FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Unearthing Early Colonial Campeche

MATTHEW RESTALL

For its first two colonial centuries, San Francisco de Campeche was a small, sleepy port town. It was built right on the waterfront, with its main plaza open to the sea. When the sea was calm, the waves that lapped at the town's edge were so small they were barely audible in the plaza; on other occasions, the sea came rushing into the plaza and flooded the streets, which had consequently been cut deep with high pavements. The downtown streets were narrow and stuffy; when the breeze died down, the smell of fish and other odors wafted in from the bay, and at dusk the mosquitoes were a torment.[1]

As Yucatan's main gateway to the outside world, Campeche must have seemed less isolated than the rest of the colony; yet for its first two centuries, in a typical year only one or two ships a month came in from Veracruz or Caribbean ports. Ships from Spain were rare, one every five years at most, and Canary Islands traders tended to bring only wine.[2] Ships had to anchor out in the bay, an arrival prompting a frenzy of activity along the dock as boatmen set off to meet the ship and others prepared for the landing of passengers and sailors, African slaves, and goods imported from other corners of the empire. Occasionally, such ships were hostile, and the frenzy of activity moved in the opposite direction, away from the shore, to the interior hills and up the *camino real.*

When John Ogilby compiled his massive volume of descriptions of New World colonies, published in 1670, he briefly described Campeche as

> a great Town, consisting of about three thousand Houses or more, when first conquer'd by the Spaniards; who found such Monuments of Art and Industry in it, as did clearly argue, that the Place had been once possess'd by some People that were not barbarous. It is now call'd St. Francisco, and was surpriz'd in the Year 1596 by Captain Parker, an English-man, who took the Governor himself and some other Persons of Quality with him, together with a Ship richly laden with Gold and Silver, besides other Commodities of good value.[3]

This portrait paints the town as a wealthy Spanish settlement built upon the ruins of some ancient civilization. The Mayas who comprised most of the population of the town and its environs in the colonial period are not directly mentioned (though perhaps given the dubious complement of being called "not barbarous"); there is no hint of an African presence at all.

Ogilby's omission is not surprising, but it is telling. The Maya majority, and the fact that the colony was fueled by their blood and sweat, was taken for granted by Europeans. Similarly, Africans had become an essential, substantial, but to Europeans invisible, part of the fabric of a town such as Campeche. As was the case elsewhere in the Americas, enslaved Africans were perceived as property and thus no more worthy of mention than the horses and carriages of the Spanish elite or the furniture in their houses. But, like horses and furniture, Africans were needed, they were ubiquitous, and they were taken for granted.[4]

Campeche was founded in 1540, two years before Merida was established and five or six years before Spaniards could be confident that their third invasion of the peninsula had produced a permanent colony. Like every settlement of any size and kind in colonial Yucatan (with a few late-colonial exceptions), greater Campeche was predominantly Maya. But there were other residents too: the cluster of the first Spanish settler families, most notably the conquistador-*encomendero* founders of the *villa*; the surviving Nahua warriors and auxiliaries, brought by the Montejos to help in the invasion (according to Spanish practices rooted in the Mesoamerican wars of the 1520s), and settled in selected Maya neighborhoods (most notably San Román, not far from Campeche's plaza); and, almost immediately, mestizos of mixed Spanish and Mesoamerican descent, and soon also of African descent.

Because African slaves were a part of the invasion company led by the Montejos, they were integral to Campeche's development from the very start.[5] As builders, laborers, and supervisors of local Maya workers, black men would have played central roles in Campeche's evolution in the 1540s and 1550s, as the *villa* grew from little more than a fortified camp on the beach, to a cluster of wooden houses, to a small grid or *traza* of urban blocks spreading out from the central plaza. Spanish Campeche was located in the ceremonial center of a group of Maya villages, part of a small kingdom ruled in the 1530s by a priest of the Pech dynasty (Ah Kin Pech, rendered as "Canpech" in the 1540s, and then "Campeche" or "Campeachy" by the English; outside Yucatan, sixteenth century Spaniards and Englishmen often called the whole colony Campeche).[6]

This European settlement strategy had been attempted disastrously in Chichen Itza in the early 1530s but successfully in Tiho (upon which Merida was built after 1542). The strategy facilitated access to Maya labor and cut stone (the masonry of the small pyramids, platforms, and temples that characterized Mesoamerican ceremonial centers); it also allowed the invading elite to erect the buildings that symbolized the new power structure (the church, governmental offices, and the homes of the senior *conquistador* families) on the same sites as those that symbolized the defeated power structure (the pre-Hispanic temples and palaces).

At some point, perhaps from its inception, Campeche's planners envisioned the port town extending away from the shore to enclose within its walls all the neighboring Maya villages (likewise the plan in Merida). But this never happened; the walls took centuries to complete and left important Maya-Nahua settlements such as San Román outside the town's defensive perimeter. The church, meanwhile, was initially built as a tiny masonry building in the middle of the plaza; the larger church that sits today on the north side of the plaza was not started until 1609 and took the whole of the seventeenth century to complete.

The town was founded by thirty conquistadors, each receiving an *encomienda* of Maya villages in the southwest of the peninsula. But there were no mines or other lucrative sources of income in the region, and the rapid decline of the Maya population that began in the 1530s continued into the next century. Even the sugar plantation set up by the elder Francisco de Montejo in the 1530s in Champoton, a little to the south of Campeche, was abandoned in the 1550s because Montejo had lost access to his *encomienda*, other Maya workers could not be procured in sufficient numbers, and the plantation was not profitable enough to finance the purchase of African slave laborers.[7]

Campeche's Spaniards therefore soon came to depend less upon their *encomiendas* and more upon commerce with the outside world, including Santo Domingo, Veracruz, and above all Havana. From the onset, African slaves were a part of this commerce. Half of the founding families of the town received licenses to bring domestic slaves, mostly from Havana, into their new households (Cuba seems to have been a source of African slaves, imported both legally and illegally, throughout the early colonial period). The Havana-Campeche slave trade went both ways. The Montejos and their allies developed a steady trade in Maya slaves in the 1530s, selling them primarily in Havana. Although such a trade was illegal after 1542, it was continued into the 1550s (and to a lesser extent after that) and is the most common accusation levied against the Mon-

tejo faction in the governor's residence records. However, there is evidence that some African slaves were among the hundreds of unfortunate Mayas shipped to Cuba. In 1548, for example, Campeche's Spaniards were allegedly unable to collect sufficient cloth, wax, and cacao from their *encomienda* Mayas to pay for the imported clothing and foodstuffs sitting on a ship in the bay; they were therefore forced to part with a few of their slaves.[8]

Campeche's First Church and Cemetery

The small scale of early colonial Campeche—and the close quarters in which Spaniards, Mayas, and Africans lived, worked, and died together—is vividly illustrated by the town's first cemetery. This was located in the central plaza, the site excavated in 2000 by the archaeologists and other scholars whose important findings are presented in the preceding chapters. The dig revealed not only the foundations of the late sixteenth century church, but an adjacent burial ground containing the remains of over 180 residents of early-colonial Campeche. This was certainly the main burial ground for the town from its founding well into the seventeenth century; even after smaller cemeteries were founded in neighborhoods such as San Román, as part of the gradual church-building process in the late sixteenth century, the plaza's burial ground remained predominant for the town's first half-century or so.

The evidence dug up in the plaza is extremely significant, as it provides evidence of the nature of the early-colonial Campeche, a community about which we know relatively little, in part due to the destruction of the town's early colonial archives in seventeenth-century pirate attacks (there remain historical sources on Campeche, both studied and unstudied, in such archives as the AGI and AGN, but a great deal of local documentation was lost in the pillaging and burning of the seventeenth century). Specifically, this archaeological evidence presents a picture of a settlement whose multiethnic composition stretches all the way back to its founding. While we might expect Spaniards to be buried in the plaza, it is perhaps surprising to find non-Spaniards there too. This tells us something, however, about the nature of Spanish urban households, where Spaniards and Africans, Mayas and Nahuas, mestizos and mulattos not only worked, but also lived and died, and were then buried in the same small plot of land. The natives buried in the plaza may have been newcomers and the Africans may have been fortifications workers.[9] But it also seems likely that their location in death symbolized their location in life, adjacent to Spaniards in roles of attached subordination.

The evidence from the old plaza thus also tells us something about the presence and role played by Africans and their descendents in the town—a particularly significant contribution, as scholars have only recently begun to give sustained attention to the study of Afro-Yucatan.[10] Finally, it confirms in vivid scientific detail what historical evidence suggests, that non-Spanish residents of a colonial town such as Campeche—whether African-born slaves or Yucatan-born Maya workers—endured lives of hard work. For example, the impact of poor nutrition and other factors on teeth, shown in the data on tooth decay or missing teeth, was significant for all non-Spaniards buried in the plaza.[11]

Several aspects of the findings related to Africans in Campeche are worth summarizing here. First, at least thirteen (and perhaps as many as twenty-three) of the more than 150 burials contained Africans, providing vivid material evidence to complement archival proof that black slaves were an integral part of Campeche's history from its very genesis. This material evidence was found in both the teeth and bones of the buried Africans. An analysis of strontium isotopes found in the enamel of some of the dead's teeth linked them hydrogeologically to the bedrock of West Africa, where they must therefore have been born and spent at least the first three years of their lives; more specifically, the strontium data suggests that they were native to the broader Elmina region. They were therefore slaves, at least when they came to the Spanish colonies (Africans did not migrate voluntarily from Elmina to sixteenth century New Spain). Not all the Africans buried in the plaza were African born; an analysis of the teeth of infants buried with African adults suggested that the children were born locally, most in Campeche but at least elsewhere in the Yucatan peninsula.

Several men and women also displayed decorative modification in their frontal dentition of the kind made by Africans. These tooth modifications were achieved through a combination of precision chipping and filing; comparable markings have been found on the teeth of buried African slaves in Cuba and at other Caribbean sites, all differing clearly from dental decorations made by Native Americans. In the Campeche case, we have no way of knowing if such reductions were only made in Africa or if Africans in early colonial Yucatan continued such practices. But Africans arrived in Yucatan throughout the colonial period with marks on their teeth and skin that reflected the cultures from which they had been taken. For example, Joseph de Padilla, an African-born slave of the Guipuzcoan merchant Juan Antonio de Padilla, was brought to Campeche in 1699 at the age of twenty-two; the description in his license to travel included a reference to "his right cheek, ploughed, and a scar on his

forehead," the "ploughed [*aradado*]" cheek probably describing parallel lines acquired through ritual scarification, part of coming-of-age rites in parts of West Africa.[12]

Second, the cemetery was used to bury all residents of the city. It was thus a multiethnic site; in addition to the bodies of Spaniards, the graveyard contained Mesoamericans—mostly Mayas, but no doubt some of the Nahuas who fought as allies with the invaders, and their descendants—as well as Africans, and the mulattoes and mestizos that were their early mixed-race offspring.[13] It was also an unambiguously Christian site; the bodies were put in the ground stretched out on their backs, laid to rest according to colonial Spanish practice, and excluding offerings or any other material evidence of African or Maya cultural expression.[14] All this reflects the multiethnic nature of the town; the proximate living and working environment of new settlers, native workers, and imported slaves, and the processes of miscegenation and culture change that began with the inception of Spanish colonies; and the tight control that Spanish priests were able to exercise over the burial ground located in the main plaza beside the town's main church.

Thus African slaves, as much as Maya subjects, were to be Christians and buried as such in holy ground; in early Campeche, that meant the plaza's graveyard. But intimacy, interaction, and mutual dependence did not undermine the social hierarchy. Campeche's residents were not equal, and that is reflected in the details of how and where people were buried in the plaza.

As the illustrations accompanying some of the preceding chapters have shown, not all graves were equally close to the church.[15] Spaniards tended to be closest to the church walls, although the location of Spanish graves is not dramatically different from that of native and mestizo ones. However, some Africans were clearly buried together, apart from other groups and noticeably further from the church. This spatial manifestation of inequality had a further dimension, a three-dimensional one. The few multiple burials included Africans.[16] Initially, then, the Spanish parish of Campeche provided the sacraments both to Spaniards and their non-Spanish slaves, servants, and dependents. At first, the church in Campeche's plaza even serviced the Mayas of the surrounding villages, although most Mayas were soon administered to in spiritual terms by the small churches that were built in their neighborhoods. The church in the plaza was deemed adequate to Campeche's size in 1599 by the colony's bishop, Fray Juan Izquierdo; he wrote to the king that "the town of Campeche, on the shore of the sea, has a church of reasonable size that easily accommodates the people," and that in view of "the ongoing risk" of attacks by "the enemy," seek-

ing "to sack and rob it," it seemed to the bishop that the town should not take on the costs of either new churches or ornaments:

> a la orilla de la mar está una villa llamada Campeche. Tiene una iglesia razonable con que se puede el pueblo pasar buenamente sin que haga otra de nuevo, y también por el riesgo que corre de los enemigos que ordinariamente vienen sobre ella a saquearla y robarla. . .. Y supuesto este peligro que queda dicho me ha parecido que en esta villa no se hagan gastos de iglesias ni ornamentos.[17]
>
> [at the edge of the sea is a *villa* called Campeche. It has a reasonable church with which it can be seen that the town does well without anything else, and also by the risk that it runs from enemies that regularly fall on it to sack and rob it. . . . And given this danger it seems to me that in this village they do not spend on churches or ornaments.]

Mid- and Late-Colonial Campeche

But—as this volume obviously reflects—the sixteenth-century church did not remain standing as Campeche's primary place of worship. A mere six years after bishop Izquierdo's judgment on the adequacy of the church in the plaza, his successor, don Diego Vásquez de Mercado, formally asked Campeche's *cabildo* for their opinion on the matter. The *cabildo* submitted that a new church was urgently needed, as the old one was in a state of disrepair and so small that many parishioners had to stand in the graveyard during mass (and the services during major religious festivals were held instead in the Franciscan convent).

In 1609, ground was broken for the new church, located adjacent to the old one (the new church is more or less the same structure that is today Campeche's cathedral). But its construction was as protracted as the raising of the fortifications intended to surround the town;[18] both projects dragged on for the entire century (and even longer for the fortifications), with Campeche's new church finally deemed complete and blessed by Bishop Reyes in 1705.[19] The Franciscan López de Cogolludo wrote in the mid-seventeenth century that,

> por ser la iglesia tan corta, se comenzó a fabricar otra muy capaz, y aunque se hizo gran parte de ella, ha muchos años que cesó la obra, por no haber rentas particulares para su fábrica, y cada día ser mayor la pobreza que hay en todo Yucatán.[20]
>
> [because the (existing) church was so small, there began the building of a much bigger one, and although a large portion of it was done, the work had stopped for many years, for lack of funds dedicated to its construction, as every day there was great poverty in all Yucatan.]

Meanwhile, as the town grew, separate churches and a parish were established for black and mulatto residents. The cult of the Black Christ was established in San Román, the above-mentioned Maya village on the edge of Campeche that had received Nahua conquistador-settlers in the 1540s and settlers of African descent during the colonial centuries (when the town's defenses were completed, San Román was left just outside the walls). Another Maya village at the edge of Campeche, founded or renamed Santa Lucía and assigned in *encomienda* to doña María Gertrudis de Echartea, was according to one source an early colonial neighborhood of Africans and Mayas. In the 1630s, Fray Francisco Cárdenas Valencia noted that in addition to the main church there were now also two small Franciscan churches or *ermitas*, one of which was dubbed Santo Nombre de Jesús:

> otra es del sancto nombre de Jessus y en esta se administran los sacramentos a los morenos de la dha villa.[21]
>
> [another one is the Holy Name of Jesus and in which the sacraments are administered to the blacks [*morenos*] of this town.]

The Jesús church was located a mere block inland from the plaza, however, and did not amount to a completely separate parish; baptisms, marriages, and burial records for blacks and mulattoes were also still made and kept in the main church on the plaza. There was also a hospital, called Misericordia, for blacks and mulattos. In 1724, the church of Santa Ana, further from the plaza than Jesús, became the center of the Afro-Yucatecan parish. During the eighteenth century Afro-Yucatecans were still served by the Jesús church, but the central blocks of Campeche became dominated by elite Spanish homes; by 1830 the church was no longer described as exclusively for blacks and mulattoes.[22]

In the 1780s, Campeche was described thus in Alcedo's famous geographical dictionary:

> The city is small, defended by three towers, called La Tuerza, San Roman, and San Francisco; and these are well provided with artillery. It has, besides, a parish church, a convent of the Order of San Francisco, another of San Juan de Dios, in which is the hospital bearing the title of *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*; and, outside of the city, another temple dedicated to St. Roman; to whom particular devotions are paid, and who is a patron saint. In this temple there is held in reverence an image of our Saviour, with the same title of San Roman, which, according to a wonderful tradition, began, previous to its being placed here, to effect great miracles; accordingly, it is said, that a certain merchant, named Juan Cano, being commissioned to buy it in Nueva España,

> in the year 1665, brought it to this place, having made the voyage from the port of Vera Cruz to the port of Campeche in 24 hours. The devotion and confidence manifested with regard to this effigy in this district is truly surprising. There are also two shrines out of the town, the one *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, and the other *El Santo Nombre de Jesus*, which is the parish church of the Negroes.[23]

Indigenous Campechanos and Afro-Campechanos thus lived and worked all over the town and its environs. Just as most (perhaps all) non-Spaniards buried in the early colonial plaza cemetery probably worked as domestic servants, so did Campechanos of native and African descent in later centuries work as domestic servants, as well as in construction and in the various urban and rural occupations that were characteristic of colonial-era Mayas and Yucatecans of African descent (as I have detailed elsewhere).[24] In this respect, their lives were not much different than those of their counterparts in Merida and other corners of the peninsula where Spaniards and Afro-Yucatecans settled among or adjacent to Mayas, forging the multiethnic society that the colony became. But there were several aspects of life in Campeche that made it unique in the colony, all related to its location on the coast.

First, there was the heavy labor involved in loading goods on and off ships anchored in the bay, rowing the boats that transported these goods to and from the port, and loading them on and off what passed for docks along the town's seafront. For most of the colonial period Campeche was not a busy port; activity was seasonal, with prevailing winds tending to bring ships from Caribbean ports (and thus from Spain too) only in the summer months, with annual arrivals (before 1770) ranging from none at all to seldom more than a dozen.[25] Mayas were predictably the majority of the workers, and the port's sporadic, seasonal nature enabled them to make a primary living as corn farmers or *milperos*, with dockyard work a secondary occupation. Similarly, black slaves and other Afro-Yucatecans also did much of the work related to shipping, with dockyard labor secondary to their primary occupations as blacksmiths, muleteers, petty tradesmen (*trajinantes* and *tratantes*), and even *milperos* (which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would become as common an occupation for rural Afro-Yucatecans as it would for Mayas).[26]

However, in the seventeenth century another type of shipping industry labor was added to the Afro-Campechano experience. There was some ship construction going on by 1620, when Fray Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa wrote that there was "excellent timber" around Campeche, "for which reason stout ships are built in its harbor."[27] Evidence suggests that in 1650 Campeche's first major

shipyard was established by don Antonio Maldonado de Aldana, who was accused by Governor Esquivel in 1666 of illegally exploiting Maya labor to cut dyewood, build ships, and trade the logs in Havana and Veracruz. Part of Maldonado's defense was his assertion that he used his twenty-four black slaves to do the logging and shipbuilding work, with gangs of Maya workers assisting.[28] In other words, the Africans were elemental to the development of Campeche's shipbuilding industry, acting in the kinds of skilled and supervisory roles that were indicative of their middle position in colonial Yucatan's society and economy.[29]

A final dimension to life in the port town for inhabitants of all colors was its vulnerability to pirate attacks. Although escaped black slaves and free colored men were members of pirate crews, even captains, there were probably fewer black pirates attacking Campeche and the coasts of the peninsula than there were Afro-Yucatecans defending the colony as militiamen.[30] William Dampier offers vivid descriptions of its seizure by English privateers in 1659 and again in 1678, a few years after Dampier himself visited the town, which he described as making "a fine shew," with its houses of "good stone" and "a strong citadel . . . planted with many Guns." Despite this show of defensiveness, according to Dampier, the privateer captain in the 1659 attack, Sir Christopher Mims (or Myngs), took the town after giving its inhabitants three days' warning because "he scorned to steal a Victory." The 1678 privateers did adopt a surprise attack, but the people of Campeche seemed to aid them in their strategy; approaching the town at dawn, the privateers were themselves surprised to be welcomed by the locals, who took them to be Campeche's own militiamen returning from a sortie against rebellious Mayas in the countryside.[31]

Campechanos probably misidentified the attackers because, from a distance, both the local militia and Mims' pirate company looked like ragged bands of armed men of various colors. If so, behind the story's irony lies the fact that by the late seventeenth century, Campeche's Spanish elite had come to rely on—and take for granted—Afro-Yucatecans not only as a labor source in local households, businesses, and shipping, but also in Spanish efforts to defend the colony from Maya rebels to the south and piratical enemies off the coast.

Campeche's location made it both important and vulnerable from the late sixteenth century to the turn of the eighteenth; in the eighteenth century, its location made it increasingly important to the colony, and thereby more prosperous. The late-colonial growth of the black and free-colored population—the increase in the numbers of Afro-Campechanos in various occupations—was tied to the economic development of the port town. This development was

in turn a result of the increased trade between the town (or city, as it became in 1777) and other colonial ports, particularly Havana, after 1770. In that year the free trade license was extended to Campeche, with dramatic effects upon shipping activity. In the first half of the century only about a dozen ships had entered Campeche's harbor annually, and in the twelve years prior to 1770 not a single ship had put into the port (at least not according to official records). Yet in 1802 some 960 ships visited Campeche.[32]

As Campeche became part of a commercial and maritime network of Spanish ports in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean, so did the African inhabitants of those ports become to some extent economically and socially linked. The demand for slave labor on late eighteenth-century sugar plantations around Campeche has already been mentioned, but there was also a heightened demand for labor in other industries, in the port and in the households of the prosperous local elite, a demand which drew into Yucatan both negros and *pardos*, both the enslaved and the free.

The concentration of Africans in certain barrios of Campeche, the high rate of marriages within those barrios, the rapid growth in free-colored numbers, and the shared experience of working in certain occupations, combined to create a sense of community. But this was not an exclusively Afro-Campechano or Afro-Yucatecan community; it was a community defined by its location in Campeche and by the ties of kinship and occupation that forged a network of households, whose members were Maya and mestizo, black and *pardo*.

By 1779 Spaniards and Afro-Yucatecans each represented close to a quarter of the Campeche district population. By the final decade of the colonial period, a third of Campeche's population was officially classified as Afro-Yucatecan, but in reality such residents were more than a third, as many of those categorized as Spanish, mestizo, or "Indian" had some African ancestry. In 1830, Campeche was described as having six indigenous barrios, each with a Maya governor or cacique: Guadalupe, San Francisco, La Ermita, Santa Lucía, Santa Ana, and San Román.[33] But "Maya barrios" was a misleading label. The persistence of colonial political structures (in practice, if not in name), and the disappearance in the 1820s of *casta* labels, disguised the fact that these Maya barrios were in many ways Afro-Maya neighborhoods.

Thus by the end of colonial times Campeche had undeniably become a multiethnic city in which residents of various origins, occupations, and social standings interacted within and around the city walls on a daily basis. In this sense, the seventeenth century plaza with its compact church and multiethnic burial ground, recently unearthed for the first time in four hundred years, sym-

bolize the confined space and intense social involvement that would determine Campeche's unique and fascinating development throughout the colonial centuries.

This concluding chapter, like the ones that make up the rest of this volume, raises more questions than it answers. What we know about colonial Campeche is merely the tip of the iceberg, as fascinating and absorbing as that tip may be. The work done by scholars in the plaza is a call to arms; it offers a challenge to archaeologists, historians, and scholars of other disciplines to incorporate the findings of this volume into a comprehensive, full-length study of the city that Ogilby called "a great Town."

Acknowledgments

I learned of the excavations conducted in Campeche by Dr. Vera Tiesler and her colleagues while I was researching my book on colonial Afro-Yucatan, *The Black Middle* (2009), and am therefore most grateful for Dr. Tiesler's generosity in sharing her findings as they emerged over the past six years; I also thank her for giving me the opportunity to participate in this important volume.

NOTES

1. Hunt (1974), chapter 1; Reed (2001), 16–17.

2. García Bernal (2006), 65, 69, 84, 87; also see Antochiw in chapter 2 of this volume.

3. *America: Being an accurate description of the New World*, 223.

4. Restall (2009), chapter 2.

5. Restall (2009), chapter 1.

6. This passage makes reference to various AGI and AGN sources; also see Restall (1998), 9–13; Redondo (1994), 22, 56; and Antochiw in chapter 2 of this volume.

7. Patch (1993), 34; Redondo (1994), 60.

8. AGI, Justicia 300, vol. 3, fol. 219–442; García Bernal (2006), 29–43; Redondo (1994), 49–50, 74.

9. On native burials of newcomers, see Coronel et al. (2001) and Zabala et al. (2004); on Africans as fortifications workers, see Antochiw in chapter 2 of this volume.

10. Campos García (2005); Fernández Repetto and Negroe Sierra (1995); Restall (2009); Zabala in chapter 8 of this volume.

11. See Cucina in chapter 6 of this volume.

12. AGI, Contratación 5459, vol. 214, exp. 1, fol. 1r, 4v; see Khapoya (1998), 46, on cicatrization in West Africa. All translations from the original Spanish in this article are the author's.

13. Coronel et al. (2001); also see Cucina in chapter 6 of this volume.

14. See Tiesler and Zabala in chapter 4 of this volume.

15. Restall (2009), chapter 6; see also Ojeda Mas and Huitz Baqueiro, chapter 3, and Tiesler and Zabala, chapter 4, in this volume.

16. Coronel et al. (2001); Tiesler and Zabala in chapter 4 of this volume.

17. Rubio Mañé et al. (1938), 32.

18. Antochiw in chapter 2 of this volume; also see Restall (2009), chapter 5.

19. AGI, Mexico 521; AGI, Escribanía 305a.

20. *Historia de Yucatán*, 5th ed. (1688/1957), vol. 1, 387.

21. BL, Egerton MS 1791, f. 50v.

22. AGN, Bienes Nacionales 20, 25; Campos García 2005, 35; Redondo (1994), 57, 77, 97, 152, 155.

23. *Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies* (1812), vol. 1, 255.

24. Restall (1997); Restall (2009), chapter 4.

25. Exquemelin (1678/1969), 75; García Bernal (2006).

26. Restall (2009), chapter 4.

27. *Compendium and description of the West Indies* (1620/1942), 122.

28. AGI, Mexico 361, fol. 14–17; González Muñóz and Martínez Ortega (1989), 100, 106–9; Hunt (1974), 325–28.

29. See Restall (2009).

30. Restall (2009), chapters 4 and 5.

31. Dampier (1699), vol. 2, part 2, 45–46.

32. Patch (1993), 204–5.

33. AGEC, Estadísticas (Fondo Gobernación) 1, vol. 4, fol. 1.