

1. A historiographic review

It has been pointed out that some periods in Latin American colonial history have been neglected over time. And many times, historians talk about the 17th century as a “dark age”, “the forgotten century” or “the poor relative” of colonial studies, not only because of the recessive and decadent character that is often attributed to it, but also because it is fairly understudied. Other periods, such as the 16th and the late 17th century have historically drawn much more attention, the former because it is the conquest century *par excellence*, and the latter because it is the century of the Bourbon Reforms –especially after 1750 or even 1770-, that prepares the revolutionary era of Hispanic American Independences. Whatever lays in the middle is still badly known. This reality has started to change recently, nonetheless, as new generations of historians have been interested in this neglected epoch¹.

The region we call nowadays “Central America”, which is roughly the ancient kingdom of Guatemala -or the five countries that arised from its disintegration, plus the nowadays Mexican state of Chiapas-, is no exception. Few studies have focused exclusively in this particular century. Usually, it deserves a chapter in some books. Even though many other works, with a larger time span, do mention or somewhat treat the period –often in the form of scattered mentions all over the text-, as can be seen in the further reading section, the works written with an explicit temporal delimitation between 1600 and 1700 –or covering a time span slightly up and down of these dates- for the region do not reach the twenty-five. Many of these works are either

unpublished thesis, fairly specialized scientific review articles, or chapters in scholarly compilations. Only a few are full letter books, available for broader audiences.

Moreover, it seems visible that not all countries in the region have deserved the same attention of scholars. Actually, the two most studied countries -but also the most studious- in the region have historically been Guatemala and Costa Rica. Even in the present times, the most part of historiographical production in the region comes from these two countries –and is written about them- and the majority of historical research institutions are located within their frontiers. Foreign scholars are responsible for a great deal of studies focused on the region as well.

After Murdo McLeod published his classical work entitled *Spanish Central America, a Socio-economic history (1520-1720)*² in 1973, some authors have stood out in the field. Among the most important authors dealing with this obscure century that can be cited it is possible to find Stephen Webre, who has worked about the town council (“cabildo”) of Santiago de Guatemala³; and Paul Lokken, who has written on the African populations in the province of Guatemala⁴. Of course, the Guatemalan Severo Martínez-Peláez, who wrote about the creole world vision after the thought of colonial historian Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán in his classical book “La Patria del Criollo”⁵, cannot be forgotten whatsoever. Other authors have to be mentioned as well, for instance, Rina Cáceres who deals with African slavery in Costa Rica⁶; Claudia Quirós who has written on the institution of “encomienda” in the same country⁷. Also, Elizet Payne and Carmela Velázquez have written still unpublished theses on the period, for Costa Rica as well⁸. Finally, Eduardo Madrigal has written, in the same way, about subjects such as power, miscegenation and cacao production in

the century, always for the case of Costa Rica⁹. The most part of the other works cited in this account either cover the century within larger time spans, or mention it as a part of broader subjects.

2. The primary sources

The main feature of the primary sources of this century as to do undoubtedly with reading difficulties due to the extended use at the time of chained court or procedural writing at the epoch. This is not the case, however, with parish archives, whose documentation is much more readable. Actually, this is probably another reason why some historians prefer to avoid getting too close to this period¹⁰.

The archives in the region are not very easy to access or work in, neither. Probably the most important archive of the former kingdom of Guatemala is the “Archivo General de Centroamérica” (AGCA), located in the ancient capital city, Guatemala, and containing information about all other provinces of the zone. It is followed by the Costa Rica National Archive (ANCR), an institution that stands out in the region as an example of order and professionalism since its foundation in 1881, and is nowadays the main collection of costarrican historical documentation. The ecclesiastic archive Bernardo Augusto Thiel of Costa Rica has been following this example recently, and stands out as an important institution on the field. The Ecclesiastic Archive of Guatemala and that of Chiapas –located in San Cristóbal de las Casas- have to be mentioned as well. On their side, the National Archives of Honduras –situated in the former presidential house and nowadays founded with a larger institution called “Centro Documental de Investigaciones Históricas de Honduras CDIHH-HONDURAS”- and the “Archivo General de la Nación” of El Salvador, exist in the

same way, but guard collections with an amount rather small of documents of the 17th century, the latter mainly in its “Colonial” and “Tierras” sections. Concerning Nicaragua, only the ecclesiastic archive of the Cathedral of León survives, and contains nowadays only a fraction of the documentation it once had since the most part of it is hopelessly lost. Until recently, the archives in the region used to keep their collections in a rather disordered state, but not long ago they have started to take efforts to improve this situation. Few of them are investing, however, in the conservation and restoration of their documents (with the exception, perhaps, of the ANCR). Of course, the “Archivo de Indias”, in the city of Seville, Spain, is the most important European collection of documents on the region and period, which can be found under the signature “Audiencia de Guatemala”.

Finally, some collections of historical documents and other primary sources containing information about the period have been published, as is the case of the “Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica”¹¹, the Somoza Collection of documents for Nicaraguan History¹², or some town council records¹³, or the works of some historians of the colonial times¹⁴, just to mention a few¹⁵. Some reviews published by the archives in the region even since the 19th century often contain modern transcriptions of documents of the period¹⁶.

3. Central America in the 17th Century

Visions of a century

How to characterize a whole century? Throughout the period, it seems clear that all major forces structuring society, from political power to economic organization are already in place and at work in the whole kingdom¹⁷. To begin, it is clear that the whole

region assumed the traits of a dependent economy. On the other hand, colonial political systems and socio-economic schemes were already solidly implanted in the kingdom since they had already undergone enough testing all over Hispanic America¹⁸. The fluctuations of world and intercolonial markets and the daily struggle for the subsistence of human beings in a context of brutal social asymmetry framed the lives of human beings in Central America during this period. After the upheavals of the conquest, an aura of drowsy stability seized the social climate of the time, therefore, the 17th century can be characterized as a century of consolidation and stabilization.

Meditating in the same direction, an intriguing fact, which seems to cross the period transversally in all fields appear: the 17th century seems to be of hybrid century. Situated between the 16th and the 18th, it seems to be encrusted between modernity and premodernity in many ways. For instance, it presents a hegemony of commercial capital -with an elite of merchants associated with mercantilist thinking in the foreground-, coexisting with institutions and usages of strong feudal mood such as the *encomienda*¹⁹. Hybrids are always as interesting to study as hard to understand; that is, in fact, what makes them such a challenging research subject.

Another characterization that historiography traditionally has made of this period of time departs of the idea that the 17th century was a century of crisis.

Crisis or no crisis

In fact, the idea of this century as a crisis period has been managed for European history of the same time and seems to have been applied to the colonial domains as a result. Many historians have employed the same approach for the region. McLeod, for instance, places the beginning of this crisis around 1630, when the fall of the

indigenous population became more noticeable, the failure of commercial indigo and cacao crops launched since the previous century and, especially, the slowdown and decline of the fleet system implanted by the Spanish crown since the end of the 16th century. According to McLeod²⁰, the peak of the process would be in the 1650s and after 1680 the first signs of recovery would begin to be seen. Cardoso and Pérez Brignoli also endorse the theses of a western world crisis –affecting its colonial domains- the in the 17th century²¹. In general, these authors conceive the epoch as a period of stagnation and recoil in nearly all aspects of life, especially as far as economic development is concerned. They tend to speak about a ruralization process according to which powerful Spaniards would have deserted the main cities in the kingdom because of the economic crisis they were enduring, and fled to the countryside, where living conditions were easier.

However, some historiographical tendencies have recently tended to put this assertion into examination. Palma Murga has stated that, more than a crisis, a process of accommodation of all aspects of the newly born colonial society seems to operate: the construction of political institutions, the structuration of economy in all its concerns (production for internal markets, exports canalizing local wealth to the metropolis, as well as intercolonial trade), social and ethnic groups... Aspects such as demography, trade, crown finances, mining and the so called “ruralization” are still to be studied in depth. Reading this author, the conclusion to extract is that the marginal character of the colony can be a factor that produces the impression of general recession throughout the century, but this might not be but an impression²². Newson is not sure either to find a process of ruralization in the case of Honduras, since it is true that many Spaniards abandoned the cities in search of subsistence, but others

obtained a considerable amount of wealth through economic activities such as, indigo or cacao planting and cattle growing²³.

Actually, the peripheral position of the kingdom in the context of the empire necessarily pushed it into a dynamic of poor economic *momentum* and preindustrial dynamics of extensive economic growth, by aggregation of factors, inevitably slowed down economic growth, not only in the region, but in the Western World as a whole. Moreover, subjection to economic cycles coming from the outside used to provoke severe oscillations of local economy, determining the weakness and uncertainty of internal economy. In the case of Costa Rica, It can be noticed that successive crisis moments –not a single secular crisis- are followed by equally successive solutions proposed by the local elite to overcome difficult times. The crisis of the “encomienda” as a *modus vivendi* towards 1610 is followed by a turn to food production and commerce directed to the isthmus of Panama. When these activities decline around 1650, a new alternative appeared: cacao, always directed towards southern markets. When this new possibility was exhausted, the turn to smuggling became noticeable after 1680²⁴. So, a succession of crisis moments –instead of a single secular crisis- in the context of a peripheral economy seems to be the case.

Society and Demography

Undoubtedly, 17th century Central American society was based on racial segregation, with tendencies to merging between ethnic groups.

Destructured indigenous peoples reorganized for the benefit of the conquering system, were managed largely through coercion. In order to justify this from the legal point of view, the aborigines were defined by the colonial system as minors, to make

them fit as tuteled beings in the current legal system²⁵. But in the background of all this lay a blunt reality: indeed, the main goal of the colonial system was the extraction of surplus and the appropriation of the labor force of the indigenous community²⁶. In fact, they provided the base for the rest of social stratification in the kingdom²⁷. Concerning demography, more studies have to be made but, judging by the augmentation of indigenous tributary population, everything seems to indicate that population underwent a slight rise during the century, after the fall experimented over the 16th century²⁸. However, by the end of the century the indigenous population decline in some regions, such as Costa Rica, was catastrophic²⁹. In Honduras, on its side, it apparently stabilizes, after the catastrophic descent of the previous century³⁰, although epidemics, miscegenation and alteration of their living patterns continued to provoke a sustained diminution of their numbers all over the century³¹. Finally, in the Guatemalan Cuchumatanes region it has been documented that demographic losses were enormous over the century due to the same factors³².

At the top of the social framework, and certainly at the opposite side of the natives, a reduced Spanish elite, thirsty for wealth, controlled not only the major sources of enrichment in the kingdom –especially foreign trade and commercial capital-, but the access to the summit of political and military power, knowledge and social connections, since most of them were tied-up to each other through kinship relations, forming a tight group of dominant families³³. The merchant sector of this group used to control the direct producers of the most productive branches of the kingdom -landowners and miners, the other sector of the dominant elite-, mainly through the granting of loans (given in goods rather than money), to finance their production, which they had to deliver almost entirely when canceling the obligation

year by year³⁴. Members of these dominant families were situated in the Audience, town councils, corregimientos, royal treasure, and the church³⁵, a dynamic reproduced by local elites in nearly in all regions of the kingdom. Summing up to the group of European colonizers, a mass of Spanish immigrants looking for fortune but harshly excluded of it, inhabited the kingdom as well. For example, at the end of the century, a sector of creole impoverished peasantry can be detected in the country side and the city of Cartago, Costa Rica, alternating with the half-blood sectors in the world of work at the time³⁶.

The lack of labor force due to the decline of indigenous population was partially solved by the importation of African slaves³⁷. Groups of slaves brought from Africa to the main enclaves of economic activity such as mines and plantations, or just to work as domestic servants to the Spanish, to meet the needs of labor force where indigenous population was absent or severely diminished. Many of them were liberated by their masters, constituting a mass of poor salaried workers, surviving in the countryside and cities on their own. They entered the world of salaried work and established relationships with people from other ethnic groups, giving place to miscegenation.

Apparently, before 1587, the African presence in the province of Guatemala was rather rare. However, after that year and up to 1640 important groups of slaves arrived to the region, most of them through Honduran Caribbean ports although, after 1603, some had been coming in through the port of Santo Tomás de Castilla. By the middle of the century, they were working in cattle growing farms (“estancias”) and indigo processing facilities (“obrajes”), in several regions of Guatemala³⁸.

A tiny but growing half-blood population made out of the mixtures of all these settlers added-up to the social complex and constituted a significant component of the world of labor and social marginality, since they were not considered full letter members of the “Two Republic” society and, thus, socially underestimated. The mixture of Spanish and indigenous was the “mestizo” population. The half-blood African inhabitants were the so-called “mulatos” and “pardos libres” of the documentary record. Slave and free African-blooded sectors lived in the cities, and served as labor providers for the Spaniards. In the same way, some economic and social activities -such as rural production, handcraft and the army- were spaces for social mobility for these populations³⁹. Actually, it has been pointed out that miscegenation arose wherever there were important economic activities that required labor and where people from all ethnic groups converged in search of work. This includes domestic servitude in the homes of powerful Spaniards. Honduran mines, Guatemalan indigo processing facilities (“obrajes”), and farms all over the kingdom were the scenery of this process⁴⁰. Thus, the emergence of half-blood groups undermined the segregated colonial system of “Two Republics” established by the Spanish and created a social layer condemned to exclusion and marginality⁴¹. As a matter of fact, these marginal groups –impoverished Spanish, free afro-descendants and half-blood people- were dispersing throughout the kingdom looking for a living, and thus constituted floating populations, fairly difficult to control for the colonial authorities.

In Costa Rica, according to parish christening books, the proportion of half-blood population was rather weak⁴². It has been documented that, in this province, half-blood population born of the mixture of indigenous and Spanish (“mestizos”) was

rather rare during the century, and “mulato” population (mixture of Africans and Spanish) was more abundant. The cause of this situation was, apparently, the drastic segregation put in place by the Spanish over the indigenous population –confined within their “pueblos” and, thus, impeded to mix with the Spanish- as well as its catastrophic demographic decline, due to overexploitation. The most important era for miscegenation in Costa Rica would be, therefore, the 18th century⁴³.

This is the social landscape of the kingdom of Guatemala in the period, but other landscapes are also to be taken into account.

A fragmented space

The fragmentation of the space is a major characteristic of Central America in nearly all times in its history⁴⁴. The region, in fact, was constructed as a set of enclaves determined by a particular economic activity, thought up by the Spaniards of every particular region to solve strategic problems of survival and foreign trade. They were thus defined according to survival needs, but also in relation to productive capacities and the need to satisfy external demands. From these criteria were defined the dynamics of appropriation of the territory by the Spanish and the organization of indigenous populations⁴⁵. Indigo, cacao and indigenous labor force were undoubtedly the main columns that gave support to the whole colonial economy. This dynamic determined the existence of an internal production destined to be consumed by local markets and exportation products, directed to a broader world economy, subjected to economic cycles⁴⁶. Thus, the kingdom was made out of a set of territories created by several groups of conquerors, later on assembled under the authority of the same Audience, but lacking the unity created by and economic integration or

interdependence. It included the provinces of Guatemala, Chiapas, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, each one of them divided into several economic regions, not always well connected among each other⁴⁷. All of them were framed, however only thanks to the political administration.

The political order

The regime of government of the Habsburg dynasty was the main framework of colonial life during the 17th century. It was defined by a practice that can be characterized as a real "legation of sovereignty"⁴⁸, where the authority of the crown was handed over to local elites as long as they ruled in the name of the monarchy, in exchange for the granting of political favors. The Habsburg dynasty was rather weak, since distance made communications between colonies and mother country a real odyssey, and so the crown depended largely on local elites to sustain its power beyond the Atlantic. In this context, the crown acted as a mediator between the interests of various groups, and relied on both written laws and unwritten customs to govern⁴⁹. Therefore, the loyalty of local elites to the empire was maintained through a pattern of exchange of favors against services⁵⁰. This is why the Habsburg crown depended almost entirely of local interests to exert its power and nearly any attempt to change established order was immediately rejected and definitely blocked by local elites⁵¹.

In this context, some aspects have to be pointed out in order to understand the mechanisms of politics in this period, since some features of absolutist state were fairly different to the state of modern times. First, it has to be outlined that political offices were reserved for the members of the dominant families, but a drip of Spanish immigration from the mother country brought about a new group of Spaniards from

the peninsula (“peninsulares”) that started competing for it with the old families, although they were frequently united to the oldest conquistador group by means of marriage⁵². As a result, the use of political positions for personal enrichment by the royal employees was not seen as corruption, but as a legitimate way to reward the devoted service of faithful vassals. Plus, it is necessary to understand that, at this time, there the division of powers, typical of the modern state, did not exist so all institutions were legislative, executive and judicial at the same time.

The main governing institution of the epoch as the Audience and, as it can be easily guessed, it was located in Santiago de Guatemala, since it was the capital city of the kingdom. In the political field, the 17th century initiates with the addition, after 1609 of military functions to the presidency of the Audience⁵³. It is important to outline as well the role of the real treasure officials (in charge of the tax administration) and the notaries (“escribanos”, in charge of manage the legal affairs of the population and institutions). By 1646, the territory of the Audience was composed of four governments (larger territories under the authority of a governor), eight “alcaldías mayores” (relatively small jurisdictions with indigenous and half-blood population, under the command of an “alcalde mayor) and sixteen “corregimientos” (territories under the control of a “Corregidor”, populated only by indigenous peoples). All of them were strongly military in character, and were assisted by the army. All three charges seemed to be similar in functions, although governments were considered more outstanding than the others, and therefore, was endowed with a higher salary and a better pomp⁵⁴. A process of transformation led by the crown during the second half of the century, ended up with the fusion of several corregimientos and alcaldías mayores and to a concentration of their appointments in royal hands, so the

presidents of the Audience lost the power to appoint these charges that they used to have before⁵⁵.

On the opposite extreme, in the lowest level of colonial administration, town councils (or “cabildos”) were responsible for the administration of urban aggregates where they had municipal functions. Therefore, they were the transmission band communicating superior orders to people, in a time where modern bureaucracy did not exist. They were divided into two groups: the councilmen (“regidores”), who bought their position from the crown and exercised it in perpetuity, and the annual judges (“justicias”), who were elected each year by the regidores to be in charge of justice, representation and economic administration of the town. They used to be the “alcaldes ordinarios” (in charge of the justice within the urban perimeter) the “alcaldes de la Santa Hermandad” (in charge of justice outside the town limits), and other municipal charges such as the “mayordomo de propios” (administrator of the economic income of the town council) and the “procurador síndico” (representative of the interests of the population before the town council).⁵⁶ These entities became an exclusive power space for the most powerful Spanish families of each city, who assumed the representation of the rest of inhabitants. This created what was called in the jargon of the epoch the “republic”, a mixture between the fact of living in a politically organized community (“vivir en policía”, as it was usually said) and a set of diverse inhabitants of the urban space itself. This determined a visible weakness and dependence of the crown towards local power groups, since the higher authorities needed them to make their orders put into practice in the local level⁵⁷. The cabildo was as well a main space for controlling the economic resources of the colony, especially trade⁵⁸.

After 1600, a predominance of an elite of merchants endowed with “encomiendas” over those who were only “encomenderos” and of a group of European Spanish (“peninsulares”) married to Creole heiresses over the locally born creoles among the regidores of the cabildo of Santiago de Guatemala can be detected. As the century progressed, a diversification of the economic activities of this group becomes evident, but trade stands out as the main socio-economic basis of belonging to the institution⁵⁹.

Military forces started being created as well. At the beginning, they were formed out of the conquerors’ group but, as the century progressed, other social groups such as Spanish dwellers or half-blood African (“mulato”) population were recruited. The mission of these forces was to protect the kingdom mainly against internal revolts of indigenous or Africans, but especially against piracy, a practice that gained importance as the century progressed⁶⁰. As it can be expected, Spanish elites took the possession of military ranks as a source of pride to nourish their symbolic power⁶¹.

Concerning church, very much like in all catholic countries of the time, the religious institution was a major political institution, and used to be an integral part of the government system, in charge of guarantee ideological unification and social cohesion⁶². The church served as a maintainer of the established social order and as a social glue especially between the power and the lowest sectors of society- especially through religious charitable institutions such as hospitals and convents- in a way the crown was unable to do⁶³.

Two major levels characterized the ecclesiastic organization: the regular clergy, constituted by the monastic orders frequently dedicated to missionary labors among the aborigines, and the secular clergy, destined to the parishes and bishoprics and acting as another component of colonial government along with the crown authorities⁶⁴. During the whole century, the regulars conserved by far a dominant position in number and power as well, in relation to secular clerics. And the most part of them were local born, very often from the most powerful families⁶⁵. Rivalries between regulars and seculars as well as between higher and lower clergy were not infrequent, especially as far as tributes and control over indigenous communities were involved⁶⁶.

Both the church and private clerics receive income from tithes, fees for masses, christenings, services to brotherhoods, and chaplaincies⁶⁷. Pious donations, the sell of ecclesiastical bulls, and dowries payed by nuns to be admitted into convents were sources of income too⁶⁸. It was not rare that particular clerics owned slaves and country estates also, and religious orders, despite their individual poverty vows, were allowed to possess properties as groups. It was through this mechanism that orders like the Dominicans could own extended rural estates dedicated to produce sugar in Verapaz and Chiapas, all of them operated by aborigine labor force, of course⁶⁹. The Holy Inquisition was not absent, although the local commissioners depended on the central court located in Mexico⁷⁰.

Urban life

Urban nucleus were the axis of colonial power and implantation⁷¹. However, since the 16th century, the kingdom of Guatemala showed a rather weak urban settlement pattern⁷².

Traditionally, historiography has pointed out that a ruralization process, with the Spaniards abandoning the urban centers to settle in their haciendas fleeing the higher cost of life in the cities and the pirate attacks in an epoch of crisis, operated at this time, and no new urban nucleus or indigenous villages were founded during the century⁷³. According to this interpretation, cities were depressed, so their wealthy dwellers went away to escape from high cost of living in the cities and lack of food supply⁷⁴. Sometimes, the flight to the countryside of the Spanish city-dwellers was due to natural disasters as well⁷⁵.

However the case might be, it has been documented that Guatemala city had almost 7000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century⁷⁶, 33000 in 1650⁷⁷, and almost 60000 by the end of the century, being one of the most populated of the continent⁷⁸.

Colonial cities in the region, as in nearly everywhere in Hispanic America, were structured as a central adobe and tile cores reserved for the main Spaniards, wrapped around a main square (“plaza de armas”), surrounded also by the town hall, the church and other buildings, with straight streets plotted in a checkerboard fashion. According to the chroniclers of the time, the city of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala had churches, government buildings, convents, plazas, water fountains, prisons, butchers, markets, squares and schools⁷⁹. The Franciscan order gave impulse to the foundation of hospitals such as that of Fray Pedro de Betancourt in Guatemala (1667)⁸⁰.

Naboríos or laboríos, indigenous groups -submitted to tribute through payment in cash- inhabited as well the urban nucleus in special quarters reserved for them (“barrios de naboríos”). Therefore, they were forced to sell their labor force to the Spanish for a salary (unlike their rural peers of the “pueblos”)⁸¹, which they used to earn through the work in craftsmanship⁸². Urban centers were also frequented by the indigenous population of the countryside.

Much in the same way, colonial cities in the kingdom had segregated African people neighborhoods known as “Pueblas de Pardos”, settlements that became major suppliers of artisan work and human elements for the army, since it was fairly common to create military companies made out entirely of African-blooded population (“milicias de pardos”). These militias became another mechanism of social mobility for the “pardos” (free African-blooded population), which had the possibility of climbing positions in society by obtaining military ranks, although colonial legislation prevented them from ascending beyond the rank of captain. Some members of this group worked as well as artisans, personal servants and domestic workers for the Spanish (Rina, 87-116).

Craftsmanship was also a feature of urban life. Mechanical crafts and arts existed and were organized in guilds by the municipalities, mainly in Guatemala City. In order to be part of a guild, it was necessary to be examined by the masters of it, as well as by the “fiel ejecutor” of the town council. Blacksmiths, tailors, carpenters, cobblers, silversmiths, masons, surgeons and apothecaries (as well as painters, architects and musicians) are mentioned in the documentary record, and abundance of workshops could be found with no difficulty in the cities. The craft sector was fueled by

the royal policy of stimulating the arrival of peninsular artisans to the New World⁸³, although the coexistence of different ethnic groups associated to the craftsmen's world gave birth to an intense miscegenation process among this social group⁸⁴, and many of them were women.⁸⁵ Artisans existed also in the city of Cartago, Costa Rica, but as far as documentation allows to see, they were not organized in guilds, although the structure of officials and apprentices can be detected, and the cabildo used to distribute youngsters –frequently orphans- among experienced artisans, to make them learn the job⁸⁶. Many of these artisans worked in agriculture as well, so that their work in craftsmanship was only part time. It has been documented that, in 1691, thirty-one artisans lived in Cartago. Some of the raw materials employed by these workers were available only through foreign trade, although many of them could also be found in the internal market⁸⁷.

Rural life

Appropriation of the land through the mechanism of land purchase of individuals with the crown (“composición de tierras”) was the main mechanism to have legal access to land in this period. Apparently, the most part of land compositions during the century can be found in Guatemala, diminishing in amount and intensity towards the southern regions of the kingdom⁸⁸. Cacao, indigo and cochineal were the main exportation products, meanwhile corn and wheat were consumed locally in Honduras⁸⁹. Production of wheat, corn, sugar cane, fruits and vegetables as well as cattle, mules, horses and chicken growing characterized these rural estates (“haciendas”) all over the kingdom, nearly all of them in the hands of wealthy Spaniards, many of which were operated by indigenous (either salaried or in “repartimiento” –a system that will be

explained later- conditions) and African (slave or free) labor force. Sugar mills were not absent from the country landscape. In the Central Valley of Costa Rica, agriculture and livestock were produced to export to Panama and on the Pacific side, livestock. Sugar cane was cultivated. Mule growing was also important to supply the demand of mule trains for the transisthmian traffic in Panama. This trade of agricultural goods declined by 1670⁹⁰.

Ecclesiastical property was important as well, since religious orders used to accumulate land through the mechanism of pious donations and purchase, thus managing to build important estates. This is the case of the sugar producing estates of the Dominican order in the Guatemalan Verapaz region, where the religious also used to grow horses and mules. Many clergymen were also important land owners themselves⁹¹.

The catholic brotherhoods (“cofradías”; associations of individuals dedicated to the worship of a Saint) used to own agricultural and cattle-growing lands as well. They were, then, important accumulation spaces, which even served as lenders, since the Christian creed allowed them to lend money at up to 5% interest, because exceeding that figure constituted usury and was considered sinful⁹².

Chaplaincies (“capellanías”) were also a mechanism of accumulation for the clergy. Usually, a member of the major dominant families established a chaplaincy which consisted of a payment to a priest for him to preach masses for the salvation of the founder’s soul, to be extracted from the interests charged on a specific property, destined to this purpose. This was, then, a major source of income for many clergymen or seminar students. Often, chaplaincies lasted even for centuries, being inherited to

subsequent descendants of the founder's family, or transferred to others, changing also the priests in charge as time went by⁹³.

Many African blooded people populated also the countryside looking for a living in agriculture and cattle growing, activities through which some achieved a humble degree of fortune. Those who established themselves in the rural space also became a problem for the authorities that had trouble controlling them⁹⁴. In fact, African slave presence has been studied in the region of Amatitlán, where sugar producing farms used to employ their labor force. An increasing flow of African slaves can be detected in the region from the beginning of the century. Many of them worked also in rural dwellings, wheat farms ("labores de pan llevar"), indigo processing facilities ("obrajes de añil"), and cattle farms. African slave imports diminished drastically after 1640 due to the interruption of the trade with Portugal (the so called "asiento") and never recovered their previous level, but slave labor force kept strong after 1660, when most farms were in the hands of religious orders. However, by the end of the century, the most part of enslaved labor force was already half-blooded and free⁹⁵. Meanwhile, in the Pacific coast and the eastern region of Guatemala, many slaves were brought in the first half of the century. By the end of it, an increasing "mulato" population was already working in "haciendas" and "obrajes", constituting a wandering population, largely liable to fall into illegality and criminal activities⁹⁶.

In Costa Rica, it has been documented that African slaves were brought after a basic accumulation of capital occurred at the end of the 16th century, that allowed the Spanish dwellers to afford their importation. Plus, the province was located near the port of Portobello, a major emporium of slave selling at the time, therefore placing this

jurisdiction into the Lima route of slave trade. Transactions with slaves became fairly common in the province throughout the century and Africans became important as labor force in the economic activities of the province. Most of them were employed for their personal service by the Spaniards while others worked in their “haciendas”⁹⁷.

As a result of miscegenation and population increase, in the countryside, extended regions called “Valles” or “Pajuides” (straw hamlets) started to be populated by half-blood and Spanish impoverished populations, which became a problem of social control for the Spanish authorities that made constant efforts to gather them in villages they could control⁹⁸. Small rural properties, inhabited by less fortunate people, called “chacras”, “bohíos” or “ranchos”, often the product of race mixtures, developed as well in the countryside. Wandering populations associated to economic enclaves and wherever the socially excluded could find a job. Violence, unemployment, alcoholism, and illegality, in other words, social marginality, were the tonic in these social environments, since these populations were excluded from all recognition as part of colonial society⁹⁹.

Mining was practiced basically in Honduras, where silver veins were found in the 16th century, but faced enormous problems of labor force. These veins were exploited with African slaves and Spanish immigrants since the Spanish authorities only allowed indigenous to work in the surface. Indigenous labor force under the “repartimiento” system (a form of exploitation explained lines below) started to be permitted after 1645¹⁰⁰, but Honduran miners also had to invest important resources to buy African slaves or employ salaried half-blooded people¹⁰¹. Actually, mining became the main Honduran economic activity, and its influence shaped the traits of

the country until present times. Because of the weight of mining in Honduran economy, the city of Tegucigalpa, main center of the activity, started disputing the place of principal city in the province to the administrative capital, Comayagua¹⁰². Silver was extracted by means of the amalgam procedure. However the lack of capital was, along with the labor force problem, a big handicap for Honduran silver mining¹⁰³. The Honduran silver production, however, never went above a 5% of all mining production in the New World and¹⁰⁴, thus, the kingdom of Guatemala functioned almost permanently in the context of a demonetized economy¹⁰⁵, because of the lack of locally minted money and tesORIZATION. Most of the currency circulating in the kingdom was coined in Peru¹⁰⁶. Cacao beans were used as coins very often, but bartering was the basic way to trade¹⁰⁷. Over the century, Honduran mining was a space for fraud, smuggling, tax evasion, mistreatment of workers and corruption. Although, it also stimulated other activities such as stockraising in neighboring regions to supply meat, leather, tallow and candles to the mines. It also created a fluid wandering, lawless and mobile society of workers moving around mines in search of a living¹⁰⁸. Thus, Honduran mines were permanently populated by vagabonds, burglars and marginal people (Barahona,194-5).

After the end of the previous century, the most part of African immigration to the kingdom seemed to be directed towards the Honduran silver mines and to the province of Nicaragua. However, as Honduran mining declined, new flows of Africans were sent to the sugar producing lands near Santiago de Guatemala¹⁰⁹.

The indigenous community

In the conquered aborigine world, the way of life and exploitation structures, did not change significantly in relation to the precedent century. Indigenous tribute continued to be extracted by the crown authorities and the encomienda owners (“encomenderos”). The indigenous tribute was payed in kind at this time¹¹⁰. Moreover, the encomienda kept being the main legal way to privately exploit indigenous labor force. The vacant “encomiendas” were appropriated by the crown after the death of the “conquistadores” and their heirs, but granted as a prize to particulars, in exchange for services provided to the crown¹¹¹. Some vacant encomiendas were reassigned, however, to other owners during the century¹¹². The “encomienda” declined because the crown appropriated the vacancies to extinguish it, but it is noted that they were also distributed to individuals throughout the century. The indigenous labor force was exploited also through the “repartimiento” system, which consisted of a distribution by the authorities of groups of workers (between 18 and 60 years of age) coming from the indigenous villages (“pueblos”), among the Spanish producers, either miners or landowners¹¹³. This obligation forced the indigenous communities to neglect the work for their own subsistence, affecting their way of life¹¹⁴.

Consequently, if production for subsistence and tribute payment were the main concerns of indigenous economy and it was submitted to such a quantity of obligations, their survival conditions were precarious. They had no more than a minimum of time and resources for their own maintenance. In fact, after paying the colonial tribute, they did not always manage to satisfy their needs which used to cause great suffering to the communities¹¹⁵.

In this harsh context, land owning was a major factor of social cohesion for the indigenous communities¹¹⁶. Indigenous villages used to be endowed with a square league of land as “ejido” property, and were allowed to buy community lands to the crown or particular individuals as well¹¹⁷. These lands were an important source of resources and identity for the aborigines at this time. The basic products of the indigenous villages were corn, beans, chicken, chile, cacao, honey and textiles. They were consumed internally, but also delivered to the Spanish (either “encomenderos” and crown authorities) as tribute and, afterwards, sold at auction to the benefit of the royal treasury. Fish, cacao, indigo, salt, wheat, ceramics and leather were also given as tribute by the indigenous communities¹¹⁸. Also, apart from agricultural production, they dedicated the land to cattle growing, an activity unknown in pre-Hispanic times¹¹⁹. These products of the indigenous communities were directed to trade or to supply the Spanish settlements¹²⁰. This situation has been detected also in the case of Costa Rica¹²¹, where, due to the diminution of indigenous population, the value of their tributes only diminished throughout the century, until losing any profitability¹²².

On the other hand, invasions of indigenous lands by Spaniards and mestizos were frequent, affecting the possibilities of reproduction of the indigenous communities¹²³. Land composition by the Spanish landowners created conflicts between them and the aborigines, since often their lands were not respected and sold to the dominant group¹²⁴. This is also the case for the African origin half-blood population (“mestizo” and “mulato” as well). Many of their members started invading indigenous properties in several regions of the kingdom, overwhelming the indigenous economic life¹²⁵.

As a result of these exploitation structures, the everyday environment within the villages was basically oppressive. As well as the tribute, they had to pay for the maintenance of the friars (that lived in their villages to preach the gospel to them) and for the religious festivities of the villages¹²⁶, not to mention that they had to assume the usual works of repair of the churches and other buildings of the Spanish towns¹²⁷.

Exploitation by the corregidores was also common. They exploited the indigenous by forcing them to buy merchandises –such as clothes and tools- the aborigines frequently did not need, in order to pay their debts with merchants of the capital city, Guatemala. These royal employees used to acquire these debts in order to pay for their charges to the crown. They did this frequently with the complicity of the indigenous authorities themselves. Frequent measures were taken by the higher authorities to eliminate these practices, and even several corregimientos were suppressed as a result, as happened in the province of Costa Rica -where all corregimientos were suppressed in the decade of 1660-, but they could never be totally erased¹²⁸.

Community chests were also an important source of resources and identity for the indigenous. They were nourished out of contributions of all inhabitants of each village, sale of products, and land rental, and were used to afford religious feasts, tribute paying, local public works, and salaries for priests, notaries and school teachers¹²⁹. However, the goods of these community cases as well of those of the aborigine brotherhoods used to be illegally appropriated by civil and ecclesiastic authorities as well¹³⁰.

The natives were also the subject of several personal service mechanisms such as debt peonage¹³¹. Many aborigines were employed also as “tamemes” (chargers) or private servants by Spanish of all sectors¹³². In the province of Costa Rica, it has been documented that several personal service mechanisms were employed by the Spanish and allowed by the authorities. For instance, licenses were given for aborigines to repair houses, indigenous of an encomienda were rented to another when the second one was lacking of labor force (“indios alquilones”), illegal employment of the indigenous as workers in rural estates or as muleteers in the intercolonial trade with Panama (“arrieros”) was made, and they were employed also in tile elaboration in the provincial capital city (Cartago)¹³³. These mechanisms of exploitation have been documented also in Honduras¹³⁴. This overexploitation provoked a catastrophic demographic diminution among the indigenous population in most regions of the kingdom. This, indigenous salaried work frequently obligated them to stay away from their villages, affecting even more their economy¹³⁵. This has been fairly well documented for Costa Rica¹³⁶. In this context, many aborigines abandoned their culture to learn and live according to Spanish moods (or became “ladinoized” in the jargon of the epoch, the word “ladino” meaning a non Spanish person having acquired Spanish customs) after fleeing their villages to work in haciendas, “obrajes” or Spanish towns¹³⁷. In doing so, they contributed to the miscegenation process, becoming the main source of “mestizo” population.

The lack of labor force due to the decline of indigenous population was partially solved by the expeditions to unconquered regions to bring more aborigine workers (known as “entrada y saca” raids at the epoch)¹³⁸. In fact, in Costa Rica the conquest of the southern Talamanca region became an alternative against the demographic fall of

the indigenous population of the Central Valley between 1600 and 1610. The city of Santiago de Talamanca was founded in 1605, but soon it was destroyed by an indigenous rebellion in 1610¹³⁹. Other “entrada y saca” expeditions were conducted to the northern Votos zone during the 1620’s and 60’s¹⁴⁰.

Given these evidences, it can be stated that everything in the colonial system conspired to maintain the exploitation of indigenous labor force¹⁴¹. As a result, indigenous rebellions in the villages were not absent and used to explode everytime the Spanish authorities, civil an ecclesiastic as well, or their African servants surpassed the thin line that separated indigenous communities from the unbearable¹⁴².

Economic cycles

As a colonial economy dependent on foreign markets to secure its income and with a marked extractive character, favorable to the interests of the metropolis and local dominant groups, the colonial kingdom of Guatemala was subject to a series of boom and bust economic cycles, as the profitability of some products in the external market collapsed and had to be replaced by others. Plus, the region never enjoyed of the existence of a single product common to all regions with the ability to unify all its locations and make the economy of the entire region revolve around it. This determined the existence of several economic circuits and successive economic cycles.

A commercial circuit directed southwards and including a significant part of Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, gravitated towards the Panamanian ports of Portobello and Panama. Food and mules were the main exports sent to these cities that desperately needed them in order to calm their hunger (since they had abandoned nearly all subsistence production to the favor of trade) and to transport

merchandises across the isthmus, either coming from or going to the colonial mother country. Even if the Guatemalan port of Santo Tomás de Castilla (established 1605) seemed to become an attractive possibility for external trade, the fleet system created by the crown in 1561 drew the totality of foreign commerce of Hispanic America to the main ports of Veracruz and Portobello, leaving the Central American region deprived of all possibility of participating directly of the world economic circuits¹⁴³. Anyway, Santo Tomás de Castilla, formed, along with Trujillo and Puerto Caballos, served as a small Caribbean trade system for the kingdom, reaching the main populations through the rivers, for a short period at the beginning of the century¹⁴⁴. It has been calculated that between 1680 and 1750, only 42 ships departed and returned between Honduras and Spain, Puerto Caballos, Santo Tomás de Castilla or Trujillo¹⁴⁵. At the beginning of the century, basic grains and other kinds of food were sent from the Suerre port, on the Caribbean side of Costa Rica, to Portobello as well. Mule trains were used to travel the land routes to the ports of Portobello and Veracruz¹⁴⁶.

A second economic circuit, gravitating towards the north, to the Mexican port of Veracruz and other regions in the neighboring viceroyalty, was strong in the cacao producing region comprising from Soconusco (Chiapas) to Nicoya, a region that shifted to indigo production after 1600, when cacao cycle came to a close¹⁴⁷. Actually, the ports of the Pacific side enjoyed of a much more intense commercial activity. Sonsonate (El Salvador) was a main exporter of indigo to Quito and Perú¹⁴⁸, receiving oil and wines in exchange. El Realejo (Nicaragua) used to send pitch and tar to more or less the same destinies, where they were used in the ship construction and wine producing industries¹⁴⁹. Caldera (Costa Rica) exported leather and tallow to southern ports as well. All this activity, however, was severely limited by taxes and commercial

restrictions to intercolonial trade, imposed by the metropolis, but, even like that, these movements were largely bigger than those accounted for the Caribbean side¹⁵⁰. Actually, search for ports on both oceans to mobilize the local exports to México, Perú and the Antilles, kept being a major concern along the century. Tied to this context, the El Realejo port in Nicaragua became the center of a small shipbuilding industry until 1601, but it was quickly surpassed by competence from shipyards in Guayaquil¹⁵¹. A small shipbuilding industry operated in the Gulf of Nicoya as well, until 1610, when it was also affected by the competence of Guayaquil¹⁵².

Economic cycles were also a main feature of the Central American economy of the period¹⁵³. Alternations between rise and fall of different products characterize the dynamics of the region¹⁵⁴. Cacao was a main export at the first half of the century, especially in Soconusco and Suchitepéquez (Guatemala), regions that used to sell it in the New Spain, before an excess of competition from other regions made it unprofitable¹⁵⁵.

Indigo (“añil”, also called “jiquilite” in the region) became important during the late 16th century, its exportations being directed towards Spain through the port of Veracruz, until its first crisis, during the decade of 1630. This plant was cultivated mainly in Guatemala and El Salvador, that became the major producing region, but also, at a lesser extent, in Honduras and Nicaragua and became, by the middle of the century –especially after the retreat of cacao-¹⁵⁶, the main export of the kingdom, becoming a real substitute of it¹⁵⁷, and was produced even by some indian villages. It was sent to Spain through the port of Veracruz but some amounts were sold in Perú, Cartagena and the Antilles. The production was made largely by means of indigenous

labor force in “repartimiento” conditions, in big rural estates; but it was produced also by “poquiteros”, small often half-blooded farmers. Once cropped, the plant was processed in “obrajes”, small facilities, worked by indigenous, slave, and half-blooded labor force, for the most part. Work conditions in the obrajes were frequently unhealthy¹⁵⁸.

The rise of indigo carried the creation of a nucleus of merchants associated to the crop and gathered in the city of Guatemala¹⁵⁹. Some of them were absentee planters themselves, but most direct producers lived in El Salvador (McLeod 181). Since indigo producing zones abandoned nearly all other crops, neighboring regions were stimulated to produce supplies such as basic grains and meat for the indigo producing regions¹⁶⁰. A large amount of these supplies were controlled by the Guatemalan merchants and, thus, were a mechanism for them to dominate the direct production¹⁶¹.

In the El Salvador region, indigo initiated a new rise period during the second half of the 17th century¹⁶². A small indigo trade with the Caribbean islands was conducted also at a little extent from Honduras and smuggling –especially with the british- became a major form of trade as well¹⁶³. A brief rise of cochineal production took place between 1617 and 1621 in several regions of Guatemala and northern Nicaragua¹⁶⁴.

Between 1630 and 1680, the arrival rhythm of galleon fleets to the Portobello port slowed down significantly, affecting deeply the economy of the whole kingdom¹⁶⁵. Silver production in the Alto Perú (nowadays Bolivia) mines drastically diminished as well, drawing down the whole complex of the Panama isthmus trade circuit and,

therefore, the economy of all Central American regions depending on it. Wars among European powers as well as the rise of piracy, impeded the Spanish to bring security to the fleets, and were major causes of this process. This led to an increase of trade on the Pacific side of the kingdom. Production for internal trade and smuggling had a rise as well. Central American ports on both oceans were fairly active at the time for both exports and imports exchanged with other colonial jurisdictions. Central American brea, brazil stick, wheat, tamarind and achiote were sent to the south as Peruvian merchandises such as wine, oil, olives and capers came over to the isthmus¹⁶⁶.

Due to the absence of a single export product to unify the isthmus, many specific economic “boomlets” happened in the region. Chiapas developed cochineal production as well as cattle, mule and horse growing. The surroundings of the Fonseca gulf in the Honduran region of Choluteca experienced a rise of mule growing to supply transisthmian trade in Panama, as did Nicaragua and Costa Rica. This latter province also became a supplier of basic foodstuffs for merchant cities of Panama and Portobello, sending them tallow, suet, hides, biscuit and flour in ships coming out the small ports of Caldera and Suerre¹⁶⁷. During the first years of the century (up to 1610-1620), most of this production came directly from encomienda indigenous tribute, but afterwards, Spanish rural estates started meeting the demand. Purple dyes and perling were practiced at a tiny extent in the Fonseca and Nicoya gulfs¹⁶⁸. This caused many regions of the kingdom to become separate compartments, isolated and non-dependent from the others, thus constituting self-sufficient economic units on their own¹⁶⁹.

The Nicaraguan region of Rivas and Costa Rica (in the Caribbean Matina region) started producing cacao as well in the second part of the century, but directing their exports towards the south. After 1660, a cycle of cacao production took place in the province of Costa Rica¹⁷⁰. At the beginning costarrican cacao plantations worked with “repartimiento” labor force. Enslaved and free labor force were used in small amounts by the owners of these plantations and these workers enjoyed a fairly independent life¹⁷¹. The Costarrican production was also affected by competition. Cacao kept being produced by some indian villages in Guatemala to be consumed in the internal market. Other spices or flavorings for chocolate were also produced in small amounts as a result of cacao production. This was the case of sugar, achiote and vanilla¹⁷².

By the end of the century, smuggling became a clear alternative face to the lack of markets and capital, the excessive taxation and the commercial restrictions imposed by the Spanish monarchy. Corruption was a major aid for those interested in cheating the crown’s control. The presence in the coasts of Europeans from other countries provided the perfect opportunity for the practice, although the inhospitable nature of the coastal regions was a non-negligible obstacle.¹⁷³

Geopolitics

Since it was deprived of the wealth level of the biggest Spanish viceroyalties of the time, the Kingdom of Guatemala had mainly a strategic importance for the Iberians, being a very narrow territory joining the two major jurisdictions of Peru and New Spain, and a passage area between the two major oceans in the planet. For the Spanish empire, allowing a foreign European power to gain possession of this land was unthinkable, since it would have opened the possibility of cutting the empire in two,

and of making the crossing from one ocean to the other, leaving Spanish ports in the Pacific unarmed against attacks¹⁷⁴. Since most of the population and economic activity of the kingdom was located in the Pacific side, where the most part of prehispanic indigenous peoples were as well, the Caribbean side stayed largely unoccupied, serving thus as a buffer territory protecting the land from external aggressions, which were not infrequent at all. The Dutch, for instance, attacked Santo Tomás de Castilla in 1606, and the Trujillo fort was destroyed in 1643¹⁷⁵.

This, on the other hand, allowed imperial European powers such as England and the Netherlands, to invade these regions and establish alliances with local indigenous peoples to harass Spanish settlements. The British took advantage of the absence of Spanish in the Caribbean side to create settlements of their own, taking advantage of their alliance with the indigenous peoples and, as a result, British villages were established in Santa Catalina (Providence) island, and Roatán, in front of the Honduran coast. European enemies of Spain established in the Mosquito Coast (covering from Honduras, where it is called the “Taguzgalpa” to Nicaragua, where it is called the “Tologalpa”) during the decade of 1630¹⁷⁶. Although the English were expelled from these settlements by the Spaniards in 1641 and 1643 respectively, the Mosquito coast became a major nucleus of British presence in the region and, from there, the invaders used to launch attacks -but also smuggling operations- to the Spanish Pacific side. Its inhabitants were known as the “Mosquito Indians”, because many of them came from the region surrounding the Mosquito river, located in the border between Honduras and Nicaragua.

These contacts induced an enormous cultural change among the indigenous of these zones¹⁷⁷. Many times, submitted indigenous population used to escape from the villages, fleeing to unconquered regions often inhabited by unsubmissive indigenous peoples, turning them into refuge zones¹⁷⁸. This situation happened in Honduras¹⁷⁹, and Costa Rica¹⁸⁰.

The situation was aggravated when ships transporting slaves from Africa wrecked in front of these coasts, causing the surviving Africans to reach the land and mix with the indigenous populations, giving birth to a new ethnic group known as the “zambos mosquitos”, “zambos” being the Spanish term to name the mixture between Africans and American aborigines¹⁸¹. The bishop of Nicaragua, Benito Garret and Arloví, reported that in 1641, a ship loaded with slaves was shipwrecked off the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua and Honduras. The castaways dispersed along these coasts, entering into conflict with the natives, but then were assimilated by them, giving rise to the zambo ethnic group¹⁸². The zambos and mosquito Indians became ever since important allies of the English since all of them hated the Spanish. Even an autochthonous mosquito kingdom was created by 1687 or even before¹⁸³. This multiethnic presence in the Caribbean region gave birth to an extremely rich cultural mixture combining and confusing European (from several nations), native and African elements in a fairly particular way, significantly different from the one that can be found in the rest of the region. This process gives this part of Central America an intensely distinct flavor and a special proud identity until today.

Very much tied to these geopolitical conflicts, pirate activity protagonized by the buccaneers and filibusters became intense after 1670, especially because the rise

of the English colony in Jamaica. British settlements were established in Belice, Gracias a Dios cape, Las Perlas lagoon and Bluefields as well. Pirate attacks occurred in Granada (Nicaragua) in 1665 and Costa Rica in 1666¹⁸⁴. As a result, the San Carlos fort was constructed in the middle course of the San Juan River in Nicaragua (a river that leaves to the entrance of the lake of Nicaragua) in 1675. Nueva Segovia was also sacked as well in 1676. Afterwards, buccaneer attacks were launched in the Pacific side, as the invaders succeeded in reaching the other side of the isthmus, and the town of Esparza, in Costa Rica, was destroyed in 1681. The pirates attempted to take the Nicaraguan port of El Realejo in 1684 and 85. French pirates attacked the Pacific coast as well, making raids in Nicaragua and Guatemala, destroying the village of Nicoya in 1686¹⁸⁵.

On the other side, Caribbean ports (such as Puerto Caballos, Santo Tomás de Castilla and Trujillo) existed and had to be protected, as well as the small trade that passed through them, so volunteer militia companies were created and sent to the region¹⁸⁶. Roads and forts were built in the zone to transport and give shelter to these military groups. Since the crown did not provide funds to finance many of these defense efforts, some of these expenses had to be payed by the powerful group of Guatemalan merchants, convinced by the presidents of the Audience of the importance of giving their money for the defense of the kingdom, an effort they did in exchange for some commercial advantages and legal flexibility on the side of colonial authorities¹⁸⁷.

Along with the Mosquitia, the Talamanca (Costa Rica) and El Petén (Guatemala) regions were also frontier zones, outside the control of the Spanish and inhabited by

indigenous non conquered peoples¹⁸⁸. These bordering regions used to become refuge zones for conquered indigenous fleeing from the Spanish possessions¹⁸⁹.

Missions were sent to most of these regions in order to incorporate their dwellers to Christian faith, but also to extend the political hand of the empire over them. The Honduran regions of Taguzgalpa, Yoro and Olancho as well were the subject of these efforts between 1604 and 1612, 1614 and 1623, and from 1687 on, especially by the Franciscan friars¹⁹⁰. Later on, the Franciscan order gave impulse to the establishment of missions in frontier areas during the rise of the “Colegios de Propaganda Fide”, institutions created by papal order, after 1680¹⁹¹. In 1685, fray Antonio Margil de Jesús arrived to Guatemala and started an intense missionary labor in the frontier regions of Talamanca, where he went in 1689, establishing several mission villages¹⁹². In the Guatemalan El Petén region, the maya, manché, chol and lacandón population were still far from the Spanish domination, and used to harass the conquered indigenous of the neighboring zones, as well and be allied to the English enemies¹⁹³. All attempts of the missionary to pacifically conquer the region through faith failed. In the northern part of the territory, the iztá group maintained still a prehispanic way of life in the Tayasal island (located in a lake), and were even governed by elites descending from ancient maya kings. By the end of the century (1695), a Spanish expedition was launched to violently conquer the region. This expedition failed but, finally, in 1697, another Spanish raid launched from Yucatán succeeded, and the region was incorporated to Spanish rule¹⁹⁴.

Culture

Catholic church was the main source of cultural values and practices at the time¹⁹⁵. Therefore, art, architecture and music were strongly tied to religious activities or, in any case, influenced by religious thought and practices. The clergymen were, by far, the most educated social layer at the time, but education was also at the reach of colonial secular elites. All arts in this period had the mission to transmit messages of power and domination through religious thought to the subjects of the king. The baroque style was the main paradigm for all artistic manifestations during the century.

Music was practiced in cathedrals and missions. In the former, religious services were in charge of the chapel master (“maestro de capilla”) –who used to play the organ and compose new repertoire for the church- and by the chanter and sochantre (members of the cathedral cabildo), in charge of the teaching of music to children, as well. Composers such as the Spanish Pedro Bermúdez (1558-1605) and the Guatemalan Gaspar Fernández (died 1629), were active in the city of Santiago de los Caballeros¹⁹⁶. In the latter, missionaries from the religious orders taught the European music to the aborigines, who learned to play European instruments and to write music according to European formulae. Musical manuscripts have been found in the Huehuetenango region, where composer Tomás Calvo, presumably and aborigine, was chapel master in the village of San Juan Ixcoy at least until 1635. Vernacular forms of the Castilian “Villancico” can be found in these regions¹⁹⁷. The indigenous, brotherhoods and other groups used to participate in religious processions playing music and dancing. Music was also omnipresent in civil festivities, in the army and judiciary ceremonies and, of course in friendly parties of Spanish and half-blood people as well¹⁹⁸.

In the plastic arts field, it can be mentioned that some painters such as Pedro de Liendo (died 1657) and sculptors such as Quirio Cataño (died 1622) were important in the kingdom, as well as the architect José de Porras (died 1703)¹⁹⁹. The possession of paintings and other art works was not scarce among the religious spaces, not to mention the rich sacred objects that could be found in churches and convents²⁰⁰. Also, imagery workshops of Santiago de Guatemala were famous all over the kingdom.

Architecture was also a main artistic feature of Central America at the time. Watching the nowadays remnant colonial edifications in the most part of the region, it is visible that most of the infrastructure dates from the 18th century. That might indicate that constructions in the 17th were rather weak in their structure, and did not last. However, the middle of the century knew a constructive boom in Santiago de Guatemala, because at that time an important economic capacity was reached by the church²⁰¹. For instance, the Royal Palace (also known as the “Palacio de los Capitanes Generales”) and the Cathedral of Santiago de Guatemala (constructed between 1669 and 1680), date from this period; the Cathedral of León, the capital city of Nicaragua was constructed between 1621 and 1624. In Costa Rica, a small church in the indigenous village of Ujarrás was finished by 1690²⁰².

Concerning literature, Sor Juana de Maldonado y Paz (died 1638) is one of the few examples of poetry writers born in the kingdom, since most of the literary production is composed of catechisms and other devotional books²⁰³. Historians like Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán (1642-c1699), author of a treatise on Guatemalan history entitled “Recordación Florida”, existed as well in Guatemala and, in Costa Rica there is evidence that another conqueror descendant creole named Juan

López de Ortega was commissioned by the town council of Cartago to write a history of the colony by the 1660s²⁰⁴. These authors can be situated in the context of a movement known as “criollismo” (creolism) or “patriotismo criollo” (creole patriotism) since they aimed to elevate creole pride and identity in the face of the newly arrived peninsular Spanish that used to rival them the power in the kingdom²⁰⁵.

Schools were rare and illiteracy was majoritary. However efforts to develop educational institutions were not absent. For instance, in 1602, the king Phillip II ordered to establish a grammar school in Honduras²⁰⁶. The Jesuits established a college in Santiago de Guatemala in 1606, and another one in Chiapas in 1678. The former would become the San Carlos University in 1676 and finished by absorbing the college of Santo Tomás, created by the Dominicans a century before. A seminar was founded in Chiapas also in 1678²⁰⁷. A seminar for priest education was created in Nicaragua in 1680: the tridentine seminar of San Ramón Nonato²⁰⁸. Also, the crown ordered the establishment of a Tridentine seminary, called the Seminary College of San Agustín, in Comayagua, Honduras, in 1679²⁰⁹.

On the side of the dominated, things must be said as well. The indigenous village became a space of resistance at this time. Within its frontiers, the aborigines managed to conserve the scarce remnants of their culture still in place through several mechanisms. For instance, frequently the aborigines still spoke their own languages²¹⁰, or used indigenous last names²¹¹. Also, members of the old indigenous elites still survived, and occupied the main positions of these institutions, being frequently used by the Spaniards as those in charge of collecting taxes and maintaining the colonial order within their own villages²¹². In the economic field, their community

lands (ejidos and “tierras del común”), as well as their community savings (“cajas de comunidad”), were sources of common identity. In the same way, their syncretic religious practices, tolerated by the missionaries in order to gain their confidence and fidelity, acted as trenches where ancestral culture survived and mixed up with the dominator’s. Ritual and cultural life in indigenous villages was, therefore, fairly rich. Indigenous town councils (“cabildos”) and brotherhoods (“cofradías”) were the main institutions in charge of this popular religiosity and used to organize the feasts of local patron saints, as well as processions and prayers in times of catastrophes or external threats²¹³. Also, many religious images to which miraculous properties were attributed, and popular devotions were abundant among the indigenous, who used to celebrate them in their religious feasts²¹⁴. Some native dances and traditions survived as well, although very mediated by the dominant Spanish culture²¹⁵. Religious syncretism between ancestral indigenous religions and imposed Christianity was frequent in these practices, so the friars often accused them of superstition and witchcraft²¹⁶.

Documentary references to the practice of African dances (danzas negras) in the sugar producing farms in Guatemala suggest that they did not suffer a complete cultural loss either²¹⁷. Of course, for the half blood people no other alternative was open but the loss of ancestral moods (deculturation) and the interiorization of the dominant’s culture, always in a context of lack of self-esteem and social problems that have been characterized as the culture of poverty²¹⁸.

4. Digital materials

Digitalized primary sources are not a common resource in the region. However, the Archives of the Indies in Seville offer access to sources about the kingdom under the

signature “Audiencia de Guatemala”, and can be found in the PARES (Programa Archivos Españoles en Red) program. <http://pares.mcu.es/>

The most part of the archives in the región do not offer the possibility of consulting their sources on the web. However, the National Archive of Costa Rica has its catalogue on line under its service of “consulta de documentos del archive histórico/consulta de base de datos referencial del archivo histórico”. <http://www.archivonacional.go.cr/>

Besides this, secondary sources such as books, art works, maps and other materials, can be found in the following institutions:

- Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Antropológicas y Arqueológicas (IIHAA).
Escuela de Historia. Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala.
<http://iihaa.usac.edu.gt/sitioweb/>
- Programa Universitario de Investigación en Historia de Guatemala. Dirección General de Investigación (DIGI). Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala.
<http://digi.usac.edu.gt/sitios/historia/index.html>
- Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica (CIRMA).
<http://cirma.org.gt/>
- Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.
<http://academiageohist.org.gt/>
- El Centro Documental de Investigaciones Históricas de Honduras (CDIHH).
<http://www.cdihh.ihah.hn/>
- El Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica (IHNCA).
<http://www.ihnca.edu.ni>

- El Centro de Investigación en Identidad y Cultura Latinoamericana Universidad de Costa Rica (CIICLA). <http://www.ciicla.ucr.ac.cr>

CIRMA, in particular, has performed and interesting work rescuing and conserving sources about the region. Researchers on 17th century Central America can be contacted in these institutions as well.

For the case of Nicaragua, there is also the “Colección Somoza”.
https://www.enriquebolanos.org/media/publicacion/coleccionsomoza_

5. For further reading

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Madrigal, Eduardo. “Una elite colonial frente a las coyunturas de crisis: Costa Rica, 1600-1720”. In *Revista Estudios*, vol.26, N°1 (2013): 13-25.

Madrigal, Eduardo. "Los lazos sociales en la dinámica de un grupo subordinado en una sociedad colonial periférica: los cacaoteros de Costa Rica, 1660-1740". In *Mesoamérica* 53 (2011): 106-132.

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Romero Vargas, Germán. *Las sociedades del Atlántico de Nicaragua en los siglos XVII y XVIII*. Managua: Fondo de Promoción Cultural BANIC, 1995.

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¹ Lavallé, Bernard. "A propósito del primer siglo XVIII en el Imperio español de América". In Lavallé, Bernard (ed). *El primer siglo XVIII en Hispanoamérica*, 7-8. Toulouse, France: Méridiennes, 2012.

² McLeod. Murdo J. *Spanish Central America: a socio-economic history (1520-1720)*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

³ Webre, Stephen. *The social and economical basis of cabildo membership In XVIIIth century Guatemala*. Tulane: Phd thesis, Tulane University, 1980.

⁴ Lokken, Paul. "Angoleños en Amatitlán: azúcar, inmigrantes africanos y gente ladina en la Guatemala colonial". In *La negritud en Centroamérica: entre raza y raíces*, edited by Gudmunson, Lowell, and Wolfe, Justin, 35-74. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial de la Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 2012; Lokken, Paul. "Una aproximación a la historia de la gente de ascendencia Africana en el oriente Guatemalteco en el siglo XVII". In *La época colonial en Guatemala, estudios de Historia Cultural y Social*. edited by Robinson Herrera and Stephen Webre, 43-69. Guatemala, Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria de la Universidad de San Carlos, 2013.

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⁷ Quirós Vargas, Claudia. *La era de la encomienda*. San José: EUCR, 1992.

⁸ Payne Iglesias, Elizet. *Organización productiva y explotación indígena en el Área Central de Costa Rica (1580-1700)*. Universidad de Costa Rica: Thesis of Licenciatura in History, University of Costa Rica, 1988; Velázquez Bonilla, Carmela. *Las actitudes ante la muerte en el Cartago del siglo XVII*.

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¹⁰ Although 16th century sources are even more difficult to work with.

¹¹ Fernández, León. Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica. Madrid: 1882.

¹² <https://www.enriquebolanos.org/media/publicacion/coleccionsomoza>

¹³ see *Libro segundo del cabildo de Santiago de Guatemala de la ciudad de Santiago de la provincia de Guatemala comencado a xxvii de mayo de mdxxx años*. Wendy Kramer, coordinator of the edition. Guatemala, Guatemala: Wellfleet, MA ; Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies, Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamerica CIRMA, Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala AGHG, Universidad del Valle de Guatemala UVG, Hispanic Society of America HSA, 2018.

¹⁴ See Juarros, Domingo de. *Compendio de Historia del Reino de Guatemala, 1500-1800*. Guatemala: Piedra Santa, 1981.

¹⁵ An exhaustive account escapes the space possibilities of this publication.

¹⁶ See the *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* of Costa Rica and the *Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno* (BAGG) of Guatemala.

¹⁷ Palma-Murga, Gustavo. "Economía y Sociedad en Centroamérica (1680-1750)." In *Historia General de Centroamérica*, vol. II, edited by Julio Pinto-Soria, 225. Madrid: FLACSO and Sociedad estatal V Centenario, 1993.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 226-228.

¹⁹ Webre, Stephen. "Antecedentes económicos de los regidores de Santiago de Guatemala, siglos XVI y XVII: una elite colonial." In Webre, Stephen (ed.). *La sociedad colonial en Guatemala: estudios regionales y locales*, 192-204. Guatemala: CIRMA, 1989.

²⁰ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 375.

²¹ Cardoso, Ciro F. S., and Pérez Brignoli, Héctor. *Centroamérica y la economía occidental (1520-1930)*, 70-3. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica (EUCR), 1977.

²² Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 222-223.

²³ Newson, Linda. *El costo de la conquista*, 202. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Editorial Guaymuras, 2000.

²⁴ Madrigal, Eduardo. "Una elite colonial frente a las coyunturas de crisis: Costa Rica, 1600-1720". In *Revista Estudios*, vol.26, Nº1 (2013): 13-25. Similar tendencies are

noticed for the whole kingdom by M. McLeod in his classical book; McLeod, *Spanish Central America*.

²⁵ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 288.

²⁶ Ibid., 262-263.

²⁷ Ibid., 302.

²⁸ Ibid., 229; McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 343-344.

²⁹ Quirós Vargas, Claudia. *La era de la encomienda*, 231-241. San José: EUCR, 1992.

³⁰ Newson, *El costo*, 434.

³¹ Ibid., 457.

³² Lovell, George. *Conquista y cambio cultural: la Sierra de los Cuchumatanes de Guatemala, 1500-1821*, 153-167. Antigua Guatemala, Guatemala: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica, Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies, 1990.

³³ Madrigal, Eduardo. *Cartago república urbana: elites y poderes en la Costa Rica colonial (1564-1718)*, 269-319. San José, Costa Rica; Toulouse Francia: EUCR, Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2020.

³⁴ Of course, it is important to notice that many of those that historiography calls "merchants" were landowners and miners as well.

³⁵ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 286.

³⁶ Quirós, *La era*, 273-287.

³⁷ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 298-300.

³⁸ Lokken, "Angoleños", 243-47

³⁹ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 287.

⁴⁰ Barahona, Marvin. *Evolución histórica de la identidad nacional*, 169-175. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Editorial Guaymuras, 1991.

⁴¹ Wortman, Miles. *Gobierno y sociedad en Centroamérica (1680-1840)*, 79. San José, Costa Rica: Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica, Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1991.

⁴² Quirós, *La era*, 242.

⁴³ Quirós, Claudia, and Bolaños, Margarita. "El mestizaje en el siglo XVII: consideraciones para comprender la génesis del campesinado criollo del Valle Central". In *Costa Rica colonial*, edited by Sibaja, Luis Fernando, 61-78. San José, Costa Rica: Ediciones Guayacán, 1989.

⁴⁴ Fonseca-Corrales, Elizabeth. "Economía y Sociedad en Centroamérica (1540-1680)." In *Historia general de Centroamérica*, vol. II, 130. Madrid: FLACSO and Sociedad Estatal V Centenario, 1993.

⁴⁵ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 225.

⁴⁶ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad...", 130.

⁴⁷ see McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 309

⁴⁸ Fernández Molina, José Antonio. "La dinámica de las sociedades coloniales centroamericanas (1524-1792). In Vannini, Margarita (ed.) *Encuentros con la Historia*, 101-144. Managua, Nicaragua: Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua, 1995.

⁴⁹ Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 20.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 41; see Webre, Stephen. "Poder e Ideología en la Consolidación del Sistema Colonial (1542-1700)". In *Historia general de Centroamérica*, vol II, 164. Madrid: FLACSO y Sociedad estatal V Centenario, 1993.

⁵¹ Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 36-37.

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- ⁵² McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 317-323.
- ⁵³ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 156.
- ⁵⁴ Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 27.
- ⁵⁵ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 158.
- ⁵⁶ Madrigal, Cartago, 41-96 .
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., 165.
- ⁵⁸ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 285; studies on cabildos other than Guatemala's and Cartago's are a desperate necessity in the region.
- ⁵⁹ Webre, "Antecedentes económicos", 198-219.
- ⁶⁰ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 182.
- ⁶¹ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 201.
- ⁶² Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 49-50.
- ⁶³ Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 58.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 50; Webre, "Poder e ideología", 166.
- ⁶⁵ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 173-174.
- ⁶⁶ Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 58.
- ⁶⁷ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 174-175.
- ⁶⁸ Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 61-72.
- ⁶⁹ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 176.
- ⁷⁰ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 177-179.
- ⁷¹ Wortman, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 87.
- ⁷² Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 108.
- ⁷³ Ibid., 140-149.
- ⁷⁴ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 227 and 300-302.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., 220 and 290; however, as it is discussed above, this notion has been discussed by recent historians such as Palma Murga.
- ⁷⁶ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 280.
- ⁷⁷ Lokken, Paul. "Angoleños", 41.
- ⁷⁸ Samayoa-Guevara, Héctor. *Los gremios de artesanos en la ciudad de Guatemala (1524-1821)*, 22. Guatemala: Editorial Piedra Santa, 1978. Studies on urban history of other Central American cities of the time are, as usual, thoroughly urgent. A classical study on demography in Santiago de Guatemala has been written by Lutz, Christopher. *Historia sociodemográfica de Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773*. Antigua Guatemala, Guatemala and South Woodstock, Vermont, USA: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica (CIRMA), 1982.
- ⁷⁹ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 281.
- ⁸⁰ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 180-181.
- ⁸¹ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 122-123.
- ⁸² Payne Iglesias, Elizet. "Actividades artesanales en Cartago. Siglo XVII (maestros, oficiales y aprendices)." In Sibaja, Luis Fernando (coord.). *Costa Rica Colonial*, 41. San José: Ediciones Guayacán, 1989.
- ⁸³ Samayoa, *Los gremios*, 17-23; this is, actually, another poorly known subject in the region and period. So far only studies for Guatemala city and Costa Rica are available. Studies on the subject are needed for other jurisdictions of the kingdom.
- ⁸⁴ Payne, "Actividades artesanales", 41, 46.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., 51.

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- ⁸⁶ Ibid., 39-55.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., 48-50.
- ⁸⁸ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 238-244.
- ⁸⁹ Newson, *El costo*, 200-218.
- ⁹⁰ Quirós, *La era*, 257-272.
- ⁹¹ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 113.
- ⁹² Ibid., 114-116.
- ⁹³ Ibid., 116.
- ⁹⁴ 65-64.
- ⁹⁵ Lokken, "Angoleños", 35-65.
- ⁹⁶ Lokken, "Una aproximación", 48-69.
- ⁹⁷ Cáceres Gómez, Rina. Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII, 40-86. San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2000.
- ⁹⁸ Barahona, *Evolución histórica*, 175.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., 193-222.
- ¹⁰⁰ Newson, *El costo*, 228-229.
- ¹⁰¹ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 119; Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 265.
- ¹⁰² Newson, *El costo*, 243.
- ¹⁰³ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 266.
- ¹⁰⁴ Newson, *El costo*, 219.
- ¹⁰⁵ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 267.
- ¹⁰⁶ Newson, *El costo*, 226.
- ¹⁰⁷ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 280-287.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 253-263.
- ¹⁰⁹ Lokken, "Angoleños", 39.
- ¹¹⁰ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 245.
- ¹¹¹ Quirós, *La era*, 175-176.
- ¹¹² McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 292-293.
- ¹¹³ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 246.
- ¹¹⁴ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 121-2
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., 113.
- ¹¹⁶ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 112.
- ¹¹⁷ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 231
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid., 264.
- ¹¹⁹ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 112.
- ¹²⁰ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 262-263.
- ¹²¹ Quirós, *La era*, 139-156.
- ¹²² Ibid., 177-190.
- ¹²³ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 22-23; they have been documented for Honduras, Newson, *El costo*, 287-291.
- ¹²⁴ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 109.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid., 112.
- ¹²⁶ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 290.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., 232.
- ¹²⁸ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 248; McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 314-317; for the case of Honduras, see Barahona, *Evolución histórica*, 129-130.

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- ¹²⁹ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 264.
- ¹³⁰ Quirós, *La era*, 107-110, 127.
- ¹³¹ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 225-226.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, 297.
- ¹³³ Quirós, *La era*, 195-215.
- ¹³⁴ Newson, *El costo*, 245-277.
- ¹³⁵ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 122-123.
- ¹³⁶ Quirós, *La era*, 119-131.
- ¹³⁷ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 227; Newson, *El costo*, 283-284.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 298-300.
- ¹³⁹ Quirós, *La era*, 165-170.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 197-198, 219-227.
- ¹⁴¹ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 250.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 294-301.
- ¹⁴³ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 199-201.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 154-159.
- ¹⁴⁵ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 273.
- ¹⁴⁶ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 159-160.
- ¹⁴⁷ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 133-136.
- ¹⁴⁸ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 195.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 276.
- ¹⁵⁰ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 273-274.
- ¹⁵¹ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 276.
- ¹⁵² Quirós, *La era*, 139-156.
- ¹⁵³ These economic cycles are also synthetically reviewed by Ciro Cardoso and Héctor Pérez Brignoli, *Centroamérica y la economía*, 73-85.
- ¹⁵⁴ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 135-136.
- ¹⁵⁵ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 254; see McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 233-252.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 301
- ¹⁵⁷ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 176-182.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 183-187.
- ¹⁵⁹ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 302.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 256-261.
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 302.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 240.
- ¹⁶³ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 128-135.
- ¹⁶⁴ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 172-173.
- ¹⁶⁵ see *Ibid.*, 197.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 264-273; Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 137-140; studies of this internal, intercolonial and smuggling trades are still to be done in the region.
- ¹⁶⁷ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 273-275.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 273.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 291.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 330-340.
- ¹⁷¹ Lohse, Russel. "Cacao y esclavitud en Matina, Costa Rica, 1650-1750". In *La negritud en Centroamérica: entre raza y raíces*, edited by Gudmunson, Lowell, and Wolfe, Justin,

86-102. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial de la Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 2012; see Cáceres, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos*, 40-86.

¹⁷² Ibid., 251.

¹⁷³ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 348-373.

¹⁷⁴ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 181-182.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 184-185.

¹⁷⁶ Newson, *El costo*, 404.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 408-412; the incidents of these geopolitical conflicts between colonial empires and the role of the missions in these frontier regions are outlined in broad detail by Floyd, Troy S. *La Mosquitia, un conflicto de imperios*. 11-72. San Pedro Sula, Honduras: Centro Editorial, 1990.

¹⁷⁸ Fonseca, "Economía y Sociedad", 127.

¹⁷⁹ Barahona, *Evolución histórica*, 127-134.

¹⁸⁰ Solórzano-Fonseca, JuanCarlos. *Los indígenas en la frontera de la colonización, Costa Rica, 1502-1930*, 119-175. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial de la Universidad Estatal a Distancia (EUNED), 2013.

¹⁸¹ Offen, Karl. "La geografía de la raza en la Mosquitia colonial". In *La negritud en Centroamérica: entre raza y raíces*, edited by Gudmunson, Lowell, and Wolfe, Justin, 126-127. San José, Costa Rica: Editorial de la Universidad Estatal a Distancia, 2012.

¹⁸² Barahona, *Evolución histórica*, 167-168.

¹⁸³ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 185; see McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 362.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 186-187.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 189.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 183.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 199.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 189.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 194.

¹⁹⁰ Barahona, *Evolución histórica*, 15415-8; Newson, *El costo*, 362-364.

¹⁹¹ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 180-181.

¹⁹² Ibid., 192-193.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 193-195.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 196-198.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 202.

¹⁹⁶ Lenhoff, Dieter. *Creación musical en Guatemala*, 37-51. Guatemala: Universidad Rafael Landívar/Fundación G&T Continental, 2004.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 53-67.

¹⁹⁸ Vargas-Cullell, María Clara and Madrigal, Eduardo. "De rituales y festividades, música colonial en la provincia de Costa Rica". In *Revista de Historia*. Heredia, Costa Rica: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional, EUCR, N°57-58 (2008): 109-134.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 203-204.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 176.

²⁰¹ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 292.

²⁰² Webre, "Poder e ideología", 203.

²⁰³ Ibid., 209-210.

²⁰⁴ Meléndez Chaverri, Carlos. *Conquistadores y pobladores: orígenes histórico-sociales de los costarricenses*, 129-130. San José: EUNED, 1982.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 214-215.

²⁰⁶ Madrigal, Eduardo. "Elites instruidas en la Costa Rica colonial, 1564-1718)". In *Revista de Historia*, 86. Heredia, Costa Rica: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional, EUCR, Nº57-58 (2008): 85-107.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 206.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 172.

²⁰⁹ Barahona, *Evolución histórica*, 146-147.

²¹⁰ McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 231.

²¹¹ Quirós, *La era*, 243-245.

²¹² Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 287.

²¹³ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 179.

²¹⁴ Webre, "Poder e ideología", 180.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 201-202.

²¹⁶ Palma, "Economía y Sociedad", 288; McLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 231, 307-308, 327-328 .

²¹⁷ Lokken, "Angoleños", 57.

²¹⁸ Barahona, *Evolución histórica*, 193-222.