



DOMINICAN
STUDIES INSTITUTE

Research Monograph

The Santo Domingo Slave Revolt of 1521 and the Slave Laws of 1522:

**Black Slavery and Black Resistance
in the Early Colonial Americas**

(Sources for a Quincentennial)

Anthony Stevens-Acevedo



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Dominican Studies Research Monograph Series

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Foreword

The Santo Domingo Slave Revolt of 1521 and the Slave Laws of 1522: Black Slavery and Black Resistance in the Early Colonial Americas by Anthony Stevens Acevedo.ⁱ

During the Christmas of 1521, enslaved African Black workers started a rebellion at the sugar-making plantation owned by Diego Colón. At the time, Diego Colón was also the governor of La Española and viceroy of Las Indias. Diego Colón was one of Christopher Columbus' sons. The rebels marched westwards from the banks of the Nigua River toward the village of Azua, located about 62 miles away from the site where the historic uprising began, seeking to reach other enslaved Blacks working in other sugar-making plantations found-along the way.

The rebellion, which some colonists saw as an attempt to take over the control of the colony of La Española, provoked an immediate mobilization on the part of the Spaniards: a military cavalry with superior weapons went after the Black rebels. The military men had to stop the rebels at all costs; their lives and the existence of La Española and the rest of the Spanish colonization project were at stake.

The life and death confrontation between the Spanish cavalry and the Black rebels did not last long. Equipped with superior weapons, the Spaniards crushed the Black rebels who had managed to arm themselves with objects that they had converted into impromptu weapons as they waited and planned the right moment to launch the attack and break free. The death of the rebels strengthened the reign of a social order in La Española based on inequality, on the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few at the expense of the majority. That social order still remains in place today.

Nevertheless, the uprising established a precedent in the minds of everyone. To keep the system in place, Spanish colonial authorities acted quickly and about ten days later, in 1522, they sanctioned a tough set of laws specifically devoted to limiting the rights of Black peoples in La Española, whether enslaved or not. These were punitive laws whose goals were to control and prevent similar insurrections from ever happening again.

The 1522 laws are the oldest surviving set of Spanish legislation issued to regulate and punish Black peoples who violated the social norms in La Española. The laws also imposed punishments to those who helped enslaved Blacks to escape, whether Whites or otherwise. The ideological component of the slavery society was put into practice in La Española to control (to varying degrees) everyone everywhere. Equally significant is the fact that the 1522 laws preceded for a long time all subsequent "black codes" destined at subjecting the generations of millions of black men and women that would be held in bondage throughout history in the entire continent, including the United States.

The 1521 Nigua rebellion was a concerted, astutely planned, collective endeavor by people who were shipped by force from Africa to La Española, into a life of servitude not chosen by them. The rebellion was planned to be executed precisely at a time when Spaniards were with their guard totally lowered, or as it is said in Dominican Spanish, *de lo más quitados de bulla*. Enslaved Blacks planned the rebellion during Christmas

i Anthony Stevens-Acevedo is former Assistant Director of CUNY DSI. He was also the lead researcher of Dominican colonial history projects, a division of the Recovery of Dominican History Initiative at CUNY DSI. Stevens-Acevedo, now retired, continues to do research in the First Blacks of the Americas project.

festivities, precisely at a moment when the Spaniards were rapt in the celebration of the birth of the Christian God's son and also in pleading to God, the father, for forgiveness for all the sins they had committed up until that sacred moment.

The uprising was a remarkably daring action of vindication for freedom and human dignity by those forced into bondage by others who filled their coffers thanks to the unpaid labor of those trapped into slavery.

Yet until now, this pioneering rebellion against the European colonial slavery system, as so many other pivotal moments of struggle and self-determination in the Dominican people's past, has gone relatively unnoticed and unaccounted for in the established Western scholarship, particularly in the United States. *The Santo Domingo Slave Revolt of 1521 and the Slave Laws of 1522: Black Slavery and Black Resistance in the Early Colonial Americas* seeks to interrupt the silence and stimulate further research regarding a significant part of Dominican history that addresses struggle and resistance against oppression.

This monograph makes the following contributions:

- 1) Makes available the first ever *English translation* of the pioneering 1522 ordinances on Black peoples of La Española. The translation of the laws into English offers non-Spanish literate scholars and students direct access to the contents of these early colonial slavery laws, opening the door to further analyses from a diverse range of disciplines;
- 2) Presents the first line-by-line *paleographic transcription* of the archival manuscripts of the laws, making the exact wording of the text of the ordinances now readable for those interested in the document as it appears in its original language;
- 3) Provides clear images of the manuscripts containing the laws that until now have been only accessible online to those who are familiar navigating PARES, the digital database of Spanish documents;
- 4) Offers the first comprehensive historical analysis published in English or Spanish about these laws following two objectives: deciphering the sixteenth-century Spanish legalese and contextualizing the laws, which were provoked by local circumstances in La Española at the end of the first quarter of the 1500s;
- 5) Provides an overview of (a) how Dominican historiography has addressed the earliest known colonial slavery laws of the Americas as they were conceived and issued in La Española; and (b) how the English-language scholarship has (or has not) engaged the Dominican scholarship and/or the laws and the rebellion;
- 6) Makes easier the comparison of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's 1535 interpretation, the earliest comments in the historiography of both events, with the original text of the 1522 laws;
- 7) Settles once and for all, after years of intense research that included the revisions of both primary and secondary sources and direct consultation with specialists on late-medieval and early-modern archival manuscripts, the ambiguities of the past scholarship about the date of the enslaved African Blacks' uprising that caused the creation of these ordinances. Establishing the specific date of the

rebellion paves the way for a more accurate account of these historical events, including understanding how African Blacks enslaved people managed to carry out an action that would threaten the slavery system in the Americas.

We hope that once you read *The Santo Domingo Slave Revolt of 1521 and the Slave Laws of 1522: Black Slavery and Black Resistance in the Early Colonial Americas*, you will pass it along to others and interrupt the silencing of such a momentous part of our collective history.

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Introduction

This volume of the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute's *Monographs* series disseminates for the first time ever a full English translation of a seminal document in the history of Black people in the Americas: the January, 1522 "ordinances on slaves and blacks" issued by the colonial government of *La Española* or *Santo Domingo* (known in English as *Hispaniola*), the first post-1492 European settlement in the Americas and, at the same time, the first black-majority society in the modern Americas and the ancestor society of what is today the Dominican Republic. These ordinances stand as the first known "black code" issued in the modern Americas.¹ The monograph is also an effort to highlight and clarify the chronology of the first recorded black slaves' rebellion of the Americas that erupted at a sugar plantation in the northwestern outskirts of today's Santo Domingo City in 1521 and unfolded throughout the southern central, Caribbean coastal lowlands of the country.

As a source, the 1522 laws on blacks and slaves provide us, five hundred years later, with a unique view of the dynamics of the early colonial experiment of enslavement and forced-labor imposed on black people in the Americas, both in terms of the resistance the experiment met from those who bore the brunt of it, as well as the attempt by the colonists-enslavers to devise institutional means to organize, sustain and justify it.²

This volume also offers the first-ever line-by-line paleographic transcription of the Spanish archival original text of the laws, as well as the first-ever printed publication of a complete set of scans of all the folios or pages of the original archival manuscript of the 1522 laws, plus an English translation of Fernández de Oviedo's chapter about the 1521 rebellion. Thus, the publication should become a welcome addition to the still limited number of published sources available to researchers and to the public at large both in Spanish and English about the earliest recorded direct ancestors of black people throughout the Americas.

In more concrete terms pertaining to our inherited collective legacy of struggles for freedom, the document provides us with a new, unique primary source, discovered only in recent decades, on a key historical event: the first documented anti-slavery rebellion in the Americas, which occurred during Christmas time in December of 1521 in Santo Domingo. The CUNY DSI team hopes that disseminating this document will contribute to the preparation and planning of a vigorous public commemoration in 2021, in the United States and, throughout the nations of the Americas, of the first quincentennial of this historic event of hemispheric significance, worth commemorating and debating as much as the 1492 quincentenary was.

Until now, the memory and the scholarship about this seminal event were based on one single secondary source: the *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, a chronicle by Spanish imperial historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, first published in 1535, about thirteen years after the uprising, and which dated the event as happening "on the second day of Christmas at the beginning of the year of one thousand and five hundred and twenty two." For more than a century, these words led contemporary scholars to understand and disseminate 1522, and specifically Christmas time of 1522, as the year of the uprising. Yet a document published for the first time in 1989, issued in Santo Domingo on January 6, 1522, mentions the rebellion as happening "this past holiday of the Nativity of Our Redeemer," presenting what at first glance would seem a possible discrepancy with the traditional accepted date, and apparently debunking the previously-held understanding by providing a contextually fresher primary source on the matter, written just about a week after the rebellion. The mismatch, and the fact that the newly discovered document was a primary source chronologically much closer to the events than the chronicle, a secondary source published thirteen years later, led a few historians to propose and defend the date of late 1521 as the most likely date. Much more recently, though—as will be described further ahead—a revision by scholars of a so far forgotten aspect of the documents at hand (like the calendar used or

adhered to by those who wrote them) has ratified in a much more cohesive manner the date of December of 1521 as the most valid date, solving at the same time the apparent chronological discrepancies debated in the past on this issue. Fast and thorough circulation of this updated historical data among the scholarly community and the general public, revising their knowledge of these important historical events, will, we hope, be an additional byproduct of this monograph.

A brief history of this monograph project

During the late 2000s and the first half of the 2010s, a team at the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, formed by senior researchers, junior scholars and CUNY students, undertook a research project entitled *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas*, aimed at locating and disseminating as many archival records as could be found on the earliest recorded presence of people of black African ancestry in La Española's society, the earliest black settlers to appear after 1492 in the written record of what is today the Dominican Republic.

The overall goal of the project was to offer the scholarly community, educators and students in general, as well as the public at large, a scholarly compilation of a type of sources that until then had been scattered, published only in brief excerpts, or simply unknown, about a seminal population in the history of the modern Americas that for decades had been neglected or silenced in the public discourse and scholarship of the Dominican Republic and, even more, in the Western scholarship on the colonial Americas in general and the Black Diaspora in the Americas in particular.

Gradually, this team identified archival sources on these early black ancestors of today's Dominicans, documents that had been only partially published or excerpted by scholars since the late 19th century and during the 20th century, as well as others on the same theme that had never been published before but were by then more easily traceable through newly digitized massive online open collections such as PARES, the unified repository of historical sources published by the government of Spain. One of the first documents to be included was the well-known chapter devoted to the earliest known black slaves' rebellion of the Americas in modern times by Spanish colonial *cronista* or chronicler Fernando González de Oviedo in his long-time classic *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, of which chapter a first-ever English translation was offered in the website.

Well into the first phase of the research process in the late 2000s, the CUNY DSI team had come across a relatively unknown document published for the first time in 1989 and dated in Santo Domingo in January 1522 that refers to a major rebellion of slaves having just occurred in the Christmas season that had elapsed a few days before. The document consists of a set of ordinances issued by Diego Colón, the colonial governor of La Española-Santo Domingo, on January 6 of 1522, precisely to address the crisis generated by the uprising. As per all indications, the document referred to the same uprising narrated by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, which for more than a century had been understood as having happened during Christmas time of year 1522, in keeping with our contemporary calendar that begins in January and ends in December.

At first glance the new document seemed to strongly call into question the traditionally known and accepted dating of the rebellion at or around Christmas of 1522. For the CUNY DSI team, the fact that these ordinances explicitly place the rebellion during the Christmas holidays prior to January of 1522 immediately rendered the traditional date of Christmas 1522 problematic. CUNY DSI decided that the importance of the recently discovered ordinances meant it would be worthwhile to eventually publish them separately in English, and as a result only a shortened version of the document was incorporated into the *First Blacks / Los Primeros negros*

website. We would soon discover that we were not alone in being concerned about the apparent chronological inconsistency. At least two other scholars, based on the analysis of the new document, had coincided with the CUNY DSI team in questioning the traditional date.

The analysis of the apparent contradictions between the dating of the rebellion provided in Fernández de Oviedo's 1535 chronicle and in the January 1522 ordinances issued by governor Diego Colón, respectively, induced a comparison between the dating language used in the two documents that led the CUNY DSI, after further analysis and consultations related to the chronology systems used at the time of the writing of the documents, to what we think is a clearer justification for dating the rebellion to December of 1521. We assert that this date should henceforth be the one used when commemorating and discussing this historical event.

The manuscript of the 1522 ordinances revealed itself to be precious not only because, upon publication in 1989, it immediately became the oldest known legal code applied to black people of the colonial Americas,³ but also because it turned out to be the first primary source to provide information about the first known violent collective anti-slavery rebellion by enslaved black people in the continent, the 1521 Santo Domingo rebellion, on which the only source available for centuries had been the rather opinionated chronicle by well-known Spanish imperial historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.

The CUNY DSI team at first had access to a version of the 1522 ordinances published by Spanish historian Manuel Lucena Salmoral in the mid-1990s. Soon thereafter, the team also found a digital image of the document's archival manuscript that had been available since 2003 in PARES, the large online public repository of Spain's rich archival patrimony. When an early comparison was made between the Lucena Salmoral edition of the laws and the PARES digital version of the manuscript, a number of discrepancies were found in the version published by the historian, and the CUNY DSI team decided to embark on a new, line-by-line transcription of the text. Once the transcription was completed, the text needed to be translated into English, a challenging task that CUNY DSI decided to tackle, under the premise that academia could not afford to continue neglecting this crucial historical document.

Some time later, the team discovered that an earlier, first edition of the 1522 laws had been available since the late 1980s; it was published in the Dominican Republic by ethnohistorian Carlos Esteban Deive in a paleographically impeccable transcription as an appendix to one of his works.⁴ The newly found document, written in Santo Domingo in January of 1522, was a response to the Christmas Day rebellion, and it raised questions as to the validity of the traditional date attributed to the rebellion, which was December 26, 1522. Based on the text of the ordinances, Deive himself in his book posited the date of December 21, 1521 as the correct date of the rebellion. Yet, as in so many instances of Dominican historical scholarship, for the most part the book had remained under the radar of U.S.-based and international studies on colonial Latin America,⁵ while its critique of the traditional date used by the prior scholarship also went unheeded in Dominican historical scholarship. As to Deive's transcription of the laws, it was textually continuous, structured in the form of paragraphs, and as a result the CUNY DSI team decided to stick with the line-by-line transcription we had produced independently, following the norm adopted for the entire *First Blacks / Los Primeros Negros* digital platform project. A decision was made to publish the full translation of the 1522 laws later on, as a separate, stand-alone publication, and on December 2nd of 2016 a first rendering of the *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas* website was activated, including only an abridged English version of the laws.⁶

Towards the late fall of 2018, as the quinqucentennial of the Santo Domingo first black slave rebellion more closely approached, the CUNY DSI decided that the publication of an English version of the 1522 laws should

not be postponed any longer. The team conducted a thorough examination of the most recent scholarship published about the uprising since the launching of the *First Blacks / Los primeros negros* website, as well as of any other sources on the topic that the prior research effort might have missed. As we will see, in that process, two recent Dominican publications were noted in which the year 1521 was, for the first time, explicitly mentioned as the date of the Santo Domingo uprising, with one of them pointing at the type of dating system and calendar used in the early 16th century sources as the reason for the past discrepancies noticed by some scholars; in the past ten years, two publications in English have also followed Deive's lead. A closer examination by the CUNY DSI team of the calendar and chronological count used in the two main sixteenth century sources on the first black rebellion of La Española, and especially a consultation with experts in medieval and early modern Spanish document writing and dating practices have indeed revealed that the calendar matter, essentially overlooked by practically everybody involved in the scholarship for so many decades until 2013, was the key to the question. A conceptually cohesive and easily understandable explanation of the uncertain or conflicting dating used by historians for several centuries in regards to the uprising is now possible.

In summary, for decades and decades, scholars old and new had engaged in an anachronistic reading of the dating of the relevant early sixteenth-century documents from the Spanish world and early colonial La Española as if they were using exactly the same calendar going from January 1st to December 31st that we use today and have used in more recent centuries. This reading overlooked the fact that the authors of those sixteenth-century manuscripts were using a calendar centered around the nativity of Jesus Christ, which begins December 25th (the first day of life of Jesus Christ in the Christian religious tradition), counts –and this is the key-- all the subsequent days of December as already part of the new year, and ends on the following December 24th. Because this nativity calendar counts the final seven days of the month of December as belonging to the following year, any event happening on any of those days would be dated as happening in the next consecutive calendar year.

In other words, when Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo wrote “second day of Christmas at the beginning of the year one thousand and five hundred and twenty two,” his formulation was not, we now know, a contradiction or a miscalculation; he was simply counting the final days of the month of December not as *still* belonging to the year 1521 (as we would have done, as readers of our times) but as *already* belonging to the following year, 1522. On the other hand, and by the same token, the ordinances of Santo Domingo dated January 6, 1522, were also dated correctly in accordance with that same calendar, since the days of the month of January are all considered –similarly to our calendar in this regard—as part of the subsequent year. The mistake until now has been that for more than a century we read and interpreted the dates in the said sources by projecting onto them our own contemporary calendar (in a quintessential example of anachronism) rather than reading them according to the calendar within whose framework they were thought and used.

As readers and observers contemplating the events of the first rebellion of blacks slaves in the Americas in hindsight, we may state that said uprising occurred on December 25th or 26th of 1521, according to our calendar, and thus December of 2021 will be the date when the quinentennial of these events will take place, again, according to the calendar we use. We wish that this monograph may contribute to disseminating this new explanation as much as disseminating overall knowledge of the first anti-slavery rebellion of the Americas in modern times.

Scholarship and Memory About the First Anti-slavery Revolt in the Americas: An anachronism that lasted too long

Most of the scholarship published until the 2010s has dated the first recorded slave rebellion of Santo Domingo in December 1522, or simply in 1522, closely following the main, and virtually only, existing source of information about the uprising then known to most historians: Chapter 4, Book 4 of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's 1535 *Historia natural y general de las Indias*, a chapter fully devoted to the rebellion.⁷ As is well known, the book was first published in Seville in 1535 and was republished in 1547 and later in 1851 by Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid with an introduction by José Amador de los Ríos, and finally in 1959 with a preliminary study by Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso; this last version of the book has perhaps been the most widely read and used in our times. Bartolomé de las Casas, the other prominent sixteenth-century chronicler of the early colonization of la Española who was contemporary to the events, seems not to have mentioned or addressed the matter of the rebellion at all in his famous *Historia de las Indias*, possibly because his major work only covered events precisely until the year 1520.⁸

In the 1535 printing of his *Historia*, chronicler Fernández de Oviedo refers to the rebellion as having occurred in 1522 in the following terms:

[...] "Thus in talking about the essence of this movement and disturbance, this uprising was started by the blacks of the Admiral Diego Colón's sugar estate and by his black slaves, and not by all he had but by about twenty of them, and most of them of the language of the Wolofs, who in agreement on the second day of Christmas at the beginning of the year of one thousand and five hundred and twenty two got out of the sugar estate and went to gather at certain place with about as many others that were allied with them." [...] ⁹

As we will see, scholars have devoted little attention or commentary to the fact that, seen from the point of view of our contemporary reckoning of time, including our reckoning of years of the sixteenth-century and earlier centuries, placing the Christmas celebrations in conjunction with the beginning of a new year, as Fernández de Oviedo does, constitutes a different way of looking at the chronology and counting the days of the months of December and January. For the most part, scholars have since chosen to interpret the date as equivalent to December 1522 in our contemporary calendar.

Thus, due to the prestige and influence of Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia*, the practice of dating this first recorded rebellion of black slaves in the Americas to 1522 became the dominant one. The famous 19th century Cuban scholar of slavery in the Americas José Antonio Saco, in his now classic, thickly documented, and very influential *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo* (1879), further disseminated Fernández de Oviedo's version of the first rebellion as having occurred in December 1522.¹⁰ From Saco's authoritative treatise, this notion passed on to the works of many Dominican and Latin American historians, including some published in the 2000s, as we will see. In 1893, José Gabriel García, considered the founder of modern Dominican historical scholarship, cited the date of December 27, 1522 as the day of the rebellion in the first volume of his *Compendio de Historia de Santo Domingo*¹¹. Cipriano de Utrera, still considered by many to be the foremost scholar of Dominican colonial history, who looked into the issue of the rebellion and –as described below-- even contributed new information about its historiography, also adhered to the 1522 dating.¹²

The overwhelming majority of Dominican historical scholarship published during the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s and into the 2010s on the presence and role of black African settlers in La Española during the colonial period, including the pioneering studies on the topic, have adhered to the Castro-Fernández de Oviedo-Saco account, dating the slave rebellion of governor Diego Colón's sugar estate in 1522.¹³ Yet in 1989, a previously unknown primary source that mentioned the rebellion more directly and showed it as occurring on a date other than the traditionally accepted one was published for the first time by ethnohistorian Carlos Esteban Deive in the Dominican Republic as an appendix to his book *Los guerrilleros negros*. The source consisted of a set of ordinances or *ordenanzas* issued on January 6, 1522 by none other than La Española's colonial governor Diego Colón, one of Christopher Columbus' sons and coincidentally the owner of the sugar estate where, according to Fernández de Oviedo's narration, the rebellion had begun.¹⁴

The said ordinances, the oldest known recorded laws on black slavery in the Americas, were issued in Santo Domingo and dated January 6th, 1522, their language indicates that they were issued precisely to address the same black slaves' Christmas-time rebellion that Fernández de Oviedo described in 1535, except that the 1522 laws clearly seem to date the uprising as happening in the Christmas of 1521 rather than Christmas of 1522. No other interpretation of the text of the said laws issued in January of 1522 seems possible when, in presenting a justification for the new ordinances, it refers to a slave uprising happening during "this last past festivity of the nativity of our redeemer" ("aquesta fiesta de la natividad de nuestro redentor proxima pasada"), which seems to clearly refer to Christmas Day or December 25th in 1521, instead of the slightly later date of "the second day of Christmas" of 1522 cited by Fernández de Oviedo in his writing. The relevant passage in the ordinances says:

[...] "los neg[r]o s/ y esclavos q[ue] en esta d[ic]ha ysla ay syn temor alguno e con dia/ bolicos penssam[en]tos an tenido ossadias e atrevimi[en]to s/ de hazer muchos d[e]litos y eçesos lo qual en ellos avia[n]/ tanto creçido q[ue] menospreciando los [crist]ianos e con po/ co temor de dios e de n[uest]ra just[iç]ia aq[ue]sta fiesta de la nativi/ dad de n[uest]ro redentor p[r]o xima pasada cierto numero/ de [e]llos en cantidad se conçertaron para se levantar/ e se levantaron con yntinçion e p[r]o posito de ma tar to/ dos los [crist]ianos q[ue] pudiessen e ponerse [en] libertad e/ alçar con la t[ie]rra."¹⁵

The English translation of the passage is:

[...] "the Blacks and slaves that there are in this said island, without any fear and with devilish thoughts, have had the temerity and daring of committing many crimes and excesses, which had grown so much among them that, despising Christians and with little fear of God and of our justice, this last passed holiday of the Nativity of Our Redeemer, certain number of them in quantity agreed to rebel and rebelled, with intention and purpose to kill all the Christians they could and to free themselves and take over the land" [...]¹⁶

In his 1989 study, Deive was the first scholar to explicitly highlight the January 1522 ordinances as a source that seemed to differ from the traditional dating of the rebellion in January or December of 1522, inherited mostly from Fernández de Oviedo; Deive proposed, instead, the date of December 25, 1521 as a much more believable one.¹⁷ He reiterated this assertion in 1992 in a brief essay about the ordinances, summarizing their contents and further elaborating on their significance.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Dominican historical scholarship and public discourse on Dominican early colonial times would take almost two decades to acknowledge and incorporate Deive's chronological correction, as well as his contribution of an important historical source. In

mainstream U.S. and international scholarship, the document and its dating of the first rebellion continue to be ignored. As indicated earlier, this lack of awareness of the document in U.S. academia is one of the reasons for the present publication.

In 1996, historian Manuel Lucena Salmoral published *Los códigos negros de la América Española*, one of the first comprehensive scholarly compilations of black laws of the Spanish Empire, and the second to include a version of the Santo Domingo ordinances on blacks and slaves of 1522.¹⁹ This was the first version of these laws the CUNY DSI team had a chance to examine as part of their efforts in the early 2010s to identify as many primary sources as possible for the *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas* project. From studying the document, the team immediately perceived its importance as a possible alternate source to the traditionally prevailing account of Santo Domingo's first slave rebellion published by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* of 1535, thirteen years after the events of the rebellion and reportedly based on testimonies collected substantially later. The 1522 laws were a governmental primary document written, issued and disseminated in La Española just days after the uprising by governor Diego Colón himself, who, besides being the top local colonial authority, had been a direct participant in the events. In the view of the team, these features of the document made it potentially a more reliable source on the rebellion than the secondary account by Fernández de Oviedo traditionally used in the scholarship and so far central to the historical memory of the matter.

Shortly afterwards, however, the CUNY DSI team came across a digital copy of the manuscript of the 1522 Santo Domingo ordinances published online since 2003 by the Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte of Spain on its *Portal de Archivos Españoles* (PARES) repository (www.pares.mcu.es). A comparison of Lucena's transcription with the PARES manuscript revealed a number of paleographic flaws. This led CUNY DSI to produce both a paleographic transcription, based on the PARES digital copy of the 1522 original archival manuscript held in the Archivo General de Indias and following the original's line-by-line format, and a first-ever full English translation. Later in that process, the team discovered Deive's excellent transcription published in 1989, which follows a paragraph-like continuous text format. Both the paleographic transcription and the English translation of CUNY DSI, produced by the author of this monograph, are incorporated at the end of this publication as an appendix for the benefit of more specialized readers. Both will be made available at the *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas* website as well (www.firstblacks.org and www.primerosnegros.org).

In 2002 Carlos Esteban Deive, following up on his own prior research published more than a decade before, released an insightful and clarifying short essay in which he revisited the historical evidence contained in the January 1522 laws and addressed two important aspects of the rebellion that occurred on Governor Diego Colón's sugar estate: 1) the historical primacy of the rebellion within the context of the history of the Americas, reaffirming that it is the earliest anti-slavery rebellion of which there is a historical record; 2) the correction of the traditional date of December 1522 attributed to the revolt, explicitly vindicating the date of December 1521 as the most historically reliable one.²⁰ Engaging in a reasoning very similar to the analysis done by the CUNY DSI team a few years later when studying the same 1522 laws during the years of research completed for the *First Blacks / Los Primeros Negros* website project, Deive wrote:

"First of all, it is convenient to clarify that the uprising of the slaves of Diego Colón's sugar estate did not occur, as it has been repeatedly posited, the Day of Christmas of 1522 but exactly one year earlier, that is, on December 25th of 1521." [...] "The first rebellion by black slaves occurred in the Americas happened at Diego Colón's ingenio, in La Española, the 25th of December of 1521. At least, it has to be so accepted until new information, so far unpublished, may show the contrary." (Deive, 2002:19)²¹

As may quickly be noticed, Deive underscores the mention of the rebellion in the January 1522 ordinances (as an event that had taken place during the Christmas season immediately prior to the issuing of these laws) in order to infer that the event could only have happened in the prior year, 1521, and it seems fair to say that in his reading of these documents he is applying, or retro-projecting onto them, our contemporary January 1st-December 31st calendar. Deive never references possible differences between the calendar used in the sixteenth-century documents and our contemporary calendar. Based on his perspective, his questioning of the December 1522 date has an unimpeachable logical coherence, and yet, as happened to his prior work on the matter, Deive's 2002 essay enjoyed neither the attention nor the audience it deserved in the scholarship of early colonial black slavery in La Española and the Americas, since the now debunked old interpretation of the date of the rebellion continued to appear in a number of history publications. Nevertheless, in what may be interpreted as a possible response to Deive's critique of the December 1522 date, his questioning has finally been echoed resoundingly in new work on the subject by historian Genaro Rodríguez Morel, leading—in our opinion—to a final resolution of the issue, as we will explain.

In 2015, in a study published in *Clío, Organo de la Academia Dominicana de la Historia* about Diego Colón's sugar estate where the rebellion took place, following or coinciding with Deive, Amadeo Julián, historian of colonial La Española,²² explicitly labelled as erroneous the 1522 date given both by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia* and his apparent source, Melchor de Castro. In Julián's view, the January 1522 laws made it clear that the uprising occurred in December 1521 rather than on other dates in 1522 given by other authors like Rodríguez Morel in 2012.²³

Yet, by the time Julián's comments came out of the press, there had already been a significant development in the scholarship towards a correction of the lingering chronological discrepancies on the issue. In 2013, in a chapter on resistance to slavery in sixteenth century La Española authored by Rodríguez Morel in Volume I of the new *Historia General del Pueblo Dominicano*, a recent multivolume and multi-authored project of Academia Dominicana de la Historia published that year, the author had presented the date of December 1521 as the date of the first recorded black slave rebellion in the island-colony,²⁴ but accompanied by an important historical observation. In an endnote to his chapter, the author, who in the past had been among the majority of those adhering to the December 1522 date, refers to discrepancies between scholars' views on the matter (which could easily be interpreted as an allusion to Deive's vindication of the December 1521 date in his works, given that Deive is the only scholar who had questioned the 1522 date in the past), and then moves to point out a key issue that has been overlooked, a calendar difference marking documents of the sixteenth century (like the chronicle written by Fernández de Oviedo) that adhered to a December-December "nativity calendar" rather than the January-December calendar that has been in use during the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. The difference would explain the apparent contradiction or discrepancy that some scholars believed to have found in the sources dealing with the rebellion. "Oviedo uses a Christian calendar," says Rodríguez Morel in 2013, "according to which the New Year began precisely after the day of the Nativity, that is, after the 25th of December, hence his mention of 1522." "It is evident", concluded the scholar, "that using the modern calendar, the date of the uprising would be at the end of December of 1521." ²⁵

In revising his prior statements on the date of the uprising, and in reframing the question, Rodríguez Morel—like Deive in his moment—has made an important contribution to the resolution of a confusion that for too long, due to an anachronistic approach by contemporary readers, has marred the chronology and perception of the first black rebellion of the Americas. Having shared for a long time the concern raised by the chronology of the sources mentioned here, and heeding Rodríguez Morel's observation of 2013, the CUNY DSI team has looked further into the scholarship on the late medieval and early modern dating systems in Spanish culture,

to find that indeed Rodríguez Morel's point was well taken, with the one caveat that in the "nativity calendar" the beginning of the year seems to have been on December 25th itself, rather than on the following day.

An authoritative monograph on Spanish traditional historical dating systems like *Manual de Cronología. La Datación Documental Histórica en España* (2010) by specialist José María de Francisco Olmos, for instance, immediately clarifies the matter. In the nativity-centered calendar used in the existing sixteenth-century sources about the rebellion, the year begins on December 25th and all the ensuing post-Christmas days of December are considered as part of the new or subsequent year. In documents using this calendar, all days between December 25th and December 31st belonged to, and are written as belonging to, what for us, as contemporary readers, would be the following year. Since this practice implies assigning the said days to a new year that in our contemporary calendar does not start until January 1st, all dates from December 25th to December 31st written under the "nativity calendar" must be (as in the case of the sources on the rebellion) reallocated to the prior year in our contemporary reading, as per our contemporary calendar, subtracting one year from the date given in the old documents. In our case, though Fernández de Oviedo stated that the rebellion had occurred "the second day of Christmas at the beginning of the year of one thousand and five hundred and twenty two," we now understand that he was actually referring to what for us, according to our contemporary calendar count, was December 26, 1521.²⁶ CUNY DSI also consulted, in this case via email, with two other specialists in Spanish medieval and early modern documents, Dr. María del Carmen del Camino and Dr. Margarita Gómez Gómez of the Department of Medieval History and Historiographic Sciences and Techniques of the University of Seville, who have essentially re-confirmed for us the need to deduct one year from any date between (and including) December 25th and December 31st written using the "nativity calendar," in order to do an adequate reading of those dates from our present day perspective.

Using a graph, the difference between the two calendars could be described in the following manner.

Nativity calendar:

Year 1520	Year 1521	Year 1522
Dec. 25 - Dec. 24	Dec. 25 - Dec. 24	Dec. 25 - Dec. 24

Contemporary calendar:

Year 1520	Year 1521	Year 1522
Jan. 1 - Dec. 31	Jan. 1 - Dec. 31	Jan. 1 - Dec. 31

It could also be visualized like this:

Nativity Calendar															
Year 1520		Year 1521											Year 1522		
Dec		Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec		Jan
1	24	25	31	1	31									1	31
Year 1520		Year 1521											Year 1522		
Contemporary Calendar															

Based on the review of the evidence on the matter shown above, therefore, it seems now beyond any doubt that the correct way of dating the first black antislavery rebellion of the Americas is by placing it in December of the year 1521 of our contemporary calendar, and more specifically on December 26th rather than on December 25th, since one of the sources (Castro-Fernández de Oviedo) refers concretely to the “second day of Christmas” while the other one refers more vaguely to the “festivity of the nativity” in the same month of December in the same year. CUNY DSI deems this comprehensive evidence conclusive and thus we propose that December 26 of the year 2021 should be accepted as the date of the quincentenary of this significant day in the history of the Americas.

The 1521 Rebellion and the 1522 Laws on Blacks and Slaves in La Española: A Study

In the early 1520s, roughly thirty years after Christopher Columbus first arrived in the Americas, Spanish colonial authorities in la Española, the first colony established by Europeans in the region (later called Hispaniola in English), were confronted with a peculiar political dilemma. The settlers, mostly Spaniards, had been increasingly importing into the colony and using more and more enslaved Black Africans, brought over either from Iberia or directly from Africa, first to mine gold—especially during the first fifteen years of the century when that was the focus of the colonial experiment—and then to do all the hard, often fast-paced physical work needed in the cane-sugar manufacturing estates that became the new, growing backbone of the colony’s economy.²⁷

Many enslaved Africans had been resisting their enslavement in La Española literally since it began in the early years of the sixteenth century, usually by fleeing their masters into the wilderness of the colony.²⁸ By the Christmas festivities of 1521 some of the slaves subjected to the grueling work of the sugar plantations were ready to launch a major challenge to the local colonial status quo. More concretely, a number of them who worked precisely at the sugar plantation of no other than the colony’s governor, Diego Colón (son of Christopher Columbus) were infuriated with their enslavement to the point that they were discussing with each other how to rise up and take arms against their Iberian masters and forcefully free themselves from their oppression by the European colonists. And on the second day of Christmas, they finally launched a violent rebellion, with the aspiration -according to the Spanish colonists-- of wiping out the “Christians” of the land and becoming the new rulers of the colony²⁹.

The colonial authorities of la Española, led by governor Diego Colón himself, responded immediately to the uprising with military force sufficient to quell it, reportedly by applying harsh punishments that included the execution of a number of the rebels. The uprising was serious enough to prompt the governor to issue, on January 6 of 1522, the Day of the Three Kings (Epiphany), a set of very repressive laws specifically targeted at ‘Blacks and slaves.’ The new ordinances were aimed at preventing any further occurrence of uprisings by prescribing a combination of great restriction of physical mobility, minimized access to weapons, and harsh punishment in the form of physical torture and executions, on the one hand, and an increased availability of Black women with whom male slaves could engage in procreation and family - formation, on the other.

The 1522 laws were not the first to be established by the Spanish colonial authorities of Santo Domingo—the capital and largest urban center of la Española—in order to control the colony’s enslaved and overwhelmingly black African population, but they are the earliest ones to have survived. In the preface to the laws, there are official references to at least one prior set of local laws on slaves, reportedly issued by the city council of Santo Domingo at an unknown date, and which are referred to as too soft, with too few enforcement provisions.

Yet, since we do not know of any prior code issued by Europeans that was specifically designed to manage the enslavement of black people after the colonization of the Eastern Atlantic territories began, these Santo Domingo laws of 1522 are the first legal prescriptions that reflect the new historical era of massive enslavement, transatlantic displacement, and colossal suffering that the European expansion generated amongst black people. At the same time, and more specifically, they constitute a revealing window into the beginnings of both black enslavement and resistance in the Americas, telling us a great deal about what the early Spanish colonial authorities considered important; what they wanted to see happen; what was happening, and what behavior they wanted to repress among the enslaved population of La Española. The laws of 1522 also shed light on other events in the colony which are mentioned in the text of the laws as a rationale and justification for those laws themselves. The following section examines a number of issues that demand our attention in this regard.

Not All Slaves Were Black in Early 1522 La Española

There are frequent references in the laws of 1522 to “Blacks and slaves” as two different categories of runaways. On the one hand, this seems to allude to the fact that—as shown in different sections of the code—there was an indeterminate number of White or non-black slaves in la Española at the time, brought over from Spain or elsewhere, including Indians from other locations in the Caribbean region known to have been captured and enslaved as enemy warriors under the concept of “just war” by some of the colonizers and brought over to La Española. If that was the case, the laws seem to imply that individuals from both groups were running away. The term may also have survived from earlier ordinances, but there seems to be no reason to include this item in the ordinances if it was not part of the historical reality or perceived to be a realistically possible development at the time. One wonders whether there may have been any collaboration between enslaved Blacks and enslaved Whites or Natives, in these earlier escapes, but the text of the laws is unclear. On the other hand, the expression seems to entail a generalization, framing all Blacks of La Española as objects of these laws, viewed as dangerous people on a par with slaves in general, and may therefore show a racialization of the concept of slaves already taking place in the colony at this early stage.

The Running Away of Slaves Before 1522 and the Laws that Tried to Curb It

Before the 1522 slave laws, the city council of Santo Domingo had issued regulations “for the remedy and punishment of the Blacks and slaves that ran away and do [*sic*] crimes” in the city and “its district.” According to the colonial authorities of la Española in the text of the 1522 ordinances, these earliest local laws had subsequently been expanded and re-issued by the governor for all the villages and places of the entire colony. Yet these expanded earlier laws, of which no copy has survived into our times, reportedly were not enforced effectively and did not incorporate enough punishments; thus, in spite of those laws, “the blacks and slaves” of the island had increasingly, “with devilish thoughts,” committed “many crimes and excesses,” “deriding the Christians [...] with little fear of God and of our justice,” as reported by the Spanish officials.

The Rebellion of 1521 as a Planned Collective Action

According to the introductory paragraphs of the January 1522 laws, during Christmas of 1521 a “certain number” of slaves “agreed to rebel and rebelled with intention and purpose to kill all the Christians they could and to free themselves and take over the land.” During the uprising, the slaves took the weapons they could find and made others out of sharpened poles. The uprising began on a Christmas night along the Nigua river bank, west of Santo Domingo City, in today’s province of San Cristóbal, with the killing and wounding of the “Christians” whom the rebels found in the area and in other places and roads of the island. “A lot of gold”

was stolen from travelers on foot whom the slaves encountered on the roads. The rebel slaves assaulted farms by night and stole jewelry and clothes. Other Blacks on the island also participated in the uprising, apparently led by the Nigua slaves.

The rebellion of 1521, as portrayed in the 1522 laws, was a concerted, well planned, collective and multilocal effort by the enslaved of la Española, guided by subversive political intent, chiefly, abolishing slavery via the physical elimination of the population that the slaves themselves saw as their oppressors, namely, the Euro-Christian population, consisting mostly of Spanish colonizers. In addition to violence against the oppressors, the rebellion included a second, almost equally confrontational component, namely the extortion of property in its most valuable form at the time: gold and jewelry. It is not surprising that, in response, the viceroy himself formed and led a force on foot and on horses to find, persecute, kill, and capture the slaves involved.

A Settlers' Dilemma: Slaves as a Tool and Slaves as a Threat

According to the authors of the 1522 laws, the large number of Blacks on the island of La Española forced the European colonists to depend closely on them because there were already “very few” Indians and the remaining ones could not be enslaved. In fact, the slaves’ essential importance to the beginnings of the colonial order is so squarely stated in these laws of la Española that it makes the discussion of slave uprisings held in later centuries throughout the colonial Caribbean seem predictable to the point of being over-determined. A double preoccupation is expressed in the laws: with the large amount of Blacks living on this island and with the fact that the Christians cannot avoid using and relying on their slave labor.

Harsher Punishments and Increased Vigilance Against Blacks Perceived as the Solution

The local authorities issuing the 1522 laws felt that “harsher” regulations combined with more effective enforcement were needed so that the “Blacks and slaves” did not have the strength or the means to gather and rebel. The authorities sought especially to limit maroonage, and therefore to control assigned chores that slaves engaged in unattended, “because from there come the greater part of the damages occurred” as well as other damage that, according to the same authorities, slaves could be expected to commit. Maroonage was apparently a frequent behavior in La Española at the time, if we consider the present tense used in the text: “las fugas e ydas que hacen del serviçio de sus señores ” (“the escapes and departures that they make away from the service of their lords”).³⁰

A Ten Day Allowance for Slaves to Run Away?

Yet, at the same time that the Spanish colonial authorities expressed these concerns and their desire to prevent and repress slaves’ fleeing, there seems to have been space in their minds for an attempt to use other forms of persuasion besides the threat of severe punishment—the severing of a foot, for instance—as a remedy in their attempt to tighten physical control over the colony’s slaves after the insurrection of 1521. A promise of no punishment whatsoever seems to be clearly expressed in the 1522 laws for runaway slaves who returned to their masters within ten days from the date of escape. Considering, again, that these regulations were being quickly articulated right after an uprising, the leniency component may reflect the relatively large amounts of effort and resources that the pursuit and capture of runaway slaves demanded from the authorities, which they might have been willing to spare even at the price of officially exempting the runaways from punishment during a period of ten days.

At the same time, since the severing of a foot is established in the 1522 ordinances as punishment for those who managed once to run away for more than ten days, and since hanging or some other type of death is decreed for those who do so more than once, it seems legitimate to ask whether this specificity as to the length of time beyond which --in both cases-- punishment would be applied may have constituted an implicit grace period or allowance of ten days for those slaves who chose to run away. Perhaps it was some kind of hidden transactional concession in which the Spanish local authorities understood that occasional instances of such behavior by some slaves could and should be tolerated by the established system --a kind of social- pressure relief-valve--, given the difficulty of survival in the wilderness in la Española in 1522 for those not familiar with its landscape, as was true in the case of Africans.

The Campaign Against Rebel Slaves of Late December of 1521 Did Not Eliminate the Rebellion

According to the text of the 1522 laws, at the time there were still “Blacks, Whites, and Canarians who were slaves” wandering as maroons (“alçados”) in the island. As is well known, there were subsequent eruptions of maroonage by Black slaves in La Española in later centuries, and this reference to maroonage in 1522 may simply reflect an inevitable limitation on the early colonial enslavement system in a territory where, even if the area was small compared to the vast spaces of the continental Americas, the enslavers were a very small minority and the territory presented large areas of deserted, distant and inaccessible mountains and forests, equal in proportion to the inhabited areas.

Possible Under-reporting by Slave Masters of their slaves’ Maroonage

There is also some indication, in the prohibitions put forward in the ordinances, that the fleeing of slaves from work sites in la Española may not have been reported by the masters at the time, or at least not with the consistency that the local colonial authorities might have wanted. If that was the case, the question would arise as to why some of la Española’s slave masters of the early 1520s did not report the running away of their slaves to the authorities. In any event, we seem to be faced with an instance of a historical moment where a colonial social order based on slavery showed evident weakness in its capacity to exert total control over the enslaved population.

Access to Weapons by Blacks and Slaves Prior to 1522

It can be inferred from the 1522 laws that an indeterminate number of “Blacks and slaves” were carrying weapons in la Española at the time, though one cannot assess from the text of the ordinances the frequency of this phenomenon in the colony in the early 1520s. According to the governor, this access to weapons had emboldened the slaves “to commit crimes.” On the other hand, the fact that the text of the laws did not extend the prohibition on carrying weapons to slaves accompanied by their masters seems to indicate that, at least on some occasions, the slaves of La Española were carrying weapons with the consent and knowledge of their owners.

One possibility worth considering is that the colonial, slavery-based social order that had been created in la Española, a settler society with a great many uprooted, newly arrived inhabitants from very different communities of origin, whether Spaniards and other Europeans or Africans, intrinsically entailed violent behavior by some marginal elements, either free or run-away slaves, that constituted a threat to the entire social order as well as to many of the slaves themselves. After all, an undetermined number of slaves in the colony were being hired out by their owners in exchange for salaries or other forms of payment, and some of these slaves, if

known to be carrying around cash or other resources, could easily have been the target of other slave or non-slave marginal elements of this early colonial society. This may have led the owners of the vulnerable slaves to allow them to carry weapons. Free Blacks may have carried weapons for the same reasons, in which case the apparent generalization of the prohibition extended to all Blacks in the laws would have constituted not only a case of flagrant discrimination but also a serious security problem for them. Still, given that much of the work performed by enslaved Blacks entailed the use of cutting tools, such as knives, the ordinances had to make an explicit exception, allowing slaves to carry a knife the length of a hand span in case of need. Closer study of the specific internal social order and dynamics of La Española prior to 1522 is required for us to understand more fully the issue of access to weapons within this early modern society based on uprooted and enslaved labor.

A measure of pragmatism, on the other hand, seems evident in the language of the ordinances on this matter of weapons in reference to the expected subsequent implementation of the prohibition. The fact that a period of nine days is given for slaves to adhere to the weapons-carrying prohibition seems to indicate that the authorities understood that even in the best scenario of adherence and compliance, the collecting of arms from 'Blacks and slaves' was going to be a relatively slow matter, at least in the particular situation the authorities were facing in early 1522.

Slaves' Autonomy of Movement Prior to 1522

According to the 1522 laws, slaves in la Española seem to have been exercising at least some degree of autonomy in the colony prior to that year in that they had apparently been in the habit of moving across masters' property lines to contact each other. The prohibition within the laws of independent or spontaneous encounters between or among slaves raises the question of how frequent the practice may have been, aside from its potential use in organizing a rebellion like that of 1521. Since an uprising required a mass movement and implied some degree of comradeship amongst the slaves, it is understandable that the colonial authorities would assign great importance to this issue.

In any case, it would seem that, rather than imposing a total segregation or atomization of social life in the countryside, the provision in the laws on confinement of the slaves within the master's property seems to have left the door open for authorities to determine in a rather lax and potentially arbitrary manner what constituted a punishable gathering. This in turn could generate tensions with rural masters of accused slaves. It seems easy to imagine a number of daily situations where masters or overseers could not accompany their slaves to the place they were required to go or were unable to write a license for a given slave to carry on his or her person. Thus, it seems reasonable to imagine that some kind of compromise was probably struck between local government authorities and slave owners in this regard.

The Shackling of Slaves Seems to Have Been Undermined by Some in La Española Before 1522

The prohibition in the 1522 ordinances for any individual to unshackle or free a slave in La Española in 1522 not only confirms that slaves were indeed put in shackles and imprisoned as punishment for their behavior in la Española, but also allows us to conclude that there may have been cases in which slaves freed one another from shackles and imprisonment as well as cases where the unshackling, or some related assistance, could have been done by non-slave acquaintances or relatives of the enslaved.

Reported Socially-Deviant Behavior of Blacks and Slaves in Urban Santo Domingo

In the 1522 laws there is evidence that the authorities felt that in the city of Santo Domingo there were “many Blacks and slaves mischievous and drunk and robbers that engage in stealing and other excesses and make the other slaves bad.”³¹ This in turn raises questions as to the level of control exerted in reality by the settler society over the enslaved, since it seems reasonable to assume that there must have been some social behavior motivating the content of the legislation, in the context of a great demographic imbalance in favor of the Black population.

A Pool of Funds as Insurance for Masters Against Slave Loss

Along with the collection of a slave purchase tax to fund the salary of an official ([insert title in Spanish here]) in charge of pursuing runaway slaves in la Española, the 1522 laws mandated a monetary contribution from slave masters in order to create a fund for the compensation of fellow slave masters whose runaway slaves had been killed while being pursued. Such compensation was explicitly prohibited if the slave was known to have engaged in criminal behavior prior to his or her death.

Incipient Vigilantism in 1522?

The explicit provision in the 1522 laws that obliged practically every resident in la Española to assist the gangs established by colonial authorities to pursue runaways raises the question of whether this may have been based on prior experiences of some settlers or non-slave residents of the colony refusing to participate in chasing after fleeing slaves, or dragging their feet when expected to do so. This instead could reflect different sets of attitudes and interests amongst different segments of the settler population vis-a-vis the political danger represented by at least parts of the enslaved population having enough de facto autonomy to remove themselves at some point from the plantations’ fundamental labor dynamics.

There seems to be some indication that the legislating authorities issuing the 1522 ordinances in La Española could have imagined at least some of the colony’s settlers refusing to join the slave-chasing gangs or refusing to contribute their resources as provisions to be given to the slave-hunting crews. It may be reasonable to ask ourselves whether this and other conceived punishments for non-slaves’ supportive behavior towards the slaves—assisting, hiding, unshackling, giving weapons, etc.— may indicate, again, different stances and interests within different social segments of colonial America, even in such a demographically small colony as la Española.

Runaway Slaves Were Sometimes Helped and Hidden by Others in La Española

One cannot tell from the ordinances how much alerting and hiding of runaway slaves was practiced amongst non-slaves in La Española in the 1520s, but if it was enough of a concern for the authorities to put it into the text of the ordinances, it may be because it was either happening or at least perceived as possible by the authorities, which would imply the existence of a mixed and heterogeneous set of political stances among the free settler population when it came to the slaves fleeing their masters, rather than a monolithic pattern of collective behavior.

Promoting the Formation of Slave Families as a Tool for Maintaining Social Order

It is rather clear in the 1522 laws that La Española's authorities, while concerned, as noted before, about the growing number of slaves in the colony, had a notion that promoting the pairing-up of male and female slaves—so that they could form families—was an effective means of reducing the likelihood of slave rebellions, with the understanding that a male slave who was engaged in a family relationship was less prone to insubordination. The notion is incorporated in the ordinances as a mandate. Whatever degree of compliance there may have been vis-a-vis the order, it is evident that it was to become a factor in one of the major concerns felt by the Spanish authorities: the multiplication of the Black population. This notion of expansion of the enslaved population through the promotion of family formation among the enslaved would appear again in subsequent decades in orders from the Crown itself.³² It seems reasonable to interpret it as another angle of the essential social dilemma faced by the colonial, slave-owning class of La Española vis-a-vis slavery: slaves were a fundamental commodity and tool essential for the well-being of the early colonial order, but their growth as a population was at the same time a guarantee of larger workforce available for larger economic production and, on the other hand, a growing threat of slaves outnumbering the settler population and subverting the colonial social hierarchy.

Social Segregation and Hierarchy Were Strengthened by Encouraging the Policing of the Enslaved by the Free

The 1522 laws clearly promote a society-wide surveillance of slaves in which civilians are authorized to detain slaves when they are caught on property belonging to someone other than their masters or anywhere at an estimated distance of more than two leagues from their master's property. Furthermore, a monetary reward was mandated for those who denounced weapon-carrying slaves.

Impact of the 1522 Laws

As indicated before, these ordinances were intended to increase control over the black and enslaved population of La Española after the uprising of Christmas 1521. The fact that ordinances with the same purpose were reissued in 1528, 1535, and even 1545 suggests that the rebellious challenge by Blacks to the Spanish enslaving power in the colony-island continued over subsequent decades. Recent research conducted at the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute has revealed that as early as less than two years after the ordinances of 1522 there were at least two uprisings by the enslaved Blacks in La Española and that by December 1523, Blacks were considered a “dangerous thing” and needed to be “pacified,” according to the King of Spain, Charles V.³³

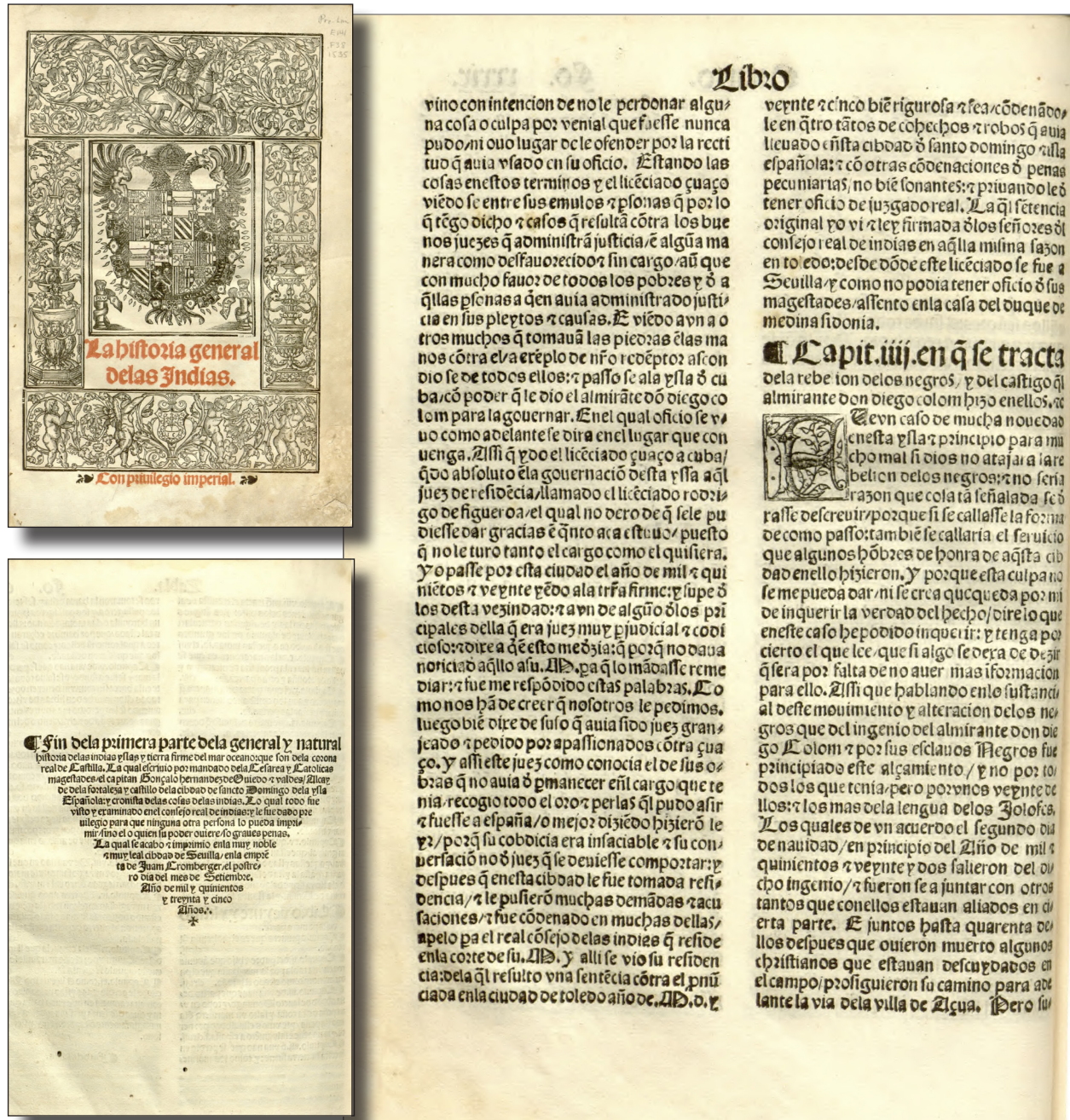
Conclusion

In this essay an attempt has been made to conduct a mostly socio-political reading of La Española's 1522 ordinances on "blacks and slaves," trying to read, in between the lines of the prohibited behaviors, the possible realities of social actions not always mentioned in other types of (non-legal) archival sources." Whatever these laws may be deemed to reveal of the intricacies of this first slave society of the Americas, it seems reasonable to argue that these ordinances and their historical meanings have to be interpreted against the context of what is known of the socio-political and socio-ethno-racial structures and dynamics of that still-early colonial society, that is to say, against data such as: how many people in the colony were Europeans and how many were black Africans or descendants of black Africans, across the entire gamut of skin tones and ethnic differences, on the one hand; as well as how many were enslaved and how many were legally free, on the other.

Since, according to basic sources, the overwhelming majority of the population of La Española at the time was of (mostly, but not only, enslaved) black African or of black African descent, the social dynamics of the free population, constituted by a white colonizer minority and a growing number of free blacks and mulattos, appear potentially the most complex and challenging to decipher. It may be useful to ask whether within the midst of that socially and racially heterogeneous early modern society, a growing mulatto segment may have acted as an intermediary social sector between free Europeans and their free offspring, on the one hand, and enslaved black Africans and their enslaved offspring, on the other. The numbers, and especially the behaviors, of this free population of Blacks and mulattos represent a crucial topic to be studied in the future, particularly in terms of their interactions with the enslaved population. The socio-cultural difference between black ladinos (familiar with and knowledgeable of the features and dynamics of the dominant white-Spanish-Catholic culture, including the Spanish language) and black bozales (those still learning the Spanish-European population's culture and subtleties) appear as a potentially rich theme of analysis. We know that at least once in 1545 the Spanish Crown, in the person of Prince Phillip, accused those free ladino Blacks of La Española of being the main agents of unrest by Blacks and of slave rebellions in the colony.³⁴ Finally, more nuanced research remains to be done into the sixteenth century socio-racial dynamics of la Española against the backdrop of the most recent research about Blacks in Spain and Portugal during this period, to illuminate, among other things, possible similarities or differences between two considerably different settings: that of the center or metropole of the new empire and that of its first colony in the Americas.

Appendix 1:

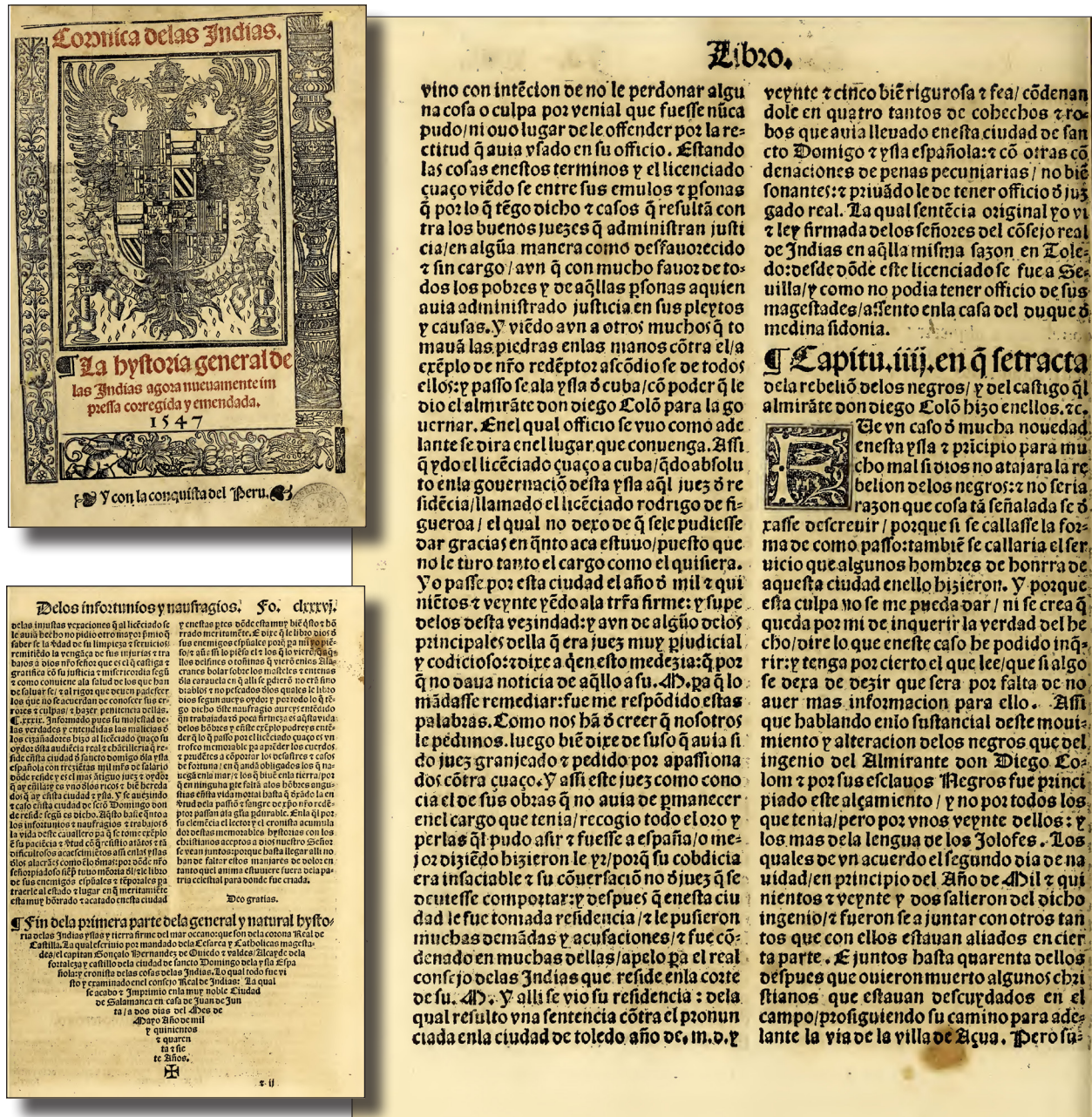
Images from *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, First Edition, Sevilla: Imprenta de Juan Cromberger, 1535.



Upper foreground: Front page of *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Seville, 1535 edition (with front title "La historia general de las Indias"). Lower foreground: Back of folio CXCI indicating place and date of printing. Background: Back of folio XXXIX (not numbered) showing on right column the beginning of Chapter 4 of Book 4 stating the date of the rebellion as "el Segundo dia de navidad/ en principio del Año de mil i quinientos i veynete y dos." Source: Peter H. Raven Library, Missouri Botanical Garden. Digital copy available at: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/33562#page/1/mode/1up>

Appendix 2:

Images from *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Second Edition, Salamanca: Casa de Juan de Junta, 1547.



Upper foreground: Front page of *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Seville, 1547 edition (with front title "Coronica de las Indias. La historia general de las Indias agora nuevamente impressa corregida y emendada. 1547. Y con la conquista del Peru"). Lower foreground: folio CLXXXVI indicating place and date of printing. Background: Back of folio XXXIX (not numbered) showing on right column the beginning of Chapter 4 of Book 4 stating the date of the rebellion as "el Segundo día de navidad/ en principio del Año de mil i quinientos i veynte y dos." Source: John Carter Brown Library. Digital copy available at: <https://archive.org/details/cronicadelasind00fern/page/n6>

Appendix 3: Translation ⁱⁱ

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo:

***Historia natural y general de las Indias. First Part, Book IV, Chapter IV* ⁱⁱⁱ**

“Which deals with the rebellion of the Blacks and the punishment the Admiral don Diego Colom gave them, etc.”

It was a case of much novelty in this island, and the beginning of much ill if God did not stop it, the rebellion of the Blacks; and it would be senseless that such a notorious thing was not written down; because if the way it happened were silenced it would go silenced as well the service that some men of honor of this city did in the occasion. And so this guilt may not be attributed to me, nor it is believed that I have not inquired the truth of the fact, I will say what I have been able to learn in this case about the persons that had their hands on it; and the reader must be certain that, if something is left unmentioned, it will be due to a lack by those who provide information, and not by this writer. Therefore, I will say the essential of this movement and disorder of the Blacks of the sugar estate of the admiral don Diego Colom: that his uprising was initiated by his slaves (yet not by all the ones he had). And I will say what I learned from the admiral himself and from other *caballeros* and principal men on this matter and it is the following.

Up to twenty Blacks of the admiral, and most of them of Wolof language, in agreement, on the second day of Christ's Nativity, at the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and twenty two, got out of the sugar estate and went to join at certain place with as many others that were allied with them. And once about forty of them were together, they killed some Christians that were inadvertent in the fields and continued their way ahead, towards the village of Azua.

The news was known quickly in this city, due to the notice given by the licenciado Cristóbal Lebrón, who was at a sugar mill of his. And once the ill intent and action of the Blacks, the admiral swiftly went on horse in their pursue, with very few men on horse and on foot. But due to the admiral's diligence and the good decisions of this Royal Tribunal, all the *caballeros* and *hidalgos* and all there were available with horses in this city and throughout the vicinity; and the second day after it was known here, the admiral ended up on the margins of the Nizao river, and there it was learned that the Blacks had arrived at a cattle ranch of Melchior de Castro, chief notary of mines and denizen of this city, nine leagues from here; where they killed a Christian mason who was constructing there, and they took from that farm [*sic*] a Black and twelve other Indian slaves, and robbed the house; and once done all the damage they were capable of, they went ahead, doing the same and lamenting what they did not have a chance to do worse.

After they had put to death nine Christians in the course of their trip, they went to camp a league away from Ocoa, which is where there is a large sugar mill of licenciado Zuazo, former judge of this Royal Tribunal, with determination that the following day, as soon as it dawned, the Black rebels intended to reach that sugar estate and kill eight or ten Christians that were there, and replenish themselves with black people. And they could have done it, since they would find more than one hundred and twenty other Blacks in that sugar estate; with whom, if they got together, they had thought of going into the village of Azua and kill everyone with knives and take over the land, joining many more other Blacks that they would find in that village from other estates. And without a doubt they would have gotten together in their ill attempt if the Divine Providence had not remedied it the way it did.

ii English translation by Anthony Stevens-Acevedo.

iii Based on Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo: *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1959).

Thus, once the admiral arrived at the Nizao river basin, as I have said, and learning of the damages already mentioned that the Blacks were doing on the route they were going, he agreed to stop there that night, so that the people that were going with him would rest, and those who stayed behind could catch up with him, to depart from there the next day before dawn in pursue of the delinquents.

It should be known that amongst those there with the admiral was Melchor de Castro, denizen of this city, to whom the damage already mentioned was done in his farm; and since he mourned his own suffering (aside from and beyond the general one of everyone that was occurring) he agreed to go ahead with two on horse, without saying anything to the admiral (because he thought that if he asked for his permission, he would not give it nor would he allow him to go ahead so alone), the admiral staying where it was said. And secretly he got out of the camp, and went to his own cattle ranch and farm, and buried the mason the Blacks had killed there, and found his house alone and robbed. There another Christian on horse joined him, and he determined to go ahead; and from there he sent someone to tell the admiral that he was leaving in pursue of the Blacks with three on horse that were with him, and that he begged him to send him some people, because he was going with the intent of distracting the Blacks, while the Christians with his lordship arrived, since he and those that went with him were few. Once the admiral knew this, he immediately sent nine on horse and seven on foot that caught up with him; and together with Melchior de Castro there were twelve on horse in total, and they followed the Blacks up to where it was said they were.

Amongst the people on horse that the admiral sent to accompany Melchior de Castro to stop the Black rebels there was the distinguished Francisco Davila, denizen of this city, who is now one of its city council members. And as they continued their way, as the morning star appeared over the horizon, they found themselves next to the Blacks. These, as soon as they felt these riders got together, and with great yelling, together in a squadron, dealt with those on horse. The [riders] seeing the battle set, without heeding the admiral for the reasons I have said and so as not to wait until the Blacks joined with those of that sugar estate, determined to attack them and they embraced their shields and aiming their spears to engage, calling on God and the apostle [Santiago], all the twelve on horse forming a squadron of few riders in number but daring barons, their stirrups next to each other, reins slackened, stroke the battalion in the middle against all those black people, who met them with great courage to resist the impetus of the Christians; but the riders broke them up and traversed to the other side. And in this first encounter fell some of the slaves but this did not prevent them from regrouping right away, throwing lots of stones, rods and darts, and with another greater yelling they met the second encounter with the Christian riders. The latter did not take long, because despite their resistance with many burned rods they hurled, the riders returned against them, with the same calling of [Santiago] and hitting them with great bravery they broke them apart again, crossing through the rebels. The said blacks, seeing themselves torn apart so suddenly from each other, and confronted and disbanded by so few on horse with so much determination and daring, did not dare to wait for the third encounter that was already being mounted. And they turned their backs, fleeing through some rocks and crags that there were near where this defeating took place, and the field and the victory was left to the Christians, and lying there, dead, six Blacks, and many others of them were injured. And the said Melchior de Castro got his left arm traversed by a rod and he was left with a serious injury.

And the victors stayed there on the field until the day broke because, as was in the night and very dark, and the areas of the land rugged and with trees, they could not see those fleeing nor where they were going; but without departing from the same place where this had happened, Melchior de Castro, had a cowboy of his call aloud the Black and Indians of his that the Blacks had stolen from his farm; and once they recognized the voice of the one calling them, he gathered them and all of them came, since being close by, hiding amongst the bushes, and assuring themselves once they heard and recognized his voice, they went to their master with great pleasure.

As soon as the day was clear, Melchior de Castro and Francisco Dávila and the other few on horse who found themselves in this honorable juncture left for the sugar estate of licenciado Alonso Zuazo to rest. And the admiral and the people going with him arrived that day almost at the hour of dusk; and all the Christians thanked God our Savior a great deal for what they found done and for the victory won. Because though these rebel Blacks were not a great number, they were gearing, with their ill intention and act, in a way that within fifteen or twenty days, let alone, they would be so many and so hard to subjugate that this could not be done without spending time and many Christians' lives. Blessed be god for the good occurrence of this victory, which was great in quality.

The admiral ordered Melchior de Castro to come to this city of Santo Domingo to be cured, as he did. And the admiral staying in the countryside, he ordered with so much diligence a search of the Blacks that had fled from the battle and were guilty that in five or six days all were captured, and he ordered that justice be applied to them, and they were planted at intervals along that road, in many gallows. Yet since those who escaped the battle had entered into rugged areas, it was necessary that people on foot chased them, Pero Ortiz de Matienzo going as their captain, chasing and fighting them, killing some and catching those to whom the justice that I said was done. And the truth is that this *hidalgo* was seen as very much a man in this, considering the difficulty and ruggedness of the land where he caught up with the fugitives and dismantled them. Thus [with] the diligence of Melchior de Castro (thanks to god and the efforts by him and Francisco Davila, who went in his aid and salvage as a captain of those eight on horse that together with Melchior de Castro were in all twelve on horse, and the triumph achieved such good end and victory, as I have said, and the punishment had perfect implementation by the spirited executor that followed the Blacks and killed part of them and captured the rest to put them to hang.

And once this punishment had been imposed, the admiral returned to the city; in which he complied very well with the service to God and Their Majesties and with whom he himself was. And in this manner the Blacks that rose up were punished as it was adequate to their daring and madness, and all the rest of them were scared from there on, and convinced of what will be done to them if such a thing went through their minds, their punishment delayed no more than what it may take for their luck to reveal their evil.

Appendix 4: Translation ^{iv}

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522 ^v

[f. 1r.]

Copy of the ordinances on Blacks

This is a copy well and accurately done of certain ordinances related to the remedy and punishment of the Blacks of this La Española island signed by certain names as per their appearance their content being, one after the other, this one that follows:

Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of the Romans, Emperor always Augustus, *doña* Juana his mother and *don* Carlos himself, by the same grace monarchs of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarra, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordoba, of Corse, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarves and Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Indies of the Canaries, of the Indies, islands and The Mainland of the Ocean Sea, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Bugundy and Brabant, counts of Barcelona, Flanders and Tyrol, lords of Viscaya, and Molina, dukes of Athens, and Neopatria, counts of Roussillon, of Sardinia, marquis of Oristano and Gociano etc. To you, our Lieutenant Governor who is or may be of this La Española island, and to the city councils, justices and city council members, knights, squires, officials and good men of this city of Santo Domingo as well as of all the cities, villages and places of this La Española island and of the island of San Joan, greetings and grace. Beware that on the part of the Justice and city council members of this city of Santo Domingo an account has been made to us saying that, notwithstanding that by the said city,

[f.1v.]

with authority from our *residencia* judges³⁵ that have been on this La Española island, certain ordinances were done for the remedy and punishment of the Blacks and slaves that rebelled and commit crimes in this said city and within its limits, which [ordinances] later had been approved expanded, and added to by our Viceroy and Governor, so that they were complied with in the other cities and villages and places of that Island, and reportedly because of not having enough coercions or penalties, as well as because no adequate order had been issued that could be thoroughly implemented, in spite of what was thus decided and ordered, it has occurred that the Blacks and slaves that there are in this said island, without any fear and with devilish thoughts, have had the temerity and daring of committing many crimes and excesses, which had grown so much among them that, despising Christians and with little fear of God and of our justice, this last passed holiday of the Nativity of Our Redeemer, a certain number of them in quantity agreed to rebel and rebelled, with intention and purpose to kill all the Christians they could and to free themselves and take over the land, for which they took the arms they could find and made others out of sharpened rods and, on a night of the said holiday began to kill and wound the Christians they found in the province of the Nigua river bank, district of this city, and in other parts and roads of this said Island where they killed and wounded many Christians, stealing a lot of gold from the pedestrians they met, and assaulting by night the farms and taking the jewels and garments they found in

iv English translation by Anthony Stevens-Acevedo.

v Source: Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 295, Número 104, Código de Referencia en PARES: ES.41091.AGI/29.4.2//PATRONATO,295,N.104. Translation by Anthony R. Stevens-Acevedo, CUNY Dominican Studies Institute. The abbreviation “fo.” stands for *folio* or sheet. The “r.” means *recto* or front page of a sheet. The “v.” means *verso* or back page of a sheet. Arabic numerals followed by “r.” or “v.” in between brackets refer to the number and side (or page) of each *folio* in the manuscript. Roman numerals have been added inserted in between brackets to identify each ordinance or section or theme within the text of the ordinances.

them, so much so that, if it had not been because of our said Viceroy and Governor with great diligence and gathering of people on foot and on horses, after learning of the said uprising of the said Blacks, went in person to chase and apprehend and kill and bring them to justice,

[fo. 2r.]

as he did, and they would have done very great damages and deaths besides those they had done, and they gathered with themselves and lead the other Blacks of the Island that frivolously followed them, by many of which it was agreed to do it like that and they finally put it into action their said ill purpose and agreement that they had, as per the cruelty and fierceness with which they had started it as per the large amount of Blacks that there are on this island and that the Christians cannot avoid having them and using their service, both because there are already very few Indians as well as because those there are we have mandated to be set free as they finished their assigned work, it was necessary to provide very harsh ordinances and very thorough enforcement of them so that the said Blacks and slaves be very coerced and controlled and had no forces or way to be able to uprising and coalesce as has been said nor to commit the said excesses nor any others, making provisions mainly on the escapes and departures that they make away from the service of their lords, because from there stem the greater part of the past damages and those that are suspected or expected of them, which seen by our said viceroy of these parts, with his agreement and that of our appeal judges and of our officials of this La Española island, and after discussed with other persons of letters and conscience, it was agreed that we should mandate to issue sufficient ordinances about the above said, which we mandate to be ordered and we do order in the following form and manner:

[I] r Firstly we order and mandate that all the Blacks and Whites and Canarians that are slaves who currently wander rebel in this island, be forced to come back and return to the service of their masters within twenty days from the day these ordinances are announced, and their masters be obliged to go seeking or send to seek for them and to subject them to their service, under penalty that if within the said lapse they are subdued

[fo. 2v.]

and gathered away from the said fleeing they are wandering in, that for the same effect the said slave falls into and incurs in the penalty of having a foot cut off, and that if [the slave] is absent another twenty days, the said slave incurs in penalty of death, which should be given to him by hanging, and that if in the said lapse and time that [the slave] wanders absent [the slave] commits some crimes and killings, robberies, steals and break-ins, in such case, in spite of not having been absent so long a lapse nor incurred in said penalties, [the slave] be hanged for it, if the steal is done with force or killing or robbery, and that if the steal were small, one foot be cut off for the first one, and for the second one [the slave] be put to death for it.

[II] Furthermore, that the master or overseer or farmer or miner that were in charge of the said slave or slaves, within three days after this said announcement, be obliged to denounce the fleeing of such slave to the Executor that is or will be appointed for these Ordinances, under penalty of ten pesos of gold for the coffer of said deposit that is being done for the prosecution of the said slaves and that the Justice and the said official Executor, be mandated to render account of the aforesaid things and to condemn to the said penalties those who had incurred in them, under penalty that they will incur and fall under the penalties that are incurred by the justices that are negligent in punishing the delinquents that have incurred in similar penalties.

[III] Furthermore, we order and mandate that all slaves, Black, White and Canarian, that from hereafter be absent from the service of their masters, be obliged to return to the service of the said masters within ten days after the escape and uprising they may have done, under penalty that if after the said ten days they were brought over and taken against their will,

[fo. 3r.]

one foot be cut off from them as per the first time, and that for the second time that [the slave] were and stayed absent more than ten days [the slave] should die for it by hanging or by other type of crueler death, had [the slave] done a crime and were it clear that [the slave] deserves it, but if they spontaneously returned before incurring in the said penalties, no penalty whatsoever should be given to them except if during the time of the flight they [*sic*] had done crimes for which they deserved them [*sic*], and that the masters and overseers of mines or farms who had such slaves under their charge be obliged to denounce the flight of said slaves to the executor who is or was to be appointed for these ordinances, and if there is none, to the justice, within three days after the said ten days are passed, under penalty of ten pesos of gold for the said coffer.

[IV] r Furthermore because the said Blacks and slaves in having carried and carrying weapons have become daring and dare to commit crimes we order and mandate that from here on none of the said Blacks nor slaves dare to carry nor do they carry offensive weapons either in a town or on the road, neither with their master nor without him nor in any other manner or place if it is not a knife of the length of a hand span for the things that they may need under penalty that for the first time [he] loses them and pays six pesos of gold, two thirds for the coffer and the other for the executor and accuser and if he did not have where to pay them from he be given fifty lashes in public and for the second instance his foot be cut off and for the third one he be lost and sold away and added to the coffer if it is as per the master's mandate and wisdom and if not, another foot be cut off.

[V] r Furthermore we order and mandate that all the aforesaid Blacks and slaves, within nine days after these ordinances are announced in the city, village or main place of a countryside area where they live, be obligated to show, give and deliver to their

[fo. 3v.]

masters or their overseers, farmers or miners all the offensive and defensive weapons they may have, except for a knife they may give for each one to have, under penalty that the said weapons be taken away from them and a foot be cut off from them and that the said masters, overseers, farmers and miners be obliged to denounce to the justice or executor those who incurred the penalty until the third day after the said nine days are passed, under penalty of five pesos of gold apportioned in the said manner.

[VI] r Furthermore we mandate that no Black [*sic*] or slaves of the aforementioned dare to go from one property to another on holidays nor on work days if it is not with their masters or persons in charge of them or with their license and mandate, which should not be given without fair cause under penalty that, if he is caught in any property for the first time, he is given fifty lashes and for the second one his foot is cut off and if the person that catches them could not give those to them that the person notifies the person [*sic*] and executor so that they have them given to them, and that the slaves get the same penalty if they gathered with each other in the countryside.

[VII] r Furthermore we mandate that no Black nor slave nor any other person dares to unshackle loose or put out of imprisonment any slave belonging to somebody else without permission from his owner under the penalty that, for the first time he gets a foot cut off, and for the second time he dies by hanging and further that if the slave that he so loosened does crimes or damages the person that sets him loose be obligated for the penalties of said crimes like the perpetrator himself.

[VIII] r Furthermore, because in this said city of Santo Domingo there are many mischievous, drunk

[fo. 4r.]

and thieving Blacks and slaves who do and have done robberies and other excesses and make the other slaves bad, we mandate that from here onwards nobody in the said city may have slaves to wander earning rents nor salaries if it is not a denizen [of the city] and with a license from the city council of this said city, which is not to

be given without a report on the need and on the deposit of such slave and with the condition that their masters do not receive some *inquit* or price for each day because it is of great harm, under penalty that for the first time the master pays three pesos of gold and for the second one six, and for the third one he loses him [the slave] and he be sold for the coffer for which the penalties will be as well.

[IX] r Also we mandate that any person that finds some slave out of the property or house of his master without his writ from the master or overseer or miner or farmer two leagues away from the said house or property or in an area or place that is presumed to be wandering fugitive, they may catch and bring him and do bring him to the justice or executor so they investigate and learn how he is wandering absent and since when and so that he is given the penalty he may have incurred and that his master be obligated to give [him] one peso of gold for bringing him and more if the executor of these ordinances and the justice in his absence so believes, according to where he is brought.

[X] r Also we order that each time justice by death is done to a Black for having wandered escaped, the master of such Black or White, of the ones arrived from Spain that is a slave, is paid thirty pesos of gold from the coffer except if [the slave] made a crime or crimes besides the escape for which he may deserve the said death penalty that in such a case not a thing should be paid to him for [the slave] and if they did not have them or there were not available at a given time that

[fo. 4v.]

both for the aforesaid and for everything else contained in these ordinances, it be apportioned among those who have slaves according to the existing need.

[XI] r Also because there is a need for these ordinances to be well implemented and this will be done much better by having a person who has special charge of their execution, we mandate that there be a special executor of them who, for the present until it is our will, we mandate to be Pero Benitez to whom we give complete power so he on his own and out of report or complaint by parties or persons of the commons may proceed to the investigation, inquiry, search and punishment and execution of the said crimes of escapes and excesses of the said slaves, in conformity with these said ordinances, acting quickly and upfront, for which we give complete power to him or to whom may be appointed after him for the above mentioned, with all its particularities and dependencies, relations and connections, and so he may carry the rod of our justice throughout all the places and areas where he goes, to whom we mandate that he may always move around visiting and inquiring in this city and its district and the other areas of this island, the nearer ports, about the said escapes and excesses, and about the life and manner in which the said slaves live and also that, throughout the entire island, they may go in pursuit of the said criminals and that he gives account every sixty days to our viceroy of the said visit that he may be so doing and pursuing across the land, or in his absence to his lieutenant governor of this said island or to the persons that have charge of the said coffer, and that he may have and [he] receives salary of fifty pesos of gold each year which be paid to him every third

[fo. 5r.]

of the year from the coffer that there must be for this.

[XII] r Also we mandate that every time the said executor or other justice officials in his absence have a need for people, support and assistance to go in chase of the said slaves, they [*sic*] may take persons that go with him or without him as per his mandate whenever it is necessary to apprehend and pursue and catch the said criminals, and that those appointed and commissioned both in this city as well as outside of it be obligated to go where he may order, and to give him the support and assistance that is asked from them, under penalty of ten pesos of gold for the said coffer and that, if in order to pay them moneys are needed, they may mandate for them to be paid from the coffer of the said deposit, so that if such slaves brought over do not deserve the death penalty, the expenses made in bringing them over and chasing them be paid by the masters, or the said slaves be sold or

rented away to pay them, and that if in the apprehension or prosecution of the said slaves, one [of them] defends himself or is killed because he could not be apprehended in any other manner, that they do not have to pay for it any penalty nor be they obliged to pay it. r Also we mandate that if, for the execution of the above, said chasers were sent to apprehend some of the said slaves in any city, village or place, farms or areas that they arrive at, they be given all the support and help they may need [by] both the justice officials as well as any other persons, under penalty of twenty pesos of gold for the said coffer, and that the said chasers that so go out, always go in pursuit until returning with the purpose of what he [sic] went out for, and with testimony of what he did, so that the actions taken may be evident, under penalty of twenty pesos of gold for the coffer and of losing the job, and that the notaries to whom they ask may give them for free the said testimonies.

[5v.]

[XIII] r We also mandate that, so that the said ordinances are better enforced, no master, farmer or miner or other person may dare to alert or hide any of the said slaves when the justice goes to, or sends someone to, apprehend them, under penalty that the master that does the contrary loses him [sic] and he [sic] be sold for the coffer, after the penalty that he had deserved is given to him, but if he deserved the death penalty and it is given to him, the master, losing him, pays ten pesos of gold for the said coffer, and the same penalty be met and incurred in by any of the said persons who do the above mentioned

[XIV] r Also because, for the prosecution of the above said, there may be what to pay with, we order and mandate that all masters of Black and White or Canarian slaves that are not among the ones from these regions, for each slave they have or from now on may have, of the ones brought over from Spain or Guinea or Barbary that are males, [they] pay one peso of gold for the said coffer and deposit that we mandate there be for the abovementioned expenses, provided that those who may have paid into the deposit that was ordered to be made for the above said, do not pay again for the slaves that they may have paid but, so that it is known who has paid, we mandate that from the day these ordinances are announced until ten days [later], they declare in this city of Santo Domingo, before the city council notary and the said executor, the slaves they have and, in the other cities and villages of the island, before the justice officials and the said notary of the city council under penalty of ten pesos of gold for the said coffer.

[XV] r Also we order and mandate that from here onward all the slaves

[fo. 6r.]

that may come to this island those who buy and bring them as theirs pay the said peso per each one for assistance to the said expenses and that the merchant that sells them be certified before they are delivered or taken out of his power as to how he has paid it to the receptor of the coffer and otherwise he should not deliver it [sic] to the buyer under penalty that if he delivers [it] he pays it and he the one who brings [him] as his own may not take him out of the vessel without paying and satisfying the receptor and that the merchants who bring him to sell [him] away must register them before the receptor of the coffer before they take him out of the vessel under penalty that if they take them out without registering them [he] pays the peso twice per each on and if he registers them he may take them out and if he has them in his power without selling them up to thirty days he be obligated to pay the said peso for each head and that if he wants he may collect it from the person to whom he sells him and letting the buyer know which said pesos and penalties and expenses contained in these ordinances which are for the said expenses we mandate to be collected and received by a receptor that must always be there for the aforesaid who for the present year we mandate to be Lope de Berdeçia denizen of this city and that he be replaced each year and to give account to the successor of what he may have received and to those who may have the charge of executor and of the keys of the deposit coffer.

[XVI] r Also so that the accounting is known of what there is in pesos of gold and has been charged before and now for the execution of the said Blacks, we mandate that the said Lope de Berdeçia takes account with the

above said executor and the persons who are to have the keys of the coffer, and that he takes charge of collecting both the balance and what in the said manner is to be charged

[fo. 6v.]

and collected, and that the said account he takes before our secretary of our viceroy, and as to the charge that must be done to him, be it made to him and registered and passed before the notary of the city council of this city.

[XVII] r Also we mandate that there be a coffer with three keys in which the said deposit is dropped and which is to be in the house of the said treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte, and that the three keys be kept by one of our appellate judges, one of our financial officials, and one person from the denizens of this city of Santo Domingo appointed by the said our viceroy, which for this year should be the *licenciado* Villalobos our judge and Miguel de Pasamonte our treasurer and Juan de Villoria denizen of this city, all of whom should be in charge of providing and looking into how the above said is done and complied with very diligently and keeping account of what will enter and leave the said coffer during their term, having it all recorded and laid before the said notary of the city council, and that the payment orders and payments that were to be issued to spend from the said deposit go signed by them and by the executor and by those of them that happen to be in the city.

[XVIII] r Also we mandate that the executor, delegates and *receptor* and notary swear that they will do well and faithful and diligently their jobs, and that they will not release to any person any *maravedies* nor *pesos* of gold out of what, for the aforesaid reason, they should pay in accordance to these ordinances.

[XIX] r Also we mandate that the said *receptor* in place now or in the future, together with the notary of the city council, when vessels come in, be in charge of going to them and

[fo. 7r.]

learning and do learn which slaves are coming in and [that they] register them and order those who bring them not to take them out onto land until the said *receptor* is paid and satisfied with the said pesos that for the aforesaid must be paid.

[XX] r Also we mandate that, in regards to the city of La Concepcion and the other villages of the island that, in the same form and manner as these ordinances, they make inventory of all the Blacks that there may be in the said city or village or its district so that one *castellano* is paid for each [slave], this in regards to those who were in the island until now, and for those that they will have from now on that, when the denizens of the inner territories buy them in this city from the merchants and other people that have not paid the said peso, that they be forced to pay it in their towns and that if they have not paid, somebody must be sent to the village where such Blacks are to go, and that if in the other ports some Blacks were bought to bring them here, that they send them here.

[XXI] r Furthermore we mandate that in all the cities, villages and places of this island its mayors and city council members carry with them the copy of this our decree and ordinances, and the same that is done and ordered to be done in the said city of Santo Domingo as to appointing the said positions, be put in place and appointed as most and best they see it fits the service of God and of us, and [that] they may provide how in everything and for everything the contents of these ordinances are followed and complied with, putting it all into act until the first nine ensuing days, under penalty of each fifty *castellanos* to each for the coffer's deposit of the place where they are the officials, except that the executor must not have as much salary but what they in good intention may estimate.

[fo. 7v.]

[XXII] r Furthermore we mandate that all who have Blacks either in *ingenios* or in *haziendas* [shall] have a copy or summary of these ordinances and have their Blacks understand them, so they avoid falling in the cases, excesses and crimes about which they are made and mandated, which they must do under penalty of ten pesos

of gold, and in respect to [*sic*] the things that must be respected and the penalties that should be applied and how they must follow them, and to whom we also order that they work in marrying the most Blacks they could and the main ones they may have, because having wives in safety³⁶ in which they have children they will be a big part of the quiet of the said slaves.

[XXIII] r For we mandate to you the said our Lieutenant Governor of this island of La Española and the councils, justice agents and city council members, knights, squires and treasury officials and good men of this city of Santo Domingo, as well as to the other cities and villages of this La Española island and of the island of San Juan, and to any other persons of any state and condition or preeminence [that] they may be to whom the contents of these our ordinances touch and pertain, and may pertain in whichever manner that you see, the said ordinances that go incorporated above, and that you comply with them and get them followed and complied with in all and for all, according to and in the way it is contained in them, and do not go nor pass nor consent to go nor pass against their content or form by any means, now or at any time, under the

[fo. 8r.]

penalties contained in them, in which from now on we condemn you and consider you condemned if you do the contrary, and furthermore that you shall fall and incur in the penalties fallen into by the disobedient to our mandates, and so that it comes to the knowledge of all, we mandate that they be announced by town crier in the squares and public places of this said city of Santo Domingo and of the other cities and villages of this island and of the said island of San Juan, or its copy, signed by notary public and before notary that bears witness of it, given in the city of Santo Domingo six days of January of one thousand and five hundred and twenty two years the viceroy per the mandate of Their Majesties the Viceroy in his name Garcia de Aguilar.

The referred said copy was corrected and compared against the said original ordinances from which it was drawn before the public notary and witnesses written below at the city of Santo Domingo of the port of this La Española island of the Indies of the Ocean Sea two days of the month of May year of the birth of our savior Jesus Christ of one thousand and five hundred and twenty eight years [*torn*] see be corrected and [compared] by [*torn*] de Castro and Luis Peres secretary [*torn*] it goes scratched where it says [*torn*] and I Vorja Rodrigues public notary of the said city [*torn*] notary [*torn*] for this reason [*torn*] drew here my stamp [*torn*].

[fo. 8v.]

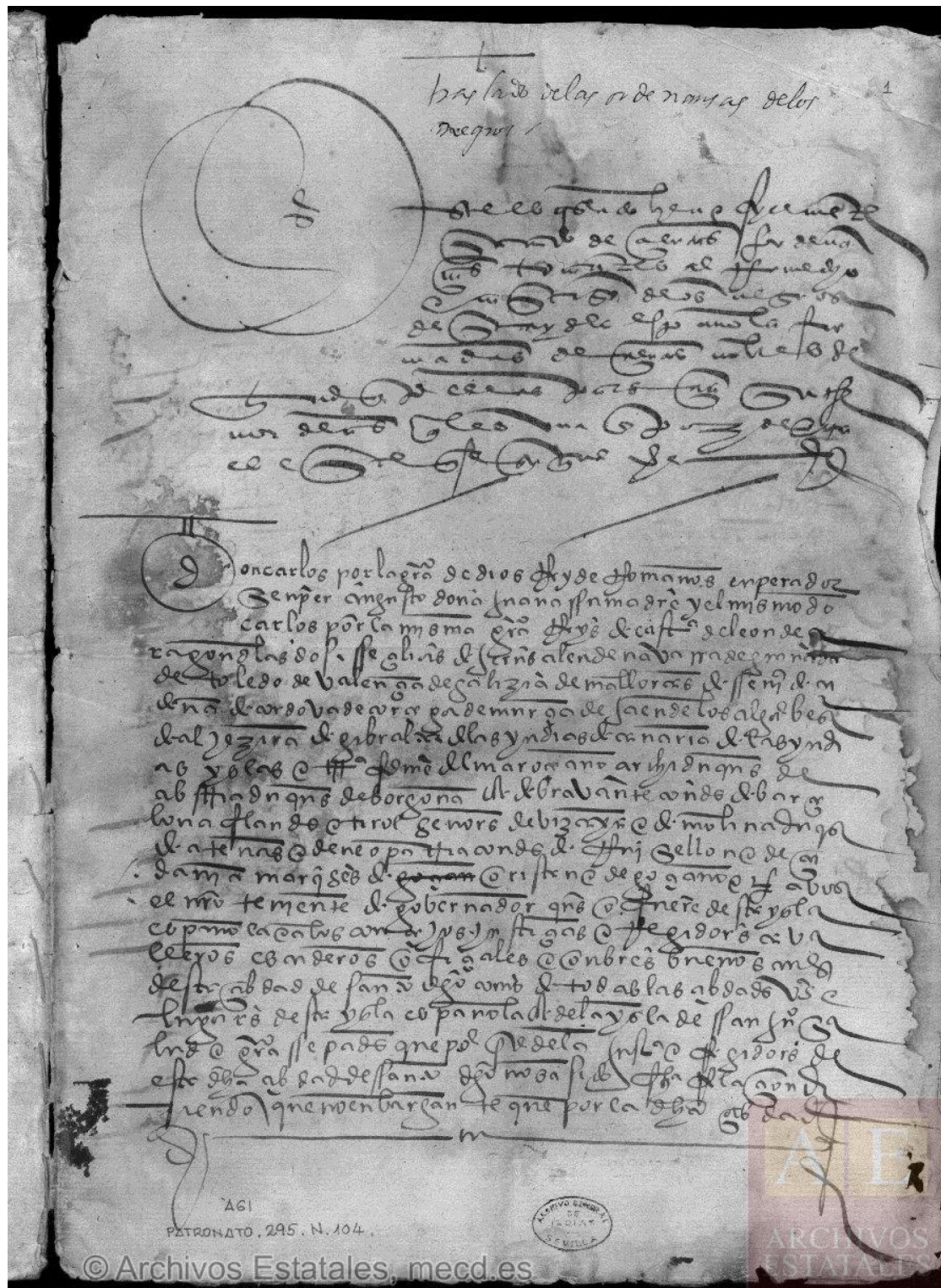
6 of January of year 1522 ordinances for the Blacks

[*Written upside –down on same page:*] copy of the ordinances for the Blacks

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on

Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 1r.



Source: *España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias*, PATRONATO,295,N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 1r.

[fo. 1r.]

+

Traslado de las ordenansas de los/
Negros/^{vi}

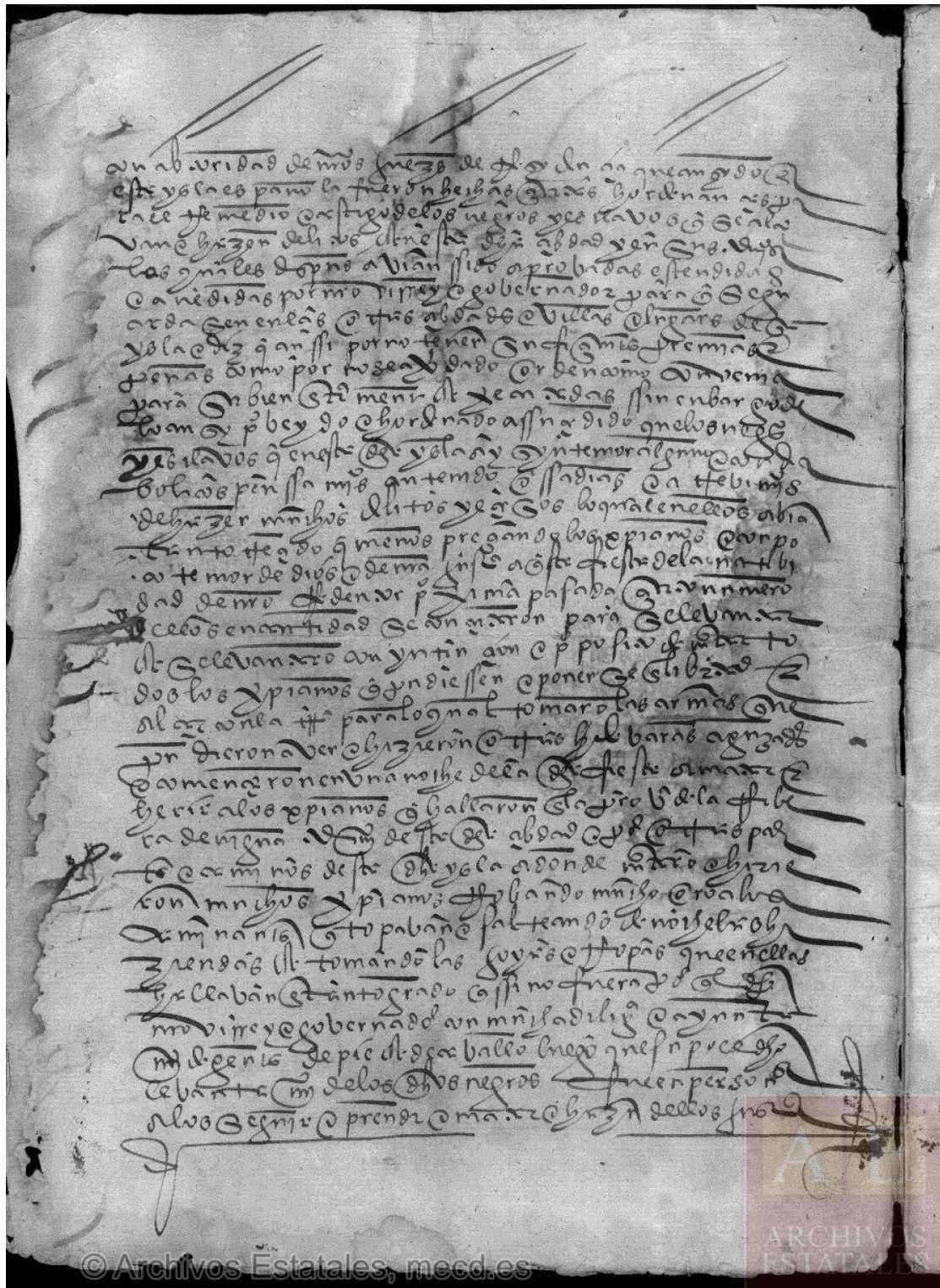
Este es tr[e]slado bien e fielmente/
sacado de çiertas hordena[n]/
ças tocantes al remedio/
e castigo de los negros/
de[e]sta ysla española fir/
madas de çiertos no[n]bres se/
gund q[ue] por ellas par[e]sçia su the/
nor de las q[ua]les una [en] poz [sic] de otra/
es este q[ue] se sigue/

Don Carlos por la gra[ç]i^a de dios rey de romanos emperador/
semper augusto doña Juana ssu madre y el mismo do[n]/
Carlos por la misma gra[ç]i^a rey[e]s de Casti[ll]a^a de Leon de A/
ragon d[e] las dos Seçilias de Jerusalem de Navarra de Granada/
de Toledo de Valençia de Galizia de Mallorcas de Ssevi[ll]a^a de Çer/
eeña de Cordova de Corçega de Murçia de Jaen de los Alga'bes/
ee Aljezira de Gibraltar de las Yndias de Cnaria de las Yndias Yslas e T[ie]rra^a F[i]rme del mar /
oçeano archiduqu[e]s de/ Austria duqu[e]s de Borgoña e de Bravante cond[e]s de Barçelo/
na Fland[e]s e Tirol señor[e]s de Vizcaya e de Molina duq[ue]s/
de Atenas e de Neopatria cond[e]s de Ruisellon de Çer/
dania marq[ue]ses de [crossed out: Goçian] Oristan e de Goçiano etc. A vos/
el n[uest]ro teniente de gobernador qu[e]l[e]s o fuere de [e]sta ysla/
Española e a los conçejos justiçias e regidor[e]s cava/
llos escuderos oficiales e onbres buenos ansi/
de [e]sta çibdad de Santo D[omin]go como d[e] todas las çibdad[e]s v[ill]as e/
lugares de[e]sta ysla Española e de la ysla de Ssan J^o[a]n sa/
lud e gra[ç]i^a ssepades que po' p[ar]te de la just[iç]i^a e regidor[e]s de/
esta d[iç]ha çibdad de Ssanto D[omin]go nos a sido f[ec]ha r[e]laçion di/
ziendo que no enbargante que por la d[iç]ha çibdad/

^{vi} Source: Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 295, Número 104, Código de Referencia en PARES: ES.41091.AGI/29.4.2//PATRONATO,295,N.104. Paleographical transcription by Anthony R. Stevens-Acevedo, CUNY Dominican Studies Institute. All the abbreviations of the original have been spelled out with the abbreviated letters placed in between brackets. The spellings that depart dramatically from the norm are followed by [sic] to indicate that such is actually the spelling used in the original, not a transcription mistake. All names of persons or places have been capitalized, otherwise respecting the original spelling.

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 1v.



Source: *España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias*, PATRONATO,295,N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 1v.

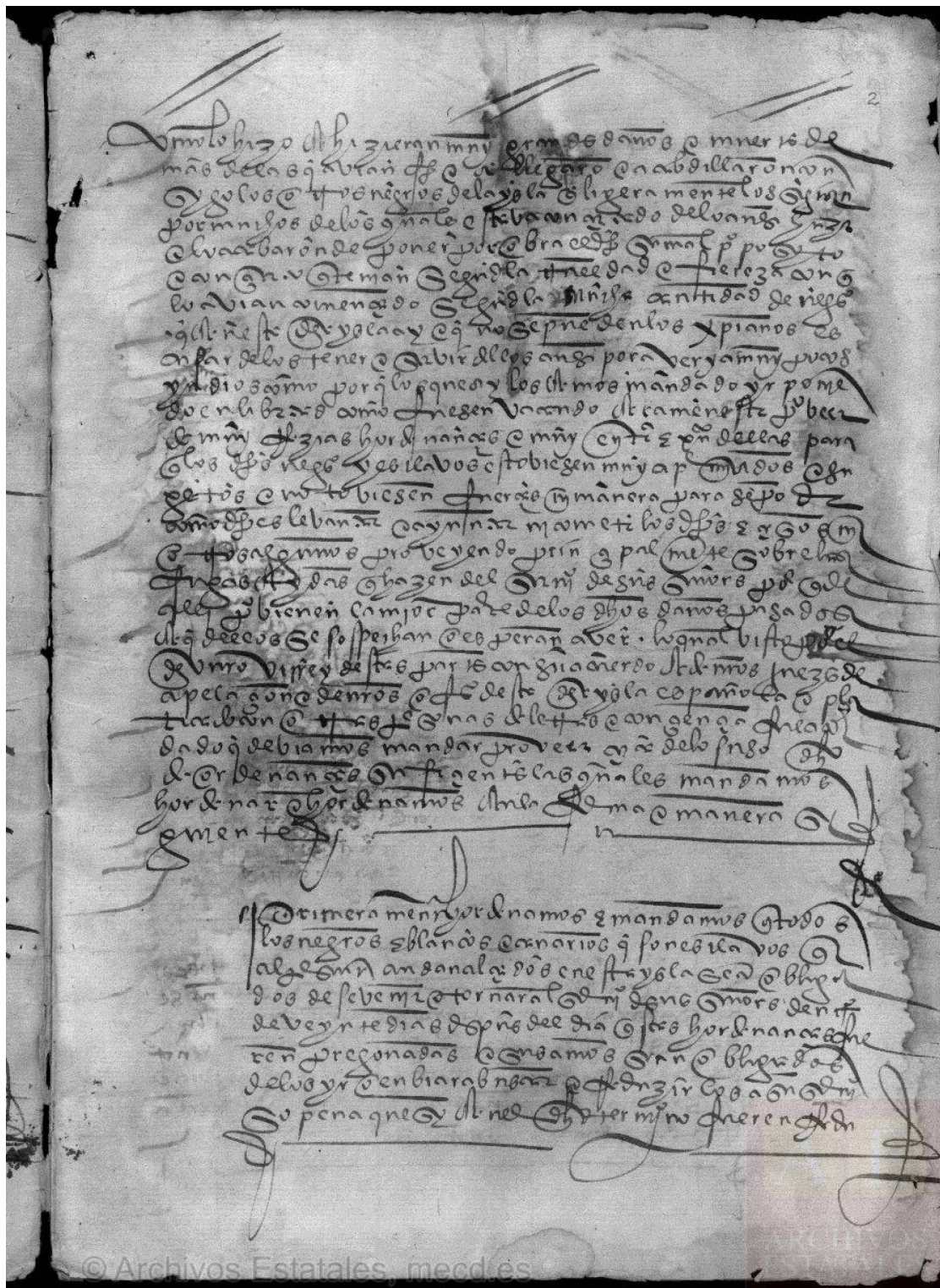
[fo. 1v.]

con abtoridad de n[uest]ros juez[e]s de r[e]syd[e]nçia que an sido [en]/
esta ysla Española fueron hechas çiertas hordenanças pa/
ra el remedio e castigo de los negros y esclavos q[ue] se alça/
van e hazen delitos en esta d[ic]ha çibdad y en sus [[ter]mi[n]^{os} /
las quales d[e]spues avian ssido aprobadas estendidas/
e añedidas por n[uest]ro virrey e gobernador para q[ue] se gu/
ardasen en las otras çibdades e villas e lugares de[e]sa/
ysla e diz q[ue] anssi por no tener sufiçient[e]s premias e/
penas como por no se a[ver] dado orden como convenia/
para su bien [en]t[e]r^ament[e] executadas ssin embargo de/
lo ansy p[r]^oveydo e hordenado a ssuçedido que los neg[r]^{os}/
y esclavos q[ue] en esta d[ic]ha ysla ay syn temor alguno e con dia/
bolicos penssam[en]tos an tenido ossadias e atrevimi[en]t^{os}/
de hazer muchos d[e]litos y eçesos lo qual en ellos avia[n]/
tanto creçido q[ue] menospreciando los [crist]ianos e con po/
co temor de dios e de n[uest]ra just[iç]i^a aq[ue]sta fiesta de la nativi/
dad de n[uest]ro redentor p[r]^oxima pasada cierto numero/
de [e]llos en cantidad se conçertaron para se levantar/
e se levantaron con yntinçion e p[r]^oposito de m^atar to/
dos los [crist]ianos q[ue] pudiessen e ponerse [en] libertad e/
alçar con la t[ie]rra para lo qual tomaro[n] las armas que/
pudieron aver e hizieron otras *[scratched: h]* de varas aguzad[a]s/
e començaron en una noche de la d[ic]ha fiesta a matar e/
herir a los [crist]ianos q[ue] hallaron [en] la prov[inç]i^a de la rib/
ra de Nigua t[e]r[mi]n^o de[e]sta d[ic]ha çibdad e por otras par/
t[e]s e caminos de[e]sta d[ic]ha isla adonde m^ataro[n] e hirie/
ron muchos [crist]ianos robando mucho oro a los/
caminant[e]s q[ue] topaban e salteando de noche las ha/
ziendas e tomando las joyas e ropas que en ellas/
hallavan [en]tanto grado q[ue] ssi no fuera po^r q[ue] [e]l d[ic]ho/
n[uest]ro virrey e governado^r con mucha dilig[enç]i^a e ayunta/
m[en]t^o de gent[e]s de pie e de cavallo luego que supo el d[ic]ho/
levantam[en]t^o de los d[ic]hos negros fue en person^a/
a los seguir e prend[e]r e matar e haz[e]r de[e]llos just[iç]i^a/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on

Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 2r.



Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 2r.

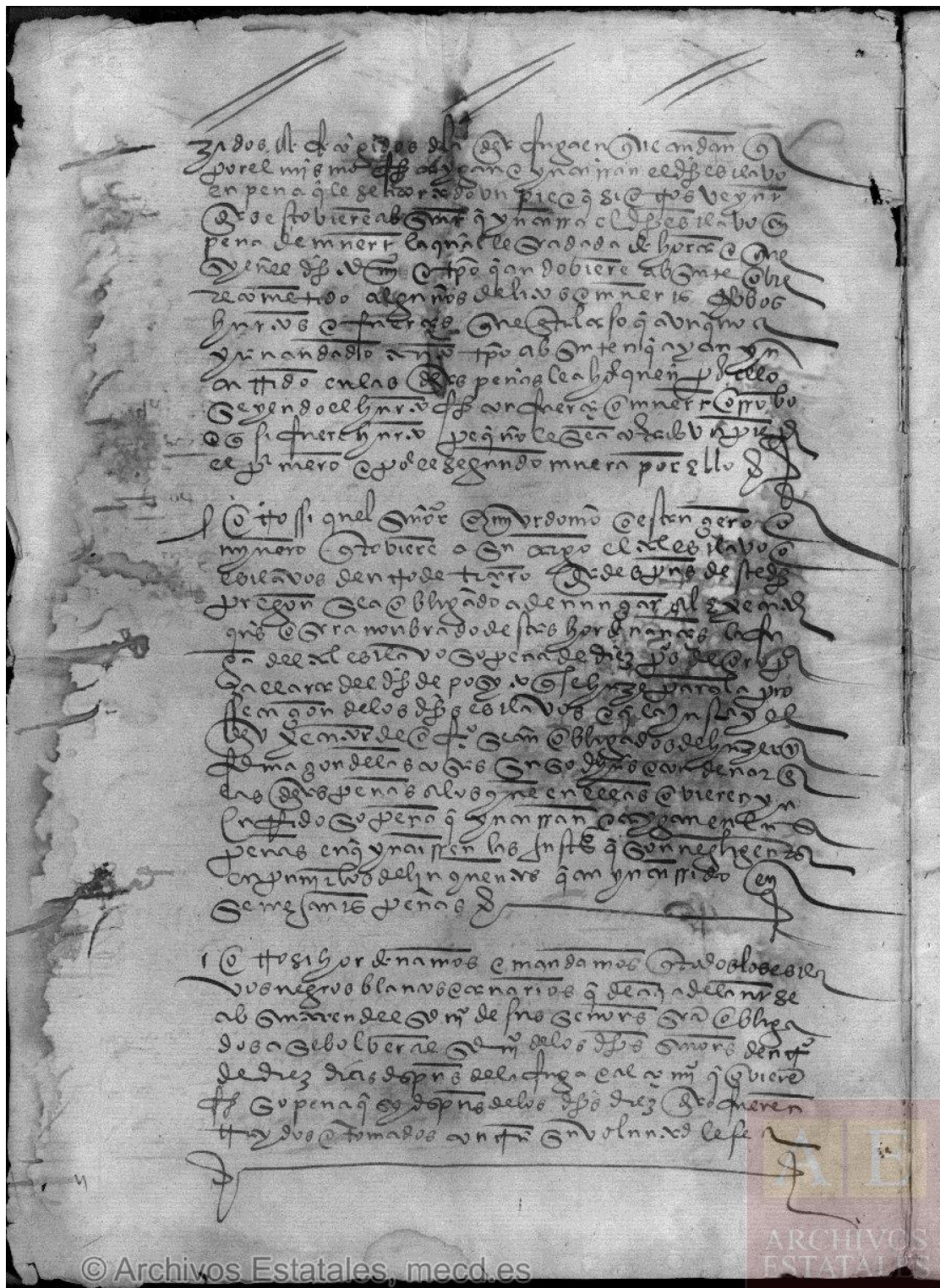
[fo. 2r.]

como lo hizo e hizieran muy grand[e]s daños e muert[e]s de/
mas de las q[ue] avian f[ech]o e allegar[o]n e acabdillaron con/
sygo los otros negros de la isla q[ue] ligeramente los siguian/
por muchos de los quales estava conçertado de lo ansi haz[e]r/
e lo acabaron de poner por obra el d[ic]ho su mal p[r]o^oposyto/
e conçierto q[ue] tenían seg[u]nd la mucha cantidad de neg[r]o^s/
q[ue] en esta d[ic]ha isla ay e q[ue] no se pueden los [crist]ianos es/
capar de los tener e servir de[e]llos ansi por aver ya muy pocos/
indios como porq[ue] los que ay los emos mandado yr ponie[n]/
de muy rezias hordenanças e muy ent[e]r^a ex[e]cu[ç]io[n] de[e]llas para/
q[ue] los d[ic]hos neg[r]o^s y esclavos estoviesen muy ap[r]e^omiados e su/
getos e no tuviesen fuerças ni manera para se pod[e]r/
como d[ic]ho es levantar e ayuntar ni comet[e]r los d[ic]hos eçesos ni/
otros algunos proveyendo prinçipalme[n]te sobre las/
fugas e ydas q[ue] hacen del s[e]rviç[i]o de sus señor[e]s po^oq[ue] de/
allí p[r]o^ovienen la m[a]jor pa^{te} de los dos daños pasados/
e q[ue] de[e]llos se sospechan o esperan aver lo qual visto po^r el/
d[ic]ho n[uest]ro virrey de[e]stas part[e]s con su acuerdo e de n[uest]ros juez[e]s de/
apelaçion e de n[uest]ros of[iç]ial^es de[e]sta isla Española e pla/
ticado con otras p^orzonas de letras e conciencia fue aco^r/
dado q[ue] deviamos mandar proveer cerca de lo suso d[ic]ho/
de ordenanças suficien[t]e las quales mandamos/
hordenar e hordenamos en la f[or]ma e manera sy/
guiente:

[I] r Primerament[e] hordenamos e mandamos q[ue] todos/
los negros e blancos e canarios q[ue] son esclavos q[ue]/
al p[r]e^osent[e] andan alçados en esta isla sea[n] obliga/
dos de se venir e tornar al s[e]rviç[i]o de sus señores dentr^o/
de veynte días d[e]spues del dia [que]e[stas] hordenanças fue/
ren pregonadas e sus amos sean obligados /
de los yr o enviar a buscar e reduzirlos a su s[e]rviç[i]o/
so pena que sy en el d[ic]ho termino fueren redu/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 2v.



Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 2v.

[fo. 2v.]

zidos e recogidos d[e] la d[ic]ha fuga en que andan q[ue] /
por el mismo f[ec]ho caygan [*sic*] e incurran [*sic*] el d[ic]ho esclavo/
en pena q[ue] le sea cortado un pie e q[ue] si otros veynt[e]/
días estoviere absent[e] q[ue] incurra el d[ic]ho esclavo [en]/
pena de muert[e] la qual le sea dada de horca e que/
sy en el d[ic]ho t[e]rmi[n]o e t[ien]po [que] andoviere absente ovie/
re cometido algunos delitos o muert[e]s robos
hurtos e fuerças que [en] tal caso q[ue] aunq[ue] no a/
yan andado tanto t[ien]po absente ni q[ue] ayan yn/
currido en las d[ic]has penas le aho'quen po' ello/
seyendo el hurto fho con fuerça o muerte o rrobo/
e q[ue] si fuere hurto peq[ue]ño le sea co'tado un pie po' /
el p[r]i'mero e po' el segundo muera por ello/

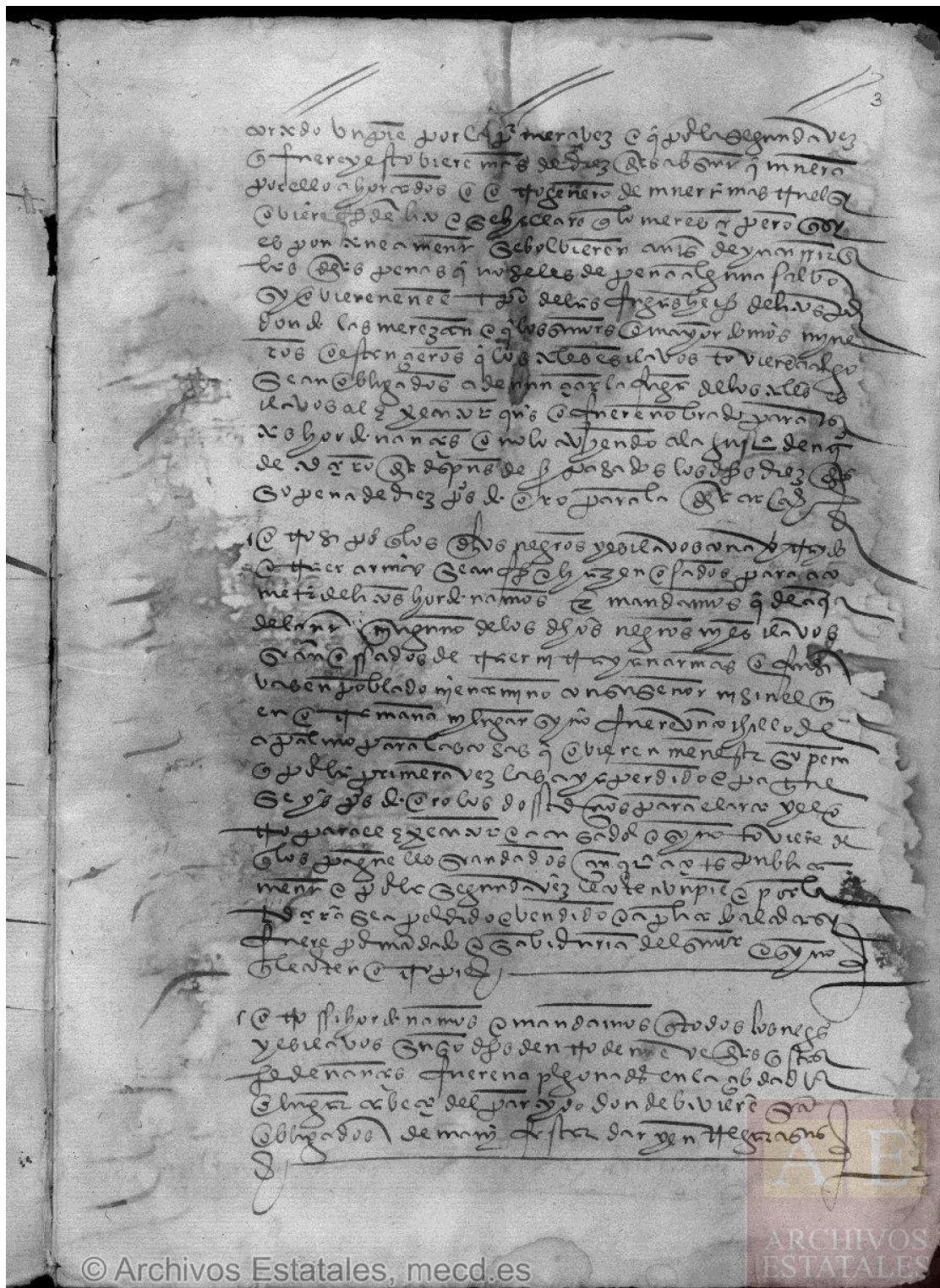
[II] r Otrossi que[e]l señor o m[a]iordomo o estañçiero o
minero q[ue] toviere a su cargo el tal esclavo o /
esclavos dentro de t[e]rçero dia despu[e]s de[e]ste d[ic]ho/
pregon sea obligado a denunciar al excecutor/
q[ue][e]s o será nombrado de[e]stas hordenanças la fu/
ga del tal esclavo so pena de diez p[er]s^os de oro pa/
ra el arca del d[ic]ho depoyto q[ue] se haze para la pro/
sseuçion de los d[ic]hos esclavos e q[ue] la just[iç]i^a y el/
d[ic]ho [e]xecutor de of[iç]i^o sean obligados de hazer y[n]/
f[o]rmaçion de las cosas suso d[ic]has e condenar [en] /
las d[ic]has penas a los que en ellas ovieren yn/
currido so pena q[ue] incurran e caygan en las/
penas en q[ue] yncurren las just[iç]i^{as} q[ue] son negligent[e]s/
en punir los delinquentes q[ue] an incurrido en/
semejant[e]s penas/

[III] r Otrosi hordenamos e mandamos q[ue] todos los esclavos
negros blancos e canarios q[ue] de aq[ui] adelante se/
absentaren del [ser]viç[i]o de sus señores sea[n] obliga/
dos a se volver al [ser]viç[i]o de los d[ic]hos señores dentr^o/
de diez días d[e]spues de la fuga e alçami[ent]o q[ue] oviere[n]/
f[ec]ho so pena q[ue] sy d[e]spues de los d[ic]hos diez días fueren/
traídos e tomados contra su voluntad le sea/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on

Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 3r.



Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 3r.

[fo. 3r.]

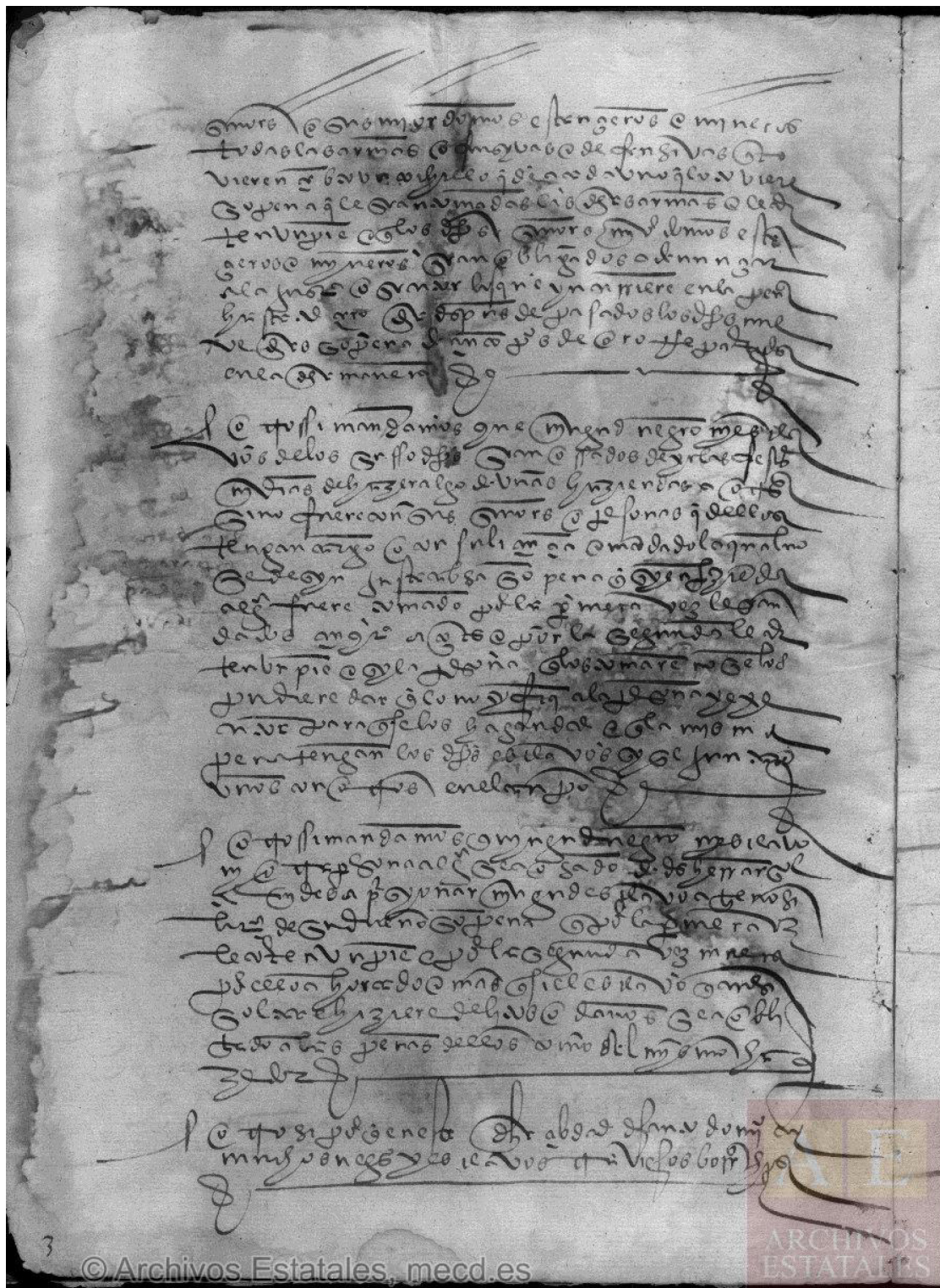
cortado un pie por la p[ri]mer^a vez e q[ue] po^r la segunda vez/
q[ue] fuere y estoviere mas de diez días absent[e] q[ue] muera[n]/
por ello ahorcados u otro genero de muerte mas cruel sy/
oviere f[ec]ho delito e seha *[sic]* claro q[ue] lo meresçe pero q[ue] sy/
es pontaneament[e] se volvieren ant[e]s de incurrir [en]/
las d[ic]has penas q[ue] no se les de pena alguna salvo/
sy ovieren en el t[ie]npo de las fugas hecho delitos po^r/
donde las merezcan e q[ue] los señor[e]s e mayordomos min/
ros e estançeros q[ue] los tales esclavos toviere[n] a cargo/
sean obligados a denunciar la fuga de los tales es/
clavos al executor qu[e]s o fuere no[n]brado para es/
tas hordenanças o no lo aviendo a la just[iç]i^a dentr^o/
de t[er]çero dia d[e]spues de [ser] pasados los d[ic]hos diez días/
so pena de diez p[er]s^{os} de oro para la d[ic]ha arca/

[IV] r Otro si po^rq[ue] los d[ic]hos negros y esclavos con a[ver] traído/
e traer armas se an *[sic]* f[ec]ho e hacen osados para aco/
meter delitos hordenamos e mandamos q[ue] de aq[ui] a/
delante ninguno de los d[ic]hos negros ni esclavos/
sean ossados de traer ni trayan armas ofensi/
vas en poblado ni en camino con su señor ni sin el ni/
en otra man[er]a ni lugar sy no fuere un cuchillo de/
a palmo para las cosas q[ue] ovieren menest[e]r so pena/
q[ue] po^r la primera vez las aya perdido e pague/
seys p[er]s^{os} de oro los t[er]çios para el arca y el o/
tro para el executor e acusado^r e sy no toviere de/
q[ue] los pague les sean dados çinq[ue]n^ta açotes publica/
ment[e] e po^r la segunda vez le co^ten un pie e por la/
t[er]çera sea pe^rdido e vendido e aplicado al arca sy/
fuere po^r ma[n]dado e sabiduría del señor e sy no/
q[ue] le co^ten otro pie/

[V] r Otrossi hordenamos e mandamos q[ue] todos los neg[r]^{os}/
y esclavos suso d[ic]hos dentro de nueve días q[ue] [e]stas/
h[or]denanças fueren ap[r]ogonadas en la çibdad v[ill]a /
o lugar cabeça de partydo donde viviere[n] sea[n]/
obligados de manifestar dar y entregar a sus /

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on
Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 3v.



Source: España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO, 295, N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 3v.

[fo. 3v.]

señor[e]s o sus m[a]iordomos estancieros o mineros/
todas las armas ofensivas o defensyvas q[ue] to/
vieren çebto un cuchillo q[ue] de[n] a cada uno q[ue] lo toviere/
so pena q[ue] le sean tomadas las d[ic]has armas e le co'
ten un pie e q[ue] los d[ic]hos señor[e]s m[a]io^rdomos esta[n]/
çieros e mineros sean obligados a denunciar/
a la just[iç]i^a o secutor [sic]^{vii} los que incurriere[n] en la pen^a /
hasta te^rçero dia d[e]spues de pasados los d[ic]hos nue/
ve días so pena de cinco p[es]°s de oro repa^rtidos/
en la d[ic]ha manera/

[VI] r Otrossi mandamos que ningu[n]d negro ni escla/
vos de los susso d[ic]hos sean ossados de yr las fiest^{as} /
ni días de hazer algo de unas haziendas a otr^{as}/
sino fuere con sus señor[e]s o p[e]°sonas q[ue] de[e]llos/
tengan cargo o con su liçençia e ma[n]dado lo qual no/
se de syn justa cabsa so pena q[ue] sy en hazie[n]da/
alg[un]^a fuere tomado po^r la p[ri]mer vez le sean/
dados çinq[ue]n^{ta} açotes e por la segunda le co'
ten un pie e sy la p[e]°sona q[ue] los tomare no se los/
pudiere dar q[ue] lo notyfiq[ue] a la p[e]°sona y exe/
cutor para q[ue] se los hagan da^r e q[ue] la misma/
pena tengan los d[ic]hos esclavos sy se juntare[n]/
unos con otros en el canpo/

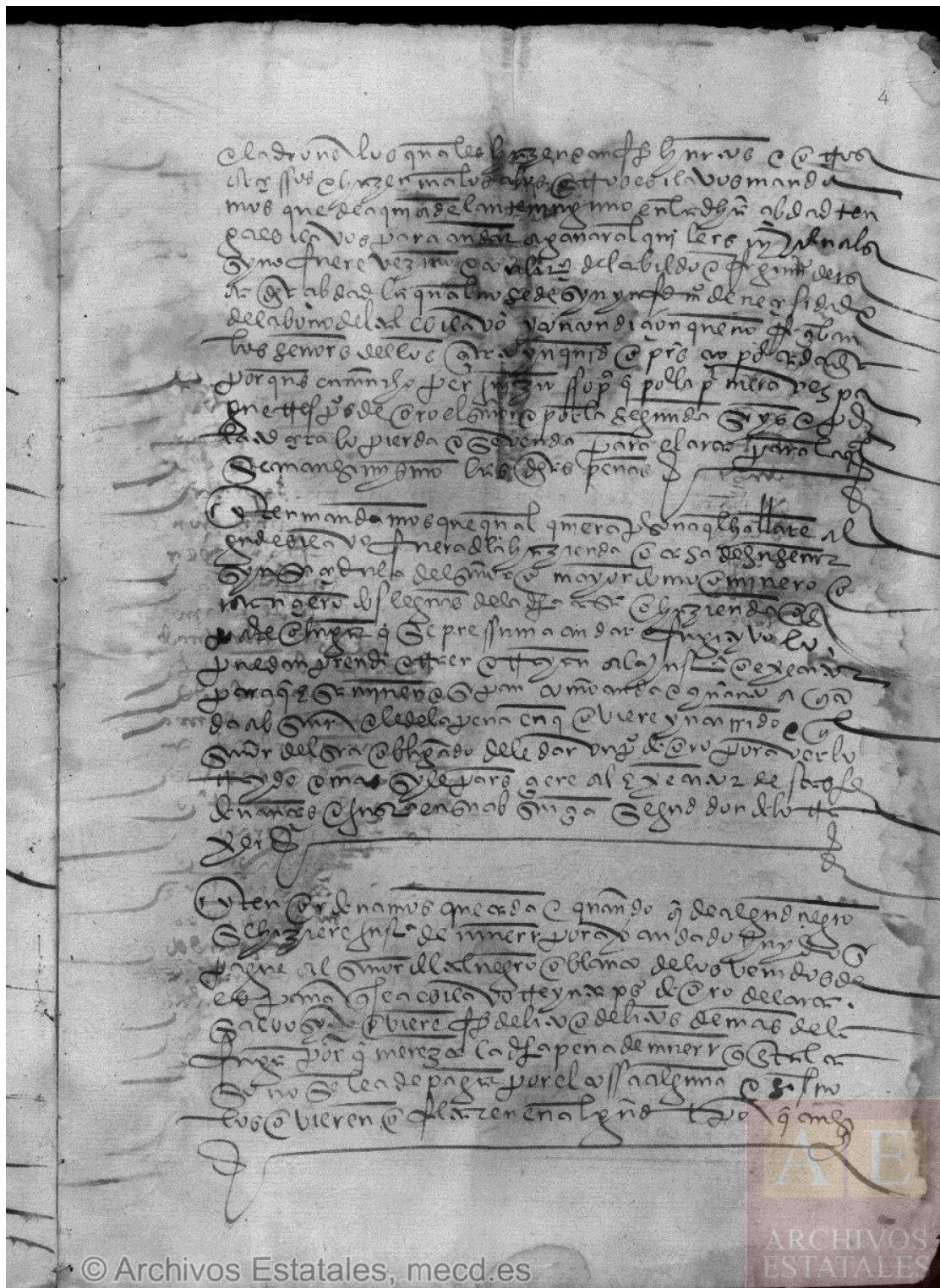
[VII] r Otrossi mandamos q[ue] ningu[n]d negro ni esclavo/
ni otra p[e]°sona alg[un]^a sea osado de desherrar sol/
tar ni desap[r]syonar ningu[n]d esclavo ageno si[n]/
liçençia^a de su dueño so pena q[ue] po^r la primera v[e]z/
le co^rten un pie e po^r la segunda vez muera/
po^r ello ahorcado e mas q[ue] si el esclavo q[ue] ansi/
soltare hiziere delitos o daños sea obli/
gado a las penas de[e]llos como el mismo ha/
zedor/

[VIII] r Otrosi po^rq[ue] en esta d[ic]ha çibdad d[e] Santo Domi[ng]° ay/
muchos neg[r]°s y esclavos traviesos borr^acho^s/

vii We understand this to be an alternate spelling of the word *executor*.

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 4r.



Source: *España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias*, PATRONATO,295,N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 4r.

[fo. 4r.]

e ladrones los quales hazen e an f[ec]ho hurtos e otros/
eçessos e hacen malos a los otros esclavos manda/
mos que de aquí adelante ninguno en la d[ic]ha çibdad ten/
ga esclavos para andar a ganar alquiler[e]s ni jornal[e]s/
sy no fuere vezino e con liç[ençi]^a del cabildo e regimi[ent]^o de[e]s/
ta d[ic]ha çibdad la qual no se de syn ynform[açi]^o[n] de necesidad e/
del abono del tal esclavo y con condiçion que no reçiban/
los señores de[e]llos cierto ynquid^{viii} [sic] o pr[e]sçio po^r cada dia /
porqu[e]s en mucho perjuyzio [sic] sso p[en]^a q[ue] po^r la p[r]i^{me}ra vez pa/
gue tres p[es]^os de oro el señor e por la segunda seys e po^r /
la t[e]çera lo pierda e se venda para el arca para la q[u]^al/
sean ansimismo las d[ic]has penas/

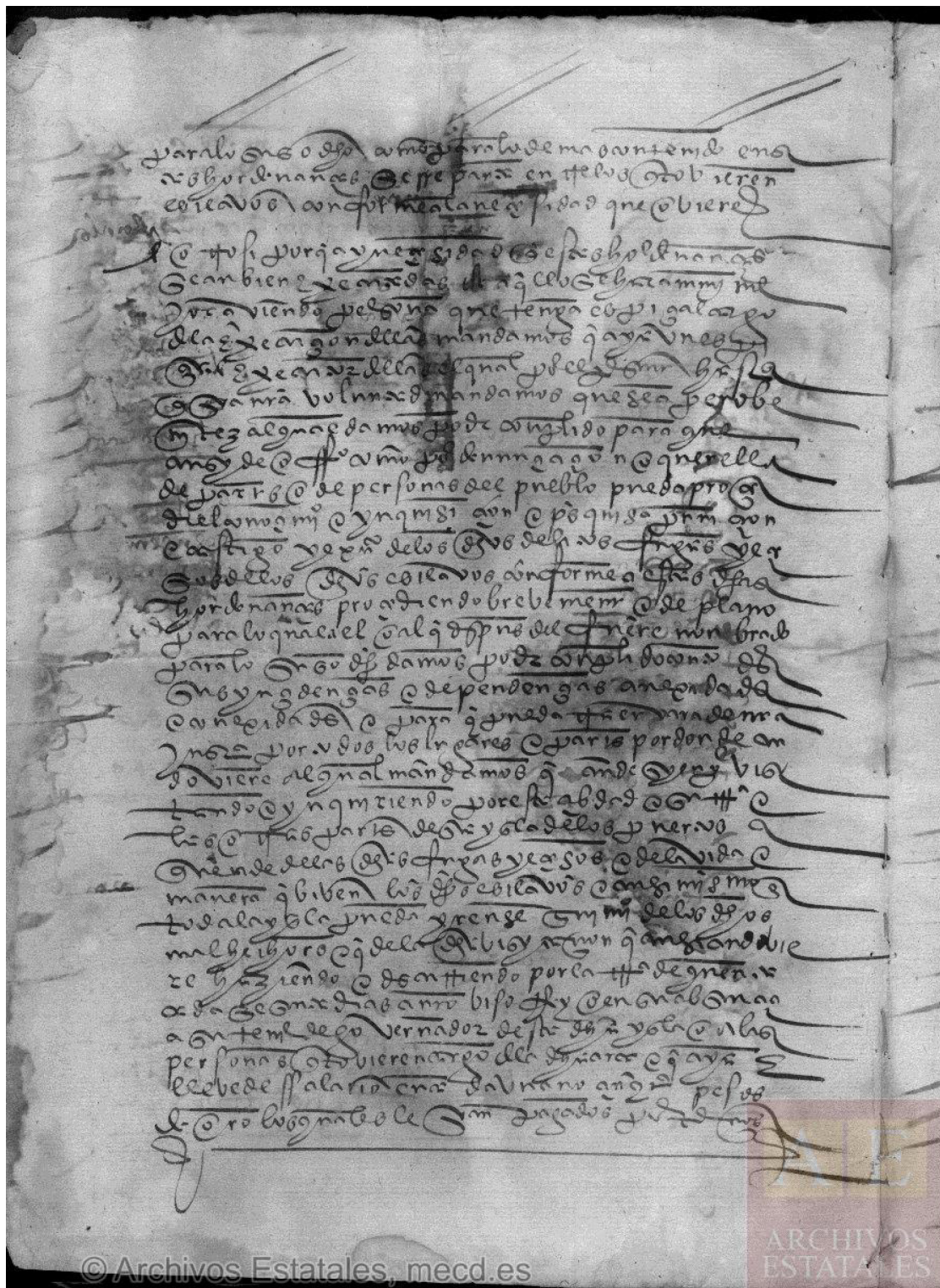
[IX] r Yten mandamos que qualquiera p[e]rsona q[ue] hallare al/
gu[n]d esclavo fuera de la hazienda o casa de sus señor/
syn su çedula del señor o mayordomo o minero o/
estañero dos leguas de la d[ic]ha casa o hazienda o [en]/
pa^rte o lugar q[ue] se pressuma andar fugitivo lo/
puedan prend[e]r e traer e trayan a la just[içi]^a o executor/
para q[ue] esaminen e sepan como anda e quanto a q[ue] a[n]/
da absent[e] e le de [sic] la pena en q[ue] oviere yncurrido e q[ue] [e]l/
señor de [e]l sea obligado de le dar un p[es]^o de oro por averlo/
traído e mas sy le par[e]sçiere al executor de [e]stas h[o]^r/
denanças e justiçi]^a en su absençia segu[n]d donde lo tra/
xere/

[X] r Yten ordenamos que cada e quando q[ue] de algu[n]d negro/
se hiziere just[içi]^a de muert[e] por a[ver] andado huydo se/
pague al señor d[e]l tal negro o blanco de los venidos de/
España q[ue] sea esclavo treinta p[es]^os de oro del arca/
salvo sy oviere f[ec]ho delito o delitos de mas de la/
fuga porq[ue] merezca la d[ic]ha pena de muert[e] q[ue] [en] tal ca/
so no se le a [sic] de pagar por el cossa alguna e si [scratched: l] no/
los ovieren o faltaren en alg[u]nd t[ien]po q[ue] ansi/

viii We have not been able to identify any Spanish or Latin expression with this or a similar spelling.

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on
Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 4v.



Source: España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO, 295, N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 4v.

[fo. 4v.]

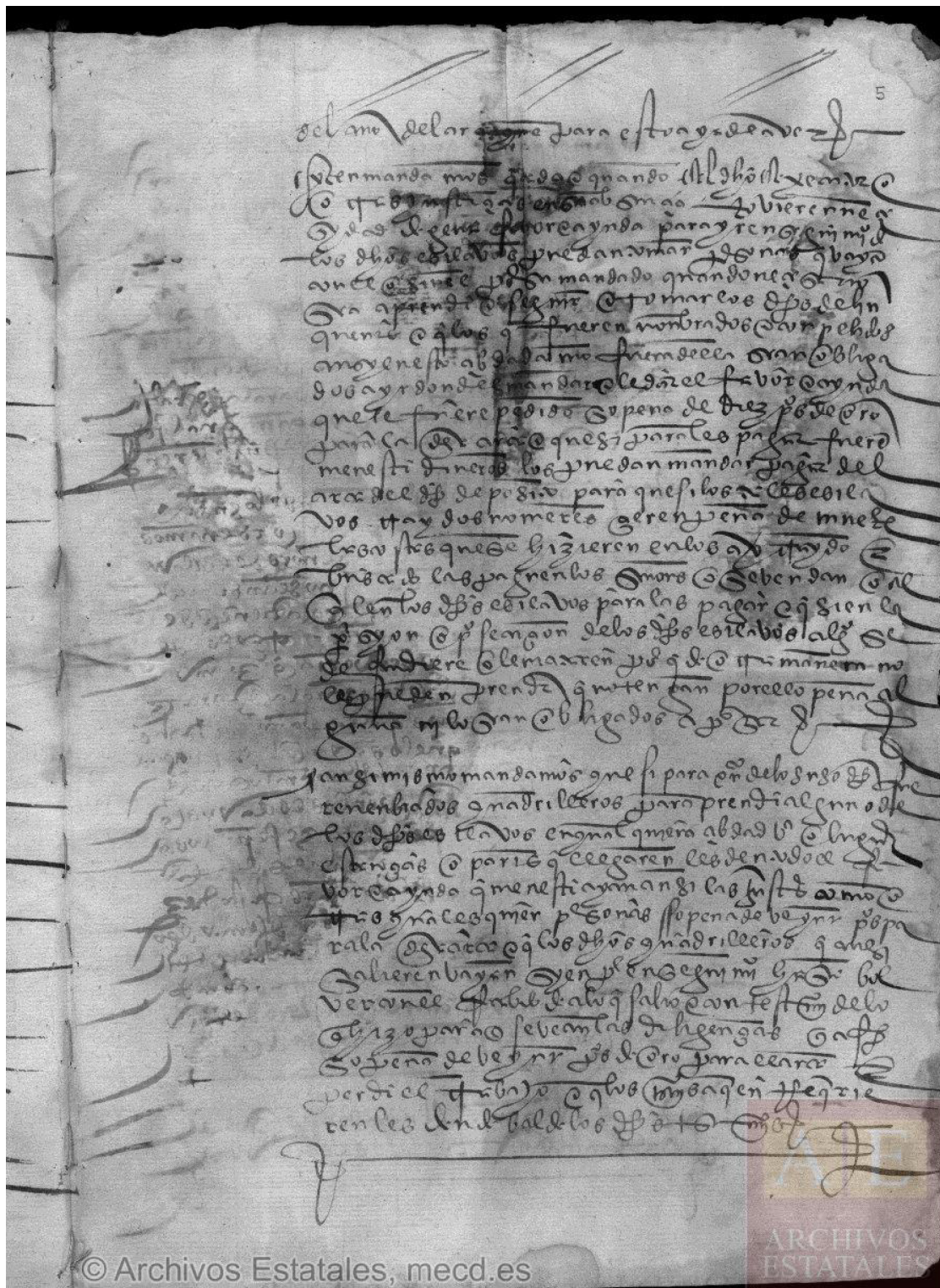
para lo suso d[ic]ho como para lo demás contenido en [e]s/
tas hordenanças se rreparta entre los q[ue] tovieren/
esclavos conforme a la necesidad que oviere/

[X] r Otrosi porq[ue] ay necesidad q[ue] estas ho^rdenanças /
sean bien executadas e aq[ue]llo se hara muy me/
jor aviendo pe^rsona que tenga espiçial cargo/
d[e] la execuçion d[e]llas mandamos q[ue] aya un espi/
çial executor de[e]llas el qual po^r el p[r]^esent[e] hasta/
q[ue] sea n[uest]ra voluntad mandamos que sea Pero Be/
nitez al qual damos pod[e]r cumplido para que/
ansy de off[iç]i^o como po^r denunçiaçion o querella/
de part[e]s o de personas del pueblo pueda proçe/
d[e]r el conoçimi[ent]^o e ynquisiçion e p[er]squisa puniçion/
e castigo y ex[e]cuç[i]oⁿ de los d[ic]hos delitos fugas y eçe/
sos de los d[ic]hos esclavos conforme a estas d[ic]has/
hordenanças proçediendo brevement[e] e de plano/
para lo qual a el o al q[ue] d[e]spues de[e]l fuere nombrado/
para lo suso d[ic]ho damos pod[e]r cumplido con tod^{as}/
sus ynçidençias e dependencias anexidad[e]s/
e conexidad[e]s e para q[ue] pueda traer vara de n[uest]ra/
just[iç]i^a por todos los lugares e part[e]s por donde an/
doviere al qual mandamos q[ue] ande syenp[r]^e visy/
tando e inquirendo por esta çibdad e su t[er]r[er]ra e/
las otras part[e]s desta isla de los puertos a/
[quende?] de las d[ic]has fugas y eçesos e de la vida/
manera q[ue] viven los d[ic]hos esclavos e ansi mismo[en]/
toda la isla pueda yr en seguimi[ent]^o de los d[ic]hos/
malhechor[e]s e q[ue] de la d[ic]ha visytaçion q[ue] ansi anduvie/
re haciendo e d[i]scurriendo por la t[er]r[er]ra de quenta/
cada sesenta días a n[uest]ro visorrey o en su absençia/
a su teni[ent]^e de governador de[e]sta d[ic]ha isla o a las/
personas q[ue] tovieren cargo d[e] la d[ic]ha arca [e] q[ue] aya e/
lleve de ssalario en cada un año çinq[uen]t^a pesos/
de oro los quales le sean pagados po^r te^rçios/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on

Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 5r.



Appendix 6: Paeographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 5r.

[fo. 5r.]

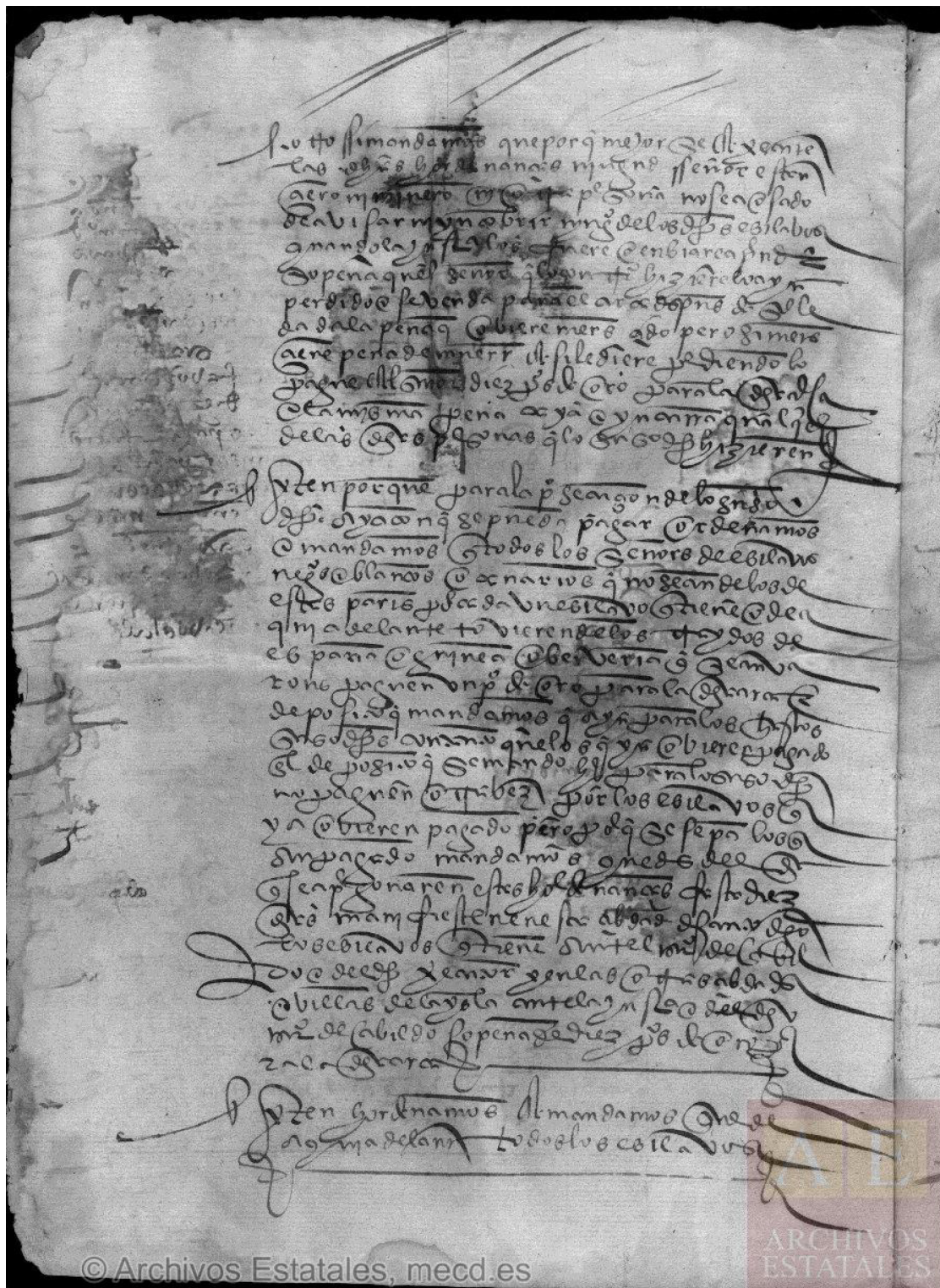
del año del arca que para esto aya de aver/

[XI] r Yten mandamos q[ue] c[a]da e quando el d[ic]ho executor o/
otras justiçias en su absençia tovieren neçe/
sydad de gent[e] favor e ayuda para yr en seguimi[ent]o de/
con el o sin el po' su mandado quando necesario/
sea aprend[e]r e seguir e tomar los d[ic]hos delin/
quent[e]s e q[ue] los q[ue] fueren nonbrados e con el idos/
ansy en esta çibdad como fuera de[e]lla sean obliga/
dos a yr donde[e]l mandare e le dar el favor e ayuda/
que le fuere pedido so pena de diez p[es]os de oro/
para la d[ic]ha arca e que si para les pagar fuere[n]/
menest[e]r dineros los puedan mandar pagar del/
arca del d[ic]ho deposito para que si los tales escla/
vos traídos no meresçieren pena de mue'te/
las costas que se hizieren en los a[ver] traído e/
buscado las paguen los señor[e]s o se vendan o al/
q[ui]len los d[ic]hos esclavos para las pagar e q[ue] si en la/
p[re]s[en]cia o p[re]s[en]cia de los d[ic]hos esclavos alg[un]o se/
defendiere o le mataren po'r q[ue] de otra manera no/
le pueden prend[e]r q[ue] no tengan por ello pena al/
guna ni lo sean obligados a p[ag]ar/

[XII] r Ansimismo mandamos que si para [e]x[e]cuç[i]o[n] de lo suso d[ic]ho fue/
ren enviados quadrilleros para prend[e]r alguno de /
los d[ic]hos esclavos en qualquiera çibdad v[er]a o luga'r/
estanças o part[e]s q[ue] llegaren les den todo el fa/
vor e ayuda q[ue] menest[e]r ayan ansi las justiçi'as como o/
tras qualesquier p[er]sonas sso pena de veynt[e] p[es]os pa/
ra la d[ic]ha arca e q[ue] los d[ic]hos quadrilleros q[ue] ansi/
salieren vayan syenp[re] en seguimi[ent]o hasta bol/
ver con el recabdo de a lo q[ue] salió e con testim[on]i'o de lo/
q[ue] hizo para q[ue] se vean las diligençias q[ue] a f[ec]ho /
so pena de veynt[e] p[es]os de oro para el arca e/
perd[e]r el trabajo e q[ue] los [escribano]s a q[ui]en req[ui]erie/
ren les den de balde los d[ic]hos t[est]imoni[os]/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 5v.



Source: *España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias*, PATRONATO,295,N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 5v.

[fo. 5v.]

[XIII] r Otrossi mandamos que porq[ue] mejor se execute[n]/
las d[ic]has hordenanças ningun[un]d señor estan/
çiero ni minero ni otra p[er]sona no se osado/
de avisar ni yncobrir ningun[un]º de los d[ic]hos esclavos/
quando la justi[ç]i^a fuere o enviaren p[er]nd[er] e/
so pena que[e]l señor q[ue] lo contr[a]r[i]º hiziere lo aya/
perdido e se venda para el arca d[e]spu[e]s de [ser]le/
dada la pena q[ue] oviere mer[e]sçido pero si mer[e]s/
çiere pena de muert[e] e si [ç] le diere p[er]diendolo/
pague el señor diez p[es]ºs de oro para la d[ic]ha carca/
e la misma pena aya e incurra qualq[ui]e^r/
de las d[ic]has p[er]sonas q[ue] lo suso d[ic]ho hizieren/

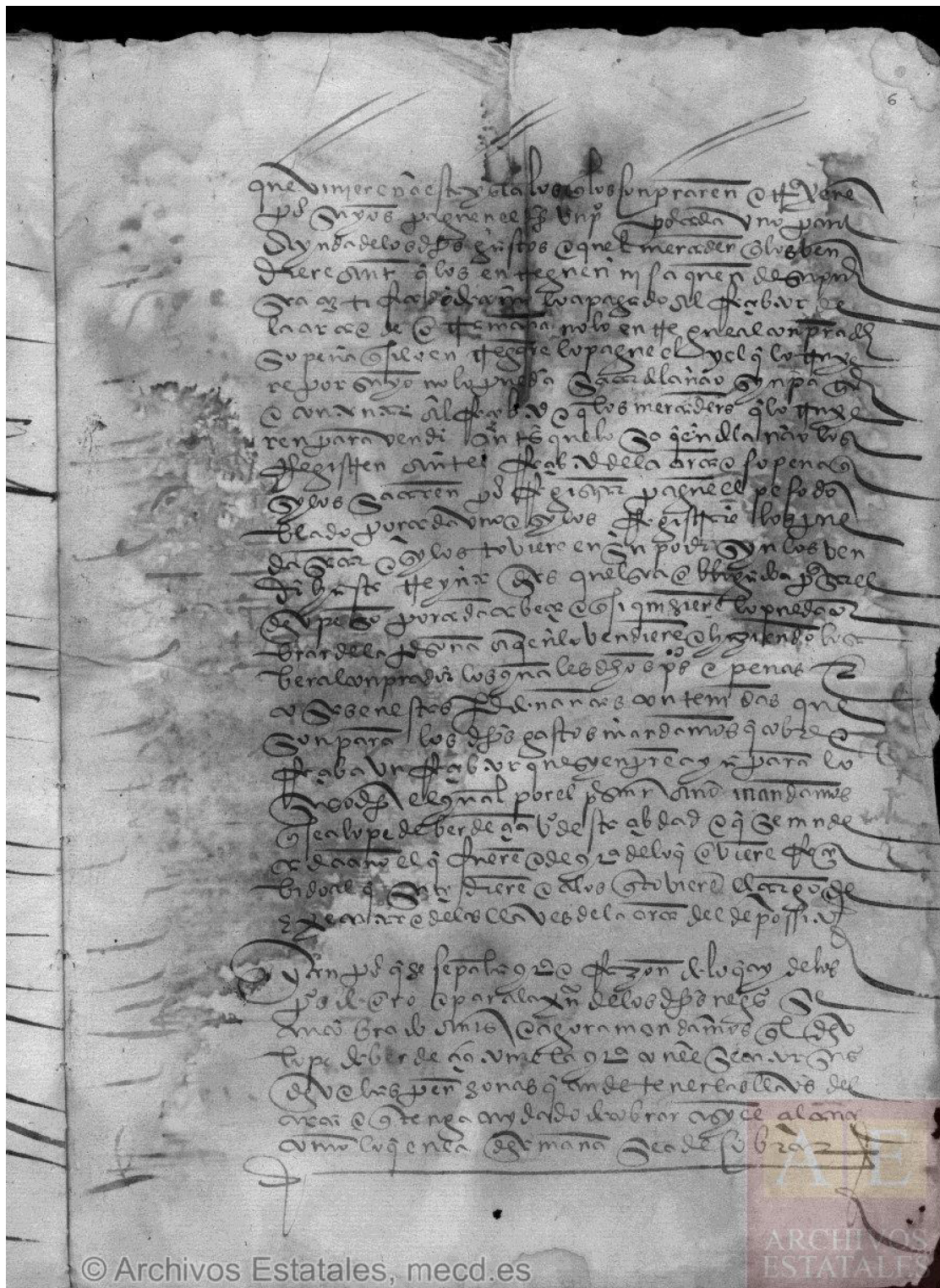
[XIV] r Yten porque para la p[er]secuçion de los suso/
d[ic]hos aya con q[ue] se pueda pagar ordenamos/
e mandamos q[ue] todos los señor[e]s de esclavos/
neg[r]ºs e blancos o canarios q[ue] no sean de los de/
estas part[e]s po^r cada un esclavo q[ue] tienen[n] o de a/
qui adelante tovieren de los traídos de/
España o Guinea o Berberia q[ue] sean va/
ron[e]s paguen un p[es]º de oro para la d[ic]ha arca e/
deposito q[ue] mandamos q[ue] aya para los gastos/
suso d[ic]hos con tanto que los q[ue] ya ovieren pagado/
[en]e[le]l deposito q[ue] se mando h[aze]r para lo suso d[ic]ho/
no paguen otra vez por los esclavos q[ue]/
ya ovieren pagado pero po^rq[ue] se sepa los q[ue]/
an pagado mandamos que d[e]sde [e]l dia/
q[ue] se ap[er]gonaren estas hordenanças fasta diez/
días manifiesten en esta çibdad de Santo D[omin]go/
los esclavos q[ue] tiene[n] ante el [escribano] de cabil/
do e del d[ic]ho [e]xecutor y en las otras çibdad[e]s/
e villas de la isla ante la justi[ç]i^a e del d[ic]ho/
[escribano] de cabildo so pena de diez p[es]ºs de oro p^a/
ra la d[ic]ha arca/

[XV] r Yten hordenamos e mandamos que de/
aquí adelant[e] todos los esclavos/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on

Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 6r.



Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 6r.

[fo. 6r.]

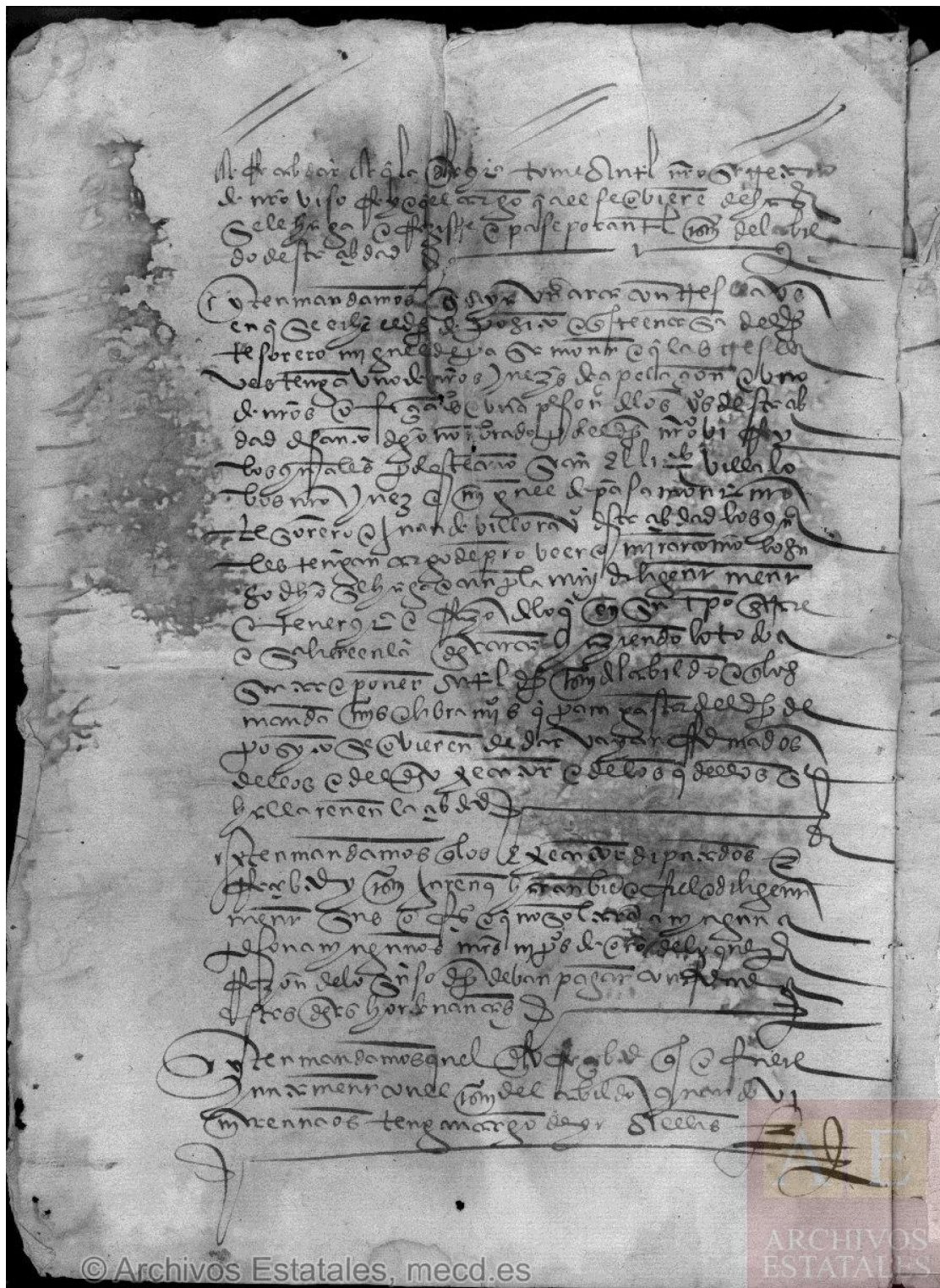
que vinieren a esta isla los q[ue] los conpraren e traxere[n]/
po' suyos paguen el d[ic]ho un p[er]s^o po' cada uno para/
ayuda de los d[ic]hos gastos e que [el] mercader q[ue] los ven/
diere ant[e] q[ue] los entreguen ni saquen de su pod[er]/
sea çertificado de cómo lo a [sic] pagado al reçeptor de/
la [sic] arca e de otra manera no lo entregue al comprad[o]r/
so pena q[ue] si lo entregare lo pague el y el q[ue] lo truxe/
re por suyo no lo pueda sacar d[e] la nao syn paga'r/
e contentar al reçeptor e q[ue] los mercaderes q[ue] lo truxe/
ren para vend[er] ant[e]s q[ue] lo saq[ue]n d[e] la nao los/
registren ante [el] reçeptor de la arca e so pena q[ue]/
sy los sacaren po' registrar pague[n] el peso do/
blado por cada uno e sy los registrare los pue/
da sacar e sy los toviere en su pod[er] syn los ven/
d[er] hasta treinta días que [el] sea obligado a p^agar el/
d[ic]ho peso por cada cabeça e q[ue] si quisiere lo pueda co/
brar de la p[er]sona a q[ui]en lo vendiere e haziendolo sa/
ber al comprador los quales d[ic]hos p[er]s^{os} e penas e/
costas en estas h[er]denanças contenidas que/
son para los d[ic]hos gastos mandamos q[ue] cobre e/
reçiba un reçeptor que syenpre aya para lo/
susodho el qual por el p[re]sent[e] año mandamos/
q[ue] sea Lope de Berdeçia v[er]eçin^o de[e]sta çibdad e q[ue] se mude/
cada año el q[ue] fuere e de q[ue]n^{ta} de lo q[ue] oviere reçi/
bido al q[ue] suçediere e a los q[ue] toviere[n] el cargo de/
executor e de las llaves de la arca del deposito/

[XVI] r Yten po'q[ue] se sepa la q[ue]n^{ta} e razón de lo q[ue] ay de los/
p[er]s^{os} de oro e para la [ex]c[us]i[on] de los d[ic]hos neg[r]os se/
an cobrado ant[e]s e agora mandamos q[ue][el] d[ic]ho/
Lope de Berdeçia tome la q[ue]n^{ta} con el secutor^{ix} suso/
d[ic]ho e las personas q[ue] an de tener las llav[er]s del/
arca e q[ue] tenga cuidado de cobrar asy el alcançe/
como lo q[ue] en la d[ic]ha man[er]a se a de cobrar/

ix We understand this to be an alternate spelling for *executor*.

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 6v.



Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 6v.

[fo. 6v.]

e recabdar e q[ue] la dha j[ustici]a tome ante [e]l n[uest]ro secretario/
de n[uest]ro visorrey e del cargo q[ue] a el se oviere de has[e]r/
se le haga e registre e pase por ant[e]l [escriuano] del cabil/
do de esta çibdad/

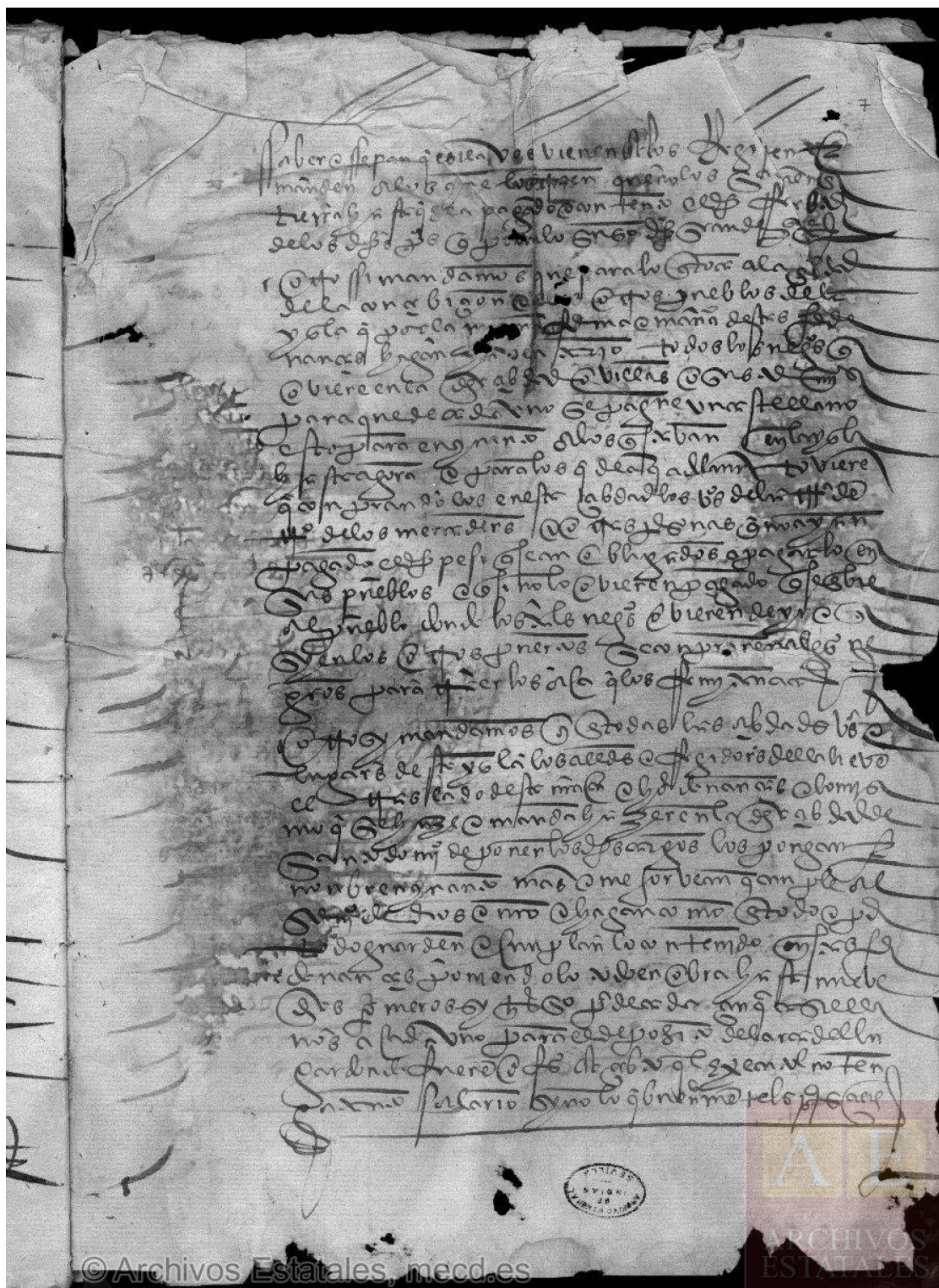
[XVII] r Yten mandamos q[ue] aya un^a arca con tres llav[e]s/
en q[ue] se eche el d[ic]ho deposito e q[ue] [e]ste en casa del d[ic]ho/
tesorero Miguel de Pasamonte e q[ue] las tres lla/
ves tenga [sic] uno de n[uest]ros juez[e]s de apelacion uno/
de n[uest]ros oficiales e una p[er]son^a de los v[er]çin^{os} de[e]sta çib/
dad d[e] Santo D[omin]go nombrado po^r el d[ic]ho n[uest]ro virrey/
los quales po^r este año sean el liç[ençia]^{do} Villalo/
bos n[uest]ro juez e Miguel d[e] Pasamont[e] n[uest]ro/
tesorero e Juan de Villora v[er]çin^o d[e]e[sta] çibdad los qu^a/
les tengan cargo de proveer e mirar como lo su/
so d[ic]ho se haga e cunpla muy diligent[e]ment[e]/
e tener q[uen]t^a e razo[n] d[e] lo q[ue] en su t[ie]npo [en]trare/
e saliere en la d[ic]ha arca haciendo lo todo a/
sentar e poner ant[e]l d[ic]ho [escriuano] d[e]l cabildo e q[ue] los/
mandami[en]t^{os} e librami[en]t^{os} q[ue] para gastar del d[ic]ho de/
posyto se ovieren de dar vayan f[i]rmados /
de[e]llos e del d[ic]ho [e]xecutor e de los q[ue] de[e]llos se/
hallaren en la çibdad/

[XVIII] r Yten mandamos q[ue] los executor diputados e/
reçebtor y [escribano] juren q[ue] haran bie[n] e fiel e diligent[e]/
ment[e] sus ofi[ci]os e q[ue] no soltar[a]n a ninguna/
p[er]sona ningunos m[a]ravedie[s] ni p[es]os de oro de lo que p[o]r/
razón de lo suso d[ic]ho devan pagar conf[or]me a/estas d[ic]has hordenanças/

[XIX] r Yten mandamos que[e]l d[ic]ho reçebtor q[ue]e[s] o fuere/
juntament[e] con el [escriuano] del cabildo quando vi/
nieren naos tengan cargo de yr a ellas e/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on
Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 7r.



Source: España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO, 295, N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 7r.

[fo. 7r.]

saber e ssepan q[ue] esclavos vienen e los registen [sic] e/
manden a los que los traen que no los saquen [en]/
tierra hasta q[ue] sea pagado e contento el d[ic]ho reęebt[o]r/
de los d[ic]hos p[es]os q[ue] para lo suso d[ic]ho se an de pagar/

[XX] r Otrossi mandamos que para lo q[ue] toca a la ęibdad/
de La Conęebęion e los otros pueblos de la/
isla q[ue] por la misma f[or]ma e man[er]a de[e]stas horde/
nanęas hagan ynventario [sic]^x todos los neg[r]os q[ue]/
oviene en la d[ic]ha ęibdad o villa o sus t[er]mi[n]os/
para que de cada uno se pague un castellano/
esto para en quanto a los q[ue] estavan en la isla/
hasta agora e para los q[ue] de aq[ui] adelant[e] toviere[n]/
q[ue] comprandolos en esta ęibdad los v[er]ęin[os] de la t[er]rra de[n]/
tro de los mercaderes e otras p[er]sonas q[ue] no ayan/
pagado el d[ic]ho peso q[ue] si no lo ovieren pagado q[ue] se [en]bie/
al pueblo donde los tales neg[r]os ovieren de yr e q[ue]/
sy en los otros puertos se compraren alg[un]os ne/
gros para traerlos aca q[ue] los remitan aca/

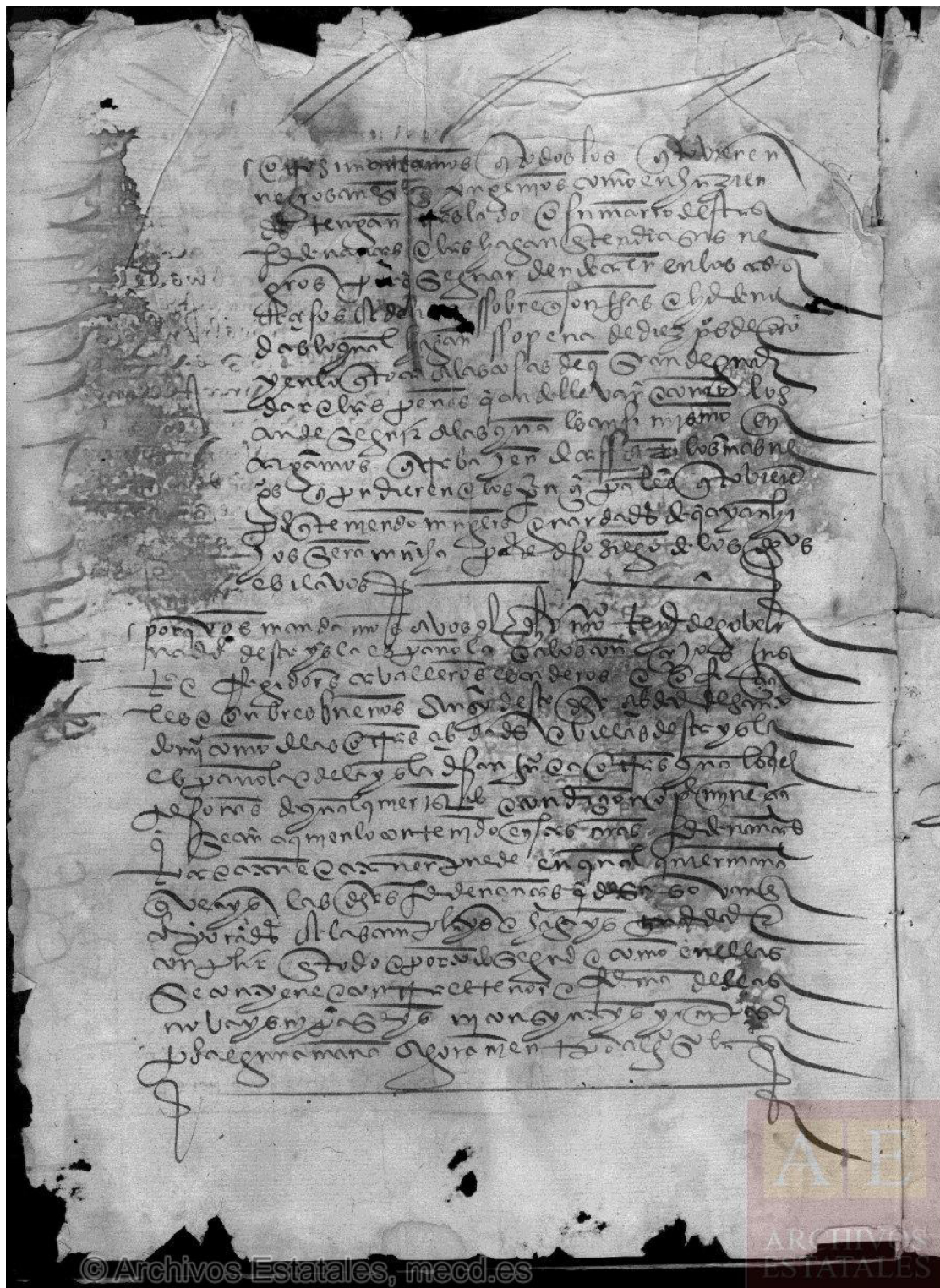
[XXI] r Otrosy mandamos q[ue] [en] todas las ęibdades v[er]ill^as e/
lugares de[e]sta isla los al[ca]ldes e regidor[es] de[e]lla lieve[n]/
el traslado de[e]sta n[uest]ra c[ar]ta e hordenanęas e lo mis/
mo q[ue] se haze e manda hazer en la d[ic]ha ęibdad de/
Santo Domi[ng]o de poner los d[ic]hos cargos los pongan e/
nonbren quanto mas e mejor vean q[ue] cunple al/
[ser]vi[ęi]o de dios e n[uest]ro e hagan como [en] todo e po^r/
todo guarden e cumplan lo contenido en[e]stas h[or]as/
denanęas poniendolo todo en obra hasta nueve/
d[ia]s p[ri]meros syg[ui]ent[es] so p[er]en^a de cada ęinq[uent]^a castella/
nos a cada uno para el deposito del arca del lu/
gar donde fuere[n] o[fi]cial[es] e ęebto q[ue] el executor no ten/
ga tanto salario sino lo q[ue] buen^ame[n]te l[e]s p[er]e[re]

x The writer seems to have omitted the preposition *de* here.

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on

Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 7v.



Source: España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO,295,N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 7v.

[fo. 7v.]

[XXII] r Otrosi mandamos q[ue] todos los q[ue] toviere[n]/
negros ansi [en] ingenios como en hazien/
d^{as} tengan traslado o sumario de[e]stas/
h[o]rdenanças e las hagan [en]tend^{er} a sus ne/
gros p[ar]^a q[ue] se guarden de caer en los casos/
eçesos e deli[tos]^{xi} ssobre q[ue] son f[ec]has e ho^rdena/
das lo qual hagan sso pena de diez p[es]os de oro /
y en lo q[ue] toca a las cosas de q[ue] se an de gua^t/
dar e las penas q[ue] an de llevar e como los /
an de seguir e las quales ansimismo en/
cargamos q[ue] trabajen d[e] cassar los mas ne/
g[r]os q[ue] pudieren e los p[r]iñçipales q[ue] toviere[n]/
po^r q[ue] teniendo muger[e]s guardad^as d[e] q[ue] ayan hi/
jos sera[n] mucha pa^rte d[e] sosiego d[e] los d[ic]hos/
esclavos/

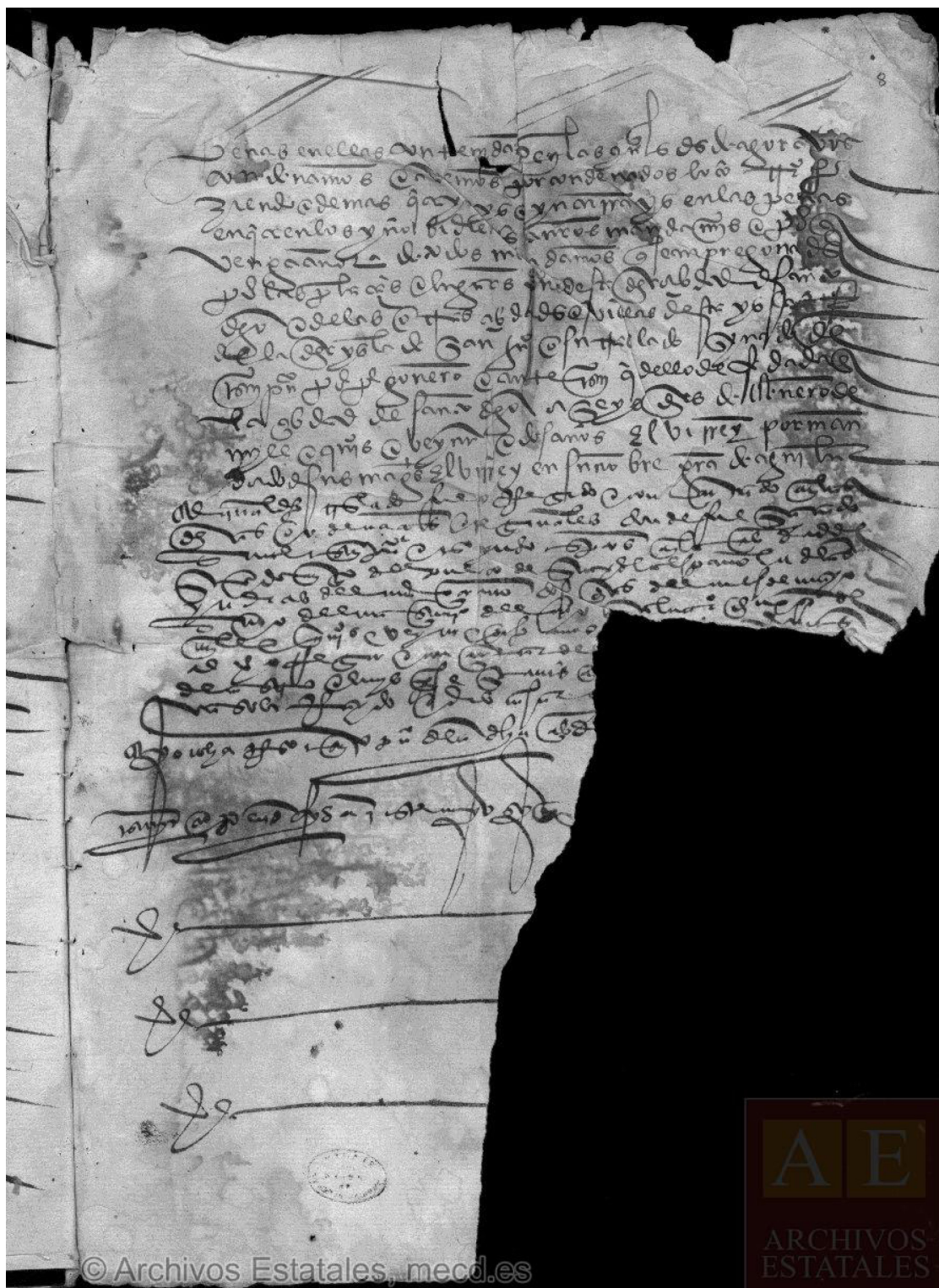
[XXIII] r Porq[ue] vos mandamos a vos el d[ic]ho n[uest]ro teni[ent]^e de gover/
nador de[e]sta ysla Española e a los conçeijos jus/
t[iç]i^a e regidor[e]s caballeros escuderos e ofiçia/
les e onbres buenos ansy de[e]sta d[ic]ha çibdad de Santo/
Domi[ng]o como d[e] las otras çibdad[e]s e villas de[e]sta ysla/
Española e de la Ysla de San J^o[a]n e a otras qual[e]sq[ui]e^r/
p[e]rsonas d[e] qualquier est^a^{do} e condiçion o p[r]e^emine[n]çia/
toca e atañe e atañer puede en qualquier man[er]a/
q[ue] veays las d[ic]has h[o]rdenanças q[ue] de suso van [en]
corporad^{as} e las cunplays seg[un]d e como en ellas/
se contiene e contra el tenor e f[o]rma de[e]llas/
no vay[ai]s ni paseys ni consyntays yr ni pas[al]^r/
po^r alguna man[er]a agora ni en t[ien]po alg[un]^o so las/

xi After the syllables *deli* the paper is torn, but it is obvious that the syllable missing is *tos*.

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image

Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on

Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 8r.



Source: España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO,295,N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription

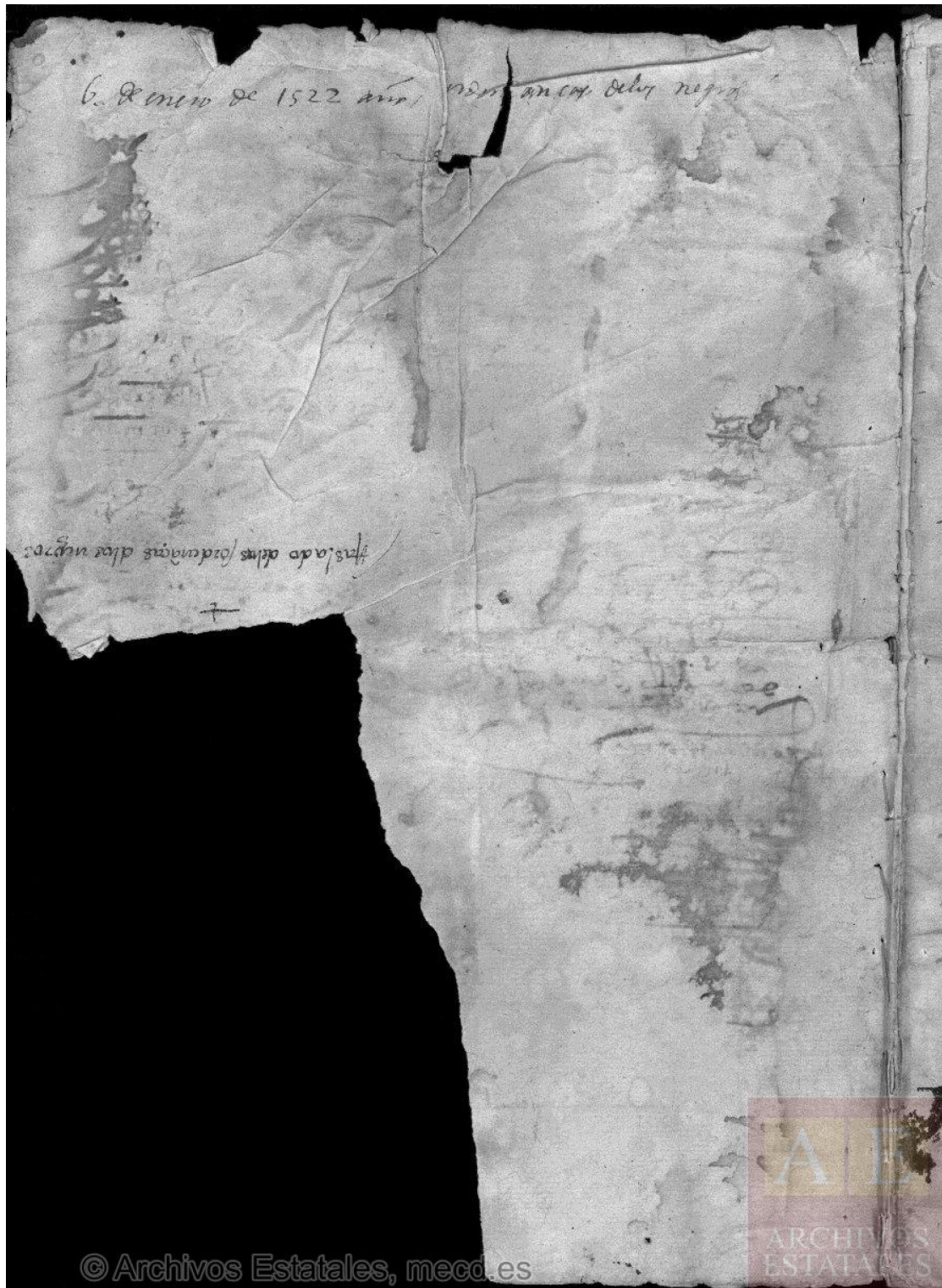
Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 8r.

[fo. 8r.]

penas en ellas contenidas en las qu^al[e]s d[e]sde agora a vos/
cond[e]namos e avemos por condenados lo contr[ari]o ha/
ziendo e demás q[ue] cay[er]ays e yncurreys en las penas/
en q[ue] caen los ynobidient[e]s a n[uest]ros mandami[ent]os e po^rq[ue]/
venga a not[iç]i^a de todos mandamos q[ue] sean pregonada^s/
po^r las plaças e lugares pu[bli]co^s de[e]sta d[iç]ha çibdad de Santo/
D[omin]go e de las otras çibdades e villas de[e]sta ysla e/
de la d[iç]ha ysla de San J^o[a]n o su traslado synado de/
[escrivano] pu[blic]o p[ro]p[ri]o gonero e ante [escrivano] q[ue] de[e]llo de fe[e] dada [en]/
la çibdad de Santo D[omin]go a seys dias d[e] enero de/
mil e qui[nient]os e veynt[e] e dos años El virrey por man/
dado d[e] sus mag[es]t[ra]des El virrey en su no[n]bre G[a]r[ç]i^a de Aguilar/

El qual dicho treslado fue corregido e conçertado con las/ dichas ordenanças oreginales
donde fue sacado/ ante el [escribano] publico e testigos yuso escriptos en la çibdad de /
Santo Domingo del puerto de[e]sta isla Española de las Yndias del mar oçeano dos días
del mes de mayo año del nasçimiento del nuestro salvador Ihu Xpo de mil e quinientos e
veynte e ocho años [torn] [] ver regir e [] de Castro e Luys [Peres?]
[secretario?] [] caso ba raydo o dis infor[]
E yo [Vorj?]a R[odrigues] escribano publico de la dicha Cibdad [] /
Escrivano [] por end[e] [] fys aq[ui] este myo sygno/

Appendix 5: Manuscript Image
Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on
Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 8v.



Source: España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO,295,N.104

Appendix 6: Paleographic Transcription
Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on
Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522, fo. 8v.

[fo. 8v.]

6 de enero de 1522 años ordenanças de los negros/

[*Written upside-down on same page:*]

+

traslado de las fordena[n]ças d[e] los negros

Endnotes

¹ As it will become clear throughout this monograph, despite their importance, the Santo Domingo 1522 ordinances have remained until now rather under the radar of U.S. and international historical scholarship, even within the subfield of Latin American colonial-slavery law studies. A good recent indicator of this much generalized oblivion would be *Afro-Latin American Studies. An Introduction*, Alejandro de la Fuente and George Reid Andrews, eds. (2018), a path-breaking 641-page pedagogical compilation on the title's matter, where the ordinances are not mentioned even in a chapter devoted to Afrodescendants and the law in the Americas, and where the pioneering 1521 Santo Domingo anti-slavery black rebellion is totally silenced.

² For a recent and brief general comment on the scholarship on laws and slavery in the Americas, particularly in relation to manumission, see Alejandro de la Fuente and Ariela Gross, "Manumission and Freedom in the Americas. Cuba, Virginia and Louisiana, 1500s-1700s." *Quaderni Storici*, vol. 50, no. 148, 2015, pp. 15-48.

³ Until 1989, the earliest laws on La Española's black slaves known in Dominican historical scholarship were the 1528 ordinances first published in 1947 by Cipriano de Utrera in Volume 1 of his *Historia militar de Santo Domingo*, pages 202-210, in a transcription presumably done by the author as well, and preserved at Archivo General de Indias in Seville, under the call number AGI, Santo Domingo 1034. In 2014 reprint of the same volume of *Historia militar* was published by Banco de Reservas de la República Dominicana and Sociedad Dominicana de Bibliófilos, Inc., and it is available online on Biblioteca Virtual Banreservas at <https://www.banreservas.com/sites/default/files/pdf/Biblioteca%20Virtual/Bibli%C3%B3filos%20-%20Banreservas/Historia%20Militar%20C%20I.pdf>. In this edition, the text of the laws appears on pages 250-260. Another publication was released shortly afterwards, in 1951, by Vetilio Alfau Durán in *Anales de la Universidad de Santo Domingo*, of a slightly different version of the text held at Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid as Manuscrito No. 8734-2, today available online on *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000059736&page=1>. Another, possibly much more known version of the 1528 ordinances was published in 1974 in Santo Domingo by historian Javier Malagón Barceló within the volume entitled *Código negro carolino*. The volume includes the *Código Negro Carolino* or *Código Emparán*, a draft of a code on blacks written in the 1780s by the Audiencia of Santo Domingo after being commissioned to do so by the Spanish Crown, but which was never issued formally by the Crown. The text, originally transcribed in 1942 by Malagón, had been preserved at Archivo Nacional de Cuba under the call number "Documento Secreto 243" as part of a bundle or volume of local laws and documents on black people kept by the authorities of Santo Domingo well into the late 18th century and transferred to Cuba in 1797 when the archives of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo were taken there once Spain surrendered this territory to France under the Treaty of Basel in 1795. Yet, as it will be seen further ahead in this essay, the 1522 laws discovered in 1989 have remained relatively neglected in Dominican as well as in international historical scholarship.

⁴ Carlos Esteban Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros: Esclavos fugitivos y cimarrones en Santo Domingo*. Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1989. Deive's excellent transcription of the 1522 ordinances, on pages 281-289. The document is held at Archivo General de Indias in Seville, under the archival code AGI, Patronato, 295, No. 104, under the title "Virrey de Indias: ordenanzas sobre negros y sus amos." It is also available on the online archival repository PARES (www.pares.mcu.es)

⁵ As it will be seen further ahead in this monograph, a conspicuous exception has been the work of historian Lynne Guitar, whose Ph.D. dissertation in 1998 and article in 2006 have been the only works in the English language scholarship to propose and disseminate the December 1521 date as the date of the Santo Domingo first recorded black rebellion.

⁶ A first version of *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas* at www.firstblacks.org and www.primerosnegros.org was launched on December 2nd, 2016 from the City College of New York as the first ever bilingual digital, interactive platform to disseminate archival manuscripts, paleographic transcriptions, English translations, historical commentary on this important topic, accompanied by an extensive collection of historical summaries, unique ancient maps, a large collection of images of colonial sites of the Dominican Republic, and other supplementary educational features for the study of the subject.

⁷ In 1950, Spanish-Dominican historian Cipriano de Utrera had revealed and published in the Dominican Republic his discovery of a written document from an earlier date apparently used and followed very closely by Fernández de Oviedo in his *Historia* as a source on the rebellion: a testimony, apparently from 1535 produced by La Española's royal registrar of mines, Melchor de Castro, in which he describes his own participation in the repression of the uprising at the orders of Governor Diego Colón. His narration, as quoted by Utrera, was recorded thirteen years after the event as part of a *relación de méritos* or list of personal merits to justify a request to the Crown for certain aristocratic privileges. The document is not yet available as a digital item on PARES, but that may be due to a simple citation flaw by Utrera. This glitch on the other hand, does not seem to be a reason to doubt the quality of Utrera's transcription of excerpts from Castro's 16th century statements, given the predominantly high quality of Utrera's transcriptions throughout his massive work.

Utrera's discovery of Castro's original narrative, though, went largely unnoticed in the scholarship until 2015, when Dominican historian Amadeo Julián referred to it in his article about the first recorded black rebellion in governor Diego Colón's sugar estate in Santo Domingo. (See Bibliography section in this monograph.)

⁸ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*. Edited by Agustín Millares Carlo, pr. study by Lewis Hanke, México and Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951.

⁹ Translation by the author of this monograph, from *La historia general de las Indias. Primera parte de la historia natural y general de las indias yslas y tierra firme del mar oceano: escrita por el capitán gonçalo hernandez de Oviedo y valdes: Alcayde de la fortaleza de la ciudad de sancto Domingo de la ysla Española / y cronista de la sacra cesarea y catholicas magestades del emperador don carlos quinto, "Libro Quarto, Capit. iiii. en que se tracta de la rebelión de los negros y del castigo que el almirante don diego colom hizo en ellos."* Sevilla, 1535.

The passage in the Spanish original from 1535 says as follows: [...] "Assi que hablando en lo sustancial deste movimiento y alteracion de los negros que del ingenio del almirante don diego Colom y por sus esclavos Negros fue principiado este alçamiento/ y no por todos los que tenia pero vnos veynte de dellos: y los mas de la lengua de los Jolofes, Los quales de vn acuerdo el segundo dia de navidad / en principio del Ano de mil i quinientos y veynte y dos salieron del dicho ingenio / i fueron se a juntar con otros tantos que con ellos estavan aliados en cierta parte." [...]

¹⁰ José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo y en especial en los países américo-hispanos*. Barcelona: Imprenta de Jaime Jepús, 1879, p. 130-134.

¹¹ José Gabriel García, *Obras completas. Compendio de historia de Santo Domingo*. Vol. I Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación and Banco de Reservas de la República Dominicana, 20016, p. 100.

¹² Cipriano de Utrera, *Santo Domingo: Dilucidaciones históricas*. Vol. I. Santo Domingo: Imprenta Dios y Patria, 1927, Chapter XL, p. 226, dates the "rebellion of the blacks of the Nueva Isabela sugar estate, of don Diego Colón" as in "year 1522, on 27 of December," (p. 281 of the 1995 edition) explicitly citing José Gabriel

García's work in parenthesis. In his 1947 *Historia militar de Santo Domingo*, Vol. I., 2nd. ed., 2014, p. 189, paragraph 75, Utrera says the "rebellions of the blacks" occurred "at the end of 1522" ("a fines de 1522"), and in page 184, paragraph 70, implicitly adheres to the 1522 dating when he refers to the ten years subsequent to the event as the period "1522-1532." On page 248, paragraph 94, he says it occurred on "December of 1522." (All the quotes here are from the 2014 edition.) It is surprising that to a positivist historian like Utrera, apparently so familiar with the archival sources of the 16th century and the workings of the ecclesiastical and institutional life of that period, the issue of the calendar used in the documents at the time did not attract his attention.

¹³ This was true of the case of Vetilio Alfau Durán's "Documentos históricos: Ordenanzas para el gobierno de los negros de la Isla Española. (1)" (1951: 252) and "Notas para la historia de la esclavitud en Santo Domingo" (1975: 61, 1994:337); Franklin Franco's *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana* (1st. ed., 1969; 8th ed., 1989: 14) and its English edition, *Blacks, Mulattos and the Dominican Nation* (2015: 30), and *Historia del pueblo dominicano* (1992: 63, 68); Juan Bosch's *Composición social dominicana. Historia e interpretación* (1ra. ed., 1970; 1983: 31); Hugo Tolentino Dipp's *Raza e historia en Santo Domingo: Los orígenes del prejuicio racial en América* (1st. ed., 1974; 2nd ed. in Spanish: 1992: 216, 242). Carlos Larrazábal Blanco's *Los negros y la esclavitud en Santo Domingo* (1st. ed., 1975; 2nd. ed., 1998: 139) gives the 1522 date. The same happens with Frank Moya Pons' *Historia colonial de Santo Domingo* (3rd. ed., 1977: 81), *Manual de historia dominicana* (1st. ed. 1981; 9th ed., 1992: 35), *El pasado dominicano* (1986: 17), *La otra historia dominicana* (2009: 77, 80), e *Historia del Caribe* (2008: 43); Carlos Andújar Espinal's *La presencia negra en Santo Domingo. Un enfoque etnohistórico* (1997:91); Manuel Hernández González's, Cap. VI: "Sociedad en la Española, 1492-1795," in Frank Moya Pons', coord., *Historia de la República Dominicana* (2010: 215, 217), and Orlando Inoa's *Historia dominicana* (2013: 129). As to Carlos Esteban Deive, in his *La Esclavitud del negro en Santo Domingo* (1980, II: 439, 443), he also cites Fernández de Oviedo, locating the event at the "beginnings of 1522" ("a principios del año 1522"), while in his *Vodú y magia en Santo Domingo* (2nd.ed., 1988: 113), he only mentions the year 1522 in general. In the realm of English language scholarship and publications on early colonial black slavery in the Americas, often times the first slave rebellion of La Española is either still dated in 1522, as in Herbert S. Klein and Ben Vinson III, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (2nd. ed., 2007: 185) and Kenneth Morgan's *A Short History of Transatlantic Slavery* (2016: Preface) or is not mentioned even when the issue of slave resistance and rebellions is addressed, *The General History of the Caribbean, Vol. III: The Slave Societies of the Caribbean* (1997), sponsored by UNESCO, and more recently *The Princeton Companion to Atlantic History*, edited by Joseph C. Miller (2015) being two conspicuous examples. One notable exception within this scenario has been historian Lynne Guitart in her doctoral dissertation *Cultural genesis: Relationships among Indians, Africans and Spaniards in Rural Hispaniola, First Half of the Sixteenth Century* (1998: 361-362, 366) and in her article "Boiling it down. Slavery on the First Commercial Sugarcane Ingenios in the Americas (Hispaniola, 1530-1545)" (2006: 49-50), which follow closely Esteban Deive's 1989 *Los guerrilleros negros* in proposing December 1521 as the date of the rebellion. More recently, younger scholars writing in English have followed Guitart in this regard, including Erin Woodruff Stone in "America's First Slave Revolt: Indians and African Slaves in Española, 1500-1534" (2013: 209, 212), and Ana Ozuna in "Rebellion and Anti-colonial struggle in Hispaniola: From Indigenous Agitators to African Rebels" (2018: 82).

¹⁴ Carlos Esteban Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros*. Deive's excellent transcription of the 1522 ordinances appears on pages 281-289. The document is held at Archivo General de Indias in Seville, under the archival code AGI, Patronato, 295, No. 104, under the title "Virrey de Indias: ordenanzas sobre negros y sus amos." It is also available on the online archival repository PARES (www.pares.mcu.es)

¹⁵ Excerpted from "Appendix 4: Paleographic Transcription," fo. 1v., page 55 of this monograph.

¹⁶ Excerpted from “Appendix 2: Translation,” fo. 1v., page 44 of this monograph.

¹⁷ Carlos Esteban Deive. *Los guerrilleros negros*, p. 33; footnote 3, and p. 236. In footnote 3 of page 33, the author, obviously using the text of the January 6, 1521 laws as a most believable source, actually went as far as to explicitly discard the validity of the dating assigned by Fernández de Oviedo to the uprising, stating: “Fernández de Oviedo mistakenly reports that it was “on the second day of Christ’s Nativity,” at the beginning of 1522.”

¹⁸ Carlos Esteban Deive. “Las ordenanzas sobre esclavos cimarrones de 1522,” p. 134. In the essay, Deive again interpreted the date given by chronicler Fernández de Oviedo as a mistake.

¹⁹ Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *Los códigos negros de la América Española*. Alcalá de Henares: Ediciones UNESCO and Universidad de Alcalá, 1996. A second printing was published in 2000. A new version under the title *Regulación de la esclavitud negra en las colonias de América Española (1503-1886): Documentos para su estudio*, was published by Universidad de Alcalá and Universidad de Murcia in 2005.

²⁰ Carlos Esteban Deive, “¿Cuál fue la primera rebelión de esclavos africanos en América?,” in *Rebeldes y marginados. Ensayos históricos*. Colección Banco Central de la República Dominicana, Vol. 55. Santo Domingo: Ediciones del Banco Central de la República Dominicana, 2002. The article was actually a rebuttal to historian Jalil Sued Badillo’s 1984 essay “La primera rebelión de esclavos negros en Puerto Rico y en América,” in which Sued sustained that the word “alzamiento” used in a document of 1515 meant that there had been a rebellion of black slaves in Puerto Rico that year. Deive’s counterargument was that the words “alzamiento”/ “alzarse” at the time were used to indicate fleeing or running away, not violent confrontation, which was conveyed by the words “levantamiento” / “levantarse” present in the 1522 laws but not in the document cited by Sued. See Deive, *ibid.*, pages 12 and 15.

²¹ The Spanish original says: “Ante todo, conviene precisar que el levantamiento de los esclavos del ingenio de Diego Colón no sucedió, como se ha venido indicando reiteradamente, el día de Navidad de 1522, sino exactamente un año antes, o sea, el 25 de diciembre de 1521.” (14) [...] “La primera rebelión de esclavos negros ocurrida en América tuvo lugar en el ingenio de Diego Colón, en la Española, el 25 de diciembre de 1521. Al menos, así hay que aceptarlo hasta que nuevas informaciones, aún inéditas, demuestren lo contrario” (Deive, 2002: 19).

²² See endnote 17 above.

²³ Amadeo Julián, “El ingenio de Diego Colón y la rebelión de sus esclavos en 1521” (2015). The denial of the 1522 date given by Fernández de Oviedo and those who followed him, like Rodríguez Morel in one of his works, on p. 37-38, 39, and p. 39, endnote no. 48. The mention of the new January 1522 laws as a response to the uprising and therefore as a proof that the rebellion must have happened in December of 1521, on p. 39-40.

²⁴ Genaro Rodríguez Morel, “Resistencia a las relaciones de dominación.” in *Historia general del pueblo dominicano*, Vol. I, 2013, p. 575-578, 588 and 596, endnote 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 596, endnote 19.

²⁶ José María de Francisco Olmos, *Manual de cronología. La datación documental histórica en España*. Madrid:

Ediciones Hidalguía, 2010. An abridged edition appeared in 2011 under the title *La datación histórica: Problemas documentales en la España Medieval*. Madrid: Confederación Española de Centros de Estudios Locales. In the 2010 work, page 170, the author says the following about the “nativity style” of dating that typically uses the phrases: “anno a nativitate domini, anno nativitatis, anno del nascimiento de nuestro señor, anno domini, año del señor” and other similar variations:

“El año comienza el 25 de diciembre, fecha del Nacimiento de Cristo. Está desfasado con respecto a nuestro calendario entre los días 25 y 31 de diciembre, por lo cual hay que restar una unidad al año dado si la fecha cae entre esos días. Muy usado en los reinos hispánicos tras el abandono de la Era Hispánica y fundamentalmente por la cancillería del Sacro Imperio Romano Germánico.”

English translation: “The year begins on December 25th, date of the Birth of Christ. It is out of step in regards to our calendar from the day 25 to 31 of December, therefore a unit must be deducted from the year at hand if the date falls on any of those days. Very used in the Hispanic kingdoms after the Hispanic Era was abandoned and fundamentally by the chancellery of the Holy Roman Empire.”

²⁷ The main, most comprehensive bibliographic source on the first years of black presence in La Española continues to be Spanish-Dominican ethnohistorian Carlos Esteban Deive’s general treatise *La esclavitud del negro en Santo Domingo* (1980). Earlier pioneering contributions are Cuban scholar José Antonio Saco’s encyclopedic *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo* (1879), and on the Dominican side Cipriano de Utrera’s *Historia militar de Santo Domingo*, Vol. I (1947), Carlos Larrazábal Blanco’s *Los negros y la esclavitud en Santo Domingo* (1967) Franklin Franco’s *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana* (1969), (English edition, *Blacks, Mulattos, and the Dominican Nation* (2015).) Subsequent contributions are Hugo Tolentino Dipp’s *Raza e historia en Santo Domingo: los orígenes del prejuicio racial en América* (1974), Vetilio Alfau Durán’s “Notas para la historia de la esclavitud en Santo Domingo” (1975; 1994), Frank Moya Pons’ *Historia colonial de Santo Domingo* (1976), Marta Ellen Davis’ *Aspectos de la influencia africana en la música tradicional dominicana* (1980), Alejandra Liriano’s *El papel de la mujer de origen africano en el Santo Domingo colonial. Siglo XVI-XVII* (1992), Roberto Cassá and Genaro Rodríguez Morel’s “Consideraciones alternativas acerca de las rebeliones de esclavos en Santo Domingo” (1993), Celsa Albert’s *Mujer y esclavitud en Santo Domingo* (1993), Justo del Río Moreno’s *Los inicios de la agricultura europea en el Nuevo Mundo, 1492-1542* (1991), José Luis Sáez’s *La iglesia y el negro esclavo en Santo Domingo: una historia de tres siglos* (1994), Genaro Rodríguez Morel’s “Esclavitud y vida rural en las plantaciones azucareras de Santo Domingo, siglo XVI” (1992), “Trabajadores libres y esclavos en la producción del azúcar. Santo Domingo, siglo XVI,” (2009), *Orígenes de la economía de plantación de La Española* (2012), “La esclavitud intensiva” and “Resistencias a las relaciones de dominación,” (2013), Carlos Andújar Espinal’s *La presencia negra en Santo Domingo. Un enfoque etnohistórico* (1997), Lynne Guitar’s *Cultural Genesis: Relationships among Indians, Africans and Spaniards in rural Hispaniola, First Half of the Sixteenth Century* (1998) and “Boiling it down. Slavery on the First Commercial Sugarcane Ingenios in the Americas (Hispaniola, 1530-45)” (2006), Erin Stone Woodruff’s “America’s First Slave Revolt: Indians and African Slaves in Española, 1550-1534” (2013), Chloe Ireton’s “Royal Vassals: Old African Christians in the Atlantic World” (2013) and “They Are Blacks of the Caste of Black Christians: Old Christian Black Blood in the Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth Century Iberian Atlantic” (2017), Lissette Acosta Corniel’s “Negras, mulatas y morenas en La Española del siglo XVI (1502–1606)” (2015) and “Micaela Ginés,” “Teodora Ginés,” y “Juana Gelofa Pelona” (2016), Amadeo Julián’s “El ingenio de Diego Colón y la rebelión de sus esclavos en 1521,” Robert C. Schwaller’s “Contested Conquests: African Maroons and the Incomplete Conquest of Hispaniola, 1519-1620” (2018), and Ana Ozuna’s “Rebellion and Anti-colonial Struggle in Hispaniola: From Indigenous Agitators to African Rebels” (2018). As indicated in other places of this study, another effort in this same direction, based on a set of archival manuscripts that include many of those used directly or indirectly

in the above mentioned works, is the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute's digital platform *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas*, launched in December of 2016 and available at www.firstblacks.org and www.primerosnegros.org.

²⁸ On the social importance of slave laws in colonial Latin America and their historiographic significance, see Alejandro de la Fuente's "Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannembaum Debate Revisited." *Law and History Review*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Summer, 2004), pp. 339-369, and "Slavery and the Law: A Reply." *Law and History Review*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Summer, 2004), pp. 383-387.

²⁹ Ethnohistorian Carlos Esteban Deive devoted an entire book to this issue. See *La Española y la esclavitud del indio*, 1995. Two more recent studies by historian Erin Stone are *Indian Harvest: The Rise of the Indigenous Slave Trade and Diaspora from Española to the Circum-Caribbean, 1492-1542*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 2014 and "Slavery Raiders vs. Friars: *Tierra Firme*, 1513-1522," *The Americas*, vol. 74, no. 2, April 2017, pp. 139-170.

³⁰ See "Decree by Viceroy Diego Colón Including Ordinances on Blacks and Slaves of La Española and Puerto Rico, January 6, 1522," fol. 1v. and fol. 2r., in "Appendix 2: Translation," p. 44 and p. 45 of this monograph.

³¹ See "Appendix 2: Translation," fo. 3v., p. 47 in this monograph.

³² See Document No. 22 in *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas*, at www.firstblacks.org.

³³ "Disposiciones dadas a Diego Colón," Pamplona, Spain, December 27, 1523. Source: PARES, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte: Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO, 20, N. 2, 4. 2. A transcription of the manuscript is showcased in the *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las Américas* website, at www.firstblacks.org.

³⁴ Letter-instruction to the Crown's envoy-auditor sent to Santo Domingo, written from Valladolid, Spain, April 24, 1545. PARES, Portal de Archivos Españoles. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Archivo General de Indias, SANTO_DOMINGO, 868, L. 2, F. 241v. A transcription of the manuscript is included as Manuscript No. 034 in the platform *First Blacks in the Americas / Los Primeros Negros en las América*, located at www.firstblacks.org.

³⁵ "Jueces de residencia" (translated here as "residencia judges") were the judges assigned by the Crown to conduct an end-of-term judicial assessment or audit-trial ("residencia") of the performance of governors, Audiencia judges, and other colonial public officials during their term. Often these "residencia judges" would perform this role just momentarily, most frequently as a preliminary assignment when they themselves had been appointed by the Crown to replace precisely the public official or officials being audited or tried. In other words, "jueces de residencia" were usually newly appointed officials whose responsibilities included conducting—as they began their new job—these term-performance trials of their predecessors in their post. The trial entailed summoning anybody in the given colony who had a complaint against the outgoing official to come forward and present whatever accusations they might have, especially about wrongdoing while in the post.

³⁶ The Spanish original says "mugeres guardadas," which seems to indicate seclusion or protection or safety. More research is needed on the possible meanings of the term in the early sixteenth century. See "Appendix 4: Paleographic Transcription, fo. 7v." on p. 79 of this monograph.

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