to replicate pre-1514 lifeways through different economic activities including as sugar production and cattle ranching.

Analysis of the historical records shows that Concepción played an important role on Hispaniola, both political and religious, before its destruction in 1562. They do not however, reveal much information about the daily lives of those who lived there. Historical accounts, especially those in the political realm, emphasize those events which are considered important for governmental reasons, and were of concern for the elite Spanish. In order to know more about the lives of the other Concepción inhabitants, such as the non-elite Spanish, the Africans, the Amerindian slaves and the Taínos, it was necessary to go beyond history and analyze the material world archaeologically.

Inter-racial and intercultural exchange was characteristic of nearly all of the culturally diverse Spanish-American 16th century towns of the circum-Caribbean area (Ewen 1991; Deagan 1995b, 1996, 2004: 622). However, historical and archaeological evidence points towards an particularly intense interaction at Concepción, owing in large part to its condition as a mining town, where typically the quest for wealth often united disparate peoples (DeFrance 2003: 99). The interaction was such that at this point it has been difficult to identify particular racial divisions archaeologically. In other words, it has not been possible to accurately identify specific areas of the site which were occupied by Native Americans or Africans, nor has it been possible to identify artifacts that are particularly African. Moreover, the *Cerámica de Transculturación*, unique to this site, shows a mixture of both Spanish and Native American characteristics.

During the first period of study (1495-1514) the upper class was made up of Spanish elites and *Nitáinos*, followed by the non-elite category, most of which were Spanish, but also included the *Libertos*. The *Naboria* class became the slave class with the incorporation of African slaves in the mix. Although at the bottom of the social pyramid, this class was not monolithic. The domestic African labor had the highest rank among the slaves, followed by the *Repartimiento* Indians involved in urban labor, with the Amerindian and African field workers at the bottom (See Table 9-1).

During the second period of study, more specifically in 1542, the *Repartimiento* system was abolished and the Taíno became free (Fernandez-Alvarez 1975: 73). This meant that at the moment of the 1562 earthquake, Concepción's elite were mostly Spanish or mixed blood, followed by a non-elite group now made up of Spanish, a few *Libertos* and the Taíno. The slave class was by then composed of African domestic laborers, and Amerindian and African field workers (See Table 9-2).

If we were to base our assessment of the Concepción site on the overarching historical/economic data related to the time period, it would be easy to assume that most of the rich archaeological material found at the site during the Dirección Nacional de Parques excavations from 1976-1994 belong to the boom, or first period. This is foiled, however, by the document-based architectural information, which reveals that most of the large masonry structures on-site were constructed after 1525.

This leads to the all important question of how and why these obviously massive structures, as is evidenced by the remaining foundations mapped during the 1996-1999 Survey, were financed. The period from 1515-1564 is supposed to be the bust period of the settlement, yet these construction of these buildings is an obvious sign of some type of wealth. A study of

historical documents of the time appear to present a Concepción populated by members of the *Servidores/Aragonese* party during the period, meaning that the central government could have provided direct funds from Spain to finance these buildings in an effort to promote settlement in the community. This is unlikely however, given the evidence that the Spanish Crown was actively promoting the exploration and conquest of the Spanish mainland at the time. If any effort was made by the central government to finance these constructions, it was probably short-lived.

A review of the majolica types in the “Especiales” collection also points to the possibility that some type of lucrative economic activity occurred at Concepción during the second period of study. Although most of the majolica in the collection corresponds to the early contact period, there is evidence of the existence of an Italian-produced type, Ligurian Blue on Blue, which was not readily available until after 1550 (Deagan 1987: 70). The fact that someone in the inland community was wealthy enough to own this pottery, also raises some questions.

This underscores the undocumented nature of the economic activities that must have gone on at Concepción during the second period of study, in order to finance this construction period and continue to import high-end European goods. Gold smelting at Concepción was more and more infrequent during this period, indeed pointing to a bust in the gold economy. It is during this period that the gold economy on all of Hispaniola was being progressively phased out by the Spanish central government and being replaced by sugar production. Historical and archaeological data from Concepción do show that the industry was attempted there, but it was not viable.

The third option presented by historical sources is cattle ranching/hide processing. Unlike gold and sugar, the selling of hides does appear to have been a large, economically viable,

industry at Concepción, at least in the year 1532, when the Proceso a Alvaro de Castro takes place. The Proceso documents large tracts of land being used for the cattle industry, as well as documenting the type of workers involved in this industry.

It would be easy to end here by stating that it appears that Concepción went through a gold boom and bust, but that during the gold bust period, a cattle industry boom occurred, economically maintaining the settlement. However, this would gloss over the fact that a large part of the wealth generated by the cattle industry on Hispaniola came from illegal trade and contraband. It is quite likely, since this was one of the accusations leveled at Alvaro de Castro during his trial.

This is the type of question which could be answered by a more in-depth archaeological analysis of the site. Such analysis should be three tiered. One tier involves a zooarchaeological analysis to separate the dietary from cattle industry-related faunal remains. Another tier would involve more excavations to create a more diverse artifactual assemblage, since the current one is highly skewed towards areas of mostly Spanish male habitation (the fort and monastery). The third tier would involve a more complete analysis of the ceramic assemblage at the site, particularly one that separates the majolica into its various categories. This last tier is perhaps the most important, given that majolica sherds can be used as effective dating tools to identify the different levels of occupation at the site.

A more in-depth analysis of the archaeological remains could also help guide further research into the inhabitants at Concepción and their activities. Historical documents show that Native Americans, Spaniards and Africans lived there, but this is not necessarily reflected in the present archaeological assemblage. This is particularly true of the Africans, where there is no concrete trace of their presence. This can be partially explained by the nomadic nature of most of

their pursuits (gold prospecting, street vending and *cimarronaje*), but this cannot be the sole reason. A better understanding of all of the communities' inhabitants would also be helpful in the identification and location of activity areas within the site.

In short, this thesis has posed more questions than those it has answered. If anything, it will inspire future historical, archaeological and architectural researchers to go beyond what is presented here and confirm or refute the recreation of lifeways presented above. Concepción played a large role in the Spanish colonization continuum and its importance must be revealed to those beyond the archaeological site's immediate area, and beyond the Dominican Republic.

Table 9-1. Colonial Social System (1495-1514)

| | |
|-------------|---|
| ELITE CLASS | Spanish nobles Nitaínos (Taíno noble class) |
| NON-ELITES | Spanish non-elite Libertos (Free Africans) |
| SLAVE CLASS | Domestic African labor Repartimiento Indians involved in urban labor Amerindian and African field workers |

Table 9-2. Colonial Social System (1515-1564)

| | |
|-------------|--|
| ELITE CLASS | Spanish nobles Spanish colonial officials Spanish clergy |
| NON-ELITES | Spanish non-elite African Libertos Free Taíno |
| SLAVE CLASS | Ladino Africans in domestic setting Bozal Africans involved in urban work Amerindian and Bozal African field workers |

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Pauline M. Kulstad Gonzalez was born in River Falls, WI, but has lived most of her life in the Dominican Republic. She is the oldest of three children. Her sister Tess is also a student at the University of Florida.

Pauline completed her undergraduate degree in anthropology and Latin American studies at Macalester College in Minnesota. After that she returned to the Dominican Republic and worked in various areas, including as the Field Lab Supervisor at Concepción de la Vega Park from 1997-1999.

She is currently living in Washington DC and wants to become involved in Museum curation.