

THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF NEW GRANADA  
1770 - 1815

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To my mother

and

to Carlos Alberto,  
Carlos Esteban and María del Mar

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#### ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of New Granadan political culture during the late colonial period (1770-1810) and the first years of Independence, known as Patria Boba (1810-1815). The study focuses on the political experiences and perceptions of three distinguishable social groups: the educated creoles, the ordinary vecinos and the hispanicized Indians. The geographical area covered is the territory of the Audiencia of Santa Fe, which roughly corresponds to present day Colombia.

A combination of ideas and experiences shaped the creole sense of order and identity. Family clans, intellectuals, bureaucrats, lawyers and merchants built networks that found a political use on the eve of Independence and during the Patria Boba. Their notions of themselves and the other social groups, their assessment of the country's resources and their perceptions of the authorities are examined.

The humbler vecinos participated in local-level politics through the election of mayors and through the process of improving their township status in the Spanish colonial hierarchy of settlements. Their notions of authority, justice, equality and belonging provide an explanation for their attitudes and allegiances during the Patria Boba.

Hispanicized Indians also took part in local politics and criticized the authorities and the clergy. They attempted to influence the appointment of rulers for their communities and to preserve their land. Their sense of identity, feeling of community, and perception of outsiders

are visible in their complaints and petitions. Finally, their response to the Patria Boba has particular nuances.

The documents examined for the colonial period show a number of forms of local political life and suggest that it was more lively and regular than has been supposed. It is also apparent that political types and practices, until now considered distinctive features of republican culture, had colonial antecedents.

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#### LONG ABSTRACT

This work focuses on the political culture of the Audiencia of New Granada during the late colonial period (1770 - 1810) and the first five years of the period of Independence (1810-1815).

The first part studies the political experiences and perceptions of three distinguishable social groups: the educated creoles participating in higher politics, the ordinary vecinos, freemen living in parishes, towns and small cities, and hispanicized Indians living in their communities. (The analysis of the political culture of blacks slaves has been left aside because of the scarcity of documentary material, apart from the criminal archives which deserve further research. I have deemed that outside the scope of my study.)

The upper creoles shared a feeling of being "antiguos de la tierra", favoured innovation in education and economic policies, and increased knowledge of the country through their travels as members of the Botanical Expedition, bureaucrats or merchants. They suffered censorship, discrimination and official mistrust. A combination of ideas and experiences shaped the creole sense of order and enabled them to envisage the Audiencia as an independent community. Their assessments of the Viceroyalty's population and natural resources and the obstacles in the way of 'felicidad' are recorded in memorials, reports, projects, articles and speeches.

The political experiences of more ordinary people are studied in the documents called representaciones, drafted by the vecinos in the parishes, towns and small cities. Much of them concern the management of the yearly election of mayors and judges, and the behaviour of local officials and priests. The vecinos also committed themselves to the improvement of their

settlements and asked the Crown for recognisance at a higher lever in the hierarchy of towns and jurisdictions. These sources provide evidence about the political thought of ordinary people: their sense of identity and their notions of authority, justice, equality and belonging.

Indian representaciones constitute a remarkable source for the study of their views, beliefs and attitudes. There, their sense of identity, feeling of belonging to the community and strong commitment to defend their land are visible. This thesis also examines some of their ways of solving disputes within the community and with outsiders.

For vecinos' and Indians' experiences, the analysis of case-studies has been chosen as the most appropriate, since it allows the reader to see the diversity of attitudes, beliefs and expectations. The different cases are not equally well represented in the archives. In some the whole lawsuit has survived, in others just a few documents. The cases chosen include some of the richest and largest. All the regions of Colombia are represented and the main types of conflict are illustrated. However, regional differences are considered only when they help to explain some features of local or regional politics. Similar cases are mentioned to support the representativeness of the experience, attitude or belief.

This work studies the widespread notions and beliefs that inspired and legitimized political practices. New ideas are also taken into account whenever they contributed to shape representations of reality. However, it is not a 'history of ideas' for it neither studies formal ideas nor does it look for their origins outside New Granada.

Although not directly concerned with major insurrections during the period, this dissertation deals with numerous conflicts and problems in both high and local level politics. Most of the protests aim to uphold previous rules, and to restore the equilibrium of custom rather than to question the established order. Stress is on the of ways of settling disputes between ruled and rulers and of solving competing claims between groups or communities.

Political life in late colonial New Granada appears richer and more continuous compared to the common picture of a quiet period disturbed only by a major insurrection in 1781. Each group had built an identity based either on ethnic grounds and inherited expectations or on a feeling of local belonging. Each group had a sense of the "others" as distinct from "us" and shared a sense of order in which the relationship between them were defined. General notions of authority, justice, identity and inequality, past and future were shared by the members of each group. All New Granadans seemed to share a hierarchical sense of social order.

The second part deals with the participation of the same three groups in politics during the period called the Patria Boba, 1810-1815. It analyses their coincidences and disagreements in practices and claims in the new political circumstances.

For the second part, the analysis is based on official and unofficial documents on the most representative cases of political involvement during the Patria Boba. Many of these, as well as some of those about the creole experience in the first part, have already been published. However, they have not been examined in the way this thesis attempts.

This thesis is concerned with the ways in which the different groups got involved in the events of the first years of Independence - rhetoric, allegiances, claims and rituals - and attempts to explain them against the background of their political practices and expectations during the late colonial period. It neither attempts to give an alternative explanation of the causes of Independence nor to trace the evolution of formal ideas, doctrines or systems of government; the analysis of the first constitutions and the ideas they contain has been left aside.

The coming of Independence affected the colonial accommodation. The creole leaders convoked the "sovereign people" to proclaim independence and evoked the Indian past as a common one for all "Americans". However, this alliance did not endure. Mutual fears and distrust and a

non-democratic tradition prevailed. Different meanings of freedom caused groups to clash with each other. Expectations of local and provincial autonomies, and all kinds of competitive claims found political expression in parties and factions. Loyalties and allegiances were reframed. Language and rituals were partially renewed.

Although Independence created new circumstances, most of the characteristics of the colonial political culture found expression in the Republic. Nineteenth-century political life has many more antecedents and precursors in colonial political practices and types than has hitherto been recognized.

Most of the sources come from the Archivo Nacional de Colombia, some from the Archivo Central del Cauca and the Archivo General de Indias and a few from the British Museum and the Archivo de la Academia Colombiana de Historia. Books and published documents have been studied at the Bodleian Library and Latin American Centre in Oxford, the Biblioteca Nacional and Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango in Bogotá. The last bibliographical survey was made in the John Carter Brown and Rockefeller Libraries in Providence, Rhode Island.

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PART ONE

## 1. CREOLE EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTION IN HIGHER COLONIAL POLITICS

The commitment of a large number of educated creoles to Independence in New Granada strikes the attention of every historian of the period. Some explanations of this attitude have been commonly accepted: the creole-Spanish rivalry which came to a head during the Bourbon administration, and the examples of the independence of the thirteen colonies in North America and of the French Revolution. Even the Comunero movement has been postulated as a precursor. It has also been said that the Colegio del Rosario, the Colegio de San Bartolomé in Bogotá, and the Expedición Botánica, were centres for the diffusion of the ideas behind Independence. The conventional historiography sought to establish the causal sequence of Enlightenment and Independence. Because of their overt, even ostentatious patriotism most of these studies have however been dismissed contemptuously by modern historians.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless recent European writers have inspired a new interest in patriotism and nationalism and new studies of mental and spiritual processes that accompanied the changes experienced by various social groups. Did any of these people really 'fight for ideas'? How can one accurately assess the importance of these ideas? How could creoles imagine the creation of a patria? How were they able to envisage a future national community?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Among the 274 articles on the Independence of New Granada (not including biographies) published between 1902 and 1952 in the Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades (henceforth BHA), there are 35 lists of martyrs and patriots, arranged according to where they came from, 25 articles on battles and six on military campaigns. D. Ortega Ricaurte, Índice general del Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, 1902-1952, Bogotá, 1957. See also J. Ocampo López, Historiografía y bibliografía de la emancipación del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Tunja, 1969, particularly the sections devoted to military history and biographies.

<sup>1</sup> One of the most stimulating recent essays I have found to be B. Anderson's Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London, 1983. Anderson proposes the notion of 'imagined community' to understand the feeling of belonging to a nation which has to be defended and loved. By way of provisional conclusion to his chapter "Old Empires, New Nations", Anderson affirms:

What I am proposing is that neither economic interest, Liberalism, nor Enlightenment could, or did, create in themselves the kind, or shape, of imagined community to be defended from these regimes' depredations; to put it another way, none provided the framework of new consciousness - the scarcely-seen periphery of its vision - as opposed to centre-field objects of its admiration or disgust.(p.65) His

...cultura política, término que utilizamos para designar tanto las nociones comunes acerca de la autoridad, la comunidad y la salvación personal que permean una sociedad, como las creencias interpretables en general que subyacen en las expresiones intelectualizadas del pensamiento político.<sup>1</sup>

One can accept the existence of common notions and beliefs in an entire society. In D. McKay's words, "political culture, therefore, embraces the dominant pattern of beliefs and values which are acquired and modify and change as a result of a complex process of socialization from the political system".<sup>2</sup> However, the different social groups have, at least, envisioned public matters from different points of vantage. E. P. Thompson's reflections on preindustrial societies help the understanding of this historical problem. Many of the actions of the social groups of a given society in a given place and time reveal 'political culture'. Their actions, attitudes, kinds of association and behaviour take forms determined by their common experiences, collective memories, expectations, feelings and beliefs.<sup>3</sup> Thus, although a 'creed' (beliefs and values) is held by all system members, each social group produces a representation with different nuances.

Before going further, a short account of the social position of the creole groups needs to be given. Notwithstanding the usual way of representing colonial society as a pyramidal structure of classes, it seems to me that New Granadan society more coincided with the scheme

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<sup>1</sup> R. Morse, "La cultura política iberoamericana; de Sarmiento a Mariátegui", in S. Bagú, ed. De historia e historiadores, México, 1982, p.235.

<sup>2</sup> D. McKay, American Politics & Society, Oxford, 1987, p.24.

<sup>3</sup> See: E. P. Thompson, "La sociedad inglesa del siglo XVIII; lucha de clases sin clases?", in Tradición, revuelta y conciencia de clase, Barcelona, 1979. O. Ranum points out that the concept of political culture "encompasses all elements of the political process at all levels of political society, and as such is perhaps unwieldy as an analytical device". O. Ranum, ed. National Consciousness, History and Political Culture in Early - Modern Europe, Baltimore & London, 1975, p. 18.

provided by Ernest Gellner for the social structure of agrarian societies. He describes a higher stratum of a small minority of the population separated from the great majority of direct agricultural producers. This can be subdivided into a number of more specialized layers. In the case of New Granada there were the Spanish authorities, the creole bureaucrats, lawyers, clerics, landowners and merchants. The great differentiation would lie in the quality of being either peninsulares or creoles, and the contrasting homogeneity would be that all of them were whites. Below the horizontally stratified minority at the top, there were the laterally separated petty communities of peasants living inward-turned lives, tied to locality.<sup>1</sup> In New Granada the peasants were Indians, mestizos and freemen of all colours.

Between 1770 and 1810 the creole colonial officials, lawyers, high clergy and merchants can be seen to be related by a complex system of links connecting the main cities of New Granada, forming what one might call a proto-national network.<sup>2</sup>

Although awareness of the possible political significance of such networks varied from individual to individual, all of the members experienced in some way both their difference in identity from the Spaniards and their difference from the castas beneath. The links originated in kinship, partnership and common origin as paisanos, fellow countrymen from a particular locality, and were strengthened by experience in the colonial bureaucracy, both in old and new institutions. The newly arrived language of the Enlightenment would provide terms for some of these experiences and expectations, as well as some elements of ideological criticism of the Spanish regime. Notions such as nobility, equality, freedom, but above all patria and

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<sup>1</sup> E. Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, Oxford, 1983. pp.8-13. The scheme is taken as a suggestion but not borrowed whole. The differences are expressed in the text.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Barnes, "Networks and Political Process", in M. J. Swartz, ed., Local Level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives, London, 1969. p.109. The notion of network developed in anthropology can be usefully borrowed by the historian. In a given historical context networks formed on basic relationships (kinship, goodparenthood, common origin and partnership) could be used for other ends.

patriotismo, were partially reframed.

### 1.1 Family clans and the feeling of being "antiguos de la tierra"

From the earliest colonial times both Spaniards and creoles living in America occasionally refused to accept the authority of new arrivals from Spain, and emphasised solely their own direct links to the King. Conquerors and their heirs were eager to protest even against the limits that the Crown wanted to put on what they considered their rights of conquest. Taxes, monopolies, policies for management of the Indians and access to land were felt to be arbitrary and unjust. Some of the attitudes of the first conquerors expressed indifference and even aversion to Crown plans. J. Friede has shown that the conciencia americana dates in New Granada from the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The local desire to reject new arrivals and distantly-appointed judges can be seen in more than one cabildo abierto. This is testified by the chronicler Juan de Castellanos;

Cosa de risa es o ya de lloro  
desembarcarse gente chapetona  
en las regiones indicas do moro

...

En Indias es costumbre bien usada  
cometerse gobiernos a letrados  
y siendo la razon considerada  
es justo; pero por nuestros pecados  
de tan extensísima manada  
salen muy pocos de ellos acertados

...

Y para que dar el orden y concierto  
a semejante trance conveniente  
Cabildo se mando hacer abierto  
adonde se junto toda la gente  
de los que recian en el puerto  
do diga cada uno lo que siente  
y del seso comun de la consulta

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<sup>1</sup> J. Friede, "Los gérmenes de la emancipación americana en el siglo XVI", Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico, 3 (4), 1960, 221-232.

es esta la sentencia que resulta <sup>1</sup>

What Juan Friede has called the felling of being the antiguos de la tierra motivated and legitimated the rejection of Spaniards, as well as resistance to the Crown's pretensions and innovations.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, a sense of an exclusive right to land, to labour and to offices transmitted from one generation to another forged a collective creole memory, and expectations.<sup>3</sup> Spanish authorities had to take into account these feelings and beliefs to achieve some degree of acceptance. During the Hapsburg period, officials tended to be more sensitive, tolerant and flexible. Rulers and ruled became relatively well integrated, and shared a common sense of order. This "integration" was also part of the creole memory.

That same order was also founded on the creole difference from the castas. In their view, both their purity of blood and their being Conquerors' descendants assigned them a status which they took for granted and on which they based their claims for rights, privileges and offices. Entry to Colleges and Universities, as well as every single appointment to public offices, ecclesiastical prebends or high military positions had to be preceded by a certification of purity of blood derived from several testimonies, and an account of ancestors' merits in the service of the Crown.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Juan de Castellanos, Elegías de los varones ilustres de Indias, pp. 289a, 224a, 333a; quoted by F. E. de Tejada, El pensamiento político de los fundadores de la Nueva Granada, Sevilla, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> J. Friede, "Los gérmenes de la emancipación americana", pp. 229-230.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Góngora, El estado en el derecho Indiano (época de fundación, 1492-1570), Santiago, 1951, p.196.

El substratum económico de la aristocracia no es solamente la encomienda, sino en general todas las mercedes que el Estado cede a los conquistadores aunque aquella es ciertamente la más importante en el comienzo; pero el factor socialmente decisivo para la formación de esta aristocracia es un sentido jurídico, la convicción del mérito individual familiarmente transmitido, y la concepción patrimonial del Estado creado por la Conquista.

<sup>4</sup> See R. Silva, Escolares y catedráticos en la sociedad colonial, Unpublished mss., Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 1985.

The peculiar social and political relationship between the authorities, the creoles and the castas seemed to derive from an un-written Crown-creole pact, which was broken by the Bourbon reformers. Thereafter the pre-Caroline period was seen as a golden age.

Notable creole families succeeded in forging links with Spanish officials despite policies designed to prevent this. Spanish- creole marriages created or reinforced these relations. There existed various circles of officials who were kith and kin; although they did not constitute single blocks of interest, they did exert pressure on the Spanish authorities and tended to act together. By the second half of the eighteenth century at least two creole clans had members placed in high ranking posts in Santa Fe: the Alvarez and the Lozano-Caicedo, both old-established and wealthy native families. Besides the direct link between the Alvarez clan and the Audiencia through the marriage of the Spaniard Benito Casal y Montenegro with Maria Antonia Alvarez, two women of the Caicedo family married two other Spanish Oidores, while Maria Ignacia Andrade, another high-born creole, had wedded Oidor Juan Francisco Pey y Ruiz.<sup>1</sup> Thus, creole influences weighed significantly in the Audiencia of Santa Fe up to the coming of the Visitor-General Gutiérrez de Piñeres in 1778. A trusty Bourbon imperial agent, he directly attacked creole holding of high government jobs, while his innovations in tax rates affected many economic activities in which creoles had vested interests. As John Phelan has described, after two years of his administration the Visitor-General informed his mentor José de Gálvez that the influences of the Alvarez clan had been drastically cut out: seven out of ten of their members now occupied their posts no longer. Not only the increase in taxes but also this direct attack on their old bureaucratic positions led some creoles to foster the Comunero movement.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. T. Phelan, "El auge y la caída de los criollos en la Audiencia de Nueva Granada", (BHA), 59, 1972, p.605.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 613.

Some members of the Lozano-Caicedo clan directly participated in the revolt of 1781. Manuel García Olano and Jerónimo de Mendoza y Hurtado, chief and deputy-chief of the Mail Administration respectively, and both sons-in-law of the Marquis of San Jorge had acted as the liaison between the rebels of Socorro and their supporters in Santa Fe. The Marquis of San Jorge, Jorge Miguel Lozano de Peralta, played himself an ambiguous role. It has been widely believed that he encouraged the movement in its beginnings though later, panicking at the dimensions it had reached, he led and paid troops to repress it.

The Marquis always felt a personal resentment towards the Spanish authorities despite the favour he had enjoyed from them.<sup>1</sup> Eustaquio de Galavis, another of the Marquis's sons-in-law, had been corregidor of Zipaquirá (1771-79) and was mayor of Santa Fe at the time; he signed the Capitulaciones but he had previously cheated in the negotiation by signing a secret document through which he invalidated any possible compromise with the rebels.<sup>2</sup>

Retaliation came, though not immediately. Viceroy Caballero y Góngora ordered a secret investigation into the two mail officials and when proof emerged they were prosecuted. The Marquis was able to cover himself by his later acts.

In New Granada, as distinct from Peru after the Tupac Amaru movement, the Intendent System was never implemented and new military dispositions were not as thorough as in New Spain and Peru.<sup>3</sup> Instead it was an ambiguous policy of tact and distrust that characterized

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<sup>1</sup> A. Abella, El florero de Llorente, Medellín, 1964, vol. 2, pp.31, 42-44.

<sup>2</sup> J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, Bogotá, 1980, pp.153-155; R. Rivas, "El Marquez de San Jorge", BHA, 6, 1911, 721-750.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Lynch, Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, London, 1958; D. Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon

the relationship between the Spanish authorities and the creoles under the rest of the Bourbon regime. On the one hand, dispositions such as the granting of the military fuero to pardos and mestizos and a stricter control over the cabildos and the public administration, were seen as offences against a customary and tacit colonial Crown-creole pact. Creoles felt that the jurisdiction of the Bourbon colonial authorities should not to be extended that far. Nonetheless, the officer corps eventually succumbed to creole control.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the creoles continued to ask for posts up to the eve of Independence and they did gain appointments and promotions within the bureaucratic system. They also kept the control of the cabildos. The juridical form of their petitions, the 'exposition of merits', rested on both values, a 'clean' lineage and previous behaviour as a trustworthy 'vassal'. In this way the creoles thought of themselves as members of a court: their social existence as well as their economic situation depended on the prestige and consideration they deserved in the eyes of the King, his Viceroy and Audience. However, as more and more posts were auctioned, this feeling was also undermined. The comercio libre, while encouraging the appearance of some minor exports, did not increase Spanish trade nor decrease smuggling.

All the same, it would be a mistake to focus only on this aspect of the Bourbon administration and to reduce the creole experience to this process. The role of the Enlightenment in New Granada, as A. P. Whitaker has written for Latin America generally, was dual: new approaches to knowledge, to nature and to society were stimulated in ways and to a degree never experienced before; later on the new institutions encouraged by Bourbon

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Mexico, 1763-1810, Cambridge, 1971; J. Fisher, "The Intendant System and the Cabildos of Peru, 1784-1810", HAHR, 49 (3), 1969, 430-453; S. J. Stein, "Bureaucracy and Business in the Spanish Empire, 1759-1804: Failure of Borbons Reforms in Mexico and Peru", HAHR, 61 (1), 1981.

<sup>1</sup> J. Phelan's thorough analysis of the Comunero revolution supports this affirmation; see El pueblo y el Rey. In his Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808, Gainesville, 1978, A. Kuethe explores the Creole reaction to the granting of fuero for pardos; he also holds that the military reform in New Granada was one of the weakest.

Viceroyalty were taken over by the creoles and became their strongholds.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding their limited achievements, the Bourbon Reforms affected the political culture of the inhabitants of New Granada.

Effectively, in New Granada a distinct higher culture emerged as the result of a particular combination of ideas and experience. Various intellectual currents should be singled out: first, the "scientific" thought cultivated in the Colleges and by the Royal Botanic Expedition; secondly, the economic and political criticism made by Consulados and the Economic Societies; finally, some modern ideas introduced in literary societies and by the early newspapers.<sup>2</sup> Of the experiences, the most important were those of creole groups either struggling for innovation in economic policies and education, or suffering from censorship and distrust. This combination was what enabled the creoles to imagine a different community in the future, one enjoying freedom and autonomy.

As a complete prosopography of all the members of two generations of creoles between 1770 and 1815 is beyond the limits of this study, we have to be content with the more limited analysis of some recognized groups.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. P. Whitaker, "The Dual Role of Enlightenment", in A. P. Whitaker, (ed.), Latin America and the Enlightenment, New York, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> See J. F. Wilhite, The Enlightenment and Education in New Granada, 1760-1830, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1976. This thesis is a serious and thorough work on the effects of the ideologies of the European Enlightenment in educational reform and in the general intellectual climate and cultural life of New Granada.

<sup>3</sup> R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, ideario de una generación y de una época 1781-1821, Bogotá, 1984. This two-volume work includes the life and ideas of the precursors of Independence, (Nariño, Vargas and Restrepo), four of the greatest leaders, (C. Torres, J. Camacho, F. Gutiérrez and I. Herrera) and nine other figures. However it has not been written as a collective biography, a true prosopography following the careers of apparently similar individuals, which would allow us to see common patterns. See S. B. Schwartz, "An Opportunity for Prosopography", in New Approches to Latin American History, Austin, 1974.

## 1.2 'Scientific patriotism' or the production of a new intelligibility

As F. Safford has shown, a small scientific elite of botanists, geographers, astronomers and a circle of amateurs was formed upon the arrival of José Celestino Mutis as Viceroy Guirior's physician in 1761 and the establishment of the mathematics class in the College El Rosario in Santa Fe.<sup>1</sup> In his first lecture in 1762 Mutis spoke about the utility of this science and urged his audience to look to advanced Europe and not to outdated Spain.<sup>2</sup> In 1774 in the College San Bartolomé he defended the Copernican system. For that he had to face strong opposition from the Dominicans. He strove to popularize what he called the "Hipótesis de la Nueva Filosofía". Rather than Newton's "Elementa", the text of Christian Wolff circulated among New Granadan students.<sup>3</sup> Mutis taught Felipe Vergara y Caicedo in the 1760s and Eloy Valenzuela in the 1770s; both men later imparted their knowledge in mathematics and filosofía in courses in the College del Rosario. The antioqueño José Félix de Restrepo who had studied there went in 1782 to the Real Colegio y Seminario San Francisco de Asís in Popayán. There as profesor of filosofía he taught arithmetic, astronomy, mechanics, hydraulics, statics,

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<sup>1</sup> F. Safford, The Ideal of the Practical, Colombia's Struggle to Form a Technical Elite, Austin & London, 1976, pp.87-98. There exists a large bibliography on Mutis. See J. Ocampo López, Historiografía y bibliografía, chapters on the history of science and on biographies. A. F. Gredilla, Biografía de José Celestino Mutis con la relación de su viaje y estudios practicados en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, Madrid, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> "...bastará señores, el decir que procuremos imitar el ejemplar de la Europa sabia cuya conducta en este punto parece mas adecuada (...) Razón será señores, que encendidos del amor a unas ventajas tan conocidas imitemos la conducta de los sabios apartando la atención de los ruines respetos de nuestra España detenida". The entire speech of Mutis is published in M. González Pérez, Francisco José de Caldas y la Ilustración en Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1985, pp.160-169.

<sup>3</sup> L. C. Arboleda, "Mutis, la Expedición Botánica y el nacimiento de una tradición científica en la Nueva Granada", mss., Universidad del Valle, Cali, 1987.

optics and physics.<sup>1</sup> But the path for the new ideas was far from smooth. Since the seventeenth century there had existed in New Granada the Colleges of San Bartolomé and El Rosario, ruled respectively by the Jesuits and the Dominicans. The latter had been officially established as a University, which meant that it had the right of giving degrees. The Jesuits tried unsuccessfully to wrest that privilege from the Dominicans. The struggle between the Dominicans and the innovators lasted throughout the whole eighteenth century and not only academic questions and confessional beliefs were behind it: the fees paid by the candidates for degrees were part of the conflict. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, a Junta de Estudios was created in order to establish a proper University. Between 1770 and 1774, while the debate on the curriculum lasted, there were no degrees granted in Santa Fe. In 1774 the reformed curriculum, drafted by the creole official Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón, began to be taught.<sup>2</sup> But it was not to last. When José Celestino Mutis was invited to the Seminario Mayor by the friars of the Convento de Predicadores, he and his pupils defended the System of Copernicus. The friars took it as a reinforcement of the innovations proposed by the Junta and consequently attacked it. Mutis accused the friars of provocation and they sent a representación to the King, defending their claims.<sup>3</sup> Great pressures were brought to bear against the Junta de Estudios, which eventually abandoned its efforts towards reformation. In 1778 the mathematics class was abolished in El Rosario and in 1779 the

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Restrepo, "Alma Mater Payanesa", BHA, 26, 1939, 72-82.

<sup>2</sup> In the method proposed by Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón for the Colleges of Santa Fe the filosofía curriculum was as follows: first year: logic, arithmetic, geometry, 'trigonometry of Wolfio'; second year: physics (which included climate, agriculture and geography); third year: ethics. See F. A. Moreno y Escandón, "Método provisional e interino de los estudios que han de observar los colegios de Santa Fé por ahora y en tanto se erige una Universidad pública o S. M. dispone otra cosa", BHA, 23, 1936, 644-673. See also M. Guirior, "Relación del Estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excelentísimo Señor Don Manuel Guirior al Excelentísimo Señor Don Manuel Antonio Florez", año de 1776, in E. Posada, Relaciones de mando, Bogotá, 1910, pp.157-160. J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1889, vol. II, pp. 162-163.

<sup>3</sup> "Representación dirigida al Rey por los Padres Franciscanos", in C. Restrepo Canal, 'Documentos del Archivo Nacional', published in BHA, 24, 1937, 333-337.

Junta ordered that the course of filosofía should follow the scholastic text of Goudin, a seventeenth-century Dominican. The new curriculum had only been followed for four years. Yet its moderation was notorious.<sup>1</sup>

Viceroy Caballero y Góngora, who had supported the reform, was however not discouraged.<sup>2</sup> In 1789 the mathematics class was reestablished and Fernando Vergara was appointed to teach it. Caballero wrote to the King in October of that year setting out the considerations he had had to take into account during the process:

Mas era necesario bregar contra el poder, y las preocupaciones de los antiguos Maestros que miraban con ceño, y aun como una especie de combate hacia la Religión, el que por este camino se purificara la Teología de todos aquellos discursos sofisticos con que creen haberla enriquecido el peripatetismo, y ser como ellos se explican el presidio inexpugnable de la fé Católica. Para precaver las impresiones que hacía en el vulgo estos odiosos razonamientos, fué necesario ceder a sus importunas instancias en Junta celebrada en cumplimiento de la Real Cédula del 18 de Julio de 1778, suprimiendo el nuevo método, y reituyendo el escolástico.

Pero los hombres sensatos, que realmente puede gloriarse haber producido el Colegio del Rosario, han suspirado en la opresión... Inclinado yo a proteger cuanto es ventajoso a la prosperidad de los pueblos, dirijí su instancia... a fin de que expusiese si habia inconveniente poderoso que prohibiese el pretendido establecimiento.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It should be pointed out that in the new curriculum the Goudin text was replaced by some selected parts from Descartes's theories, those related exclusively to scientific-natural sciences. The rest and core of Descartes's philosophical propositions were omitted as they has been listed and condemned by the Jesuits. Moreno y Escandón had not gone further than his teachers. A good synthesis of the debate about the role of the Jesuits in ideological change in Latin America can be found in J. C. Chiaramonte (comp.), Pensamiento de la Ilustración, Caracas, 1979.

<sup>2</sup> A. Caballero y Góngora, "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Arzobispo de Córdoba a su sucesor el Excelentísimo Señor Don Francisco Gil y Lemus" año de 1789, in E. Posada, Relaciones de mando, pp. 251-252. G. Hernández de Alba's Crónica del muy ilustre Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Rosario en Santa Fé de Bogotá, tomo II, Bogotá, 1940, is a useful work for the reconstruction of the struggle for the new knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> A. Caballero y Góngora, "Carta del Virrey dando cuenta del haber restablecido la cátedra de Matemáticas", in C. Restrepo Canal, "Documentos del Archivo Nacional", BHA, 25, 1938, p.243.

In this first stage of the struggle for useful knowledge, Americans and reforming viceroys coincided. Caballero emphasized to the king that while the reformed curriculum lasted, the students had shown: "tan grande inclinación a estas facultades, que parecían que fuesen las únicas delicias de esta juventud americana". In the same spirit, the foundation of the public library, proposed by the Viceroy and the Junta de Temporalidades entrusted with the management of the former Jesuit properties, was approved by the king.<sup>1</sup>

The Royal Botanic Expedition was another new institution around which creoles gathered and which opened their minds to new subjects. Proposed by Mutis in 1763 as a state enterprise, it was organized in 1783 by Viceroy Caballero. Mutis, appointed Astronomer and Botanist of His Majesty, was its director. Most of Felix Restrepo's pupils were attracted to this institution which endeavoured to explore the length and breadth of the country and take cognisance of all its characteristics and natural resources.<sup>2</sup> Meteorological and astronomical experiments were carried out; varieties of Té de Bogotá, cochineal, quinine, cinnamon and indigo were discovered. Maps and ethnographical observations were also made.

After Mutis, the most important figure of the Royal Botanic Expedition was Francisco José de Caldas, a native of Popayán, who even before he joined the Expedition in 1800 had been working on astronomical measurements and botanical taxonomy. Caldas was to become the centre of the circle that was first formed through interest in the natural sciences, and which became at a later stage an important part of the proto-national and patriotic creole network.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Aprobación real a la creación de la biblioteca" in C. Restrepo Canal, "Documentos del Archivo Nacional", BHA, 24, 1937, pp.339 and following.

<sup>2</sup> A. Caballero y Góngora, "Relación del Estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada". p.253. For the Botanic Expedition, see F. Vezga, La Expedición Botánica, Cali, 1970; J. Jaramillo Arango, "Don José Celestino Mutis y las Expediciones Botánicas españolas del siglo XVIII al Nuevo Mundo", Revista de la Academia Colombiana de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, vol.9, Bogotá, 1958; E. Pérez Arbeláez, José Celestino Mutis y la Real Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1967.

<sup>3</sup> For Caldas's works see, Obras Completas de Francisco José de Caldas, Bogotá, 1966.

Caldas' brothers, his relatives from Cali, the Caicedo y Cueros, and in Santa Fe, Arroyo y Valencia and Camilo Torres, and Torres' brothers in Popayán, his friends in Buga such as José María and Miguel Cabal, from Antioquia like Alejandro Velez, Francisco Antonio Zea and his teacher José Félix de Restrepo, in Cartagena José Ignacio and Miguel de Pombo, all similarly had their roots in Popayán, in the Real Colegio y Seminario. Some of them had also gathered in the tertulia of Mariano Ramos in Popayán. As they spread over the country they all impinged upon or came into contact with other groups. Caldas conscientiously devoted himself to enlarging the circle of amateurs of botany and geography. In 1800 he wrote to Santiago Arroyo y Valencia: "...los aficionados a quienes he contagiado son Antonio Arboleda, don Chomo, hermano de nuestro Camilo, Don Juan José Hurtado y yo"<sup>1</sup>. The reconnaissance of New Granada's territory, its characteristics and natural resources, led these men to seek for a better exploitation of the land and its flora. They started to show a systematic concern for the future of the country.

This creole group was also slowly getting involved in other not so scientific affairs. On the occasion of the traslation and publication of "The Rights of Man" in 1794, the College of El Rosario was searched and some of the members of the Botanic Expedition incarcerated. Shortly after the lecturers were placed under surveillance. In 1795 the course of Natural Law of Joaquín Camacho was replaced by one of Royal Law (about regalias);<sup>2</sup> from 1796 a

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<sup>1</sup> E. Posada, Cartas de Caldas, Bogotá, 1917, p.32.

<sup>2</sup> M. Góngora, in his Studies on the Colonial History of Spanish America, Cambridge, 1975, p. 179, explained the cause of the renewed interest in Regalism shown by the Spanish Enlightenment in addition to its 'modernization' of the sciences:

On the other hand, the history of Visigothic Spain, of the Middle Ages and of the Catholic Sovereigns, and the literature of the sixteenth, aroused passionate interest, from Macanaz and Mayans at the beginning of the century to Jovellanos and Martínez Marina at the end. This interest has a partly pragmatic motive: the rights of the Visigothic Kings over the Church and the much later manifestations of Regalism were studied in the hope of finding a historical precedent for the anti-Papal policy of the time (this was the tendency termed by Menéndez y Pelayo 'Hispanism',

permanent control was decreed:

librese orden a los rectores de los colegios de San Bartolomé y El Rosario para que prevengan a cada uno de los catedráticos que antes de defender conclusiones en cada Facultad sean presentados los tratados de ellos a la dirección de estudios para obtener el pase que corresponde.<sup>1</sup>

The French Revolution had caused the Spanish crown to be wary of ideas coming from the 'national enemy'. French books were prohibited in Spain and in America without any discrimination of subject.<sup>2</sup>

The debate about the curriculum broke out again and divided the students into two parties. The Rector Martínez Cosío returned to the old rule and even ordered academic attire to be worn. In 1797 the vanguard group took over some positions and some of the innovative professors were allowed back, although the general surveillance continued.<sup>3</sup>

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by analogy with Gallicanism).

R. Carr explains the change from teaching Natural Law to teaching Royal Law as motivated by the fears aroused by the French Revolution:

To fight for the Crown against the Church and in order to neutralize the influence of canon lawyers, the regalists introduced the teaching of Natural Law; an innovation which was promptly suppressed in 1794, when the revolutionary dangers of secular political thought were made evident in France. R. Carr, Spain 1808-1939, Oxford, 1982, p.76.

<sup>1</sup> "La Astronomía en Santa Fé" (without author) in BHA, 1, 1903, p.306.

<sup>2</sup> R. Carr, Spain, 1808-1939, pp.72-73: "Floridablanca's cordón sanitario was the strictest in Europe; in 1791 he suspended the entire periodical press, and kept a careful watch on the large French colony in Spain... contraband books were picked up by the Inquisition all over Spain between 1790 and 1792..."

<sup>3</sup> G. Hernández de Alba, Crónica del muy ilustre Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Rosario en Santa Fé de Bogotá, vol.II. pp.305-306.

The coming of Von Humboldt and Bonpland revitalized the tendency towards scientific research and new ideas. But the alarm that an attempt at innovation in any field provoked among the Spanish authorities endured and somehow passed down to the people. In his speech delivered in the Seminario of Popayán in 1801, Caldas tried to dispel misleading beliefs about French books:

Si, jóvenes, acabaos de persuadir que se puede ser geómetra católico, que las líneas, los números y las sublimes especulaciones no han producido todavía un error ni una herejía...No hemos visto, no hemos oído que se nos echan encima culpas que no tenemos? Cuando se portan con mas moderación, no se nos grita que nuestro saber esta reducido a frases bonitas? Este es el nombre que tiene en su boca la elocuencia que honró a Bossuet y a Masillon. Vosotros sois testigos de la verdad de todo lo que digo...se nos dice que a libritos franceses se reducen nuestras bibliotecas. Bárbaros!... No os admireis, Señores, a mi se me ha dicho todavía otro mayor. Bien sabeis los repetidos homicidios que hubo el año pasado en los alrededores y en esta ciudad misma, los pasquines, los robos que tanto han turbado la tranquilidad pública, pues todo eso se atribuía a la erudición moderna y a los libritos franceses. Qué! Se necesita de Geometría, de Lógica y de Aritmética para matar a un hombre, para ser irrespetuoso a las legítimas potestades y para quitar al prójimo lo que le pertenece? No podemos ver sin humillación hasta dónde llega la ignorancia y la maledicencia del hombre! <sup>1</sup>

In a letter to Santiago Arroyo y Valencia, his friend, in July of the same year, Caldas affirmed that they were obliged to explain every word in order to deny the charge of impiety and dispel the confusion between the so called modern philosophy and mathematics;<sup>2</sup> in October he justified his speech by the fact that some students felt disturbed in their consciences about studying Geometry.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> F. J. de Caldas, "Discurso", 14 July 1801, in "La Plaza de Caldas en Popayán", BHA, 32, 1945, 888-893. J. Lynch in his The Spanish Colonial Administration, p. 4, explains the general tendency to confuse the scientific interest with the modern philosophy:

Owing to the penetration of Encyclopaedism from France the whole movement had been condemned by Spanish traditionalists as heterodox and deviationist, but the truth is that most of the reformers, in and out of the government were, like Charles III himself, orthodox Catholics who saw no conflict between their religion and the advancement of skill and knowledge...

<sup>2</sup> Hno. A. Manuel, "Caldas el hombre de la Ciencia y de la Fé", in Repertorio histórico de la Academia Antioqueña de Historia, 213, Medellín 1971, pp. 86-87.

<sup>3</sup> Caldas himself analysed the confusion of which his group had been the object:  
Se nos ha querido atribuir las impiedades y demás delirios de Voltaire,

The groups that through various concerns had grown in awareness of the economic situation of the country participated in other projects, such as the formation of Economic Societies and the publishing of newspapers. In this way the circles started to be used for ends different from those around which they had first been formed:

Aquí se ha pensado también en Sociedad Patriótica y se han acalorado mucho sobre este particular. El Padre Fuentes y Don Tomás Quijano lo han promovido mucho y yo no he dejado de ayudar haciendo alistar a mis amigos; pero apenas son pensamientos y dudo puedan tomar forma y llegarse a establecer. Con lo que Usted me ordena he visto a los sujetos siguientes: Don Manuel María Arboleda y Don Antonio, su hermano, Don Toribio, el Doctor Restrepo, Don Juan José Hurtado, Don Chomo y cuénteme Usted a mi en este número! <sup>1</sup>

Later on, all these men will become involved in the patriotic party and play leading roles in Popayán after 1810.<sup>2</sup> There are North American parallels. A similar role played by a botanist in the formation of a national spirit in the United States before Independence is mentioned by Carl Bridenbaugh:

In 1739 a perceptive and itinerant botanist, John Bastram, made a proposal for collaboration that years later would produce the American Philosophical Society, the most influential intercolonial organization before the assembling of the First Continental

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Diderot, Rousseau, etc. y de todos los que hoy se conocen como filósofos modernos, y como este mismo nombre se da a los físicos experimentales a distinción de los escolásticos, todo lo que estos buenos hombres leen (en Jamin, Bergier, Paulian, etc.) contra los filósofos modernos, lo entienden de Sigot, Nollet, Muschembock, etc.; ya ve Usted que equivocación tan grosera y que consecuencia: se llegó a predicar contra los filósofos modernos y el vulgo creyó que era contra nosotros; se miró como herejía el ángulo y los números.

Letter to Santiago de Arroyo y Valencia, from Popayán, 20 July 1801, edited by E. Posada. Cartas de Caldas, p. 72.

<sup>1</sup> E. Posada, Cartas de Caldas, p.72.

<sup>2</sup> Don Toribio Míguez, Doctor José Felix de Restrepo and Don Chomo Torres, who are named in the letter, later figure in the patriot party.

Congress at Philadelphia in 1774.<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson both practiced scientific experiments and both were educational reformers.

In the 1790s the first newspaper was published in New Granada. El Papel Periódico de Santa Fé, a weekly publication written by the Cuban publicist Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez who had come to Bogotá with Viceroy Ezpeleta, echoed changes and innovations elsewhere and laboured to diffuse modern ideas in the country. Although the style of this paper was turgid, it was widely read.<sup>2</sup> Rodríguez, being a decided Royalist, portrayed the French Revolution in the language of horror and condemned it.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding, the Papel Periódico fostered a notion of community among New Granadans and encouraged general concern for public matters. All the treatises in it were addressed to the Granadinos, the countrymen of New Granada, seen as an entity. They usually dealt with local issues: agriculture and climate, population, trade, poverty, hospitals and orphanages. News of new appointments, military promotions or priestly ordinations recorded the movements of the society and portrayed it as a whole. News from Spain, France, Europe in general and sometimes from the United States

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<sup>1</sup> C. Bridenbaugh, The Spirit of '76. The Growth of American Patriotism Before Independence 1607-1776, N. York, 1975, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Papel Periódico de Santa Fé de Bogotá, Santa Fe, 1791-1797, facsimile reprint, 6 vols. Bogotá, 1978. Although in 1791 it had only 148 subscribers, a reader's testimony suggests it had a wide coverage: "... le dije como andaba su periódico siendo el favorito de las tertulias no solo seculares sino religiosas sin excluir las monjas... pero el dolor es que un ejemplar le suele servir a más de cien personas si acaso no es a la tercera parte de la ciudad" (vol.1, n.27, 1791).

A very interesting and suggestive study about the Papel Periódico has been published since this chapter was written: R. Silva, Prensa y revolución a finales del siglo XVIII, Bogotá, 1988.

<sup>3</sup> In a secret report, Rodríguez brought accusations against Pedro Fermín de Vargas and denounced the activities of the other tertulias of Santa Fé. See R. M. Tisnes, Un precursor Don Pedro Fermín de Vargas, Bogotá, 1969, pp.25-28.

gave a view of an outside world of distinct nations. The paper contained writings against idleness and laziness, and promoted the Sociedades Patrióticas as a remedy for many ills. It also supported the fight against useless knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Through this paper's contents it can be inferred that an increasing consciousness of the future and a realization that something might be done to shape it had arisen at least in the minds of those who were literate. The following excerpt shows what the general tone was like:

Premio que se ofrece:

Un sujeto natural y vecino de esta capital conociendo que jamás podrá conseguirse la felicidad del Reyno mientras no se logre el aumento de su población y hecho cargo de que un buen patriota no solo debe trabajar para el tiempo de su existencia, sino para los posteriores asi como lo hicieron nuestros padres, ofrece la cantidad de cincuenta pesos al que produjere un discurso haciendo ver con sólidas y bien fundadas razones el modo de aumentarse la población en términos, que de aquí a cuarenta o cincuenta años pueda esperarse una considerable mutación en orden a las artes, industria y demás objetos que forman el buen estado de la República.... Se da término de seis meses a fin de que puedan entrar en este certámen patriótico todos los buenos ciudadanos que gustaren, ya sean de la Provincia de Cartagena, de la de Quito, Popayán, etc...<sup>2</sup>

The Papel Periódico usually referred to patriotism as the highest virtue, defined as the passion for seeking the common good before one's private interest.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Most numbers of the Papel Periódico in 1794 contained news of the French Revolution. See also E. Posada, Bibliografía bogotana, Bogotá, 1917-25, vol. 1, p.123. A typical sample of the Papel Periódico included reflexions about the Patriotic Society; notes about the weather; military promotions and records of trade in the port of Cartagena. Sometimes a long treatise occupied several consecutive numbers. This was the case of some technical and scientific works about agriculture and medicine. (For example a treatise on Quinas in Vol.III). Francisco Antonio Zea under the pseudonym of 'Hepephilo' (friend of youth) wrote: "Avisos de Hepephilo a los jóvenes de los dos colegios sobre la inutilidad de sus estudios presentes", vol. I, pp.97-128, recently published in E. G. Escobar, "Don Francisco Antonio Zea", Repertorio histórico de la Academia Antioqueña de Historia, 213, 1971, pp.98-101.

<sup>2</sup> Papel Periódico de Santa Fé n.13, vol.1, pp.101-102. During the eighteenth century the province of Quito formed part of the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada although it had its own Presidency and Audiencia.

<sup>3</sup> ... the words 'patriot', 'patriotic' and 'patriotism' became significant in the European Enlightenment around 1750 and in 1757, 'patriote' was accepted by the Dictionnaire de l'Academie Francaise. See W. Krauss, "'Patriote', 'Patriotique', 'Patrotisme' a la fin de l'Ancien

Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez belonged to and performed as the chairman of the Tertulia Eutropélica, one of those societies that like El Buen Gusto and El Arcano de la Filantropía were devoted to literature and which introduced new ideas and texts to Santa Fe. While the tertulias supported the Papel, it divulged their works. Of special significance is Rodríguez's patriotic defence of New Granadan literature vis-a-vis the literatures of México and Perú. This occupied a major place in several numbers of El Papel Periódico.<sup>1</sup> The gatherings of El Buen Gusto were usually held at Manuela Sanz de Santamaria's home, starting some time in the 1790's. She was the mother of Angel Manrique, who was implicated in the conspiración de los pasquines in 1794.<sup>2</sup> The books passed from hand to hand among the members of these groups and their friends, as can be deduced from the letters of the bookseller Don Juan Jiménez to Juan José D'Elhuyar, the Basque mineralogist who was one of his clients:

El señor Don José Caicedo me pidió los libros que vuesa merced me ha encargado, los que pedí al señor Mutis, a quien los había entregado hace tiempo. Veo lo que me dice en cuanto a los tomos que le faltan de los Elementos. Yo tuve de ella no sé cuantos tomos, y despues me vino "La Arquitectura", que le dí al que tenía los demás, que me parece ser Don Antonio Nariño, el que renunció al Regimiento...<sup>3</sup>

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Regime", quoted by J. F. Wilhite in The Enlightenment and Education, p.232.

<sup>1</sup> Papel Periódico de Santa Fé, Vol.II, Nos. 59 to 65, pp.57-112.

<sup>2</sup> Some lampoons appeared stuck on the city walls in Santa Fé on 19 August 1794. Four young students were prosecuted as authors and sent to prisons in Spain. The proceedings are not in the Colombian archive. It is known than one of the students, José Fernández de Arellano, denounced the others, and another, José María Durán, 23 years old, was tortured. This prosecution was held at the same time as that of the publishers of 'The Rights of Man'. E. Posada, "El proceso de los pasquines", BHA, 8, 1912, pp.721-728.

<sup>3</sup> Archivo Caicedo, original letters sent by Don Juan Jiménez from Santa Fé to Don Juan José D'Elhuyar in the mine of El Sapo, 7 June 1791 and 29 December 1793, quoted by B. J. Caicedo, D'Elhuyar y el siglo XVIII Neogranadino, Bogotá, 1971, p. 261.

Among the members of El Buen Gusto figured José María Gruesso from Popayán, author of some of the best literary works of the late colonial period, though politically he was a traditionalist; José María Salazar, from Antioquia and Doctor in Law of San Bartolomé, author of literary works inspired in the classics;<sup>1</sup> the two Gutiérrez brothers, Frutos and José María, from Cúcuta, Francisco Antonio Ulloa from Popayán, José Fernández Madrid from Cartagena, José Miguel Montalvo and José Angel Manrique from Santa Fe. José María Gutiérrez and José María Salazar would go to Mompox to rule the Real Universidad de San Pedro Apostol funded by the merchant Martínez Pinillos in 1809, and they both would become involved in the local declaration of independence on 6 August 1810. José Fernández Madrid was to occupy a leading position in the events of 1810-1815. Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez de Caviedes would later write the first piece proposing the formation of Juntas in New Granada in 1809, the Cartas de Suba, and in 1810 with Camilo Torres the Motivos que han obligado al Nuevo Reino de Granada a reasumir los derechos de Soberanía. José Miguel Montalvo and José María Gómez de Salazar would edit the Gazeta Ministerial which first came out in 1811. Francisco Antonio Ulloa participated as secretary of the patriotic Junta of Popayán in 1811.

In 1801 El Correo Curioso, político y mercantil appeared. Jorge Tadeo Lozano and Luis Eduardo Azuola's petition for the publication reveals the wide scope of what one can call 'scientific patriotism', its appeal to public concern as well as its political ambiguity:

... deseando servir y en algún modo mostrar el servicio a la patria dando por un lado señales del verdadero modo de estimarla, cual es el de fomentar en cuanto sea posible la industria agrícola, artes y ciencias en que se va a reportar al Reino y al Estado indecibles ventajas, hemos pensado dar semanalmente un papel comprensivo de puntos, destinando a tan útil objeto nuestras cuales tales luces y noticias en obsequio del público.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. J. Wilhite, The Enlightenment and Education, pp.193-200. "Las Noches de Geussor" and "Las Lamentaciones de Pubén" gave to Gruesso an outstanding place as precursor of romanticism in Hispanic America. José María Salazar was the author of "El Placer Público de Santa Fé" dedicated to Viceroy Amar y Borbón in 1804 and, later "La Colombiada" and "A la muerte de Lord Byron".

<sup>2</sup> E. Posada, "Bibliografía bogotana", BHA, 10, 1916, p.387.

Azuola and Lozano were part of the big family clan Lozano- Calcedo; they had studied at El Rosario and had held public offices; Lozano had also collaborated with the Botanic Expedition. It deserves to be noted that the search for a deeper sense of commitment to the community meant to start with statements in which the notion of patria was acquiring new meanings.

The Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, appeared in 1808 and lasted up to 1811. This publication, edited by Francisco José de Caldas, contains the best examples of 'scientific patriotism'. Most of its articles were first-hand observations, original work in the natural sciences, on education, agriculture and trade. Many of the authors were Mutis's and Félix José Restrepo's pupils, and their terrain included most of the already- incorporated areas of New Granada.<sup>1</sup> These papers were the fruit of one generation's experience of the country, with the characteristic approach of the search for useful knowledge. It was this periodical which in New Granada endeavoured to refute the 'calumny of America', the notion of American inferiority set out by the Prussian abbot Corneille De Pauw, the naturalist Buffon and others. The New Granadan response to this theory emerged later than in New Spain, Perú and Chile.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Santa Fe, 1801-1811, Bogotá, 1942. Some examples of the contents of Semanario: in 1808, from n.1 to n.6 "Estado de la Geografía en el Virreinato"; from n.22 to n.30, "Memoria sobre el influjo del clima en los seres organizados". In 1809, "Noticia de una especie de grama útil en los potreros" by Eloy Valenzuela, n. 32 "Noticia sobre la escuela patriótica de Popayán" by V. Arboleda; n.40 "Datos de exportación e importación por Cartagena", by J. Caveró. It is not possible to know if Caldas had heard about the Semanario de agricultura y artes dirigido a los párrocos which circulated in Spain between 1797 and 1808. This was a publication addressed to parish priests with the aim that, through them, new agricultural techniques should reach farmers. The Caldas Semanario had no such specific end, though the kind of articles in the two weekly papers were quite similar. See F. Díez Rodríguez, Prensa agraria en la España de la Ilustración, el semanario de agricultura y artes dirigido a los párrocos, Madrid, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius De Pauw in his Défense des Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, Berlin, 1770, and Buffon in his works about fauna, flora and climate, pictured a continent of degenerate and evil nature. The debate that this theory generated has been called the 'calumny of America' by Antonello Gerbi in his La disputa del Nuevo Mundo, historia de una polémica, 1750-1900, México, 1960. The American response during the late colonial period was represented by Francisco Xavier Clavijero in México, Juan Ignacio de Molina in

Francisco Antonio Zea in the introduction to his 'Historical Memoirs', which themselves have never come to light, drafted the earliest attack on the notion of the evil nature of America.<sup>1</sup> However the most explicit defence of New Granada was made by Caldas and José María Salazar in their scientific writings published in the Semanario.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth noticing the advance from the Papel Periódico to the Correo Curioso and from this to the Semanario. There occurred a process of concretization and 'creolization', from the first turgid statements and European-originated treatises towards the increasing assumption of a particular New Granadan reality. The distance between proposals and reality, theory and practice started to diminish. Caldas's comment in a letter to Arroyo on the occasion of the issue of the Correo Curioso is revealing:

...es muy estrecho campo para anécdotas, política, historia, agricultura, artes, ciencias, economía, etc, etc, tres páginas; y demasiado para actos literarios, promoción y fiestas

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Chile, Juan de Velasco in Quito, all of them Creole Jesuits. José Manuel Dávalos and Hipólito de Unanue from Perú also stood by the wealth and resources of America. Manuel de Salas, Chilean, Mariano Moreno, Argentine, and José Cecilio del Valle in Central America also represent their countries in this dispute. See L. González, "Xavier Clavijero, abogado de América", and T. Halperin Donghi, "El letrado colonial como inventor de mitos revolucionarios. Fray Servanto Teresa de Mier a través de sus escritos autobiográficos", both in S. Bagú, De historia e historiadores, homenaje a José Luis Romero, México, 1982, pp. 95-112 and 113-144; S. Collier, Ideas and Politics in Chilean Independence 1809-1833, Cambridge, 1967; R. Soler, Idea y cuestión nacional latinoamericanas, México, 1980. See also J. Ocampo López, El proceso ideológico de la emancipación en Colombia, Bogotá, 1980, pp.225-229 and the above quoted J. C. Chiaramonte (comp.) Pensamiento de la Ilustración, where samples of the debate can be found.

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Zea, "Introducción a las Memorias para la Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada", Papel Periódico de Santa Fé, Suplemento n.48, 1792. Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez also made some remarks about this subject in the same newspaper.

<sup>2</sup> F. J. de Caldas, "Del influjo del clima sobre los seres organizados" 1809, in Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1942, Vol.I. pp. 136-196.

lo restante...Yo como individuo del Reino les prodigare mis alabanzas...<sup>1</sup>

Thus, Caldas was ready to welcome the paper though privately he wanted more pages devoted to useful and practice knowledge. It explains why his Semanario was defined as a 'scientific review'. The path travelled from the Papel Periódico to the Semanario was as long and as short as the difference between that first competition for a speech about the increase of the population in the 1790s and another held in 1809: 'What were the best plants for cultivation and exportation from New Granada?'.<sup>2</sup> The tradition of offering prizes in order to improve the economy continued after Independence. In 1810 the Consulado de Cartagena offered to the Suprema Junta Provincial a prize of one thousand pesos for the first person who established a glass factory in that city and another of five hundred pesos for the one who gathered three quintales of cochineal in his harvest.<sup>3</sup> In this way, useful, practical and effective knowledge was gaining a place.

In spite of a certain scientific amateurism and a naive view of economic problems, the reports about natural resources, economy and population are the testimony of an educated and trained creole elite that with more or less awareness intended to take the future of the country into their hands. As the diversity of natural resources was positively assumed to betoken wealth and colonial rule appeared as the obstacle, the image of a distinct future started to take shape. It was very common to express such a view of the country with sentences structured on the subjunctive mood on a pattern like this: if there were good roads, economic

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<sup>1</sup> E. Posada, Cartas de Caldas, letter from Caldas to S. Arroyo y Valencia, 5 March 1801, p.36.

<sup>2</sup> Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, revista científica, n.21, 1808, in E. Posada, Bibliografía Bogotana, vol. I, p.184.

<sup>3</sup> The document written by J. I. Pombo is in S. E. Ortiz, Escritos de dos economistas coloniales, Bogotá, 1965, pp.268-269. (1 quintal= 46 kilogrammes).

activity would increase; if there were proper policies, there would not be beggars in the streets... and so on. Thus, in the process of recognizing natural resources and desirable economic exploitation, some New Granadan creoles, who had been introduced to enlightened ideas, were eager to conclude that knowledge should turn into power.

It must be admitted that the language of these treatises and speeches was incomprehensible for the great majority of the population, not only because that majority was illiterate, outside the small circles of the enlightened, but also because of the contents. However, what made these works different from any antecedent ones was the intention of fitting learned notions to American reality, as well as the efforts to put these ideas in circulation.

Enlightened creole groups did strive to form a reading public in order to create a sense of New Granadan community, although what they achieved was only a small learned community. However, these newspapers and tertulias opened what seemed to be a public domain, broader, more autonomous, different from that of the cabildos and the Audiencia.

In spite of some modern features in Charles III's policies as well as in these writings of educated creoles, traditional notions of society based on status, honour and hierarchy subsisted.<sup>1</sup> The author knows of two attempts to break these social barriers and notions by the endowing of schools in Mompox and Medellín. In 1802 the Colegio Universidad de San Pedro Apostol was founded in Mompox by the merchant Martínez Pinillos. He declared that proofs of purity of blood would not be required, but the children should be placed in rows according to their social status. In 1806 some citizens, clerics and officials of Medellín petitioned for the foundation of a school "para general enseñanza de los jóvenes pobres y ricos que indistintamente han de entrar a su curso".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Góngora, Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America, p.160.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Colonia, Anexo, Instituciones públicas, t.IV, f.326, quoted and commented by R. Silva, Estudiantes y catedráticos, pp. 207-209.

### 1.3 Bureaucracy and bureaucratic careers

During the reign of Charles III imperial bureaucratic language and practices were revised. However, the Spanish version of Enlightenment was less revolutionary and more reformist: a modern rationality underlay the policies implemented by some authorities, although not of all of them. Following their example and stimulus some creoles committed themselves to new bureaucratic trends, which aimed at homogeneity, orderliness and effectiveness. Imperial interests were legitimated by rationality. We will try to track the careers and proposals of some Spanish and creole officials who were imbued with this vision.

Antonio Narváez in his Informe sobre las provincias de Santa Marta y Riohacha, 1778, was one of the first to describe what was thought to be the chain of prosperity: increase of population, improvement of agriculture and exports. This neo-mercantilist code, so coherent with the Bourbon objective of raising colonial productivity, had in this case a peculiar feature: any increase in population should be basically of black slaves, who were stronger than Indians and not as rebellious as the local Goajiros and Chimilas.<sup>1</sup> The models were Saint Domingue, Guadalupe and Barbados, French and British sugar colonies. Narváez proposed to exchange steers, mules and palo de tinte for slaves to establish sugar mills, indigo factories and cacao, coffee and cotton plantations in Santa Marta and Rio-Hacha. As regards the possibility of founding some small industries he opted for traditional notions, the deep-rooted belief

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<sup>1</sup> E. Restrepo Tirado in his Historia de la provincia de Santa Marta, Bogotá, 1953, tomo II, recounts the constant conflicts between the Spanish towns and authorities and the Goajiro and Chimila Indians. pp.159-160, 205, 216, 222, 240 and 260.

... que así conviene y pide la economía y política del Gobierno mantenerlas en este sistema, de que la América provea a España los materiales que la fertilidad y extensión de este país produce y España se los retribuya en manufacturas que la industria y aplicación de sus artífices trabaja, para emplear así a todos respecto a la naturaleza de ambos países y mantener las conexiones, vínculos y dependencia recíproca de una y otra parte de la Monarquía.<sup>1</sup>

Comparisons between the productivity of colonies were one of the constant topics among Bourbon royal officials since they knew the results of the massive introduction of slaves to Cuba during the 1762-1763 British occupation.<sup>2</sup> The dominant motivation of Narváez's report is that of an imperial agent: to enlarge the Crown's benefits by fostering production in every part of its dominions. He justified an international division of labour by assuming basic differences in nature as well as by arguing for the conservation of the relation of mutual dependence. The king, for his part, had decreed the free trade of some products in those provinces.

A Spanish military engineer, Don Antonio de La Torre y Miranda, reported in 1784 to the Viceroy his achievements in the relocation of settlements and the policía of population of the

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<sup>1</sup> A. Narváez "Informe sobre las Provincias de Santa Marta y Riohacha, año 1778" in A. B. Cuervo, Colección de Documentos Inéditos sobre la Geografía y la Historia de Colombia, vol. II, Bogotá, 1892. This author is probably the same A. Narvaez y la Torre who later on, commissioned by the Consulado of Cartagena, wrote a defense of domestic production and the domestic market; the same who, elected by Cartagena and Santa Marta, was named deputy of New Granada for the Cortes in 1808. See section 1.5 of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> See the effects of O'Really's reports in A. Kuethe, Military Reforms and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808, pp.8-24.

province of Cartagena.<sup>1</sup> Since being appointed in 1772 as lieutenant colonel attached to the military staff of Santa Marta, he had gathered 41.108 almas, 7.383 in the rank of vecinos, into forty-two new settlements; cimarrón slaves, stowaways, delinquents, blacks, mestizos and mulattoes were put to work in agriculture and cattle-raising, and set to live in houses as families. He asserted that the hot climate and its derived habits of idleness and drinking were causes of poverty. His mission attempted to combine the traditional Spanish notion of proper living in regular settlements with the aim of rationalizing production as pursued by the Bourbon administration. At the same time it was an effort to reinforce the Spanish presence in a territory of continuous conflicts with rebellious Goajiro and Chimila Indians. In this scheme the objective was not the exportation of agricultural products but the more modest one of the integration of that part of the country into the Spanish colonial economy and society by placing these people on the road of progress, instead of leaving them living 'degraded lives' in the wilds.

Mon y Velarde, a Spanish official gifted with an exceptional sensitivity, was appointed Visitor of Antioquia (1785-1788). He too promoted the foundation of new settlements and the establishment of new agricultural activities, as well as a better organization of existing mining and commercial exchange, the collection of taxes, the control of estancos, cajas reales and post offices. He wrote regulations for cabildos and criticized their wasteful habits. His actions were explicitly motivated by the poverty, ignorance and idleness he observed in some neighbourhoods and by his zeal for increasing the state income.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. de la Torre y Miranda, "Noticia individual de las poblaciones nuevamente fundadas en la provincia de Cartagena", Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, Miscelanea 196. This document has been recently edited as unpublished in Huellas, review of the Universidad del Norte, n.21, Barranquilla, December 1987, pp.73-81. The editor gives this reference 'AGI Santa Fé 600A, sin foliar', and under the title of "Noticia de Antonio de la Torre y Miranda para el Virrey sobre fundaciones verificadas en la provincia de Cartagena, Santa Fé, mayo 18 de 1784". This edition made by O. Fals Borda includes a map and the names corresponding to those of the former foundations.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mon y Velarde's inform and proposals have been published in E. Robledo, Bosquejo biográfico del señor Oldor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, Visitador de Antioquia, 1785-1788, 2 vols., Bogotá, 1954.

Mon y Velarde became involved in conflicts with the inhabitants of some towns due to his strictly righteous policies. Even a century after, while some local historians remembered him as a regenerator others thought him a tyrant.<sup>1</sup>

What these officials were attempting was to subsume under a single scheme both mestizos scattered in the countryside and rebellious Indian communities. They were to some extent participants of that spirit of rationality which is said to characterize the bureaucracy of modern societies. "Orderliness and efficiency may indeed be seen as the bureaucratic and the entrepreneurial elements in an overall spirit of rationality."<sup>2</sup>

The original colonial project of ordering in two separated worlds a Spanish Republic and an Indian Republic, had in practice been abandoned. However, the ideal of a literate city, although mestiza, survived.<sup>3</sup> Father Joseph Palacio de la Vega wrote a diary of his travels among the Indians and blacks of the province of Cartagena. He described poverty, idleness, laziness, drunkenness, concubinage, fornication, and impiety as their prevailing habits in the late 1780s.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> T. Ospina, El Oidor Mon y Velarde Regenerador de Antioquia, Medellín, 1901 and A. Restrepo Eusse, Historia de Antioquia desde la conquista hasta el año 1900, Medellín, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> E. Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, p.20.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Rama, La ciudad letrada, Hannover, 1984.

<sup>4</sup> Fray Joseph Palacio de la Vega, Diario de viaje del Padre Joseph Palacio de la Vega entre los indios y negros de la provincia de Cartagena en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, 1787-1788, edited by G. Reichel Dolmatoff, Bogotá, 1955, *passim*.

Some creoles welcomed this new spirit and eagerly adjusted their bureaucratic practices to it. Although their experiences and reflections led some of them towards more radical criticism later on, others faithfully followed Charles III's code and occasionally found themselves in opposition to many of the other educated creoles as well as to the local communities below. Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón is a case in point. He and Joaquín Mosquera were the most regalist and trusty high-ranking creole officials.

Moreno y Escandón was involved in almost every important aspect of colonial administration from 1766 to 1780. In spite of the fact that Moreno's plan of study favoured the awakened creole interest in useful knowledge, and his reductions of resguardos favoured white and mestizo settlers living alongside Indian towns, Moreno faced the challenge to his activities from the Comunero movement. He was never supported by the creoles but was seen as a viceregal agent. It is striking that although he was opposed to Gutiérrez de Piñeres's policies, Moreno's activities provoked as much opposition as those of the Visitor-General. Moreno's experience was unusually wide and varied.<sup>1</sup>

The ideals of orderliness and efficiency that had been put in circulation reached middle-ranking officials, some of whom endeavoured to implement them in their jurisdictions. They found both acceptance and rejection. The Marquis of Valdehoyos, in attempting to order and rationalize the activities of the cabildo of Valledupar, encountered as many obstacles as those faced by Mon y Velarde in Antioquia. The Marquis wanted to establish a cemetery, to take care of the roads and to organize the supply of meat in Valledupar. After he had failed in all these aims, he sent eleven notebooks to Viceroy Amar y Borbón in 1807. He blamed the cabildo members for being solely concerned about keeping their positions and holding public fiestas; he had found a neglectful attitude, even open opposition to the projects; the

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<sup>1</sup> F. A. Moreno y Escandón, Indios y mestizos en la Nueva Granada, 1779, ed. by J. O. Melo, Bogotá, 1985. The introduction, "Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón: retrato de un burócrata colonial", is an interpretation of Moreno's achievements and a biographical sketch. See pp.5-36.

community did not welcome innovations.<sup>1</sup>

Other officials such as alcalde Ignacio Mejía in Rionegro focused their spirit of order and their patriotic zeal on the morals of the society. He faced strong opposition to his measures against adultery and concubinage: one evening after a popular festivity some disguised men attacked his house and beat him.<sup>2</sup>

A recently-published document was written by two royal officials of Antioquia and sent to the Viceroy in 1782.<sup>3</sup> They proposed that the increase of royal revenue should be sought through the promotion of diverse economic activities and not from the multiplication of taxes. Montepíos (charitable funds) should be created in the cities and towns, and the third part of their assets should be devoted to finance the activities of farmers, miners and merchants who needed capital. The two officials, Andrés Pardo and Francisco José Visadías, came up with some original remarks. They excluded clerics from the Montepíos, though they petitioned the priests not to preach against these institutions; they disapproved of the use of slaves in production as anti-economic. The massive introduction of goats was suggested as an appropriate activity in those mountains. They also petitioned for the establishment of a lottery in the Viceroyalty. Above all, these two officials argued for the Montepíos as the most fitting,

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Empleados Públicos del Magdalena, (hereafter EPM), t.7, fo. 990-996.

<sup>2</sup> See the case in section 2.1.3, pp. 167-168 of this thesis. Ignacio Mejía Gutiérrez was the son of the Spaniard Don Manuel Mejía del Tobay and Doña Juana Gutiérrez de Lara; was also the father of the well-known poet Don Francisco Ignacio Mejía and the grandfather of Liborio Mejía, a remarkable figure in the Independence period. See E. Robledo, Bosquejo biográfico del señor Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, p.54.

<sup>3</sup> A. Pardo and F. J. Visadías, "Plan fiscal y económico para la provincia de Antioquia, 1782", taken from AHN, Visitas de Antioquia, T.II, fo.426-447, edited in Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura (henceforth ACHSC), n. 9, Bogotá, 1979, pp.123-150. It should be noted that Francisco Visadías, royal accountant, was one of those Francisco Silvestre, Visitor of Antioquia, denounced as an obstacle to his reforms. See also footnote 1, p.51.

practical and urgent solution. The authors of the Plan fiscal y económico para la provincia de Antioquia (1782) declared that their proposals were based on experience, and constituted the best available means to given ends.

It is not always possible to know whether proposals such as these were accepted by the authorities. In the case of a representación written by Don Miguel de Merizalde to the Viceroy on 29 May 1784 from Nemocón, which again set out the contradiction between a resource-rich country and manpower shortage as a cause of the backwardness of the economy, the reply is startling:

Este papel comprende algunas de las máximas más comunes para poder beneficiar este Reyno; nada dice en particular que pudiera procurar alguna luz para disfrutar las ventajas que ofrece tan fértil territorio por lo que no le considera el fiscal de algún provecho. Santa Fe y Junio 12 1784. Andino.<sup>1</sup>

The patriotic Bourbon rules and notions had been put into circulation to such an extent that the central ideas had become 'common maxims'.

Many of the mayors', cabildos' and governors' proposals of policia for their districts during the late colonial period were supported by these notions. Yet on the eve of Independence José Manuel Restrepo, then a young lawyer of the Real Audiencia, in his treatise on the province of Antioquia asserted that the most urgent necessity was an 'enlightened governor' to promote the navigation of the Cauca and Nechi rivers and to urge the inhabitants to rear sheep and establish factories. Men had to make their minds up in favour of innovations. The terms of his advice are telling: "no cultiveis solamente los frutos que cultivaron vuestros mayores poco ilustrados".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Fondo Impuestos Varios, Cartas, t. 15, fo.397-400.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Restrepo, "Ensayo sobre la geografía, producción, industria y población de la provincia de Antioquia en el Nuevo Reino de Granada", in Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1942. See also the documents on proposals about roads, hospitals, poorhouses,

The educated creole clerics who formed part of the group of individuals eager for efficiency can be represented by Father Eloy Valenzuela, former member of the Botanic Expedition and parish priest of Bucaramanga. In his memorandum about the local population, resources and habits requested by the king in 1803, he included this assesment about justice:

Si los alcaldes tuvieran a la mano un castigo pronto sumario y doloroso y pudieran dispensarse de autos, información y traslados y otros giros judiciales el mal se cortaba de raiz.<sup>1</sup>

We have deliberately left the most famous New Granadan creole, Pedro Fermín de Vargas, out of the discussion until now in order to end our argument with a comparison between him and another noted official, the Spaniard Francisco Silvestre. They had comparable careers since both of them were first officials of the secretariat of the Viceroyalty who then held posts as provincial officials. They also made long journeys throughout New Granada, wrote their memorias and made suggestions, and both fell into disgrace.

Pedro Fermín de Vargas was born in San Gil. According to an anonymous reference he was descended from Indians on his mother's side. He studied with Mutis and Valenzuela in the College of El Rosario. He was considered talented, and he grew rich. Though he was said to have been under suspicion since 1774, he was able to avoid prosecution. He sold his library to Antonio Nariño and fled the country in 1791 with a woman, embezzling funds from the Royal Treasury and abandoning his family. He went to Europe where in the company of Francisco Miranda he tried to obtain support for a separatist movement from the English and French governments.<sup>2</sup> Francisco Silvestre was a trusty Bourbon official and a prolific author

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jails, etc, in the records of policía, AHN, Colonia, Policía, 11 volumes.

<sup>1</sup> AHN, Poblaciones de Santander, t. 2, fo. 428-451.

<sup>2</sup> "Aportaciones a la biografía del precursor de la Independencia Suramericana, Don Francisco

of detailed reports in every post he occupied. Governor and Visitor of Antioquia, he was deeply involved in its politics during the 1780s and 1790s.<sup>1</sup>

Vargas and Silvestre were contemporaries of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Their treatises contain the aims that were pursued by the Bourbon colonial reformers as much as by the creole vanguard: population increase, the development of agriculture, mining and industry, the building of roads for commerce. The difference between them lay in their motivations: what for Vargas meant enhancement of the country itself, for Silvestre was part of a long-run strategy for the conservation of the colony under the Spanish Crown. This is clear from his chapter entitled: Remedios oportunos que necesita para sanar de sus males políticos:

El poner en una cierta relación de necesidad de este Reyno con los de España para mantener su dependencia es sumamente preciso, y por lo tanto no conviene permitir fábricas de tejidos finos de lanas, algodón, o seda como se pretende en Quito. El estrechar y hacer más íntima la relación de los habitantes de la América Española con los de la Península si se quiere conservar su unión, nacionalidad y propios sentimientos perpetuamente en orden a religión y gobierno.<sup>2</sup>

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Miranda" (without author), in BHA, 12, 1918, pp.398-399. The books of Nariño's library are listed in E. Posada and P. M. Ibañez El precursor, Bogotá, 1903, pp.184-190, as they were confiscated on 6 October 1794 by the Spanish authorities. G. Hernández de Alba, "Esbozo para una biografía del precursor Pedro Fermín de Vargas", Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico, 16 (4), 1979, 88-79. A. Miramón in his Dos vidas no ejemplares, Pedro Fermín de Vargas y Manuel Mallo, Bogotá, 1962, maintains that Vargas got his appointment as royal official as a recompense for the services rendered to the government by his brother Lorenzo de Vargas, priest of Girón, in forging the conciliation between this city and Socorro during the Comunero revolt. (pp.15-16).

<sup>1</sup> Silvestre, while governor of Antioquia, prosecuted and imprisoned another Spanish royal official, the Judge of Confiscations (juéz de comisos), Pedro Biturro Pérez who, once liberated, made various accusations against him. British Museum: Egerton 1807, fo. 669-677.

<sup>2</sup> F. Silvestre, Descripción del Reino de Santa Fé de Bogotá, 1789, Bogotá, 1968, p.115.

Vargas, in turn, is more emphatic in his statement about creole loyalty, although it is hardly credible that he was not disguising his radical position. After having criticized Spanish economic policies, he officiously added:

La Independencia de estos dominios es un fantasma con que los demás pueblos nos asustan continuamente, por que ignoran el caracter de fidelidad común a todos los españoles de ambos mundos; a mas de que bajo un gobierno dulce y humano no son de temer semejantes revoluciones.<sup>1</sup>

J. C. Chiaramonte has warned against interpreting criticism as moderate when it is muted by prudence and self-censorship. In the case of Vargas it appears to be appropriate, since his escape and conspiratorial activities immediately followed his writings.<sup>2</sup>

All the same, there are many more points of agreement than of disagreement between the two thinkers. These two experienced bureaucrats combined in their proposals practical knowledge of the economy, society, politics and the people's idiosyncracies with enlightened notions. Moreover both of them foresaw the creole disaffection and ill-will that certain royal policies would cause. As his subsequent behavior showed, Vargas surreptitiously sympathised with this feeling.

In his observations as interim governor of Antioquia, Silvestre set out his ideals of orderliness, arguing the need for ordenanzas to direct the cabildos' work towards the establishment of ejidos (common land for the inhabitants of each town), propios (land owned by the cabildo), public buildings, aqueducts, slaughterhouses, cementeries and poor-houses.<sup>3</sup> While interim

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<sup>1</sup> P. F. de Vargas, "Memoria sobre la población del Reino" in P. F. de Vargas, Pensamientos políticos, Bogotá, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Chiaramonte, Pensamiento de la Ilustración, prologue, p.XXII.

<sup>3</sup> F. Silvestre, Relación de la provincia de Antioquia, 1797, mss., fo.42-46. This recently discovered document of 324 folios, has been edited by D. Robinson and published in

corregidor of Zipaquirá and Ubaté (1789-1791), Vargas wrote his "Representación sobre la falta de albergues y posadas" and "Plan de las Constituciones para el Hospital Real de San Pedro de la parroquia de Zipaquirá".<sup>1</sup> Both Vargas and Silvestre criticized the locations of settlements and proposed relocating them in fertile and commercially accesible parts.<sup>2</sup> Silvestre pointed to the behavior of civil and ecclesiastic, local and provincial authorities as crucial causes of discontent, injustice and backwardness. Family and political cliques and shyster lawyers, greedy clerics and pernicious fanaticism impeded efficient administration and economic growth. Rules had to be imposed to avoid injustice and abuses in ecclesiastical fees and 'voluntary' donations.<sup>3</sup> Echoing Féjoo's criticism, Silvestre attacked the vanity and presumption which deluded citizens and led them into continuous disputes.<sup>4</sup> Relocation of the 'fixed batallions' was part of Silvestre's methodical plan. Vargas as well as Silvestre thought that taxes should not be multiplied, and most of the state monopolies should be suppressed: a right policy ought to encourage production rather than impose taxes.<sup>5</sup> The Vargas inventory of agricultural products to be encouraged included wheat, wool, cotton, flax, hemp, indigo, 'Bogotá tea', quinine, cinnamon, cacao, cochineal and tobacco.<sup>6</sup> Silvestre in his report of 1797

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Medellín, 1988.

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Tisnes, Un precursor, Don Pedro Fermín de Vargas, Bogotá, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> P. F. de Vargas, "Pensamientos políticos sobre la agricultura, comercio y minas del Virreinato de Santa Fé de Bogotá", in Pensamientos políticos, Bogotá, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> F. Silvestre, Relación sobre la provincia de Antioquia, 1797, fo. 46-77.

<sup>4</sup> C. Pérez Bustamante, "La España de Féjoo", in Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo, año IV, n. 1-4, 1964, pp.5-17.

<sup>5</sup> F. Silvestre, *Ibid* fo. 228-234.

<sup>6</sup> P. F. de Vargas, "Pensamientos políticos", pp.38-80.

added balsam, carob tree gum (similar to gum arabic), incense, tamarind and sarsaparrilla.<sup>1</sup> Their lists of resources also included the mines of gold, silver, platinum, copper, iron and mercury, and precious stones such as emeralds, amethysts, jacinth and rock crystal; they finished up with pearls, tortoiseshell and tar.

The lists contained precise references to places, current methods of exploitation, estimates of profits and advice on investment policies, management and marketing. While Vargas emphasized the creation of a network of roads, Silvestre imagined numerous hamlets of fifty families devoted to cattle-raising, to growing all those suitable foodstuffs, and to forestry along the rivers.<sup>2</sup>

Sociedades Patrióticas de Amigos del Pais and Consulados (merchants guilds) were commended as worthwhile institutions. They would inquire into geographic, social and economic circumstances, appropriate new techniques from European countries or from other colonies and import seeds and distribute them. They would make roads, make the rivers navigable, foment internal and external trade and plan convenient settlements. Some of these proposals contradicted Bourbon policies. The insistence on the establishment of a textile industry in New Granada ran into specific Imperial prohibition; the domestic production of flour was discouraged by the official introduction of foreign flour into New Granada, decreed in order to stop smuggling.<sup>3</sup>

Silvestre finished his judicious plan with an extended chapter on the royal income which

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<sup>1</sup> F. Silvestre, Ibid fo. 235-236.

<sup>2</sup> F. Silvestre, Ibid fo. 240-245, P. F. de Vargas, "Pensamientos políticos", pp.21-38; "Memoria sobre la población del Reino", p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> F. Silvestre, Ibid, fo. 277. P. F. de Vargas, "Pensamientos políticos", pp.38-43; "Memoria sobre la población del Reino", pp. 97-98, 104-105, 110.

seemed to be the real motive and objective of his long-run strategy. He offered himself for high appointment, promising spectacular results for the Crown.<sup>1</sup> It is more difficult to point out the nuances of Vargas's discourse. We have to be aware that he disguised his radical position in his writings. Nevertheless it is not too subtle to note a disapproving tone in his account of the Conquest and a daring attitude in his proposal that soldiers should be given lands and assigned to road building. One of his most advanced suggestions was that the distinction between Spanish cities and Indian towns should be abandoned for a policy of miscegenation which would convert the Indians into ordinary citizens and improve their racial characteristics.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Vargas's proposal for the miscegenation of Indians and the suppression of tribute went further than both Moreno y Escandón's replacement and reduction of Resguardos and Silvestre's proposal for the division of Indian land into individual private properties while keeping the Indians subject to their specific cargas. These questions were in the centre of the debate on policies of either preserving the purity or encouraging the miscegenation of Indians which occupied the officials of the period.<sup>3</sup> One can assert that Vargas's ideal was probably a community of equal, hardworking mestizo people living under

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<sup>1</sup> F. Silvestre, *Ibid*, fo.304.

<sup>2</sup> P. F. de Vargas, "Pensamientos políticos", pp. 36-37; "Memoria sobre la población del Reino", pp.85-90, 99.

<sup>3</sup> See F. A. Moreno y Escandón's report of his visit and steps taken, published as Indios y mestizos de la Nueva Granada, and F. Silvestre, Descripción del Reino de Santa Fè de Bogotá, p.114. M. Mörner in his Estado, razas y cambio social en la Hispanoamerica colonial, México, 1974, describes the debate about the socio-racial policy that should be implemented in the colonies. Among the high-ranking officers there were some who wanted to hispanicize the Indians completely and others who wanted to continue with the traditional policy of separation from the whites. (pp.148-156). This hesitation explains the confrontation between two royal officials in New Granada, Visitor-General Gutiérrez de Piñeres and Fiscal and Visitor Moreno y Escandón, as well as Moreno's changes of opinion in the 1770's. As has been said, Moreno hesitated with regard to this problem, though he saw at times the convenience of uniting the Indians with the rest of the Crown's vassals. The debate is studied by T. Gomez in "La evolución del mundo indígena de Nueva Granada y sus relaciones ante un aspecto del reformismo Borbón", in La América española en la época de las luces, Madrid, 1988. (Coloquio franco-español 18-20 September 1986), pp.251-265.

a good-natured government:

Para el aumento de nuestra agricultura, sería igualmente necesario españolizar a nuestros indios. La indolencia general de ellos, su estupidez y la insensibilidad que manifiestan hacia todo aquello que mueve y alienta a los demás hombres hacen pensar que vienen de una raza degenerada que se empeora en razón de la distancia de su origen...sería muy de desear que se extinguiesen los indios confundiéndolos con los blancos, declarándoles libres de tributo y demás cargas propias suyas, y dándoles tierras en propiedad.<sup>1</sup>

This proposed miscegenation and citizenship for the Indians affronted the core of colonial political economy. Judgements from Vargas's contemporaries on his flight showed that they were aware of his ideas, although not all of them agreed with him. The lawyer Francisco Gaona de la Bastida wrote from Bogotá to Juan José D'Elhuyar on 29 December 1791:

Aquí ha habido novedad tan grande que no se tiene noticia semejante. Don Pedro de Vargas ha hecho fuga, llevándose una mujer casada. Se dice que por estar denunciado de seguir los desatinos de Voltaire. Don Josef (Caicedo) le escribe con toda extension los pasajes por lo que me remito a él. Estos son efectos de los librefos franceses, leídos sin las luces de la Escritura y la Sagrada Teología.<sup>2</sup>

It is also telling that once Independence was proclaimed in 1810, the newspaper Aviso al público, attempting to form a popular patriotic library, decided that it would start with Vargas's "Pensamientos políticos sobre la agricultura, el comercio y minas de este Reino".<sup>3</sup> Vargas belonged to the circle of Nariño that was known as the 'Conspirators' by the Spanish authorities.

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<sup>1</sup> P. F. de Vargas, "Memoria sobre la población del Reino", p.99. Also quoted in English by B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, p. 21 taken from J. Lynch, The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826, London, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Archivo Caicedo, original letter; quoted in B. J. Caicedo, D'Elhuyar y el siglo XVIII, p.261.

<sup>3</sup> D. F. Padilla, Aviso al público, Bogotá, 1810, n.13, in L. Martínez Delgado, S. E. Ortiz, El periodismo en la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1910, p.452.

Despite his notoreity, Pedro Fermin de Vargas was not the only outstanding letrado of New Granada. Some others could be included in the general profile of this colonial type, though by the end of the eighteenth century New Granada had not produced a Jesuit of the calibre of those who emerged from that order in Peru and New Spain, and who constituted early representatives of American thought.<sup>1</sup> The language and form of the reports, treatises, representaciones of all them were quite close: a mixture of economics, natural sciences and more or less veiled political criticism. Memoirs, descriptions and accounts written by the New Granadan creoles resemble most of the works of enlightened creoles or humanists of that century. Even so, in a recently published selection of thinkers from different viceroyalties in the last colonial century, J. C. Chiaramonte insisted on how misleading and superficial the argument for the connection between Enlightenment and Independence has been. It might be possible that the character of the Spanish colonies, with their homogeneous structures and the experience of reformist policies, contributed more to intercolonial similarities among creole

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<sup>1</sup> T. Halperin Donghi hints at a collective profile of the colonial letrado in Spanish America, within which Fray Servando Teresa de Mier fits, though he is not average since he exaggerates the common features, (T. Halperin Donghi, "El letrado colonial como inventor de mitos revolucionarios. Fray Servando Teresa de Mier a través de sus escritos autobiográficos", p.114). One can place New Granadan letrados within the average of what T. Blossom describes as "wealthy, educated creole leaders whose careers flourished under the Spanish rule and reached their summit during the revolution and the early days of the Independent republics", (T. Blossom, Nariño, hero of Colombian Independence, Tucson, 1967, p.2).

Pedro Bravo de Lagunas, author of the Voto Consultivo was the most outstanding representative of the first stage in the shaping of a national conscience in the Viceroyalty of Peru concerning the defense of American interests in philosophic and economic terms. Xavier Clavijero's Disertaciones and Fray Servando Teresa de Mier's sermon about the Virgin of Guadalupe as a mestiza icon represent early works of American thought in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The Chilean economist Manuel de Salas and the Argentine Mariano Moreno were also eminent creole letrados. The Peruvian Juan Pablo Viscardo de Guzman with his "Carta a los Españoles Americanos", and Juan de Velasco with his Historia del Reino de Quito, both of them Jesuits, as was Clavijero, similarly contributed to the early American response.

See P. Macera, Tres etapas en el desarrollo de la conciencia nacional, Lima, 1955, pp.27-32; L. González, "Xavier Clavijero, abogado de America"; S. Collier, Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808-1833; R. Vargas Ugarte, sj., La 'Carta a los Españoles Americanos' de Don Juan Pablo Viscardo de Guzmán, Lima, 1954.

thinkers than 'the Enlightenment'.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the colonial economies, societies and politics were under revision, although an all-embracing view had not yet been produced.

#### 1.4 Lawyers: creole representation and discrimination

The creole lawyers of the Real Audiencia participated in and enriched this intellectual climate. They were half-way between independent professionals and bureaucrats. They also belonged to the high culture through status, family links and college experience. Camilo Torres was one of the outstanding members of such a circle. He and Caldas were cousins, both had been born in Popayán where they attended the Seminario and then the college of El Rosario in Santa Fe, at which they became lecturers. The priesthood or the law were the only possible careers for many young men from the most notable creole families. Some of those coming from the provinces returned to their places of origin; others remained in Bogotá, the seat of the Viceroyalty, where the central bureaucracy was based.

The profile of these lawyers can be outlined through some examples who came to be seen as models by the rest and whose experiences and writings provide an indication of their feelings. They were wealthy educated creoles working as barristers with the privilege of speaking in the Audiencia. In 1794 Camilo Torres, enrolled as a lawyer, undertook the defence of Francisco Antonio Zea, accused in the general investigation arising from the Conspiración de los pasquines, and in 1795 that of the students Nicolás and Juan José Hurtado, in partnership with another lawyer Luis de Ovalle. In 1797 he defended Father Eloy Valenzuela, accused of having delivered a revolutionary sermon. Torres, acting as Abogado de pobres, also occasionally

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<sup>1</sup> J. C. Chiaramonte (comp.), Pensamiento de la Ilustración, Caracas, 1979. See also A. P. Whitaker, "Changing and Unchanging Interpretations of the Enlightenment in Spanish America", in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 114 (4), 1970.

defended dispossessed people.<sup>1</sup>

From 1808 Torres's experience was that of one of the leaders of a creole group gathered around what had become their stronghold: the cabildo of Santa Fe. Torres in 1809 was appointed assessor of this cabildo, entering the colonial bureaucracy for the first time.

Joaquín Camacho, another such figure, was born in Pamplona. Like Torres, he attended the College of El Rosario and then became a lecturer there. His course in Public Law, initiated in 1791, suffered censorship in 1794, when it was replaced by Royal Law. In the same year he had been accused of involvement in the 'conspiracy' and of possessing a copy of the defence of Nariño drafted by Ricaurte. He on his part undertook the defence of the printer of "The Rights of Man", Diego Espinosa de los Monteros. Despite these facts, his upright behaviour and his qualifications as a scientist were so highly regarded that Viceroy Ezpeleta appointed him as gobernador letrado of Tocaima in 1795.<sup>2</sup> In 1805 Viceroy Amar y Borbón named him governor of the province of Pamplona, a post which he held for two years; in 1809 he took over the office of corregidor of Socorro. In both Pamplona and Socorro he was subsequently replaced by a Spanish officer: Bastus y Falla in Pamplona in 1807, and José Francisco Valdez in Socorro in 1809. The lawsuit provoked by the unfair handling of elections in Pamplona by Bastus y Falla and the comparison made by the inhabitants between this corregidor and Camacho will be explored in this thesis.<sup>3</sup> The conduct of Valdez as corregidor of Socorro also upset the neighbourhood; he allegedly persecuted local creole authorities; he had also caused

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<sup>1</sup> R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, ideario de una generación y de una época 1781- 1821, 2 vol. Bogotá, 1982, vol.II, pp.14-17. See also C. Torres, "Notas para la defensa de Juan José y Nicolás Hurtado acusados de sedición", in J. F. Wilhite, The Enlightenment and Education, appendix M.

<sup>2</sup> R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, vol. 2, p.56.

<sup>3</sup> See this thesis, section 2.1.3, pp. 161-163.

the lawyer Lorenzo Plata to be suspended from his job for six years when the latter caused one of Valdez's decisions in a lawsuit to be overruled by the mayor.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Pamplona were to expel Bastus y Falla on 4 July 1810; Socorro did the same to Valdez on 10 July 1810. Camacho had earlier joined the Botanic Expedition, and he collaborated with Caldas's Semanario where he published a Relación territorial de la provincia de Pamplona.<sup>2</sup> His political commitment to Independence would reveal a man who knew his country and had bided his time to speak out.<sup>3</sup>

Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez de Caviedes, born in Cúcuta in 1770, had attended the Bogotá college of San Bartolomé. He became a Doctor of Law in 1794 and entered the Real Audiencia. The following year he was appointed professor of Canon Law in his College and then prefect of it. He was the author of the manuscript letters called the Cartas de Suba. They never appeared in print, although there are many testimonies of their circulation during February and March 1809. Gutiérrez was prosecuted for them. Francisco de Paula Santander, the future Vice President of Gran Colombia and first President of New Granada, recognized in his memoirs the part played in his education and political awakening by teachers such as Gutiérrez de Caviedes, Emidgio Benítez and his uncle Nicolás de Omaña.<sup>4</sup> But what really strikes one's attention is other people's awareness of the distinct practice of these lawyers. In this respect a bundle of letters in the Archivo Nacional between Juan Nepomuceno Azuero, priest of Anolaima, Gómez, the notary of La Mesa, and José Antonio Olaya, an ex mayor of

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Empleados Públicos de Santander, (henceforth EPS), t.II, fo, 57-113.

<sup>2</sup> J. Camacho, "Relación territorial de la provincia de Pamplona", published in the Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, vol. II, Bogotá, 1942, pp.1-21.

<sup>3</sup> S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, Bogotá, 1960, p.137; R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> F. P. Santander, Apuntamientos para las memorias sobre Colombia y la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1837, p.2.

that city, and another priest in Santa Fe, reveals the connections between the creole lawyers in the Audiencia and other circles of creole officials in smaller cities. Azuero wrote to Francisco J. Gómez, the notary, as follows:

De cualquier decreto denos noticia, y se le consulta con letrado en ésa, con los doctores Don Emidgio Benítez, Don Manuel Palacios o Don José María Salazar, o con otros de igual caracter. Quiero decir con otros letrados que atiendan solo la justicia y el mérito de lo obrado, sin dejarse llevar, para dictaminar, de empeños y embrollos que ofusquen la verdad.<sup>1</sup>

'Doctor Don Frutos', who must be Gutiérrez de Caviedes, and Doctor Ortiz also appeared named as reliable lawyers in these letters. Azuero, the notary Gómez and his uncle, the priest, would be imprisoned in October and November in the wave of repression after the Juntas of September 1809.<sup>2</sup>

José María Salazar with a similar career to the others, taught at the College of San Pedro Apostol in Mompox along with José María Gutiérrez de Caviedes, Frutos's step-brother, and both of them assumed leading roles in the events of August 1810 in that villa. Emidgio Benítez, from Socorro, and Miguel Tadeo Gómez were lawyers from the college of El Rosario and would both participate in the Junta Suprema of 20 July 1810.

Ignacio de Herrera y Vergara, from Cali, went to the Seminario in Popayán and later to El Rosario in Santa Fe. He kept in touch with his relatives in Cali, Popayán and Quito who

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Empleados Públicos de Cundinamarca (hereafter EPC), t.I, fo.983.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, T. I, fo. 976.

The priest Gómez would be part of the Junta Suprema of Santa Fe established on 20 July 1810. José Antonio Olaya would organize a troop of of three hundred men to go to Santa Fe within the master plan of conspiracy headed by Doctor Andrés Rosillo y Meruelo, Dean of the Cathedral in 1809. See S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, pp.35, 96 and 147.

became involved in the Independence movement afterwards.<sup>1</sup> Herrera submitted one of the most decided votos in the Juntas of 1809 favouring the formation of Cortes in New Granada. José María Castillo y Rada and José Gregorio Gutiérrez Moreno, procurators of the cabildo of Santa Fe in 1808 and 1809 respectively, also produced votos in this line.<sup>2</sup>

Together with Castillo, a group of creoles from Cartagena, educated at El Rosario or San Bartolomé were principal members of the circle of lawyers: García Toledo, García Hevia, Díaz Granados, del Real, Gutiérrez de Piñeres y Rodríguez Torices.. In Santa Fe, some other members of family clans such as the Vergaras, the Caicedos, the Groots and Mendoza y Galavís also belonged to the College of Lawyers and kept a quite close relationship with the cabildo as its creole members came from this circle.<sup>3</sup> In Cartagena, Del Real as well as Díaz Granados, J. M. Castillo y Rada and Germán Gutiérrez de Piñeres, all of them lawyers of the Real Audiencia, were mentioned by Antonio Villavicencio in his reports to the Consejo de Regencia, of which he was the commissioner. All of them would participate in the Juntas that eventually overthrew governor Montes. Garcia de Toledo would be the President and Del Real chief of policia in the Cartagena Junta created on 13 August 1810.

It seems that the cluster of lawyers was both ready and prepared to engage in politics in the crucial years of 1808-1810. They were closer to power and they knew the language and the

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<sup>1</sup> Among the Herrera's kin were Bishop Cuero in Quito, Doctor Manuel Santiago Vallecilla, asesor at the government of Popayán, Doctor Cayzedo y Cuero, the last Alférez Real of Cali and Doctor Cayzedo de la Llera in Nóvita (nowadays Chocó). See D. García Vásquez, Revaluaciones históricas para la ciudad de Santiago de Cali, Cali, 1924, pp. 149-163.

<sup>2</sup> R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, pp. 103, 146. Those votos were extensive written pieces expressing opinions about how to deal with the rebellion of Quito and the general colonial crisis.

<sup>3</sup> S. E. Ortiz, Doctor José María del Real, Bogotá, 1969, pp.7-9. In 1808 Del Real was appointed mayor of 'first vote' in the cabildo of Cartagena, and from 1809 was asesor of that body. See also A. Villavicencio, "Informe a la Junta de Regencia", in S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, pp. 124-127.

rhetoric, though some of them had bided their time to speak out.

However neither their political ideas nor their social position and attitudes towards the lower strata of society placed the creoles at a great distance from the Spaniards. The feeling of being natives, the experience of discrimination and distrust and the Spanish crisis of 1808 enabled several groups to assume positions in favour of Independence and occasionally to gain some popular support.

### 1.5 Merchants and diezmeros: business and politics

New approaches to reality were made by scientists and amateurs as well as by bureaucrats and lawyers, as has been shown above. In turn, merchants and diezmeros introduced proposals inspired by their particular interests. They gathered themselves in Consulados and Sociedades Patrióticas and pressed for changes. What they proposed was also brought to the fore as motivated by patriotism.

By the eighteenth century any earlier reluctance of creoles to enter commerce had been overcome. The merchants of the cities (comerciantes de la carrera) had achieved prestige and recognition from landowners, miners and high bureaucrats, who had invested capital in trade from the early seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> For their part the diezmeros to whom the Church farmed the collection of tithes (diezmos), had good scope for manoeuvring with the money collected by investing in domestic trade. This explains why, at the end of the eighteenth century, when the Church tried to exert more control over tithes, New Granadan diezmeros, were strongly

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<sup>1</sup> P. Marzahl, Town in the Empire, Government, Politics and Society in Seventeenth Century Popayán, Austin, 1978, pp.28-29; G. Colmenares, Cali, terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes, siglo XVIII, Cali, 1975, pp.156-157.

opposed to it. The so-called 'economists' were the spokesmen of these groups.

The process of maturing creole economic ideas can be followed in the Patriotic Societies and in the Consulados. The economic or patriotic societies were well-organized institutions, similar to societies existing in Germany, France, England and Spain, to promote improvements in agriculture, industry and commerce. Many were founded in the main colonial cities during the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Proposals to promote a Patriotic Society in Santa Fe were initiated in the 1790s, Pedro Fermín de Vargas being one of first to write about the need for such bodies in 1790. Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez also tackled the subject; he gave the theme much importance, as if all social and economic problems of the country could be solved through such institution, and through orphanages. In 1801 a petition of Mutis and Jorge Tadeo Lozano to set up such a society was accepted by the Viceroy.<sup>2</sup>

The Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais of Santa Fe had three sections: agriculture; industry, commerce and politics; science and liberal arts. The members committed themselves to teach basic sciences and to write useful treatises; they worked closely with the members of the Botanic Expedition, and on similar subjects. This patriotic society did not survive the wars of Independence.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> F. de las Barras Aragón, "Las Sociedades Económicas en Indias", Anuario de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 12, 1955, pp.417-447.

<sup>2</sup> P. F. de Vargas, "Pensamientos políticos", pp. 16-20; "Memoria de la población del Reino", p.104. Rodríguez's claim is a constant of the Papel Periódico de Santa Fé. See, for instance, n. 19 of 17 June 1791. Mutis and Lozano's petition is edited in M. González Pérez, Francisco José de Caldas y la Ilustración en la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1985, p.169.

<sup>3</sup> F. J. Wilhite, The Enlightenment and Education, p. 231.

The Consulado de Santa Fe was founded in 1694 but was dissolved in 1713 through the lack of qualified merchants capable of sustaining the administration and paying the avería. In 1784 a Consulado was created in Mompox, directed by Gonzalo José de Hoyos. The Consulado of Cartagena was founded in 1795 and lasted until after Independence.<sup>1</sup>

José Ignacio de Pombo, one of the most important figures of the Consulado of Cartagena, was born in Popayán, attended the Seminario and kept in touch with the circle of Caldas and Mutis and with the merchants of Santa Fe. He was the patron of Caldas's scientific work and tried to make of the Consulado another centre of 'scientific patriotism'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1806 the Consulado founded a printing house and schools of drawing, spinning and navigation, as well as a botanical garden modelled on that of the Consulado of Barcelona. In the same year Pombo ordered the making of maps of the roads and rivers of the country, including the first map of the Atrato and San Juan rivers and the arrastradero of San Pablo, which might be replaced by a canal, so linking the two oceans. This project had been discussed before with Humboldt. The idea of improving the Magdalena river as the main artery of the country, towards which five majors roads should converge, was another plan that attracted his attention.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> R. Smith, "The Consulado of Santa Fé de Bogotá", in HAHR, 45 (3), 1965, 443-446. A. McFarlane, "Comerciantes y monopolio en la Nueva Granada. El Consulado de Cartagena de Indias", ACHSC, 11, Bogotá, 1983, pp.43-69.

<sup>2</sup> For José Ignacio de Pombo see: H. Schumacher, "José Ignacio de Pombo", in BHA, 4, 1906, p.151; S. E. Ortiz, Escritos de dos economistas coloniales; D. Mendoza (ed.), Cartas Inéditas de Don José Ignacio de Pombo, Bogotá, 1958, first published in Lecturas Populares de El Tiempo, n. 56-57. Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, Miscelanea n. 476; D. Mendoza Pérez, "Jose Ignacio de Pombo y el Consulado de Cartagena", in Universidad (Segunda época) 63, Bogotá, 1928, 373-374; R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, vol.2, pp.273-325.

<sup>3</sup> D. Mendoza, Cartas Inéditas de Don José Ignacio de Pombo. Letters sent from Cartagena to Mutis, in Bogotá, August and October 1806, pp.243-245.

In spite of Pombo's avoidance of political activities, his commercial interests, shared with the other merchants of Cartagena, led him to public criticism. In his report of 1807 to the Consulado he argued the need of liberating trade and transportation from taxes and state monopolies, and he put forward the example of free trade of the United States of North America. Lacking any map or population census, he saw no fair way of levying any kind of substitute state income tax once the abolition of the sales tax and monopolies had been effected.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier the Consulado had received another report on commerce from a royalist creole, Antonio Narváez de la Torre, Mariscal de Campo of the royal army. He stressed the urgency of opening trade with neutral countries - not with England- and remarked on the different interests of the merchants in the peninsula and those in the colonies. In this Narvaez's position coincided with that of J. I. Pombo as well as with of Vargas and Silvestre. With the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the merchants of Cadiz had obtained the derogation of the permission of trading with neutral countries, decreed in 1797, which had meant their losing their monopoly in supplying the colonies. Spanish commerce revived for a while. However, after her Trafalgar defeat in 1805, Spain could not recover its control.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In his letters to Mutis in 1803, Pombo often alluded to politics as a matter which distracted men's attention from scientific work. D. Mendoza, Cartas inéditas, pp.212-213. See also J. I. de Pombo, "Informe de Don José Ignacio de Pombo del Consulado de Cartagena sobre asuntos económicos y fiscales", April 1807, in S. E. Ortiz, Escritos de dos economistas coloniales, pp.124- 132.

<sup>2</sup> A. Narvaez y la Torre, "Discurso del Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Ejércitos Don Antonio Narvaez y la Torre sobre la utilidad de permitir el comercio libre de neutrales en este Reyno a petición del real Consulado de esta ciudad por representación que hizo al Excmo. Señor don Antonio Amar y Borbón", 1805, in S. E. Ortiz, Escritos de dos economistas coloniales, pp. 69-120, quotation from pp.94-95. A. Narvaez y la Torre was born in Cartagena 1753. He followed a military career, served in Spain and Africa and came back to New Granada where he held high-ranking positions in provincial government. See section 1.3 of this chapter.

The failure of the Consulado of Cartagena as an effective agent to promote New Granadan economic development was partially due to the contradictory interests of its heterogeneous members. This difficulty was expressed firstly by its treasurer, Manuel de Pombo, José Ignacio's nephew. He argued that the peninsulares, being merchants whose interests were centered on international trade, showed negligence, inertia and indifference towards those projects leading to stimulate production and the domestic trade in the New Granadan interior. This caused Pombo to be moved to Santa Fe.<sup>1</sup> However rivalry between Cartagena and Santa Fe also played an important role. About that time other groups of merchants had started to campaign against Cartagena's exclusiveness: in Santa Fe, Popayán and Mompox many wholesalers participated in the import and export trade either independently or through the main houses of Cartagena, and saw "the faulty land and river transport as the principal obstacle to economic development".<sup>2</sup> Similar complaints were addressed to the Viceroy by the cabildos of Socorro, San Gil, Pamplona, Tunja, Girón, Purificación and Timaná between 1802 and 1805, supporting Santa Fe's petition of founding a new 'chapter' of the Consulado.<sup>3</sup>

The wholesalers of the cities (Santa Fe, Popayán, Honda, Rionegro and Medellín), comerciantes de la carrera, received imported goods from Cartagena and distributed them amongst the provincial tradesmen. At the same time, contraband entered through Santa Marta and Riohacha and for some years through Mompox. Rivalries between these cities and Cartagena resulted and would prove politically important later on.

The domestic trade between different regions of New Granada was greater than has been

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<sup>1</sup> A. McFarlane, "Comerciantes y monopolio en la Nueva Granada", pp.56-57.

<sup>2</sup> R. Smith, "The Consulado of Santa Fé de Bogotá", p.445.

<sup>3</sup> A. McFarlane, "Comerciantes y monopolio en la Nueva Granada", pp. 50, 52-67.

supposed by traditional historians. The cacao from the Magdalena River, the tobacco and sugar (molasses, panela and sugar loaf) from Cauca and Magdalena valleys were some of the products taken from low to higher lands. Wheat was taken from higher to lower lands and cattle had to travel long distances to supply city markets. The textile industries of Girón, Socorro, San Gil and Casanare in the east of the viceroyalty clothed most New Granadans and were paid with gold from the western mining areas.<sup>1</sup>

Some conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, merchants had built up an extended network for distribution of imported goods and for trade in domestic goods. While Cartagena and Santa Fe were the main centres for external commerce, the eastern region was the core of domestic production. Although the existence a monetary unit, the peso de ocho reales, theoretically favoured trade, it suffered successive changes of value between 1751 and 1810. By that time there circulated pesos de oro of three different standars and pesos de plata of two different standars.<sup>2</sup>

Second, it seems that the merchants of every city or villa had representatives in the respective cabildo. A. Twinam reminds us that "numerous studies of colonial Latin American elites have shown that identification of political officeholders provides a shortcut towards recognition of

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis is not concerned with a detailed account of trade network. Recent works emphasize the existence of commercial links between the different regions of New Granada as a positive factor of union. See J. Jaramillo Uribe, "La economía del Virreinato (1740-1810)" in J. A. Ocampo (ed.), Historia económica de Colombia, Bogotá, 1987; J. Jaramillo Uribe, "Nación y región en los orígenes del estado nacional en Colombia", in P. D. Buillon (ed.), Problemas de la formación del estado y la nación en Hispanoamérica", Bonn, 1984; A. Twinam, Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia, Austin, 1982. H. Tovar Pinzón, Grandes empresas agrícolas y ganaderas. Su desarrollo en el siglo XVIII, Bogotá, 1980. Francisco Silvestre and Pedro Fermín de Vargas drafted long expousses on this matter.

<sup>2</sup> J. Jaramillo Uribe, "Nación y región en los orígenes del estado nacional en Colombia", pp.341-342. The author stresses the existence of such a monetary unit as a positive factor for domestic trade. But see also G. Torres García, Historia de la moneda en Colombia, Medellín, 1980, pp.20-21.

other elites, for example those resting on wealth and birth".<sup>1</sup>

The increasing participation of merchants in cabildos throughout the eighteenth century has been pointed out by this author for Medellín, and by G. Colmenares for Cali and Popayán. They remark on the cohesion of these elites through business and family links.<sup>2</sup> In Santa Fe well-known merchants and money lenders such as Pedro de Ugarte and Vicente Rojo were members of the cabildo before 1810 and José Acevedo y Gómez, a merchant as well, argued for the constitution of the Consulado of Santa Fe, supporting and being supported by the other cities' cabildos.<sup>3</sup> He was later on, one of the most popular leaders of the Independence Movement. The merchants network between cities was another network linking local elites.

Third, the struggle between Cartageneros and merchants from the interior reveals a regional antagonism which would emerge again shortly after July 1810. Something similar occurred with the centres of contraband, Santa Marta, Riohacha and Mompox. Merchants' experiences as a group during colonial time comprised both factors which would encourage and those which would discourage post-independence concordance between regions.

Fourth, what proved meaningful on the eve of Independence was the existence of a 'modernizing' commercial elite. Some of its members foresaw a better future if new policies were applied. They had already started to press for changes in a corporate spirit.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Twinam, Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia, p.113. According to the author, miners and merchants accounted for 71% of Medellín's elected political elite.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Colmenares, Cali, terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes, siglo XVIII, Cali, 1975.

<sup>3</sup> A. McFarlane, "Comerciantes y monopolio en la Nueva Granada", pp.63-67.

Perhaps the most important connection between merchants and the colonial bureaucracy was tithe collection. The diezmeros could combine personal business with official duty. Some of them formed a group whose ambiguous political significance was perceived early on. The position of diezmeros was among the most desirable since the official structure created for the collection of tithes could be used for other business. Large amounts of money passed through the hands of diezmeros; the treasurer had to report periodically to the cabildo eclesiástico and to the Audiencia.<sup>1</sup>

Many highborn creoles were tithe collectors in different regions of the viceroyalty: Luis Eduardo Azuola, also treasurer of the Santa Cruzada by inheritance from his father; José Caicedo y Florez, diezmero in the Saldaña region; the Ugartes in the Tunja province; the Ricaurtes held the main treasurership in Santa Fe; Andrés Otero was a diezmero as well as an important merchant of Santa Fe. Antonio Nariño y Alvarez and José de Ayala y Vergara wanted to become diezmeros themselves; they already did business with members of this group. Both Nariño and Ayala were sons or former Spanish merchants who had become royal officials and who had married creoles of the Alvarez and Lozano-Caicedo clans respectively. The clans and the diezmeros helped them. In 1789 Nariño, being mayor of second vote in Santa Fe, participated in the reception of the newly arrived Viceroy Francisco Gil y Lemus. Taking advantage of the occasion and of their positions, Nariño with his friends' support persuaded the Viceroy to appoint him as replacement to the aged treasurer of tithes, Juan Agustín de Ricaurte. In spite of the protest of the cabildo eclesiástico against his candidacy and an adverse opinion from the Crown, the contest ended with the confirmation of Nariño

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Brungardt, "The structure of the agrarian economy of New Granada in the late colonial period", mss. 45th Americanist Congress, Bogotá, 1985. This study based on examination of tithes auctions established that the average production on tithes in New Granada between 1808-1810 was 0.30 pesos per capita, varying notoriously according to population in different regions. See also G. Martínez Reyes, Funcionamiento socio-económico de la parroquia virreinal, Bogotá, 1975, pp.164-208. In the most recent general review of the theme for Spanish colonies, A. Bauer and W. Borah set out that by the Eighteenth century the tithes were the most important and permanent form of income for the Church; see A. Bauer (ed.), La Iglesia en la economía de América Latina siglos XVI al XIX, México, 1986.

in the post. All the above-named diezmeros were guarantors for the newly appointed treasurer. This small group of officials prevailed, in an example of collective creole political action.<sup>1</sup>

Once in the post, Nariño started to use the funds of the Caja de Diezmos to finance his own dealings in sugar, cacao, quinine and tobacco. But things did not go according to his calculations and he faced bankruptcy in 1793. Nariño was accused of embezzlement, with 92.000 pesos overdue.

But Nariño's imprisonment on 29 August 1794 had other more important motives. Along with his commercial activities, he conducted a literary and political tertulia called "El Arcano de la Filantropía" or "El Casino"; it had met in his library since its foundation in 1789, and its aim was to study and discuss philosophical and political ideas.<sup>2</sup> A forbidden book, Historia de la Constituyente by Galart de Montjoie, was sent to the Viceroy Ezpeleta because it was on the Index. The Viceroy being out of the city, an official opened it and took it to Nariño. His interest was aroused by its contents, and he translated "The Rights of Man" and published it, as well as other papers. These publications coincided with the so called 'Conspiración de los pasquines' when numerous lampoons appeared stuck to the walls on 19 August 1794 in Santa Fe.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Abella, Don Dinero en la Independencia, Bogotá, 1966, pp.12-15.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. Wilhite, The Enlightenment and Education in New Granada, p.201. Besides this circle Nariño held other secret meetings in a room called El Santuario. Among his guests figured Luis de Rieux, Pedro Fermín de Vargas, José María Cabal, Francisco Antonio Zea, Enrique Umaña, Joaquín Camacho, José María Lozano, José Antonio Ricaurte, José Luis Azuola, Juan Esteban Ricaurte, Francisco Tovar and Sinforoso Mutis. The elder Mutis and Camilo Torres donated books to the circle. See also G. Hernández de Alba, El proceso de Nariño a la luz de los documentos inéditos, Bogotá, 1958, p.113-155; R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, pp. 247-250; E. Clavery, "La prensa de Nariño", BHA, 18, 1931, p. 68; T. Blossom, Nariño, Hero of Colombian Independence, Tucson, 1967, p.9.

<sup>3</sup> T. Blossom says Nariño owned the 'Imprenta Patriótica' in which the Papel Periódico de Santa Fé de Bogotá, a government sponsored publication, was printed. Being the owner he did not ask for permission to print "The rights of man". (p. 7). E. Posada, "El proceso

A large scale investigation thereupon took place. Nariño, the printer Espinoza de los Monteros and some students of El Rosario appeared as instigators. José María Cabal, Francisco Antonio Zea, the portuguese Froes and Enrique Umaña, who all collaborated in the Botanic Expedition, were prosecuted for conspiracy, as were Doctor Sandino de Castro, José Ayala, José Angel Manrique, Juan José and Nicolás Hurtado and other persons. Many of them were imprisoned while others were deported. At intervals these exiles subsequently returned to New Granada. Those directly implicated in the lampoons were some young men who frequented El Rosario, for which the college underwent a search. Camilo Torres's office was also investigated. José Antonio Ricaurte, the lawyer who defended Nariño, was also prosecuted and condemned. Pedro Fermín de Vargas had already fled the country.<sup>1</sup> The tone of one of Camilo Torres's letters to his father reveals how the creoles perceived the events:

... lo menos que se decía era que todos los Criollos eran unos herejes y sublevados que habían adoptado las máximas de la Francia y trataban de sacudir el yugo del Soberano. Por desgracia el Colegio del Rosario -la casa más virtuosa de Santa Fe- ha sido maltratado y calumniado hasta el extremo de decir se hacían Juntas de sublevación presididas por su Rector Don Fernando Caicedo (que es un juiciosísimo eclesiástico) a donde concurrían los sujetos mas honrados y visibles del lugar. Comenzaron a prender a unos, a registrar a otros y ya no había hombre que no temiese su arresto, así como no había un americano a quien no creyesen o fingiesen creer delincuente. Mas de catorce o quince fueron a parar a las cárceles y cuarteles de la ciudad; entre ellos dos sujetos principales de Santa Fe, el tesorero de Diezmos, Don Antonio Nariño (a quien se han embargado y registrado todos sus bienes, libros y papeles), hijo del difunto Oficial Real Don Vicente Nariño; y Don José Ayala, hijo de otro Oficial Real, Don Antonio Ayala; un impresor Espinosa, Don Miguel Cabal que fue colegial en Popayán, y el infeliz Zea, que también lo fue, y se hallaba actualmente en el valle de Fusagasugá, distante dos días de Santa Fe, en donde hace un año está metido en un monte en el reconocimiento de plantas, como asociado a la Expedición Botánica del Doctor Mutis. Yo - que a la

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de los pasquines", BHA, 8, 1912, p.721. Virrey Mendinueta, "Expedientes relativos a las actuaciones revolucionarias de Don Antonio Nariño y Alvarez", Santa Fé, 1799, in BHA, 27, 1940, pp. 177-204.

<sup>1</sup> See J. M. Caballero, "En la Independencia", in E. Posada, P. M. Ibañez, La Patria Boba, Bogotá, 1902, p. 95; E. Alvarez Bonilla, "Los tres Torres", BHA, 3, 1904, p.147; R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, pp. 269-272, 338-340. R. M. Tisnes, Un precursor, Don Pedro Fermín de Vargas, pp.36-37. Tisnes's book includes two revealing contemporary opinions about Vargas's flight drafted by Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez and Joaquín de Mosquera y Figueroa. Both of them condemned Vargas's action.

circunstancia de vivir en el colegio añadía la de entender el francés que ya muchas gentes aquí lo reputan como delito, y basta en el día para hacer a un hombre sospechoso, y la de ser amigo de Zea - temí por instantes mi prisión, pero por fortuna quizo Dios que todo terminase en el escrutinio de mis libros y papeles en que no se halló (...) la menor cosa.<sup>1</sup>

Torres's feeling of outrage was shared by many other creoles, above all by the creole members of the cabildo. The mismanagement of the inquiry by the Audiencia was denounced in a document sent to Spain and signed by Josef Caicedo, regidor of the cabildo of Santa Fe. The main accusations were made against Oidor Hernández de Alba; it was said that the accused had been held in handcuffs and stocks, and in order to get their confessions they had been either threatened or bribed.

Se podra por ellos decir sin agravio que el juez Alba, lexos de querer aberiguar la verdad con rectitud, prudencia, e imparcialidad, solo ha intentado con violencia; con procedimiento ilegal, y con espíritu de partido, no averiguar la verdad sino sacar reos a los vecinos principales, y a toda la ciudad, de un delito que no ha habido? por cuyos hechos no puede dexar el Cavildo de hacer Justicia y confesar, la rectitud prudencia, legalidad, y venignidad con que el Oidor Inclan ha procedido en la actuacion que a el le toco.<sup>2</sup>

What is also striking is the recurrent image of the city as an entity with virtues and faults as well as the concern of the cabildo with the defence of its honour.

Mas como la falta de publicación de lo actuado no aclarase la inosencia de la Ciudad (..) y se predica publicamente en los concursos que la ciudad y sus principales habitantes estarian infestos de eregia, y rebelion al Soberano, y que esto mismo se escrivia de diversas ciudades del Reino por noticias tal vez comunicadas por algunos enemigos de sus habitantes, la fue forzoso al Cavildo manifestar su sentimiento al Excelentísimo Señor, y a la Real Audiencia para que el primero dirigiese oficio a los Prelados con prevencion de que contuvieren a sus subditos, y a la segunda tuviese por presente al Cavildo para vindicar el honor de la Ciudad, lo que con el decreto de la Real Audiencia manifiesta el testimonio No. 3 y la contestacion del Virrey No. 4.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Alvarez Bonilla, "Los tres Torres", pp.146-147.

<sup>2</sup> Archivo General de Indias (henceforth AGI), Estado 55, (56-A1j) f.2v.

<sup>3</sup> AGI, Estado 55,(56-A1j) f.3.

Some points were also made about the Viceroy's policies of surveillance and discrimination against 'americans':

Por qué el Virrey directamente hizo fortificar el cuartel del Auxliar, hacer millares de cartuchos, preparar dentro de aquel, y montar cañones, ordenes en los cuarteles para que no permitan entrar ningun americano, oficios para que las Religiones predicasen sobre Religion y Obediencia al Soberano, construccion de Calabozos en el cuartel del Auxliar teniendo por no seguras o sospechosas las carceles de Corte y Ciudad en que hasta ahora se han berificado las prisiones?(...)

Se tiene noticia que para una de aquellas primeras noches, se dio una orden muy secreta a solos los Españoles Europeos, para que en toda ella se mantubiesen muy armados, como lo executaron, estando en asecho, unos en sus ventanas, y valcones, y otros por las calles, cuya orden no podra negarse, que fue injuridica, y poco cuerda... En las rondas que se hacian, hera prevencion de que solo se verificasen con Españoles Europeos, y assi se executava, cuyo hecho no manifestava otra cosa que la **desconfianza** que se tenia de los patricios, con notorio agravio de su lealtad, y cuyo hecho hera preciso que irritara los animos al ver la desconfianza sin motivo ni justificacion alguna, y que solo podia acarrear indisponer los animos de una y otra parte para que fuese motivo de formar unos vandos o enemigas entre Europeos y Americanos, asunto perjudisialisimo en una Ciudad y que podia traer muy malas consecuencias.<sup>1</sup>

It was evident that this time the government forgot the discretion and tact it had exhibited in the prosecution of the handful of creole notables involved in the Comunero revolt. Nariño was a point of confluence and contact among the various creole clusters: the Alvarez clan, to which he belonged through his mother; the group of diezmeros and merchants; the circle of "El Arcano de la Filantropia"; Members of the Botanic Expedition, that is to say from the circle of scientists and amateurs; students and professors of El Rosario; bureaucrats and lawyers. These events formed part of their collective experience and memory and fostered a sense of solidarity among different circles of creoles. The stricter Spanish control over Americans in bureaucratic positions and over the circulation of ideas from the second half of the 1790s onwards resulted in a strengthening of their sense of difference. They suffered from what was later called 'the politics of distrust'.

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<sup>1</sup> AGI, Estado 55, (56-A1j) f.3v-4. My underlining.

Notwithstanding the above mentioned factors this thesis does not aim to establish a cause-effect relationship between the characteristics of the political culture of the educated creoles and the inspiration of Independence. What this culture (notions, memory, expectations, beliefs and experiences) explains is the way in which creoles became involved in Independence. Since not all of them did, and because some Spaniards and royalists also shared elements of this culture, one cannot establish a direct and clear connection.

The last years of the eighteenth century had been marked by an increase in tensions and mutual distrust between creoles and the Spanish authorities. The events of 1794 made Viceroy Ezpeleta feel betrayed in the confidence that he had granted Nariño and Vargas when he supported their appointments as officials. The vicerregal authorities thought they were powerless to prevent the process of subversion through 'political' means. As a consequence their "primary response was to turn to the military - principally the regular army - with the hope that if all else failed it would sustain the regime".<sup>1</sup> During the last days of Viceroy Ezpeleta's government, official distrust towards the creoles was notorious. Troops were transferred from Cartagena to Santa Fe, in spite of the war with England, and the Viceroy himself stayed in the capital, breaking the tradition of his predecessors. The military measures taken for the security of the Spaniards offended the creoles and awakened their protests. An anonymous representation now in the British Museum is an example of the tone:

...ha llegado el caso de que vuestro Virrey Don José de Ezpeleta, a quien las leyes encargaron en el más alto grado de recomendación el ennoblecimiento de los pueblos, sus cuerpos y moradores, instigado también de vuestro regente y otros ministros, no sólo hayan querido malquistar y desacreditar la lealtad de aquellas provincias, con el pretexto de una fingida sublevación, sino que ha formado un autorizado apellido de los europeos aparecidos sin otra recomendación que la de aventureros de su fortuna...

El insulto y agravio padecido con el hecho ordenado por vuestro Virrey, de haber prohibido sin distinción de personas a todo criollo de cualquier clase que fuere, o con cualquier causa que la solicitara, la entrada a los cuarteles en los días de la sonada sublevación; en que igualmente se avocó la artillería, poniéndose una noche en vela y centinelas armados en los balcones, puertas y esquinas de sus habitaciones a todos los europeos sin noticia de las justicias y con especial recato de los vecinos naturales, del

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<sup>1</sup> A. Kuethe, Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808, p.169.

todo ignorantes de tales providencias...<sup>1</sup>

The excerpt alludes to a conspiracy against the Spaniards which would have coincided with the lampoons and with Nariño's publications in 1794. It is difficult to conclude whether this plan existed or not. It seems that the origin of the safety measures taken to protect the Spaniards came from a denunciation made by Joaquín de Umaña who asserted that everything was arranged for a conspiracy, and that even women and children knew what was being prepared.<sup>2</sup>

In January 1797 Viceroy Mendinueta received the Viceroyalty from José de Ezpeleta. He immediately went to Santa Fe. When the news of the British taking of Trinidad and the rumours of Nariño's secret return to the country reached him, he feared a foreign invasion coordinated with a popular uprising. In the same year of 1797 the rebellion of Gual and España in Venezuela increased these fears. Military assistance was requested from other Audiencias and a military governor was appointed to the province of the Llanos de Casanare, where it was thought the invasion would pass. The capture of Nariño relieved the viceroy's immediate anguish but not his mistrust.<sup>3</sup>

The colonial authorities could not prevent the news of the Spanish political, military and economic crisis reaching America. The symptoms of decadence produced restlessness and disquiet in the colonies. Distrust and discrimination towards the creoles produce a peculiar

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<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Egerton, Ms.1807, fo. 734.

<sup>2</sup> AGI, Estado 55,(56-G5b).

<sup>3</sup> A. Kuethe, Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808, p.171-175; P. McKinley, Pre-revolutionary Caracas. Politics, economy and society 1777-1811, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 135-138.

climate of sensitivity among them. The meaning of 'patriot' and 'patriotism' had started to change.

#### 1.6 The creole networks' political experience and its significance

In 1788 Charles III died, and a few years after his son Charles IV had begun his reign Spain became involved in the wars that followed the French Revolution. The Minister Floridablanca (1789- 1792) turned reactionary; his successor the favorite Godoy (1792-1808) was less so, but more corrupt. The faction of the Prince of Asturias, the King's son, in alliance with malcontent nobles aroused the mob and some army officers in Aranjuez in March 1808. They overthrew Godoy first, and Charles IV two days later. Napoleon invaded Spain and the King went into exile in Bayonne. Ferdinand VII was obliged to abdicate in favour of his father and he in turn for Joseph Bonaparte. By April, Ferdinand VII had become the symbol of Spanish resistance to the French: the 'Desired One'. His legitimacy was initially represented by the Junta of Sevilla, and local Juntas de defensa de Fernando VII in the provinces.<sup>1</sup>

The events of 1808 opened another period in Hispanicamerica. The news of the fall of the monarchy and the usurpation of the throne by the 'French tyranny' aroused the indignation of the colonies. The new government in the peninsula flattered the creoles in order to gain their support. Nevertheless, the Junta Central of Seville, the Cortes and then the Regency would maintain the principle that the colonies owed obedience to the authorities of the peninsula. The creoles had few deputies in the Cortes and they were never granted any substantial concession of freer trade.<sup>2</sup> The colonial authorities, under pressure from the Junta

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<sup>1</sup> See J. Fontana, La crisis del antiguo régimen 1808-1833, Barcelona, 1983, pp.13-21.

<sup>2</sup> For the debate see M. P. Costeloe, "Spain and the Latin American Wars of Independence: The Free Trade Controversy 1810-1820", HAHR, 61 (2), 1981, pp.209-234.

Central and from domestic forces, found themselves in an awkward position. To some extent they had lost legitimacy and a new political accommodation seemed necessary. Although oaths to Ferdinand VII were celebrated in many cities to stimulate loyalty, internal unrest grew as the situation in Spain got worse.

In August 1808 a representative of the Junta Central of Seville, Juan José Pando y Sanllorente, arrived in New Granada. Viceroy Amar y Borbón invited some creole notables and those members of the cabildo of Santa Fe to a meeting to welcome him and give economic support to the Junta Central in the war against French invasion. Celebrations in honour of Ferdinand VII were also held in September. However, the creoles did not feel they had been fairly treated in the meeting. Pando y Sanllorente's behaviour was an example of the lack of sensitivity of the Spanish liberals, which did little to win over colonial opinion. A royalist chronicler wrote:

La venida del enviado de la célebre Junta de Sevilla produjo diversos efectos que dejaron notar desde entonces la variedad de afectos y opiniones que habían cundido en los que se decían ilustrados.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1809 the Junta Central ordered elections of American deputies for the Cortes. In New Granada the electoral process took place from May to June. It was the first occasion on which the creole network openly demonstrated its real political significance and its proto-national coverage. Although New Granada was allowed to elect just one representative, nominations of candidates were made in the cabildos of all the main provincial cities and in Santa Fe. Once candidates were nominated, the representative was decided by lot and Don Antonio de Narvaez emerged as favoured. The result of the provincial elections is full of significance for our understanding of how the network operated. This was the record:

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<sup>1</sup> The minute of this meeting is AGI, Santa Fé 745. See also J. A. de Torres y Peña, "Memorias", in G. Hernández de Alba (ed.), Memorias sobre los orígenes de la Independencia nacional, Bogotá, 1910, pp.78-81; J. M. Caballero "En la Independencia", pp.109-111.

En esta capital, el doctor don Luis Eduardo de Azuola, Contador honorario y de resultas del Tribunal de Cuentas; el doctor don Joaquín Camacho, abogado de esta Real Audiencia, y el doctor don Camilo Torres, asesor del muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento, y verificado el sorteo recayó en el primero.

En Cartagena, el señor don Antonio Narvaez, Mariscal de Campo de los Reales Consejos, y el doctor don José María Toledo que lo es de la Real Audiencia de Santa Fe, y recayó la suerte en el último.

En Santa Marta el mismo señor don Antonio Narvaez, el doctor don José Munive Gobernador de Cartagena y el doctor don Antonio Ajos, y salió en suerte el primero. En Riohacha el mismo señor don Antonio Narvaez, el Gobernador interino don Juan Sámano y don José María Lozano, Teniente Coronel de Milicias de Santa Fe, y recayó la suerte en el tercero.

En Panamá Don Juan Andrete, Sargento Mayor del batallón fijo de aquella ciudad; don Luis de la Barrera y Negreiros, y Don Ramón Díaz del Campo, Oficial Real de aquella Tesorería y salió en suerte el último.

En Veragua, Don Pedro Ortiz, Don Juan López y Don Antonio del Bal, y recayó la suerte en el último.

En Antioquia el doctor Camilo Torres, el doctor don Eloy de Valenzuela, cura de Bucaramanga, y el doctor don Joaquín Camacho, y salió el segundo en suerte.

En Mariquita, el doctor Eloy de Valenzuela, Don José María Domínguez, Alcalde provincial del muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Santa Fe, y don Tomás Andrés Torres, del comercio de Cartagena, y salió el último en suerte.

En Tunja, el doctor don Francisco Javier Torres, cura de la parroquia de Santiago de la misma ciudad; el doctor don Joaquín Camacho, y don Juan Nepomuceno Escobar, cura de Málaga y Tequia, y salió este último en suerte.

En Pamplona, el doctor don Camilo Torres, el doctor don Frutos Gutiérrez, Agente Fiscal del Crimen, y don Pedro Groot, Oficial Real de Santa Fe, el cual salió en suerte.

En Santiago de las Atalayas, el doctor don Camilo Torres, el doctor don Luis Azuola y el doctor don Joaquín Camacho, y recayó la suerte en el último.

En la villa del Socorro, el doctor don Joaquín Camacho, el doctor don Camilo Torres, y don Miguel Tadeo Gómez, Administrador Principal de Aguardientes, y salió el último en suerte. En Neiva el doctor don José Ignacio San Miguel, Abogado de la Real Audiencia de Santa Fe; el doctor don Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez y el actual Corregidor don Anastasio Ladrón de Guevara, en el cual recayó el sorteo.

En Popayán, el señor don Joaquín Mosquera, Regidor de la Real Audiencia de Caracas; el doctor don Camilo Torres, y don José Ignacio de Pombo, del comercio de Cartagena, y salió en suerte el segundo.

En Quito, el excelentísimo señor Conde de Puñonrostro, don Carlos de Montúfar y don José de Larrea Jijón, y recayó la suerte en el tercero.

En Cuenca don Fernando Guerrero de Salazar, don José María de Novoa, Alcaldes Ordinarios, y don José María de Lauda, y salió en suerte el primero. En Loja, don Pio de Valdivieso, Alcalde Ordinario; don Francisco Riofrío, Alcalde Mayor Provincial y el doctor don José María de Lequerica, Procurador General, y salió el primero en suerte.

En la villa de Ibarra, el excelentísimo señor Conde de Puñonrostro, el doctor don Manuel de Zaldumbide, Abogado de la Real Audiencia de Quito, y don Domingo de Gongotena, y recayó la suerte en el primero.

En la villa de Riobamba, don Juan Larrea y Villavicencio, don José Larrea, y don Carlos Montúfar, que sirve actualmente en los ejércitos de la península, en el cual recayó la suerte.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Posada, "Apostillas", in BHA, 5, 1907, pp.567-568.

In the thirteen New Granadan provinces, Camilo Torres was elected in six, Joaquín Camacho in five, Antonio de Narvaez in three, and Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez, Luis Eduardo Azuola and Eloy Valenzuela in two. There were members of the network in eleven provinces out of thirteen. Panamá and Veragua were the only New Granadan provinces without any visible link. It is also interesting to note that overlapping did not occur in the provinces of the Presidencia de Quito, although the Montufars had connections with Caldas's and Nariño's circles.

Both Camilo Torres and Joaquín Camacho were elected in Santa Fe, Antioquia, Santiago de las Atalayas, y Villa de Socorro. In Santa Fe these two names were accompanied with Luis E. Azuola. The same terna was elected in Santiago de las Atalayas, capital of the province of Los Llanos, where none of them lived. In Antioquia Torres and Camacho were also elected in the company of Eloy Valenzuela, priest of Bucaramanga in the province of Pamplona, who was an outstanding member of the Botanic Expedition. The latter was also elected in Mariquita. In Socorro, Camacho and Torres were elected together with doctor Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez, another well-known lawyer of the Audiencia of Santa Fe who was also named with Torres in Pamplona, where he came from, and, with another lawyer and the corregidor, in Neiva. Joaquín Camacho was also favoured in Tunja, along with local figures such as the priests Juan Nepomuceno Escobar and Francisco Javier Torres. Similarly Torres was elected for Popayán, together with two other important men also born in that city, Joaquín Mosquera and José Ignacio de Pombo, although neither of them was at the time living there. In the case of the provinces of the Atlantic coast, Santa Marta, Cartagena and Riohacha, the predominant figure was Antonio de Narvaez. He was a royal official who shared the entrepreneurial spirit of the enlightened bureaucrats. He had achieved an extended influence among the people of these provinces. Juan Sámano, who was to become one of the most infamous prosecutors of patriots during the Reconquest, was nominated in Riohacha where he was governor. The others named - Toledo, Ayos and Munive - had good relationships with the circle of lawyers of Santa Fe, and Lozano belonged to the clan Lozano-Caicedo; he was son of the Marquis.

One can distinguish a wide area of influence with its centre in Santa Fe. Tunja, Mariquita, Pamplona, Socorro and Neiva, as neighbouring provinces of the central plateau, had strong economic, and political links with the capital. In their elections these provinces combined their local figures (local authorities or natives with important posts although not living there) with the names of the most outstanding creole leaders. The slate elected in the province of Los Llanos de Casanare was the same as that in Santa Fe. This could be interpreted either as absence of local notables or as a managed election, but in any case it appeals to a high capacity of either influence or manoeuvre on the part of Santa Fe. In Antioquia something similar happened. Torres, Camacho and Valenzuela were elected in spite of the existence of such local notables as José Manuel Restrepo, Juan del Corral, José María Montoya from the city of Rionegro, and Pérez de Rublas. Francisco Antonio Zea was in Madrid by that time. The election of such a group might indicate a strong influence exercised by the elite of Santa Fe and at the same time a clear desire to name persons who were truly representative of the whole viceroyalty. For Antioquia, it is also possible that some notables had rejected the possibility of going to Spain and having to abandon their businesses.<sup>1</sup> Finally it was also obvious that the connections between the centre of the reino and the coast were weaker than those between the centre and the eastern plains and valleys, and those of the high Magdalena and Cauca rivers.

However, the territory of the eleven provinces that in this election are clearly connected to each other coincides with the territory that was to become Colombia, leaving outside the other components of the viceroyalty which were to form the republics of Ecuador and Venezuela. It is worthy of note that the territory of Panamá, which would separate from Colombia at the beginning of this century, did not apparently have strong though informal political connections with the creole elite centred in Santa Fe on the eve of Independence.

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<sup>1</sup> Juan del Corral and Juan Manuel Restrepo were deputies for the Congress of 1810. J. M. Restrepo, Autobiografía, Bogotá, 1957, p.12.

By that time, doubtless, the political nature and function of the creole network we have previously described has clearly emerged. There is also evidence of the role played by the cabildos as the institutions which managed the elections.

The creoles took the subject of sending representatives to Spain so seriously that some cabildos drafted documents called Instrucciones al diputado de este Reino, stating their grievances and aspirations. Some of the most well founded were those of the cabildo of Socorro in which Joaquín Camacho participated, and those contained in the Reflexiones de un Americano Imparcial by Ignacio de Herrera y Vergara, a document later endorsed by the cabildo of Santa Fe when Herrera became its síndico procurador in 1810. They asked for the division of the resguardos, the abolition of Indian tribute, the prohibition of slave trade, the granting of free production and trade, and freedom to teach scientific subjects.<sup>1</sup>

Before those Instructions, another paper had circulated - the already mentioned Cartas de Suba. It has been said that Gutiérrez de Caviedes demanded equality between Americans and Spaniards in the Cortes, and proposed the formation of a Junta de Gobierno for the first time.

Some creole notables of Quito formed a Junta de Gobierno in August 1809. Once the news reached Santa Fe, the creoles of the cabildo pressed the Viceroy to call a Junta de notables

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<sup>1</sup> "Instrucción que da el Muy Ilustre Cabildo Justicia y Regimiento de la Villa del Socorro al diputado de la Nueva Granada a la Junta Central", in BHA, 28, 1941, pp.417 -423. Ignacio de Herrera y Vergara, "Reflexiones de un americano imparcial", in D. García Vázquez, Revaluaciones históricas, pp.164-ss.

again.<sup>1</sup> The meetings took place on 6 and 11 September. The Spanish attending supported the idea of sending a military expedition to repress the insubordinate quiteños, while the creoles invited suggested a policy of compromise. The idea of forming a Junta Superior as the proper way for coping with the critical situation was seconded by many creoles on 11 September. Nine written votos in this vein were handed to the Viceroy, who did not agree with that opinion. His letter to Antonio de Narvaez is telling at this respect:

En la última sesión celebrada en mi presencia se ha querido por algunos sugetar al gobierno a una Junta Superior, cuyas resultas considero ser perjudiciales y ha sido uno de los mas acérrimos defensores de esta opinión el Doctor Don José María del Castillo, sujeto por su persona talento e instrucción muy recomendable ... Me persuado que si lo llevase Vm. a su lado a España, se le proporcionaría sobresaliente carrera: y así me tomo la satisfacción de expresarlo a Vm. para mas desviarme de cualquier incidente que me pueda obligar a su menor miramiento...<sup>2</sup>

Viceroy Amar, full of hesitation, sent to Quito two commissions, one military, one conciliatory. The latter was headed by the Marquis of San Jorge.<sup>3</sup> The creoles' discontent increased, as they had now a clear idea of how they would be treated if they formed a Junta themselves. Camilo Torres in a letter to José Ignacio de Pombo explained that the Spanish authorities were unable to understand either the extent of the crisis or the meaning of the events of Quito:

Este Cabildo de que soy asesor, para resolver lo que debía contestar al Marqués de Selva Alegre... pidió al Virrey que para hacerlo se sirviese convocar una Junta compuesta de los Tribunales y Cuerpos de que lo había sido la del 5 de Septiembre del año pasado cuando los sucesos de España, supuesto que este nos tocaba de más cerca.

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<sup>1</sup> "Informe dirigido al Consejo de Sevilla por la Audiencia de Santa Fé", on 19 February 1810, in E. Otero D'Acosta, "Preludios del 20 de Julio", BHA, 41, 1954, pp.210-217. Two documents were sent to Santa Fe from Quito, one to the Viceroy asking him for a prudent and peaceful handling of the situation, and another to the Cabildo suggesting it join the Quito Junta. Two other papers, similar to the last, had been sent to the cabildos of Popayán and Pasto.

<sup>2</sup> L. Pabón Nuñez, José María Castillo y Rada, Bogotá, 1978.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Caballero "En la Independencia", p.116-117. See R. Gilmore, "The Imperial Crisis, Rebellion and the Viceroy: New Granada in 1809", HAHR, 40, 1960, 2-24.

Este primer paso es el que ha desagradado...Pero amigo hay muchos que creen que no es lícito ni el discurrir para meditar los arbitrios mas oportunos en los casos mas desesperados. Les parece que con decretar muertes, guerra y anatema esta hecho todo, sin saber donde están parados, ni con quienes tienen que disputar. Creen que Quito es un pueblo de indios como Puelenge el de Popayán: que con declarar la guerra ya estan formados los ejércitos, conducidas las tropas y sujetos los rebeldes. Mas el que pesa las dificultades, el que ama la sangre de sus hermanos, el que no quiere ver el comprometimiento de las provincias con las provincias, y el trastorno del Reino, no puede hablar así. Fue preciso diferir la Junta al 11 de Septiembre: se verificó y en esta expuse el voto que acompaño a Usted.<sup>1</sup>

It has been also said that the creoles felt the military force deployed outside the palace an oppressive measure.<sup>2</sup>

After the events of Quito and the following meeting in Santa Fe, the second stage of the political process began. In some way both sides, Audiencia and educated creoles, realized their positions were hardly reconcilable. Viceroy Amar y Borbon's actions were clumsy. A policy of distrust towards creoles together with an ambiguous position towards the two governments of Spain deprived the Viceroy of all local support. The Audiencia suspected him as being afrancesado and the creoles tried to confirm the rumours and to sow discord between the two authorities.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Caldas's 'vote' has been lost. Letter of Camilo Torres to José Ignacio de Pombo, Santa Fé, 18 September 1809, in E. Alvarez Bonilla, "Los tres Torres", pp. 195-197.

<sup>2</sup> E. Otero D'Acosta, "Preludios del 20 de Julio", p. 211. J. M. Caballero, "En la Independencia", p. 115, also registers the fact.

<sup>3</sup> About the doubts held by the Oidores with respect to the Viceroy, the report of Oidor Carrión is revealing, as is the testimony of the royalist priest Torres y Peña, who criticized the Viceroy's neglectful attitude in taking military measures. Torres y Peña attests that Amar y Borbón was referred to as a 'creature of Godoy'. Lampoons and anonymous notes spread this rumour. The Viceroy was also uncertain about the loyalty of the Audiencia to him. Luis Caicedo y Florez, mayor of Santa Fé denounced the Audiencia for having opened some correspondence between the Viceroy and the French government. When the Audiencia and Viceroy proved it false, Caicedo turned the accusation by saying that they had made an agreement to deny the fact. Earlier, the cabildo on its part had convinced the Viceroy that the Audiencia was conspiring against him; this idea led him to call on the troops. See "Informe de Don Joaquín Carrión y Moreno al Consejo de Sevilla", in J. M. Restrepo Saenz, "Un español narrador de los sucesos del 20 de Julio", BHA, 19, 1932, pp.424 -426. J.A. Torres y Peña, Memorias, pp.80-88.. For the Caicedo affair see the documents in E. Otero D'Acosta, "Preludios del 20 de Julio", pp.212-215.

From the end of October 1809 to January 1810, secrecy and distrust were the keynotes of the Spanish authorities' response to visible signs of unrest. Pasquinades, military movements and imprisonments became common events.<sup>1</sup> The Viceroy ordered the Audiencia to keep under surveillance a list of creoles suspected as revolutionaries. The Fiscal Blaya suggested to the Viceroy the strictest censorship on arrival of foreign papers as well as of domestic writings and the nomination of a trusty person in every main city to oversee those characters considered afrancesados.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that a three-part plan of conspiracy had been set up: the people of La Mesa would attack the troops sent to Quito at El Portillo and wrest their arms from them; Dean Rosillo, together with Mayor Luis Calcedo, Nariño and the Oidor of Quito, Miñano, would carry out a coup by the month of September; militias would be recruited and armed in the Llanos de Casanare to come up to Santa Fe. J. Loy has pointed out that several Comunero rebels had sought refuge in the Llanos and were to take part in this movement.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Besides Caballero's diary which will be quoted later, the report of the Audiencia on 19 February 1810 also mentioned the appearance of "muchos anónimos muy sediciosos y sanguinarios que en estos días se reciben" (September-October 1809). See E. Otero D'Acosta, "Preludios del 20 de Julio", p.212. See also A. McFarlane, "El Colapso de la autoridad española y la génesis de la independencia en la Nueva Granada", Desarrollo y sociedad, 7, 1982, 99-120.

<sup>2</sup> S. E. Ortiz quoted the memorandum sent by the Viceroy to the Audiencia and the measures of censorship suggested by Fiscal Blaya. Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, pp. 21-23, 27.

<sup>3</sup> According to Rodríguez Plata it was a single coordinated plan. The arms taken away from the troops by the expedition of La Mesa were to be handed to the people recruited in the Llanos, who would meet in the city of Socorro (where Dean Rosillo was hidden to avoid prosecution) and from there, they would go to Santa Fé to support the coup planned by the notables. See H. Rodríguez Plata, "10 de julio de 1810" in BHA, 28, 1941, p.1059. In General Antonio Obando's memoirs it also appears as a coordinated plan. Obando testifies that he was the one who took a message to José Antonio Olaya to disperse the three hundred men he had recruited. See E. Posada, "Dos protomártires", BHA, 6, 1910, p.158. J. M. Loy, "Forgotten Comuneros: The 1781 Revolt in the Llanos of Casanare", HAHR, 61 (2), 1981, 235-237.

The way in which the events and news reached the people of Santa Fe can be traced in José María Caballero's diary. This chronicler did not feel the need to record explanations of the measures taken:

#### Octubre

A 23 salió una partida de tropa 'auxiliar', con sus pertrechos de guerra para Popayán, contra los quiteños.

A 28 salió otra partida para Popayán por la madrugada.

A 29 salió otra partida (...).Esta noche se pusieron las tropas sobre las armas por un pasquín que han puesto.

A 31 trajeron cinco soldados presos al Escribano de la Mesa, Gómez, el marido de Doña Joséfa Londoño, y al cura que estaba allí interino, Dr. Gómez, al que llamaban Panela; a el lo llevaron a la Capuchina y al escribano a la carcel. Desde esta noche comenzaron los Oidores a salir en patrulla, repartidos con soldados y dormían en palacio todas las noches.

#### Noviembre

A 8 se fué el Sr. Dr. Don Andrés Rosillo oculto para el Socorro; Canónigo de esta Santa Iglesia.

En dicho por la noche (10) apresaron al Sr. Dr. Estevez, Director de la Capilla del Sagrario y lo mandaron para Cartagena; se huyó por las tapias y fue a dar hasta Caracas.

A 17 por la noche entraron 200 hombres de las milicias de pardos en Cartagena, a son de caja, hasta el Convento de las Aguas, que se les dió por cuartel.

A 18 hubo Misa de Gracia por la batalla ganada a los quiteños, con asistencia del Virrey y Tribunales; en dicho, por la noche entraron unos 200 hombre de las milicias de blancos de Cartagena; fueron al Auxiliar.

A 23 montaron la primera guardia los de Cartagena. En dicho prendieron al Sr. D. Antonio Nariño y al Sr. Oidor de Quito D. Baltazar Miñano, y esa misma noche los sacaron con 38 soldados, bajo partida de registro para Cartagena.

#### Diciembre

A 15 se hechó bando de haber cesado las hostilidades de Quito y fuga de su Presidente.

A 24 se leyó un Edicto por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición descomulgando a los que tuvieren proclamas de Quito, cartas o papeles sediciosos, en el púlpito de la Catedral a las nueve de la mañana.

#### 1810. Enero

A 21 entró preso el Canónigo Magistral D. Andrés Rosillo conducido desde la villa del Socorro; lo pusieron en La Capuchina con centinela de vista...<sup>1</sup>

As is evident, the leaders of the plan of La Mesa were the same group of men whose correspondence has been quoted in this work. It has been said that José Antonio Olaya had

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Caballero, "En la Independencia", p.116-120.

recruited 300 people to accomplish the plan, but he was told to disperse them before their movements were discovered. The priest Gómez and the notary Gómez were taken to jail in October 1809; Nariño, Miñano and priest Estevez were imprisoned in November and Dean Rosillo in January 1810. Luis Calcedo, the lawyers Joaquín Camacho and Ignacio de Herrera and the Royal Oficial Pedro Groot, as well as the lieutenant Baraya and the regidor Acevedo y Gómez, remained free in spite of their being suspected of collusion in the plot. With these ambiguous measures the Viceroy pleased neither the Spaniards nor the creoles. The Spanish Oidores felt that the suppression of the subversion had been incomplete while the imprisonment of Nariño, who appeared not to be implicated, stirred creole resentments. The revolt broke out in the Llanos and was repressed. On 30 April 1810 the young leaders José María Rosillo, the Dean's nephew and Vicente Cadena, were executed in Santa Fe. The spectacle excited horror and was to be stamped on the memory of the Santaferenos who witnessed it. Another leader, Carlos Salgar, was able to escape.<sup>1</sup>

During these years the cabildo of Santa Fe was dominated by creole representation, in marked contrast to the Audiencia, all of whose members were Spaniards. This creole cabildo charged Camilo Torres, its assessor, with writing a representación to the government of Spain. Torres drafted the Representación del Cabildo de Bogotá a la Suprema Junta Central de España, a piece better known as the Memorial de Agravios. Torres explained that America and Spain, Las Españas, were part of a kingdom with equal rights; consequently no part could impose laws on the others; the officers for each territory should be elected by their inhabitants; representation in the Cortes should be proportional. Similarly, following the Castilian tradition, he defended the need of consent among the citizens whenever a tax was to be imposed and the recourse of forming Consejos as the one appropriate for coping with critical situations.

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Caballero, "En la Independencia", p.121. For the Casanare revolt see also S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio, p.36; E. Otero D'Acosta, "La Revolución de Casanare, 1809", BHA, 17, 1929, 530-596; E. Posada, "Dos protomártires", p. 159. Both Caldas and Torres testify to the horror that these executions caused among the people of Santa Fé. For Caldas, see E. Posada, "Dos protomártires", p.260; for Torres, see E. Alvarez Bonilla, "Los tres Torres", pp. 257-259.

The Memorial denounced the discrimination against creoles in holding high-ranking posts and demanded participation of colonial provincial representatives in the Cortes upon the same basis as that of the provincias in Spain. Torres's document proclaimed loyalty to Ferdinand VII provided the cabildos were constituted provincial Juntas of government. Although the piece bears several signatures of members of the cabildo, it never reached Spain. As distinct from Vizcardo de Guzman's letter, Torres's Memorial neither alluded to the mythical Indian past nor to the unjust Conquest in order to justify its claims.<sup>1</sup>

Disregarding creole interests and following the Oidores' suggestions, the Viceroy named six Spaniards to be members of the cabildo.<sup>2</sup> His right to appoint them had some juridical basis, although it had not been exercised for a long time. This measure increased internal tensions in that body but the break came precisely on the occasion of a further appointment of the Spaniard Bernardo Gutiérrez instead of the creole Luis Caicedo as Alferez Real. There occurred an abrasive public encounter between Gutiérrez and Ignacio de Herrera, the representative of Nóvita province.<sup>3</sup>

Early in 1810 Antonio Villavicencio arrived in New Granada as one of the commissioners sent by the Consejo de Regencia, which was seeking to placate the colonies by compromise with the creole complaints. It was soon clear that Villavicencio took the creole side. His report to the Council criticized the inefficiency of the administrative system in America and the

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<sup>1</sup> For Juan Pablo Vizcardo de Guzmán's letter see R. Vargas Ugarte, 'La Carta a los Españoles Americanos' de Don Juan Pablo Vizcardo de Guzmán, Lima, 1954; R. Palacios Rodríguez, 'Carta a los Españoles Americanos' y su repercusión en la Independencia de Hispanoamérica, Lima, 1972.

<sup>2</sup> The cabildo of Santa Fé complained about these measures, asked the Viceroy to justify these appointments and the previous appointments of the Oidores Frías and Biena and Regidor Infiesta. They also claimed that the election of Regidores should be made by the people. See the document in E. Otero D'Acosta, "Preludios del 20 de julio", p.216.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Caballero, "En la Independencia", p.121.

obstacles to progress; the perversion of justice characterizing Spanish high officials (giving names); the existence of some creoles worthy to be appointed to high posts (giving the names of the well known circles).<sup>1</sup>

If the arrival of San Llorente had opened a period of memorials and written votes which provoked repression and censorship, the arrival of Villavicencio marked the turning point and the final stage of the process: creoles would now act not write. Open confrontation between the Spanish government and creole members of the cabildos first took place in the provincias and then in Santa Fe.

By this time, even though they had foreseen it, the creoles were shocked by the lack of respect shown to them by the Spanish regime. As A. Pagden has affirmed with regards to New Spain and Peru, "the creoles insisted that it was the Crown, not they, who had transgressed what they saw as the ancient law and privileges of the realm".<sup>2</sup>

With the support of Villavicencio and by accusing governor Montes of being afrancesado, the creole members of the cabildo of Cartagena first gained a share in government on 23 May 1810 and then, on 14 July, overthrew the governor. In Mompox there had been popular uprisings protesting against Spanish comandant Vicente Talledo from March. On 25 June the cabildo acknowledged the authority of Junta of Cartagena and on 6 August they proclaimed absolute Independence from any Spanish government. From May 1810 the cabildo of Socorro and governor Valdes confronted each other; the cabildo forces besieged the government troops and authorities in the Convent of Capuchins; on 10 July the cabildo set up a Junta de

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<sup>1</sup> The entire text is in S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, pp.112-131.

<sup>2</sup> A. Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America", in N. Canny (ed.), Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800, Princeton, U. Press, 1987.

Gobierno and sent a warning report of the situation to the Viceroy. On 3 July the cabildo of Cali had declared its autonomy from Popayán. In Pamplona governor Bastus y Falla had been assaulted by the crowd in the public square and the cabildo had taken over the government of the province.<sup>1</sup>

Explicit justification of the creole actions were given in cabildo minutes: for them the Spanish rulers were either Godoy's creatures or afrancesados; people had felt offended by their arrogance, despotism and arbitrariness and by the recent military arrangements to control them.

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<sup>1</sup> See R. M. Tisnes, La Independencia en la costa Atlántica, Bogotá, 1976; P. Salcedo de Villar, Apuntaciones Historiales de Mompox, Cartagena, 1938; H. Rodríguez Plata, La antigua provincia del Socorro y la Independencia, Bogotá, 1963; A. Zawadzky, Las Ciudades Confederadas del Valle del Cauca en 1811, Cali, 1943; S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, Bogotá, 1960.

## 2. THE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF ORDINARY VECINOS

Local political life in small rural towns and villas during the late colonial period has not been studied. There exist high quality works about some general aspects of society, law and culture, such as those of J. Jaramillo Uribe and M. Mörner about mestizaje; of J. M. Ots Capdequí about institutions; of V. Gutiérrez de Pineda on the family.<sup>1</sup> There are also various local histories, though these with but few exceptions hardly dwell on the colonial period for anything more than data about foundations.<sup>2</sup> Recent works on regional history covering wide

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<sup>1</sup> J. Jaramillo Uribe, Ensayos sobre historia social colombiana, Bogotá, 1968; M. Mörner, La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de Indios de América, Estocolmo, 1970, and "Las comunidades indígenas y la legislación segregacionista en el Nuevo Reino de Granada", ACHSC, 1 (1), 1963; G. Colmenares, Historia económica y social de Colombia, 1537-1717, Medellín, 1975; J. O. Melo, Historia de Colombia. La dominación española, Bogotá, 1978; J. M. Ots Capdequí, Nuevos aspectos del siglo XVIII español en América, Bogotá, 1946; Instituciones, a volume in A. Ballesteros, Historia de América y de los pueblos americanos, Barcelona, 1958, (henceforth quoted as Instituciones) ; Las instituciones del Nuevo Reino de Granada al tiempo de la Independencia, Madrid, 1958; Historia del derecho español en América y del derecho Indiano, Madrid, 1969; V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, La familia en Colombia, Vol. 1, Bogotá, 1963. Other works focus on demographic and social aspects: see for example J. Friede, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la evolución demográfica de la provincia de Tunja", ACHSC, 2 (3), 1965; G. Colmenares, La provincia de Tunja en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1969; U. Rojas, Corregidores y justicias mayores en Tunja, Tunja, 1962; J. and J. Villamarín, "Colonial census and tributary list of the Sabana de Bogotá Chibcha: sources and issues", in D. Robinson (ed.), Studies in Spanish America Population, Boulder, 1981; M. D. González Luna, 'Los resguardos de Santa Marta y Cartagena en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII', Boletín Americanista de la Universidad de Barcelona, 23 (31), 1981, pp. 57-82.

<sup>2</sup> Among the best local histories are L. Orjuela, Minuta histórica zipaquireña, Bogotá, 1909; L. Latorre Mendoza, Historia e historias de Medellín, Medellín, 1934; D. García Vásquez, Revaluaciones históricas para la ciudad de Santiago de Cali, Cali, 1951; A. Hincapié Espinosa, La villa de Guaduas, Bogotá, 1952; R. M. Tisnés, Capítulos de historia zipaquerena, Bogotá, 1956; G. Arboleda, Historia de Cali, Cali, 1959; J. Díaz Jordán, Proceso histórico de los pueblos y parroquias de la diócesis de Garzón, Neiva, 1959; D. Piedrahita, Los cabildos de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación de Toro y Santa Ana de los Caballeros de Anserma, Cali, 1962; H. Rodríguez Plata, La antigua provincia del Socorro y la Independencia, Bogotá, 1963; R. Gómez Rodríguez, Chima, vida y hazañas de un pueblo, Bucaramanga, 1971. Some modern works study local history at regional level: O. Fals Borda, Mompos y Loba, in Historia doble de la Costa, tomo I; M. T. Uribe, J. M. Alvarez, "El parentesco y la formación de las élites en la provincia de Antioquia", in Estudios Sociales, 3, Medellín, 1988.

ranges of periods of time comprise suggesting reflexions on social and political life.<sup>1</sup> Studies such as those of G. Colmenares on Popayán and Cali, P. Marzahl for Popayán and A. Twinam on Medellín show us the economy, society and politics in those cities. H. Tovar Pinzón deals with the conflicts between the Crown and local elites using examples from Cartagena and Bogotá.<sup>2</sup> However, there was a rich and complex political life outside cities, in the parishes, hamlets, towns, small cities and villas. Moreno y Escandon's and Mon y Velarde's reports to the Viceroy, as well as descriptions such as Silvestre's and Palacios de la Vega's, testify to this. The Viceroy's Relaciones de mando throw light on the authorities' concern about some of the most common problems.<sup>3</sup>

Most of our few ideas about how provincial people participated in politics at this time are drawn from studies of the Comunero revolt of 1781, when a number of towns and parishes of the Eastern and Central regions became involved in popular protest; simultaneously

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<sup>1</sup> G. Colmenares et Al, Economía y sociedad en el Valle del Cauca, 5 vols., Bogotá, 1983; O. Fals Borda, Historia Doble de la Costa, 4 vols., Bogotá, 1980-1986; J. Raush, A Tropical Plains Frontier: The Llanos of Colombia (1531-1831), Albuquerque, 1984; J. O. Melo (ed.), Historia de Antioquia, Medellín, 1989.

<sup>2</sup> P. Marzahl, "Creoles and Government: The Cabildo of Popayán", HAHR, 54 (4), 1974, 637-656, and A Town in the Empire, Government, Politics, and Society in Seventeenth Century Popayán, Austin, 1978; G. Colmenares, Popayán, una sociedad esclavista 1680-1800, Bogotá, 1979, and Cali, terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes, siglo XVIII, vol.1 in Economía y sociedad del Valle del Cauca, Bogotá, 1983; A. Twinam, Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia, Austin, 1982; H. Tovar Pinzón, 'El estado colonial frente al poder local y regional', in Nova Americana, 5, 1982, 39-87.

<sup>3</sup> F. Silvestre, Descripción del Reino de Santa Fé de Bogotá, 1789, Bogotá, 1968, and Relación de la provincia de Antioquia, 1797, mss., recently edited by D. Robinson, Medellín, 1988; E. Robledo, Bosquejo biográfico del señor Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, Visitador de Antioquia, 1785-1788, Bogotá, 1954. 'Visits' of Moreno y Escandón and Campuzano have been recently published as Indios y mestizos en la Nueva Granada a finales del siglo XVIII, J. O. Melo, (ed.), Bogotá, 1985; E. Posada (ed.), Relaciones de mando, Bogotá, 1910; J. Palacios de la Vega, Diario de viaje del Padre Joseph Palacios de la Vega entre los Indios y Negros de la provincia de Cartagena en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, edited by R. Dolmatoff, Bogotá 1955.

uprisings in the provinces of Antioquia, Cauca Valley and Llanos de Casanare took place.<sup>1</sup> Although the Comunero revolt was a singular coalition of forces, on a major scale and with a clear programme, there were also a lot of minor civil disorders which had similar features.<sup>2</sup>

The dimensions of political life in parishes and hamlets, small towns and villas cannot be completely contained in these uprisings. They have to be seen in a context of popular participation in what was considered 'public life' - lo público.<sup>3</sup> Vecinos participated in the annual election of local rulers and could legally complain about them. They also participated in the petitions for higher status for their locality within the colonial hierarchical order of settlements, and complained about abuses of jurisdiction. In this chapter I attempt to explore how men and women viewed and understood local politics and when and how they participated during the late colonial period.

## 2.1 Elections, rulers and vecinos

Most of the higher positions in the Viceroyalty were filled by nominations made by the Viceroy himself, and some of them by the Council of the Indies. The Hapsburg theory of imperial bureaucracy sought to keep officials isolated from creoles and natives. Officials were chosen in such a way as to avoid personal and emotional links, kinship and compadrazgo, as well

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<sup>1</sup> M. Briceño, Los Comuneros, historia de la insurrección, Bogotá, 1880; Cárdenas Acosta, El movimiento comunal de 1781 en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, reivindicaciones, Bogotá, 1969; J. Loy, "Forgotten Comuneros, the Revolution of 1781 in the Llanos of Casanare", HARH, 61 (2), 1987, 235-257; G. Arango Mejía, "Comuneros en Antioquia", in Repertorio histórico de Medellín, 15, 1936, 83-111; G. Arciniegas, Los Comuneros, Bogotá, 1980; J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, la revolución Comunera en Colombia 1781, Bogotá, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> See A. McFarlane, "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada", HAHR, 64 (1), 1984, 17-54.

<sup>3</sup> Público is the contemporary adjective.

as economic relations; royal policy had persistently aimed at keeping power out of the hands of the conquerors' descendants and entrusting it to royal officials.<sup>1</sup> It did not altogether succeed.

In the Bourbon era the aim was therefore to effect a 'reconquest' of America by the removal of creoles from the Royal Audiencia and the fiscal administration. This policy was steadily followed during the administration of José de Gálvez (1776-1787). Nevertheless, the effectiveness of the Bourbon Reforms is still in debate.<sup>2</sup> The policy did not apply to local offices, those in small towns, villages and hamlets where posts were traditionally held by creole or mestizo dwellers.<sup>3</sup> Politics at this local level had particular features and characteristics that should be studied more closely, as they involve most of the population of the colony.

The cabildo was the focus of local political activity, and around it grew up a common law

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<sup>1</sup> J. Phelan, "El auge y la caída de los criollos en la Audiencia de la Nueva Granada, 1700-1781" BHA, 59, 1972, 597-618. See also F. Pike, "The Cabildo and Colonial Loyalty to the Hapsburg Rulers", Journal of Interamerican Studies, 2 (4), 1960, 405-20; P. Marzahl, "Creoles and Government, the Cabildo of Popayán", HAHR, 54 (4), 1974, 637-656.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lynch, Spanish American Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, London, 1958; D. Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, Cambridge, 1971; J. Fisher, "The Intendant System and the Cabildos of Peru, 1784-1810", HAHR, 49 (3), 1969, 430-453; M. Burkholder, "The Council of the Indies in the Late Colonial Period", HAHR, 56 (3), 1976, 404-23; J. Barbier, "The Culmination of the Bourbon Reforms 1787-1792", HAHR, 57 (1), 1977, 51-68; J. Fisher, "Critique of J. Barbier: 'The Culmination of Bourbon Reforms'", HAHR, 58 (1), 1978, 83-86; S. Stein, "Bureaucracy and Business in the Spanish Empire 1759-1804. Failure of a Bourbon Reform in Mexico and Peru", HAHR, 61 (1), 1981, 2-28.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí quotes from the Recopilación de Leyes de Indias of 1680:  
 El que capitulare nueva poblacion de Ciudad, Villa o Colonia, tenga la jurisdicción civil y criminal en primera instancia y por los dias de su vida y de un hijo o heredero; y pueda poner Alcaldes ordinarios, Regidores y otros Oficiales del Concejo del mismo pueblo. (Libro II. 5.4)  
 And he adds: 'Cuando la nueva ciudad había sido fundada por un grupo de vecinos (10, 5.4), a éstos se les concedían facultades "para elegir entre si mismos Alcaldes Ordinarios y Oficiales del Consejo Anuales".' Instituciones, p. 272.

which evolved with time. Although the cabildo originated in Spain, it took a particular form and acquired a greater importance in America.<sup>1</sup> It constituted the only form of government in small towns and villages, which were worlds unto themselves. The members were entitled regidores. Some Royal officials could participate in the meetings, as could the 'perpetual regidores', also appointed by the King. The lieutenant governor, the procurador and the 'mayors of first and second vote' completed the list. The mayor was an officer of justice and the regidor an officer of government or 'regimiento'. After experimenting with different ways of electing officers during the Caribbean phase of conquest, the Dominican system emerged in 1530 as the most convenient. It consisted in the election of mayors by the concejo with the participation of some vecinos, the election of regidores by the king through the proposal of the Viceroy and the election of the procurador by the vecinos as their representative. In 1556 the Audiencia of Santo Domingo excluded the vecinos from the election of mayors and the election of procurador. Only the regidores of the cabildo were elected by the vecinos. This institutional model spread from Santo Domingo, La Habana, Panamá and Lima to the other related urban centres, but progressively the principle of popular election was being replaced by that of co-option. Thus, the vecinos constituted a particular rank of settlers, at first the founders (generally conquerors), then their descendants, and those who fulfilled the requirement of being householders and landowners in the town and its surroundings.<sup>2</sup> The merchants were at first usually considered second-rank neighbours but little by little they gained higher social recognition. The Real Cedula of 16 September 1564 established the eligibility of all the notable neighbours, not only the encomenderos. After 1570 the office of regidor began to be 'saleable' as well as those of notary and of Alferez Real which had been

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, pp.268-269.

<sup>2</sup> During the seventeenth century, there exist distinctions between vecino encomendero, vecino morador - householder who did not own encomienda- and vecino estante - of temporary stay. F. Domínguez Compañy, Estudios sobre las instituciones locales hispanoamericanas, Caracas, 1981, pp.109-129.

so since the earliest time. Nevertheless the cabildos of the main cities maintained their aristocratic character and those of the smaller settlements had, at least, an exclusive character: the eligible vecinos belonged to the upper layer of a stratified local society. One could call them, as Mario Góngora has suggested, the clase vecinal Indiana, though, as he has also pointed out, they constituted a social rank rather than a class, based on the traditional sense of being deserving of recompense which had been transmitted from one generation to the next since the earliest settlements of Spaniards in the New World.<sup>1</sup> That sense of superiority included a particular feeling of distance apart from the other orders or layers of the society. This distance was expressed in the difference between gaining a livelihood from a non-manual job and from a manual one: the latter implied certain 'contamination'.

In New Granada during the late colonial period the model of elections in practice still maintained these original features. Mayors and non-perpetual regidores (though the number of perpetual regidores increased with time) were chosen annually by the cabildo through the system of ternas.<sup>2</sup> The cabildos' right to choose the mayor was confirmed in all the laws of the Indies.

Drawing on the Recopilación de Indias, 1680, Ots Capdequí concludes that the outgoing mayors could attend the cabildos meeting for elections (Ley 3 título 5); voting for one's relatives and the immediate reelection of officials were forbidden (Leyes 5, título 10, libro 4 and 13, título 9, libro 4). The elections of ordinary mayors had to be confirmed by the

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<sup>1</sup> M. Góngora, Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America, Cambridge, 1975, p.101, and El estado en el derecho Indiano (época de fundación, 1492-1570), Santiago, 1951, pp.69-76; J. Friede, 'El arraigo histórico del Espíritu de Independencia en el Nuevo Reino de Granada', Revista de Historia de América, 33, México, 1952, pp.95-104. For this phenomenon in Hispanoamerican colonies see J. Perez, B. Lavalle, M. Birckel, I. Aguila, J. Lamore, B. Chenot, Esprit Creole et Conscience Nationale, Paris, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Ternas: three candidates for each job.

Viceroy, President, governor or corregidor concerned. (Ley 10, título 3, libro 5). The cabildos also undertook the election of the procurador general and fiel ejecutor.<sup>1</sup> In practice the cabildo proposed two or three names for each position and sent them to the governor of the province, who would confirm one of the three.<sup>2</sup> Officeholders for small hamlets, where there were no cabildos, were proposed by the regidores of the nearest city on which they were dependent.<sup>3</sup> There was competition for the honour of holding such posts. The same grounds for election in the early colonial period still determined the vecinos' eligibility to hold offices.<sup>4</sup> Those who were eligible for election were meant to fulfil all the following requirements:

- pureza de sangre: not having mixed blood.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p.283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p.283, (Ley 10, título 3, libro 5).

<sup>3</sup> The chronicler of eighteenth century Quito, Juan de Velasco, affirmed:  
La única diferencia que hay en los dominios de España entre ciudad y villa, es que esta no tiene escudo de Armas dado por el Rey. Asiento corresponde a lo que en Francia se llama Bourg, en Italia, Terra o Castello, y en España, lugar. Pueblo corresponde a lo mismo, y la diferencia solo consiste en que el Pueblo es fundación propia de Indianos aunque haya por accidente mucha familias Españolas; y Asiento fundación propia de Españoles aunque tenga muchas familias Indianas.

Juan de Velasco, Padre Juan de Velasco S. I., Puebla, México, 1960, quoted in Magnus Mörner, La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de Indios de América, Estocolmo, 1970, p.155.

<sup>4</sup> No law laid down all these requirements, but they existed in reality. When offices became saleable, the law still stated: "que los regimientos de las ciudades en ninquina forma se rematen en personas que no tengan las partes y calidades que se requieren, poniendo mayor atención a la suficiencia que al precio", quoted in J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p.272.

<sup>5</sup> For the second half of the eighteenth century it was established that half of the number of public jobs should be entrusted to nobles and the other half to the rest of the population. J. de Hevia Bolaños, Curia Filípica, Madrid, 1776, Tomo I, Párrafo Segundo: Elección de Oficios, numeral 34. The qualification as noble varied according to the ethnic characteristics of each town. See also M. Góngora, Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America, p.111.

- idoneidad: suitability; this implied literacy, but in some hamlets it only meant being able to sign one's name.<sup>1</sup>
- honradez: not to be in debt to the government.<sup>2</sup>
- no estar acusado de crimen infamatorio: not to be accused of faults against the law and the morality.<sup>3</sup>
- gaining a livelihood from a non-manual job.<sup>4</sup>
- having no direct family links with those who formed the cabildo when elected.<sup>5</sup>

Finally there were some moral requirements: the candidate had to be not only a good citizen but also a morally upright man. This meant being known to be a man of talent, virtue and patriotism as well as a good husband, a good father, a good son and even a good parishioner. Purity of blood implied not only whiteness but also legitimacy and a family tradition of attachment to Catholic religion (cristianos viejos). In sum, the elective and aristocratic principles were safeguarded as much as was possible.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones p.251. J. de Hevia de Bolaños, Curia Filípica, Tomo I, Párrafo Segundo, numeral 34.

<sup>2</sup> According to the lawyer José Antonio de Maldonado in a lawsuit in 1776, this condition was decreed in the Cédula Real of 1 April 1773, El Pardo. AHN, Empleados Públicos del Cauca, T.1, f. 728.

<sup>3</sup> J. de Hevia Bolaños, Curia Filípica, Tomo I, Párrafo Segundo, numeral 24.

<sup>4</sup> J. de Hevia Bolaños, Curia Filípica, Tomo I, Párrafo Segundo, numeral 23.

<sup>5</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p.283 (ley 5, título 10, libro 4, and ley 13, título 9, libro 4 of Recopilación).

<sup>6</sup> M. Góngora, Studies in Colonial History, p.105.

The cabildos had limited power. Their members were considered responsible for buen gobierno (good government). Their economic resources were the propios. These funds came from the rent of lands and from the sale of some jobs, such as council porter and town crier. Local administration was not highly organized, and the cabildos always had financial problems. They were expected to take care of roads and bridges, to look after the central square of the town and to undertake other public works. Nevertheless it was rare that any cabildo could afford to do much in these matters. 'The drafting and enforcement of municipal ordinances, the fixing of prices and wages, the supervision of pasture-lands, woodland, communal grazing land and the Propios,...the regulation of commerce, transport and industries', were also matters that came under the cabildos' jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

Although the participation of vecinos in elections was not as high as it had been in Spain before the Catholic Monarchs, the principle of intervention of the notable vecinos survived. In the earliest period of settlement in America there were representaciones of vecinos opposing the changes made in the electoral system of mayors and regidores.<sup>2</sup> In late colonial New Granada the practice of expressing the vecinal opinion about officials constituted a part of local everyday politics.

The primary elections of the ternas, as well as appointments even when they were already confirmed, could be contested either by one or more vecinos (inhabitants in a parish of whites, in a villa or in a city) or by Indians. The elections of ternas had to be held by the cabildos every November, and the confirmation had to be announced in each town on New Year's Day. Usually the objections to the election of judges or mayors were voiced in

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p.286-287. P. Marzahl, "Creoles and Government: The Cabildo of Popayán", pp. 651- 653. The quotation is from M. Góngora, Studies in Colonial History, p.101.

<sup>2</sup> M. Góngora, El estado en el derecho Indiano, p.70.

January and February, but they could be made at any time in the year. There were also cases of early protest about elections in November or December, when the ternas had just been forwarded to the higher authority. As the alcaldes' functions concerned most aspects of peoples' public and private behaviour, every one was involved in the process of election.<sup>1</sup> Popular opinion could be expressed by informal protest against the newly appointed man or by a petition. Sometimes the former evolved into the latter. A representación was the means of taking the case to law.<sup>2</sup> A group of vecinos could give a power of attorney to one of the procuradores of the Royal Audiencia in order to have the confirmation reexamined.

Complaints about elections could either be about the particular way in which they had been held, or about the person or persons elected. The former sort of complaint would include matters such as holding the election on the wrong date, the presence of unqualified electors, influences exerted by priests or the governor's lieutenant or other town notables. The latter sort would be based on the conditions that the officials were meant to possess. In cases where the newly appointed official had held another office before, his previous performance was also taken into account. The need for the right ethnic characteristics, for intellectual and economic capacity, as well as good citizenship and impeccable morals, were emphasised in these representaciones. The combination of these qualified potential electors, candidates and future officials. As good citizenship also implied impeccable moral credentials, the private lives of officials could be debated in the political arena. Ethnic characteristics were defined by the composition of the population in each town. One's physical features were not

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<sup>1</sup> R. Zorraquín Becú, La justicia capitular durante la dominación española, B. Aires, 1963. He states that 'La competencia de los alcaldes se extendía al principio a todas las causas civiles y criminales cualquiera fuese su importancia'..., quoted by Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p.292.

<sup>2</sup> I have kept the word representaciones, which was what these documents were usually called at that time, because this word evokes not only a petition but also a vivid recapitulation of local political affairs. I have also kept the original spelling of the words in the contemporary documents.

as important as what one "passed for". For example, a mestizo was considered white when his social standing merited this. A person's intellectual and economic capacities were common knowledge, and in cases of doubt, the priest could testify about moral uprightness.

The colonial bureaucracy usually accepted that petitions were one of the people's rights, a part of the common law. Though people never questioned the electoral system itself or its regulation, they had a certain control over it. Years of habit led them to defend this tradition, which came to be seen as embodying a steady and particular sense of justice.<sup>1</sup> Local participation in the elections of mayors in small cities and villas followed certain patterns of behaviour that should be considered important components of political culture during the colonial period. The legal proceedings brought against various officials are recorded in reports in the Fondo de Funcionarios Públicos in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Bogotá.<sup>2</sup> Such proceedings became increasingly frequent in the later part of the eighteenth century and they have provided the documentary basis for this research.

Some selected cases of local participation in the election of mayors in small cities and villages will be analysed in order to illustrate the political values and beliefs of the people, their views of the common good.

However, local intervention in politics does not follow a set pattern. The intervention of local inhabitants varied according to the size of each settlement, the distance from Santa Fe, the traditional ways of ruling, the people's livelihood and the ethnic composition of each town. Church organization as well as civil provincial administration were both based on the scheme

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<sup>1</sup> See J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, and A. McFarlane, "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada".

<sup>2</sup> As the juridical cases which involved mayors had to be sent to the Royal Audiencia, this Fondo comprises proceedings from all the provinces. See also Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p. 292.

of cities, villas, towns, parishes, vice-parishes, and even more outlying parishes which were called partidos.

The first nucleus for a new settlement could be either a pueblo de Indios (mainly in the central region of New Granada) or a doctrina (little chapel for teaching and preaching) in slave haciendas (mainly in the Northern and Central Cauca Valley).<sup>1</sup> There were also settlements of "scattered farmsteads around small unincorporated sitios (places) or rancherías (clustered farmsteads)", placed where trade routes crossed or on the borders between haciendas. Whatever had been the origins of a settlement, the way to become a formal community was to be made a parish.<sup>2</sup> It was also the way to "vivir en policía y a son de campana", to lead an embryonic urban life, which was considered superior to any other by the Spaniards.<sup>3</sup>

#### 2.1.1 Vecinos' attitudes towards family cliques, "monopoly" and "repression":

On 26 December 1791 six inhabitants of the city of Remedios presented a petition to the governor of the province of Antioquia, in which they condemned the election of mayors and regidores that had just been held in November.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> G. Colmenares, "Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales en las provincias del Cauca, 1810 - 1830", in G. Colmenares et Al., La Independencia: ensayos de historia social, Bogotá, 1986, pp.137-180.

<sup>2</sup> G. Graff, "Spanish Parishes in Colonial New Granada: Their role in the town-building on the Spanish American Frontier", The Americas, 33 (2), 1976, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> M. Mörner, La corona española, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, Fondo de Empleados Públicos de Antioquia, (henceforth EPA). Tomo 4, fo. 82-118. The population of the city of Remedios according to the 1788 census was 3,625 inhabitants, 395 whites, 2,122 'free men of all colours', 1144 slaves and 4 priests. (Data from 'Estado particular de la población de la provincia de Antioquia formado en visita que se hizo en aquella provincia el que se entregó en Cartagena el 24 de Diciembre de 1788'). The main economic resource of the province of Antioquia was gold mining. One of the Cajas Reales was situated in Remedios and the port of San Bartolomé on the Cauca River was close to this city. F. Silvestre, Descripción del Reino de Santa Fé de Bogotá 1789, Bogotá, 1968 pp.56-57. The same author in his 'Relación del estado de la provincia de Antioquia', Santa Fé, 1776, p.485, branded the people of Remedios as jugadores y plettistas

This representation pointed out that the men chosen belonged to one sole family, the Palominos. In fact, two brothers, Don Santiago Palomino, the mayor, and Don Manuel Palomino, the regidor decano, had voted for the latter to be mayor for the 1792 period. The petitioners also said that the other elector, Don Ignacio Castillo, was so extremely poor that he "lived on their scraps" - "les come las migajas" . He, the procurador, had therefore also voted for Manuel Palomino.<sup>1</sup>

They also believed that Don Domingo Vidal, who was about to be Santiago Palomino's son-in-law, had been elected as well. Furthermore, they alleged that the list had been drafted late and had been concocted in the privacy of Palomino's house. In this way 'siempre la vara viene a quedarse en la casa'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover the neighbours stated other reasons for their objecting to the election. Don Manuel Palomino had been acting illegally as a judge and had disregarded other citizens' rights. Worse, both Palomino brothers had been excommunicated by the priest of Remedios, Don Juan de Lugo. They were also involved in lawsuits: Don Santiago owed money to the Renta del Tabaco and Don Manuel had been accused before the Royal Audiencia of homicide and adultery. The representation affirmed that all these facts were públicos y notorios (common knowledge), although the Palominos might

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(gamblers and quarrelsome people).

<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, Tomo 4, fo.103-104.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 5, fo.105. This means literally 'the wand of office always remains in the same house'. In other words, the same family always retains the power to dispense justice.

pretend that they were not.<sup>1</sup>

Those making the petition declared that they would rather go into exile than remain subject to such imperfect arbitrators of justice:

de modo que siempre la vara viene a quedar en la casa, y la pobre ciudad y nosotros sujetos a la servidumbre, persecucion y venganza que se puede considerar, o precisados (como lo haremos en tal caso) a salir huyendo de nuestro vecindario a refugiarnos en otra jurisdiccion.<sup>2</sup>

The document was signed by Manuel Lori3n, Ambrosio P3rez, Jacinto Macedonio P3rez, Francisco Antonio Gayd3n, Manuel Ni3o y Francisco Bonilla. There were precedents for such an intervention. On 16 June 1791, three of these six neighbours had already presented a petition to the governor stating the grievances of the town against the Palomino brothers' corrupt sway. A previous denunciation of the elections had been sent on 22 November 1791. The priest Juan de Lugo did not belong to the Palominos' circle and he now spared no effort to reduce their power by supporting these complaints.

In 1791 he had excommunicated Santiago Palomino for his relationship with a mulatto slave woman. The city of Remedios had been left without a judge and Jos3 Mar3a Moreno had come from the nearby town of Canc3n to take up office. But Manuel Palomino, the regidor, had not however been able to hand him the vara of office because he had also been excommunicated. The priest himself was accused of abusing ecclesiastical power, employing

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<sup>1</sup> The mishandling of the Caja Real of Remedios had occasioned the inspection of the Visitor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde in 1778. As a result of this visit it was suggested that the administration of the taxes on tobacco and the alcabala (sale tax) of the city should depend on Antioquia and not on Honda, and the supply of aguardiente be made from Medell3n and not from Mompox. ('Visita a la Caja Real de Remedios', in E. Robledo, Bosquejo biogr3fico del Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, Bogot3, 1954, tomo 2, Documento no.34 Bis, pp.249-256.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPA, Tomo 4 fo. 105.

excommunication as a means of intervention in royal jurisdiction. In February 1792 he was warned not to do it again.<sup>1</sup> The Remedios representation had a surprising result. The governor declared that on New Year's Day it would be revealed that the names he had chosen were those of the most pacific people of the town.<sup>2</sup> Ambrosio Pérez came to hold one of the positions and José María Palacín was confirmed as the alcalde ordinario. The former had been one of the signatories to the petition; the latter was the priest's best friend and compadre.

In 1793 both were still holding government posts in Remedios and it seems that they had reinforced their power. At the end of that year the election of officials was held with the participation of Ambrosio Pérez, the ordinary mayor José María Palacín, the second regidor, Jacinto Macedonio Pérez, the procurador provincial and Ambrosio's brother, who was also a 1791 signatory. The last named had been just appointed by his brother and Palacín to replace Manuel Lorión who had been suspended. Juan José Carasola also attended the meeting as the governor's lieutenant. In this way the Pérez brothers and José María Palacín retained the highest posts in Remedios for two years after their denunciation of the Palominos. The cabildo that they formed proposed in the first place, that Don Ambrosio Pérez should be the second regidor, Don Ignacio Palomino or his brother Don Fernando the third regidor, Don Macedonio Pérez the General procurator and Don Miguel de Gálvez and Don Pedro Nogares to be mayors to the Holy Brotherhood.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, Tomo 4 fo. 106-108.

<sup>2</sup> Although the list of those ultimately elected to rule Remedios in 1792 is missing, the election of both Ambrosio Pérez and José María Palacín can be deduced from the records. AHN, EPA, tomo 4 fo.109-110.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPA Tomo 4, fo.91-95. The first regidor was also called regidor decano and the second, regidor subdecano. The procurador general was the official entrusted with representing the vecinos in the cabildo and with on occasion representing this body before superior authorities such as the governor of the provincia or the Audiencia. (Ots Capdequí, op.cit. p.276). The alcaldes de la Santa Hermandad (literally mayors of the Holy Brotherhood) were minor judges responsible for some civil suits.

The list was submitted to the governor of Antioquia Francisco Antonio Otero y Cosío, who confirmed the first names in each case on 23 December 1793. According to the list the group in the government was to share the positions with the Palomino brothers. They also proposed that the Palomino's close friends, Domingo Vidal and Ignacio Castillo, should be mayor and procurador general respectively.

This arrangement between the two groups, however, was not a solution to the power struggle. The citizens did not want one particular faction to keep the post longer than a year. They had already experienced two years of the priest's intervention in public affairs and wanted to put a stop to external interference in the town's politics. On New Year's Day, 1794, eight citizens of Remedios signed and sent a further representation to the lieutenant governor, Don Juan José de Carasola. The following paragraphs illustrate the tone of their argument:

...se experimenta en esta ciudad de algunos años a esta parte que los que entran a tener cargos al cabildo se reeligen para siguientes para mantenerse en el mando y de ello efectivamante se padecen faltas de justicia y de buen gobierno. Por lo tanto acudimos a V. Md y rendidamente suplicamos que en caso al presente esten electos para dichos oficios algunos sujetos de los que han obtenido el proximo pasado se sirva V.Md. suspender su posesion y dar cuenta al superior para que provea el remedio necesario. Don José Maria Palacin fue Alcalde de la Hermandad en el año de noventa y uno, alcalde ordinario en el de noventa y dos y regidor en el de noventa y tres y como tal regidor en ausencia que ha hecho el Alcalde ordinario Don Ambrosio Perez quedo con la vara en deposito; y mediante a lo arriba expuesto y que en el día de ayer finalizo el año del regimiento que obtenia dicho Palacin y tambien el de la vara que servia en deposito, pedimos que M. Md le suspenda o no permita vuelta a quedar con dichos cargos, no se le posesione de alguno otro si estuviere electo, pues como dejamos dicho es ilegal y contra toda razon esta secuela; y mayormente en dicho Palacin por la union que concerta con su compadre el Sr. Cura Don Lugo sobre lo que indino (sic) ignora lo que pudiere explanarse como tampoco las demas razones, circunstancias y fundamentos de toda nuestra peticion; las cuales protestamos por cuanto nos competa reservando exponer lo mas que haya lugar.<sup>1</sup>

Carasola answered that Palacín was not to be mayor any longer; however, he was to be reelected and confirmed as regidor. At first the objectors seemed to accept this decision.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo. 97. My underlining.

Nevertheless, what happened thereafter deserves close attention. As Palacín refused to hand over the vara without orders from above, the neighbours gathered in the central square to urge him to yield it up. Under this pressure the lieutenant governor decided that Don Manuel Lorión should receive the vara:

Yo, dicho teniente de Gobernador, visto la respuesta dada por el Sr. regidor anual alcalde ordinario por Depósito Don José Maria Palacin dije que se cumpla lo mandado en el decreto anterior obligandole al Señor Alcalde ordinario en deposito para que largue la vara por lo expuesto por varios vecinos y concurso que ha ocurrido diciendo varios de ellos que todo el vecindario es que lo pide.<sup>1</sup>

Don Manuel Lorión, procurador general refused, however, to accept it. Following this the lieutenant governor decided, in accordance with the neighbours, to hand it over to Miguel María Galvez. Carasola reported to the governor:

'En cuyo estado en acuerdo de todo el concurso del vecindario resolví poner dicha vara en deposito en Don Miguel María Galvez, a que unánimemente aceptaron todos quantos vecinos se hallaban presentes que añadian de que se contentaban lo fuere otro cualquiera vecino idoneo de la ciudad como no lo fuere dicho Palacín'<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all this pressure Palacín did not hand the wand over to Carasola; he simply had another vara brought from his house and swore Galvez in. At this point, the priest attempted a new and subtle intervention. Carasola's report of the priest's action runs as follows:

Y habiendo en este estado arrimado Don José Ma. Palacin la vara que tenia en las manos y nunca quiso soltar, se adivino que salía de la santa Iglesia concierto de gentes de oír Misa y incontinentemente se hizo señal para salir Nuestro Amo y Señor Sacramentado a la calle como en efecto luego lo saco el Sr. cura de esta, Don Juan Manuel de Lugo y siguiendo hasta las puertas de la sala del cabildo dijo: que habia oido y visto tumulto, y motin de gentes y que Nuestro Amo venia a buscar la paz, y pregunto que si ya la vara estaba depositada; y yo el teniente de Gobernador dije que aquí no habia habido mas que una alteracion de voces de parte de Don José Maria Palacin sobre no querer largar la vara aunque se le persuadia para ello, y que no habia habido efucion

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo. 97-98. My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo. 98. My underlining.

de sangre ni mas de esto...

Although the citizens and the rulers were obliged to attend the procession, they were not distracted from their original purpose:

...y dicho Sr. Cura nos dijo lo acompañáramos llevando el a Nuestro Amo en las manos, y con efecto yo dicho teniente de Gobernador, el Sr. Alcalde ordinario por deposito Don Miguel Galvez, el Sr. procurador General Don Manuel Lori6n, el mismo Palac6n y el concurso que habia inmediato seguimos acompañando a Nuestro Amo por las calles publicas dando vuelta en redondo por las dos referidas calles mas publicas hasta volver hasta la Santa Iglesia donde quedo encerrado Nuestro Amo en su lugar y nos retiramos a concluir esta diligencia que firmo con el Sr. Alcalde por deposito el Sr. procurador General y algunos de los vecinos presentes.<sup>1</sup>

This report was also signed by Galvez, Lori6n and twenty vecinos. Only Lori6n y Manuel Ni6o had previously signed the 1791 petition. Five of the signatories had also been amongst the eight who had drawn up the former petition against Palac6n and six signatures were on behalf of persons who did not know how to sign their names. On 23 December 1793 the governor of Antioquia, Otero y Cosio, had confirmed the first names of the ternas. He decreed that a complaint made by various neighbours through Dionisio Guti6rrez should not be taken into account. (This document appears to have gone astray but one can assume that its terms were the same as those already known). The list of newly-appointed officials never appeared and it seemed that Jos6 Mar6a Palac6n had hidden it. This fact upset a number of vecinos and once more they denounced the whole process of election, arguing that it was invalid. A representacion of 10 January 1794 shows that the political conduct of this cabildo vis a vis the election of 1793 bore a close relationship to that of the 1791 election. It denounced the P6rez brothers' inconsistency. Ambrosio and Jacinto Macedonio P6rez, who had opposed the Palamino brothers' manipulation of the election in 1791, voted for themselves in 1793. The representation denounced the P6rez brothers and Palac6n as the 'priest's faction':

Las n6minas hechas en el inmediato a6o pasado son nulas porque no concurrieron los

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.99. My underlining.

capitulares que debian; porque no estaba proveido el regidor Decano; porque no se habia posesionado el regidor Don José Carrillo; cuias faltas no fueron casuales sino premeditadas por Don Ambrosio Pérez y don José Maria Palacín por volverse a quedar en este año con los cargos de justicia y regimiento y que estos no salgan de la faccion suya y del Cura. Con el mismo fin introdujeron de procurador provincial a Don Macedonio Pérez, hermano del dicho Don Ambrosio Pérez como sino hubiera otros mas benemeritos que ellos para estos empleos. Es contra derecho la votacion que los Pérez y Palacín hicieron en sus mismas personas y en forasteros y en hombres que no saben leer ni escribir, ni firmar, como segun se dice haber hecho. El mismo proyecto que los Pérez tiraron en dichas nominas fue el que meditaron Don Santiago y Don Manuel Palominos en las que hicieron en noventa y uno para noventa y dos: y los mismos Pérez alegaron la nulidad de haberse votado el un hermano al otro como consta en el escrito que en union de Don Manuel Niño, Don Manuel Lorion, etc., presentaron al señor Gobernador de esta Provincia que lo decretó en 24 de Diciembre de noventa y uno el cual acompañamos con la solemnidad necesaria(...) Ahora se le puede preguntar a los Pérez si a los Palominos no les fue lícito votarse el uno al otro, por que a ellos lo ha de ser? La union de los Pérez con el cura Don Juan de Lugo consta del informe del Sr. Gobernador Baraya a S.E. y de la vista del Señor fiscal de que presentamos copia que puede confrontarse con el original que conste en el archivo de las Justicias de esta ciudad. La ocasion de esta union es sobradamente publica y notoria, como el compadrazgo del cura con Don José Maria Palacín.<sup>1</sup>

There were eight signatories; their signatures were also on the document of 1 January 1793. The cabildo of the city of Remedios received it on 23 January 1794. The list hidden by Palacín had not appeared. They decided that Don José María Lorión, who alone had held a government position since the previous year, should give it to Pedro Nogares. He accepted and was sworn in. The cabildo ordered that the neighbours be informed of all the proceedings. In the end, the officials holding posts at that moment were Carasola as the lieutenant governor, Miguel de Galvez as the ordinary mayor and Pedro Nogares as procurator. The vecinos finally won their case against the combination of the Priest - Palacín - Pérez clique and the Palominos.

The priest with some supporters subsequently accused their opponents of being rebeldes. This explains why the vecinos came to refer their case to a lawyer of the Audiencia. The following document is a representation of the procurator José Antonio Maldonado on behalf of certain inhabitants of Remedios requesting that the election held in 1793 be annulled, but

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo. 109-110. My underlining.

above all defending their conduct and that of the lieutenant governor. It is dated 31 May 1794. As it came before the Audiencia only on 16 December, it can be supposed that it was ineffective.<sup>1</sup> The text of the representation adds some particular elements which throw light on the sense of this mediation. The procurator Maldonado introduces the notion of espíritu de partido to define the motives of the Palacín-Pérez-priest clique and the notion of opresión to describe the situation of the people of Remedios:

que en ellos no se ve otra cosa que un espíritu de partido, animado de el (sic) cura del lugar y mantenido por sus aliados que quieren sostener su autoridad y jurisdicción para sus propias ideas y atormentar a los que no tienen la fortuna de ser queridos de ellos o la desgracia de ser comprendidos en sus designios. Estos son los principales motivos que los han hecho creer rebeldes y darle el nombre de rebelion (a) lo que ha sido reclamar de el perjuicio general que los amenaza, representar sus recelos y suplicar el que se les liberte de la opresion que les amenaza de unos jueces a quienes solo la colusion y arbitrio maliciosos pudieron poner en el mando.<sup>2</sup>

Next he provides a juridical justification of the conduct of the lieutenant governor:

Por que en falta de capitulares no podia el teniente tomar deliberaciones a cerca de materias propias de todo el cabildo y debía ocurrir a un arbitrio legal y fundado como pedir y atender el dictamen de los vecinos.<sup>3</sup>

The procurator also portrayed the intervention of the vecinos as a time-honoured convention:

Por que en las pequeñas villas es la costumbre de juntarse el pueblo para cosa señalada. La ciudad de Remedios es un lugar pequeño y reducido su número de vecinos: de modo que por esta causa se ha tratado de su supresion: no podra presentarse cosa mas propia y señalada para su conocimiento (sino) es la eleccion de oficios y deposito de la judicatura; y por lo mismo oportunamente trató el negocio el teniente con los vecinos. Les oyo sus temores, conocio su justicia; separó a Palacín de

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<sup>1</sup> Ambrosio Pérez figured as lieutenant governor in Remedios for 1805. See J. García de la Guardia, Kalendario manual y guía de forasteros en Santa Feé de Bogotá, capital del Nuevo Reino de Granada para el año, 1805, Bogotá, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.113. My underlining.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

un encargo que ya no debía tener como que ya no era regidor y pusieron otro; no por que lo escogieron sino por que el Teniente eligio a Galvez en vista de la indiferencia con que los vecinos lo pidieron.<sup>1</sup>

The procurator emphasises the maliciousness of the priest's conduct and distinguishes between an uprising, a riot (as the priest had classed those events) and a simple gathering of honest neighbours:

Dijo allí que visto tumulto y motin de gentes y por eso habia sacado a Nuestro Amo. Acaso vio cuchilladas, riñas o conspiracion contra los jueces y la Patria para ocurrir a el ultimo medio de los christianos, como es el que abrazó.<sup>2</sup>

He defined to his own satisfaction the position of the inhabitants and condemned that of the governor Otero y Cosio in the face of this conflict:

Nada mas sucedio que altercar y representar los vecinos su derechos y acciones. Aquella fue una junta de vecinos honrados, aquella es permitida en el derecho para que agraviados representen cuanto conduzca a su vindicacion o indemnidad... nadie dudara de la justicia con que han procedido (mis partes) y que antes bien fue atropellar el alcalde Don Francisco Antonio Otero y Cosio, el derecho del publico.<sup>3</sup>

He expressed his opinion about the election in one sentence:

"Puedo decir con verdad que ni este fue cabildo ni (esa) fue elección."

Then he summarised the complaints about all the newly-appointed officials. One was a stranger, another was an exile, another had voted for himself and another was illiterate.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.114. My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.115. My underlining.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.116.

Maldonado described the group in the government and its performance as a monopodio,\* an offence to the neighbours' honour. The electors, he said, had acted in bad faith.<sup>1</sup> His final argument was against the priest's intervention. Maldonado stated that Don Juan de Lugo had the habit of forgetting his status and interfering in matters of royal jurisdiction. Furthermore, he accused him of inciting discord and of not hesitating to use canonical penalties in ordinary cases and even against judges.

There did exist some juridical antecedents which could have been taken as support for the vecinos' intervention in the election. The Recopilación de Indias, 1680 declares in libro II, título 5, ley 4:

Cuando la nueva ciudad habia sido fundada por un grupo de vecinos (10-5-4), a estos se les concedian facultades para elegir entre si mismos alcaldes ordinarios y oficiales del consejo anuales. En la Cédula Real recogida en la ley 3, título 10, libro 4 de la Recopilación de 1680, se ordenada: "que en los lugares que de nuevo se fundasen se elijan los regidores conforme a esta ley. Si no se hubiere capitulado con los Adelantados de nuevos descubrimientos y poblaciones que puedan nombrar justicia y Regimiento, hagan eleccion de regidores los vecinos en el numero que al Gobernador pareciere, como no exceda del contenido en las leyes antecedentes."<sup>2</sup>

In these two cases of elections in the town of Remedios in 1791 and 1793, there are many illustrations of the values and attitudes of the vecinos, mayors, regidores, and priests towards elections and public office. Among the group of those who opposed the elections of 1791 there were men who took over local government for the next two years (the Pérez brothers, Manuel Lorión and Francisco Bonilla); there were also some of those who participated in the representación against the continuation in power of the Pérez-Palacin-priest's clique (Manuel Niño and Lorión). Palomino's group, which was attacked in 1791, did not oppose the Pérez group. Rather, they appeared in collusion with the office

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.117.

\* the spelling in the original document had 'd' instead of 'l', monopolio.

<sup>2</sup> J.M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p.272, 287. For Ots Capdequí this is a recognition of cabildo abiertos for exceptional cases.

holders in 1793 in a share-out of official positions. The priest who had used ecclesiastical penalties against the Palominos no longer cared about them since he could take advantage of the positions of his friends Palacín and Pérez. Nevertheless, the number of local citizens concerned about the situation increased. In 1793 they denounced Pérez's inconsistency and betrayal of principle, and reproached his clique for their abuse of power. It is interesting that these vecinos neither put forward any name to be elected nor supported any particular candidate. They declared that there were many men capable of holding government posts. They were neither instruments of another clique nor competitors for the control of urban government themselves. Their action was not accidental. Although their activities and pressure were greater in the December-January period, they were prolonged during the whole year of 1794. They neither gave in when Palacín was replaced by Miguel de Galvez nor hesitated over their response to the accusation of rebellion. Furthermore they justified their grievances by formal means. Their behaviour was consistent and persistent.

There are two other pieces of evidence which indicate their view of the situation. One of these is their awareness of the geographical limits of the jurisdiction of the local authorities, which also marked the scope of the political opposition. The vecinos' threat that they would exile themselves, as in the case of the Palomino domination, bears out this notion. The town was a world unto itself; people could be free of concern only by running away. From the positive point of view, belonging to a particular jurisdiction implied the right of being concerned about its public affairs and expressing one's opinion. The other element is the frequently-invoked notion of public and common knowledge, lo público y notorio. Even the illiterates participated in a sort of informal tribunal for judging people's private and public lives. Elections and judges' performances were 'public and notorious' matters, and the members of the community felt squarely within their rights in complaining explicitly and formally about abuses in such affairs whenever they took place.

The authorities' replies also had their nuances. That the lieutenant governor acknowledged the inhabitants' intervention in January 1793 showed that it was customary practice to take local representaciones into account. To some extent his conciliatory behaviour gave the neighbours a fulcrum to lever better. It seemed to them that something more could be achieved by representations. Later on, cabildo members declared that the neighbours had the right to be informed of each step of the process. In this way these local rulers accepted that they had to cope with popular opinion and protest. However, there was also room for indifference to vecinos' opinions, and for arbitrary decisions. The governor Otero y Cosío did not share his lieutenant's point of view. In spite of the fact that the former governor of Antioquia, Baraya, had attacked the priest's intervention in public affairs in Remedios in 1792, governor Otero y Cosío allowed the 'faction of the priest' to retain its power during 1794. In this case there was no continuity. Did the manner of ruling depend on the personal view of each office-holder rather than on governmental policy? It is difficult to know. The course of justice was impeded by the combination of poor communication between the Audiencia and the pueblos. This ought to be taken into account to avoid misleading answers.

Finally, procurador Maldonado's document sent to the Audiencia shows the real viability of petitioning the colonial bureaucracy. Complaints could be legally channelled, models were available for their drafting; when a petition was drafted in colloquial language the fiscal commonly ordered: 'que lo hagan en forma de derecho'. The lawyers' version of the cases implied a partial shift of meaning through the introduction of juridical notions and rhetorical figures.

The province of Vélez lay on the western slope of the Eastern Cordillera: 'The region was the major supplier of sugar, aguardiente, tobacco and other tropical products to the highlands of the Eastern Cordillera'.<sup>1</sup> Near the Puente Real of Vélez, where the first Comunero battle

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<sup>1</sup> M. P. Brungardt, "The structure of the agrarian economy of New Granada in the late Colonial Period", Paper presented at the 45th International Congress of Americanists, Bogotá, Colombia, July 1-7, 1985 p.7. He adds "In fact, the size and weight of the Eastern Cordillera with 39.8 per cent of the population sucked the Western Slope into its

had taken place in 1781, there was the parish of Nuestra Señora de Santa Ana, which had also joined that movement.<sup>1</sup> In 1799 the neighbours of the parish of Santa Ana condemned the election of Don Miguel Cadena as the mayor for 1800.<sup>2</sup> In this particular case it was none other than one of the outgoing mayors, Juan José Manuel Pinzón, who led the protest. However his complaint relied on the signatures of thirty-six neighbours and was presented on their behalf.

They focused their complaints on the personal characteristics and career of Cadena and his family: Cadena was a debtor to His Majesty as guarantor of the administration of the hacienda Tocaría. As the administrator of the hacienda del Cravo, he had embezzled its wealth with the help of his two sons.<sup>3</sup> He had an illicit relationship with one of his wife's nieces, and had been in jail in Santa Fe on account of his living in 'bad status' in the parish of Las Nieves, where he had been prosecuted by the parish priest. Besides, Cadena had not confessed for ten years. He had been a soldier and had deserted before finishing his period of service. Finally, he was a poor old man who derived his livelihood from carving bones,

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orbit and molded its economic function". According to F. Silvestre's Descripción del Reino de Santa Fé de Bogotá, 1789, the city of Vélez depended on the corregimiento de Tunja. For Tunja and Vélez see: J. Friede, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la evolución demográfica en la provincia de Tunja"; M. MöMrner, "Las comunidades indígenas y la legislación segregacionista en el Nuevo Reino de Granada", ACHSC, 1 (1), 1963, pp. 68-94; G. Colmenares, La provincia de Tunja en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, ensayo de historia social; D. Fajardo, El régimen de encomienda en la provincia de Vélez, Bogotá, 1969; U. Rojas, Corregidores y justicias mayores en Tunja.

<sup>1</sup> J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, p.62. There was a popular uprising in Santa Ana on 16 April 1781, during the Comunero movement.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Empleados Públicos de Santander (henceforth EPS). Tomo 7, fo.810-838.

<sup>3</sup> This hacienda had been recently attached to the jurisdiction of Santa Ana as it appears in "Diario de Don Antonio de la Torre en su viaje al Río Orinoco", AHN, Sección Colecciones, Fondo Ortega y Ricaurte, Caja 382, año 1783, fo.16: "...la hacienda del Cravo era una de las temporalidades de los padres expatriados y correspondía a un pueblo que estaba algo mas arriba y se extinguió".

which was a manual job. Therefore he was contaminado.<sup>1</sup>

This representación was drafted in Puente Real on 26 November 1799 and obtained nine signatures. There are two more such documents in the record of this case. The second added three signatures and the last a further twenty four.<sup>2</sup> New evidence was brought to bear: Cadena was Don José Antonio and Don Emdgio Joaquín's father and Juan José Bustamante's father-in-law. All these men had been prosecuted for counterfeiting and for encouraging the clandestine distilling of aguardiente when they were mayors.<sup>3</sup> The cabildo of the town of Vélez, the jurisdiction on which Puente Real depended, received the representaciones and passed the case to the letrado, Doctor Pedro Borrás, lawyer of the Audiencia. The cabildo asked him to determine whether the vecinos' action was the proper one. On 17 December 1799, Doctor Borrás replied that if they did not produce proof, the election and confirmation would be approved. He suspected that all the accusations might be false, as that of counterfeiting had been disproved. If these other charges were proved, this would impede the confirmation of Cadena as mayor; in the meanwhile the election should not be obstructed. The cabildo of Vélez bowed to this legal advice and confirmed Miguel Cadena as mayor of the parish of Santa Ana on 24 December 1799.

The vecinos for their part had their own connection in Santa Fe. As one can deduce from documents, Don Luis de Ovalle, procurator of the Audiencia, supported their cause. He had written a letter to Don José Cayetano Tello, the mayor of the partido, in which he reckoned that Don Miguel Cadena was in debt to His Majesty for about 13.000 pesos and

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo. 810-811.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.816-17.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.815-816.

he added: 'Ninguno que deba y tenga causa puede ser alcalde'.<sup>1</sup> He also sent a warrant for the examination of witnesses. Don Juan José Pinzón, the outgoing mayor, performed the examination of two witnesses. Nevertheless, the questionnaire included only the first and second parts of the fourth items of the accusations against Cadena in the former representación. It alluded neither to the issue of false coins nor to the distilling of aguardiente, nor to his moral faults. There figured a further question about whether Cadena and one of his sons had hidden Don Juan José Tello's inheritance. As Juan José Tello had been an associate of Cadena in the administration of some royal estates, his goods were to be taken as compensation. (These 'goods' were seven slaves). José Cayetano Tello, who had been one of the signatories of the three petitions, was also one of Juan José Tello's heirs.

Nineteen neighbours sent a fourth representation, with the testimonies and Ovalle's letter as proof, to the cabildo of Vélez on 23 December 1799. The cabildo in its meeting on 3 January 1800 decided to pay no attention to these documents, arguing that the witnesses were just two persons and they had been examined by Don Juan José Manuel Pinzón y Río, who was not an impartial interrogator. The cabildo's report to the Audiencia defended Cadena's honour and suitability for the post:

Seria tambien inferirle una grave injuria a Don Miguel Cadena despojandole del justo derecho adquirido en la posesion de su empleo...Ahora: Las circunstancias de Don Miguel Cadena, lo hacen justamente acreedor a este y cualquier otro empleo de judicatura. El es hombre noble en todas sus partes. No se halla en el estado de pobreza que los representantes refieren. Tiene lo necesario para llenar el hueco de sus obligaciones: Sus pedimentos en nada desdican a su honor. Por tanto y en consideracion a que es del todo perjudicial el que esta B(acante?) Partidaria recaiga siempre solo en cuatro o cinco sujetos que habran en aquella Parroquia fuera de la familia de Cadenas, juzga por conveniente este Ayuntamiento el que Don Miguel Cadena siga en su judicatura aun a pesar del mal queriente que ha sugerido a aquellos cortos vecinos la presente acción.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.818.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.835.

This report was signed by Gavino Angulo y Olarte, Miguel Vanegas, Lorenzo de Lungas and Jacinto Florez. Although the Audiencia did not accept the argument of the report and the proceedings continued, Miguel Cadena retained his office. The analysis below of the elections in Vélez of 1808-1809, will throw further light on this result.

In the Santa Ana case there are some interesting features of local behaviour which well deserve attention. First of all, it should be pointed out that accusations made by his neighbours to hinder Miguel Cadena's election fit the usual criteria. He was accused of being in debt to the government, of earning his living from a manual job and of being a morally bad man. This confirms the common or popular awareness of these legal disabilities. It remains to be proved whether all these accusations were true. Of course false accusation may have been made and advantage taken of such well-known grounds in order to prevent unpopular individuals gaining office. But, José Miguel Cadena had in fact been prosecuted for embezzlement as administrator of the Hacienda El Cravo.<sup>1</sup> In this case, it is evident that the problem of José María Tello's inheritance was behind Tello's interest in opposing Cadena; four signatures with the same surname, Tello, figured among those on the representaciones.

The letrado was an office created by the Bourbon administration. The holder had to be a person learned in law. In this case the letrado Dr. Borrás assumed an unusual position. It might have been expected that he should suggest an enquiry before giving his opinion, instead of assuming immediately that the charges were false. The same attitude was taken by the corregidor of Vélez. Both of them supported the cabildo of Vélez.

Nevertheless, what is most remarkable is the struggle for power between two groups in such a small parish or agregación. This is born out by both the participation of the mayor Pinzón y Río as leader of the vecinos and the assertion in the cabildo of Vélez's report concerning the

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<sup>1</sup> J. Raush, A Tropical Plains Frontier (The Llanos of Colombia 1531-1831), p.102.

absence of worthy men outside the Cadena family who could be office-holders, with the exception of four or five who had 'always' held the posts.<sup>1</sup>

Although there are two groups in both cases the intervention of the inhabitants of Santa Ana is different from that of Remedios. Mayor Pinzón y Río and the Tello family had personal vested interests in hindering the election though there were also apparently general reasons to do so. What happened in Remedios showed rather the neighbourhood's reaction against abuse of power on the part of two families and against a priest's intervention in political affairs. Santa Ana's case was not an isolated one. As the Angulo and Vanegas families continued in power in Vélez province, the procurator Ovalle brought all the records of the Santa Ana case into another suit in 1809.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the regidores of the Vélez cabildo in 1808, who carried out the election for 1809, were the same as those who had confirmed Miguel Cadena as mayor of Santa Ana in 1800. That is to say, Gabino Angulo y Olarte and Miguel Vanegas held that election. Fifteen neighbours supported the petition drafted by Francisco Pavón Calvo, and denounced the kinship between electors and elected. It happened that the elected alcaldes de la Hermandad, Miguel Vanegas and Francisco Angulo, were the provincial mayor's nephews. Miguel Angulo, elected as the ordinary mayor, and Joaquín Venegas, elected as the procurador, were both the provincial mayor's nephews, and brothers of those elected as the alcaldes de la Hermandad. As neighbours said 'toda la elección está encadenada en una sola casa.'<sup>3</sup> The other elected person, Don José María Tejada, was accused of being in debt to the renta de diezmos and of being the oficial del Correo, at the time of the election.

A representation was sent to the Audiencia and it was decided to submit it to a letrado. His

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.834-836.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.841.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.844-858.

dictum stated that there was no cause for complaint. The letrado declared that Don José María Tejada had justified his situation with the proper certificates but said nothing about the family clique. Ultimately the petitioners did not achieve their end and they were ordered to pay the cost of the proceedings.

What is remarkable in this instance is the neighbours' particular way of expressing their grievances and their demand for reform in Vélez. They argued that the family Vanegas-Angulo and Tejada possessed a monopoly of power and manipulated the regidores of the cabildo:

De otro modo se dificulta la reforma que es precisa como necesaria porque los regidores que hoy existen en aquel cabildo todos viven subjugados a las familias Angulo, Banegas y Texadas que viene a ser una misma familia... Agregar a esta verdad otra no menos constante tal es la ineptitud de los mismos regidores actuales. El alcalde mayor Provincial y Alguacil mayor no pueden dar razon de sus disposiciones legales a que deben arreglar su conducta en las elecciones porque las ignoran. Por eso es que ciegamente obedecen a los Angulos, Texadas y Vanegas sin que estos les dejen libertad para obrar en sus casos, de que se sigue la opresion en que viven los vecinos de la jurisdiccion, pues hallandose la administracion de justicia reunida en estas familias y estas de acuerdo como son una misma, no hallan los pobres vasallos que viven bajo esta opresion auxilio alguno y para encontrarlo tienen que ocurrir a los tribunales superiores en crecidos gastos, y dejar desamparados sus pobres familias, lo que se podra evitar cortando de raiz este abuso... nuestra solicitud a que Usia... aplique los medios de livertarla del pesado yugo que la aflixe.<sup>1</sup>

As the Angulo family had supported the government against the Comunero movement, one can understand why they were allowed to retain the offices of the province after 1781. Don Ignacio Angulo y Olarte had been the mayor of Socorro in 1781.<sup>2</sup> Having witnessed the third riot in that city he fled on 16 April 1781, and when he knew Galán had been seized, he

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 7, fo.856-857.

<sup>2</sup> As far as we know, Don José Ignacio Angulo y Olarte was the brother of Don Gavino Angulo y Olarte who signed in 1800 as one of the regidores the Vélez cabildo supporting Cadena's election in Santa Ana. Don José Ignacio was also a relative of the Vélez provincial mayor in 1808 and his nephews Angulo and Vanegas who shared out all the 1809's posts in Vélez. One of them, Miguel Vanegas, has also been corregidor of Tunja in 1808 (EPC, tomo 30, fo.73-84). The Angulo and Vanegas families continued to hold high positions in the provinces of Vélez and Tunja.

imprisoned some of his followers in Socorro.

He was the only one of Socorro's officials who openly opposed the Comunero movement.<sup>1</sup> Complaints about the Angulo family or their followers never succeeded. However, despite their retention of power the Angulo family had to make some concessions. Keeping their hold on power through less prominent front-men such as regidores was one of their ways of concealment. Sharing some position with some of their opponents was another, as the Angulo-Vanegas family did when José Cayetano Tello y Zárate held the job of Vélez's alcalde ordinario in 1808.<sup>2</sup> Although the parish of Santa Ana was very small and its mayor had little power, holding such posts made higher provincial positions more accessible. No formal administrative career existed but there were steps by which an official could show that he was deserving.

The power or the powerlessness of those whose appointments were challenged can be seen in the success or failure of petitions against them. Moreover, as the following case shows, the remoteness of some towns placed them beyond the control of the Audiencia to such an extent that real local power was more the determinant than the outcome of a legal suit.

Thus, in the town of Valencia de Jesús, province of Santa Marta, Don Juan de la Rosa Galván complained in November 1799 about José Campuzano's monopoly of cabildo offices. His representación stated that when Campuzano was not ordinary mayor he had chosen his relatives or those of his party. In 1794 he had been mayor and had been reelected for 1795. His reelection had been denounced and he consequently withdrew. Despite his reelection

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<sup>1</sup> J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, pp.64, 72-73, 249.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPS, tomos 2, fo.216-261.

being explicitly forbidden in 1795, Don José Campuzano became mayor again in 1798 to be reelected for 1799; Don Vicente Nuñez had also held the office during 1796, and 1797 consecutively. Don Miguel de Utría had been mayor 'of second vote' in 1795 and 1798. While Campuzano and Nuñez were compadres, Nuñez and Utría were brothers-in-law.<sup>1</sup> It was also believed that Don Vicente Nuñez was going to be mayor again in 1800. Here was a complete family clique which monopolized government posts from 1794 to at least 1800. According to these denunciations, the provincial governor had sent two interim regidores to the cabildo of Valencia de Jesús. They and the mayor 'of second vote' drafted a report which confirmed all the facts. They nevertheless pointed out that there were only very few individuals capable of carrying out these responsibilities:

es que se hallan otros ciudadanos cortos que puedan yevar el cargado peso de la republica con el empleo de alcalde ordinario y señalados los que no les comprenda coneccion de parentesco.<sup>2</sup>

In this case, the complaint was not concerning the officials' performance. Although the procurator Dionisio Ojeda, who undertook the suit on behalf of Juan de la Rosa Galván, declared that

en algunos lugares cortos la familia preponderante procura vincularse la autoridad publica, haciendo servir los empleos a sus fines particulares,<sup>3</sup>

it seemed that these 'private ends' did not go beyond the status appropriate to the posts. Retaining the posts was a sort of discrimination:

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Empleados Públicos de Magdalena (Henceforth EPM). tomo 5, fo. 672.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 5, fo.676-677.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 5, fo.672.

no faltando sujeto de suficiente presentacion y facultades para obtenerlos es una injusticia, es una violencia y una iniquidad privarlos de esta (...) de honor y satisfaccion que se despensa a los hombres de merito y bien inclinados queriendo solo el poder y orgullo tener a su arbitrio el mando y la recomendacion de estos oficios para deprimir y avasallar a los demas.<sup>1</sup>

Though Valencia de Jesus's population was declining and the existence of the cabildo was hardly necessary, the honour and pride attached to being mayor or regidor was still in dispute.

In 1802 Don Juan de la Rosa Galván figures as the regidor perpetuo and the alcalde mayor provincial and ordinario. In his report he explains the decadence of Valencia de Jesús in that its inhabitants were threatened by Chimila Indians and that they were attracted by the progress of the neighbouring towns. His report includes the testimonies of Manuel José de Utría and Don Vicente Nuñez which argue the same:

Huyendo de semejantes intolerables perjuicios se han trasladado las familias principales, quan en número mayor mas a Santa Marta, otras a Chiriguaná, al Guimaro, al Valle Dupar y Riohacha, y el menor número, y el número de la pobreza, y lo mas ilustrado de sangre, abatida, han quedado reducidas a los montes dejando caher sus casas y si concurren 50 almas a la parroquia a oír Misa es mucho causando una total lástima tales desvíos por la suma miseria en que se halla el país.<sup>2</sup>

However, once again a family clique had continued undaunted, and justified their domination by the scarcity of capable people to hold the jobs.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 5, fo.672-673. My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, 'Informe de la sala Capitular de Valencia de Jesús', 7 October 1804. Cédulas Reales, Tomo 34, fo. 369.

In the city of Tamalameque, province of Santa Marta, in 1722 capitán Don José Antonio Ravadán, regidor and provincial mayor had chosen another way to justify his standing in local government. He made the ordinary mayor collect seventeen testimonies about his performance as government official and as citizen. The inquiry included questions not only about his achievement but also about how many people capable of taking on official jobs there were in Tamalameque. Among the persons examined there figured current citizens as well as those who held the local jobs at that moment. They all agreed about the merits of Ravadán. He had had the slaughter-house built, the jail and the chapter house, all since 1758, contributing a sum of money to the last. He was padre de los pobres (father of the poor), "que ha sido el unico que remedia a los pobres sus necesidades sin el menor interes".<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the number of people competent to fill such posts, the ordinary mayor declared:

y del mismo modo zertifico sobre lo que pide el expresado Don José Antonio Ravadán que certifiemos el numero de vecinos idoneos, decentes y de medianos caudales, que puedan obtener los empleos anuales de esta Republica, digo haver de estas circunstancias ocho que son Don José Antonio Ravadán, regidor y Alcalde mayor Provincial y su hijo Don Andres Martín Ravadán, que estos dos son de conocido y crecido caudal solamente por lo que quedan seis, que son el alcalde ordinario actual José Antonio Hoyos, Don Felipe Nieto electo procurador, Don Gregorio Melendez, Don Felix Morillo, Don Juan Miguel Reynado, y el zertificante Alferez Real y Alcalde Ordinario en deposito y de estos seis exectuando a Don Juan Miguel Reynado por hayarse sumamente destituido de bienes pero eso si con desencia de casa, quedando solo cinco que de estos a mi sentir solo ay tres de mediano pasar que son el Alcalde Hoyos, Nieto y Melendez. Pues aunque ay quatro vecinos en esta ciudad conocidos por Blancos que son Don Augustin Ximenez, Don Domingo Frias, Don José Antonio Ramos y sus Hijo Don José Antonio Ramos, estos estan tan sumamente pobres que sus muchas nessecidades y desdichas no les permiten ninguna decencia para poder obtener empleos en esta republica, pues el mas del tiempo andan descalzos pescando y rosando para comer; siendo esta la realidad y verdad publica y notoria, y en fuerza de ella assi lo zertifico y firmo en esta dicha ciudad de Tamalameque en Diez y ocho dias del mes de Marzo de mil setecientos setenta y dos años. (The document was signed by Bautista Gervacio Nieto).<sup>2</sup>

In this case the scarcity of people able to bear the charge of the official jobs accompanied Ravadán's good performance. This memorial is an early and pale example of a kind of

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 5, fo.306-307.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 5, fo.308-309. My underlining.

patriotism fostered by the Bourbon administration: progress justified his little regime. The report of 'Nuestra Señora del Rosario y de San Miguel de Tamalameque', thirty-one years later confirms the lack of well-to-do whites in Tamalameque.

Que esta ciudad se halla a orillas del Rio de la Magdalena pero destituida de personas Blancas de algunas mediana comodidad pues en realidad solo hay dos presentes Señores Rexidor decano y procurador, pues lo demas Rexidores son vezinos de los sitios de la jurisdiccion, componiendose esta vezindario de gente parda, y pobres cuyo numero de almas hacienden a seiscientas, las quales avitan en menos de cien casas de techos de palma y muy reducidas casi todas ellas, su Iglesia de material y texas bien capax y al presente con un cura, otro sacerdote y sachristan mayor...<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1.2 Immorality and perversion of justice:

To illustrate the broad extent of the intervention by certain vecinos in local political affairs and the variety of their reasons, some minor cases in other areas of the viceroyalty will now be considered.

In 1806 twenty-four vecinos of San Martin in the province of the Llanos failed to end the domination of Juan Antonio Cardoso which he maintained through a front-man. Cardoso's brother-in-law, the mayor 'of first vote' and Miguel Enciso, another relative, the mayor 'of second vote' (who was in fact illiterate), both voted for Cardoso to be mayor in 1807. The vecinos, who claimed to be former mayors and regidores, drafted a representación denouncing not only the rigged election but also the fact that Cardoso, being alcalde de la Hermandad in 1784, had beaten two people and as an official of the Renta de alcabala had embezzled funds.

Though they proposed the names of three men considered suitable to be mayor and another to be procurator, none of them was taken into account by the higher authorities, and Cardoso was confirmed in his post.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, 'Informe de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Miguel de Tamalameque', 9 July 1803, Reales Cédulas, Tomo 34, fo.399.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Fondo de Empleados Públicos de Cundinamarca (henceforth EPC), tomo 23, fo. 172. In 1779 the known population of the Llanos consisted of 1,305 whites, 14,627 Indians, 6,109 mestizos, 118 slaves - 22,159 inhabitants. However it seems that the Indian population was declining and was being replaced by mestizos at the end of the century.

Another case occurred in Anapoima in 1809. The mayor and sixteen vecinos of that city, frightened at the prospect of the appointment of Pedro de Rojas as mayor in 1810, met in July 1809 to give their powers of attorney to Nicolás Llanos, a procurador of the Audiencia. In the petition presented, the proxy affirmed that Pedro de Rojas had been mayor of Anapoima many times, and his abuses of power were common knowledge: lashes given to many people, even free men, unfair imprisonment and perversions of justice. Forty men had fled the town in a three-month period because of his excesses when he was mayor.<sup>1</sup> In their former document the vecinos stated that Rojas "dejó la vara de arriero para coger la de la Justicia" and in his document Llanos explained Rojas's behaviour as a result of his background:

...tiene gusto particular en insultar a su presencia a los sujetos de distincion en la Provincia sin motivo legal y solo con el depravado objeto de ofenderlos y vilipendiarlos a la vista de la plebe, ya por hacerse notable a todos, o ya por incitarlos y exasperarlos por si se desmandan y exceden descargar en ellos todo el odio a que lo arrastran sus furias y la vergonsosa pasion de Venganza que engendran pueriles resentimientos... Como no sera con el resto del pueblo? y en efecto el no perdona sexo ni edad.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this desperate petition presented to ensure that Pedro de Rojas would not become mayor again, the fiscal Frias simply answered that as Rojas had not yet been elected at the time, the complaint could not be entertained.<sup>3</sup> It seems that it was impossible to act before an election or re-election had taken place. This case exemplifies the usual sort of complaints.

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(Data from J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, p.133).

<sup>1</sup> Pedro de Rojas was the mayor of whom Salvadora Ruiz had complained in 1806, accusing him of criminal complicity with the notary Constantino Guarnizo and the lieutenant of La Mesa, Nicolás Guillén de Guzmán. Guarnizo's appointment as a notary had been unsuccessfully protested against by seventeen vecinos, in 1803. (AHN, EPC, tomo 10, fo.227-233 and tomo 32, fo.594.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.353-355.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.363.

Nevertheless, what is remarkable in it is the socio-psychological explanation given by the neighbours of Rojas's conduct. In considering the causes of his disregard for 'decent' people, they focused on hard experiences as an impoverished child, though Rojas was not a poor man any longer; he possessed a hacienda.<sup>1</sup>

In 1774 a number of Spanish and mestizo vecinos, parishioners of the town of Facatativa, complained about perversion of justice by the mayor Ignacio Calderón. They affirmed that Calderón obtained the post with the selfish aim of living off the profits, because he was so poor that 'he did not possess a cape of respectability'.<sup>2</sup> They listed as abuses numerous fines and imprisonments. The corregidor Don Joaquín Bernal y Rigueiro was requested to supply information about the case. He duly gathered together the complainants in the presence of the mayor Calderón. On inquiry, their imposture was discovered. The complainants had been justly prosecuted for minor faults such as gambling and breaches of contract. Indeed, the prohibition of games of chance was maintained throughout colonial rule. In 1745 a Real Cédula was given asking the Viceroy to pay heed to the law against juegos de suerte y envite and in 1768 another about the impossibility of claiming any fuero (exception) in lawsuits concerning gambling.<sup>3</sup>

Bernal y Rigueiro explained he had appointed Calderón knowing that Facatativa needed a man like him. Indeed, a year before the priest had asked for a judge for that town because

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 10, fo.227-233. This datum appeared in the case of Salvadora Ruiz against Rojas.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 4, fo.44.

<sup>3</sup> Reales Cédulas of 3 August 1745, and Real Cédula of 13 February 1768. See Biblioteca Nacional, "Reales Cédulas y Ordenes", Bogotá, n. d., pp.83 and 104.

'on market day large crowds come from outlying towns'.<sup>1</sup> In the corregidor's view the inhabitants of Facatativa had the habit of living in lawlessness, and the presence of a judge restraining them from vice was obviously not welcome. He also denied Calderón's poverty and asserted that wearing a ruana instead of a cape was the custom among the mayors of partidos. This is an example of people's resistance to the ideal of living within the framework of the colonial order, though they did tactically use a formal channel of complaint to further their aims.

In December 1792, two vecinos of Titiribita, a small town of whites and Indians in the jurisdiction of Chocontá, had denounced the mayor Miguel de Guada on account of his imposition of unfair punishments, fines and imprisonment. They also affirmed he was a gambler, though he did not allow other people to gamble either a cuartillo de chicha or dados (dice). Since he called them thieves, they claimed:

que se nos devuelva nuestro credito de uno y otro lo que publicamente nos ha dicho en nuestra deshonra y buena reputacion que hasta el presente hemos vivido <sup>2</sup>

One of these plaintiffs would be among the three vecinos that in 1799 complained about the mayor Ignacio de Mendoza.<sup>3</sup> The procurador Luis del Ovalle presented the case "por via de queja o agravio" to the Audiencia. The representación stated that Ignacio Mendoza had been previously expelled from Guatequí because of three accusations of excesses.<sup>4</sup> He came to

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 4, fo.316.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 21, fo.423-426.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 22, fo.681.

<sup>4</sup> See section 3.2, pp.261-264 of this thesis. There was an attempt to reelect Mendoza for Guatequí in 1808. (AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 23, fo.931-932.)

Titiribita and even before he had established domicilio (gained the status of vecino) he was irregularly elected to be mayor through the influence of the priests. The list of grievances included the following accusations: he maltreated the vecinos, punished them cruelly, took revenge on those he had personal resentments against, and scandalized the neighbours by living with two single concubines and a widow. He treacherously accused certain men of being in concubinage with the consequent break-down of their marriages. He was said to have insulted some vecinos by calling them mulattoes and zangandongos (drones, idlers). He also had unfairly imprisoned, fined and beaten some inhabitants. The last point of the questionnaire to be answered by the witnesses sought a consensus of opinion:

Digan si todos los vecinos tanto blancos como indios viven consternados y aflixidos por las crueldades del citado alcalde. Declaren cuanto supieren de publico y notorio publica voz y fama acerca de los procedimientos de aquel juez.<sup>1</sup>

Mendoza alleged that the three complainants hated him because of the fact that he had put things in order in the town and that they had been found guilty of homicide, gambling and adultery respectively. In these events, reported for a town as small as Titiribita, one finds again vecinos using their right of protest against an irregularly held election and a miscarriage of justice. Once again moral faults are taken into account in disqualifying an official. Once again the intervention of the priest in the election is denounced. Once again ethnic allusions are used as insults. Above all, once again the neighbours choose the formal way of representaciones to lodge their complaints. By contrast, it is the first case in this study that shows an attempt to reach a consensus among whites and Indians. The decrease of the Indian population and the measures taken by visitadores had caused many Indian towns to become parishes of whites.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 22, fo.686. My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> In a later part of this thesis, Representaciones of Indians will be studied.

Vecinos also complained about notaries. Being familiar with the law, some of the notaries occasionally instigated lawsuits. Between 1806 and 1807 the cabildo and vecinos of Girón complained about the notary Hermenegildo Navarro; according to them he was illtempered and malevolent - "A más de la bajeza de nacimiento de aquel, es de un genio tirante, revoltoso y de dañadas intenciones".<sup>1</sup> In 1803 a number of vecinos from La Mesa opposed the appointment of Constantino Guarnizo as notary for the Tocalma province in these terms:

No siendo hijo legítimo de padres conocidos hemos de tener experimentada la malversación de su desarreglada conducta y con este motivo tememos se reciba el dicho Guarnizo de escribano por ser de un espíritu caviloso e inquieto pues solo con estar agregado a escribir en la oficina con el escribano público ha promovido y está promoviendo varias inquietudes entre los vecinos insitando a unos y a otros a que se enreden en pleitos y haciendo escritos bajo cuerda para el mismo juzgado, esto es cuando no puede a los descubierto siendo notorio que se mantiene de hacer escritos exigiendo los pagos de tanto pobre...<sup>2</sup>

Notaries managed the written word in a society with scant literacy. They translated the spoken word into juridical written forms, and derived their power from this capacity. Some of them prefigured the republican type of tinterillo.<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1.3 Competition for popularity between 'notables':

In January 1809 the cabildo of Pamplona challenged the election of Don Pedro de Omaña as mayor. Four of the cabildo members had voted for Doctor Don Francisco Peña and two for

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 5, ff.256.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 32, fo.594-597.

<sup>3</sup> M. Deas, "Algunas notas sobre la historia del caciquismo en Colombia", Revista de Historia, 2, Bogotá, 1976, pp.29-43. José María Samper includes the tinterillo along with the gamonal and the priest in which he calls the parochial triumvirate: J. M. Samper, "El triunvirato parroquial", in Colcultura, Narradores Colombianos del Siglo XIX, Bogotá, 1976, pp.457-469.

Don Pedro de Omaña. The corregidor Don Juan de Bastus y Falla, disregarding this two-thirds majority confirmed Omaña in office. The four cabildo members gave power of attorney to the procurador of the Audiencia José Antonio Maldonado, who expressed their complaint as follows:

Pero con asombro del publico y escandalo de los que vieron que el citado corregidor desentendiendose de la imparcialidad con que debe proceder en estas materias siñendose a la pluralidad de sufragios que llevan siempre a su favor la presuncion, y que recomiendan las leyes, supuesto que quieren que se proceda en esta materia por eleccion de los Ayuntamientos y por Regulacion de votos, vieron digo, que confirmo al sugeto que iba propuesto con solo dos de ellos excluyendo con desayre de los electores y del nombrado al que llevaba cuatro...<sup>1</sup>

Don Juan de Bastus y Falla also confirmed as mayor 'of second vote' Don Francisco González, Omaña's nephew. Maldonado, the proxy of the cabildo demanded that the appointed officers should certify the connection and kinship between themselves.<sup>2</sup> The petition also recalled the precedents: the corregidor Bastus had neither confirmed the alcalde ordinario elected for 1809 by the cabildo of Pamplona nor the election of mayor held by that of Girón.<sup>3</sup> Moreover he had deliberately impeded the proceedings in order to allow those unpopular officials to continue in their posts (this document of protest was additionally signed by Camilo Torres, then a lawyer to the Audiencia, who was later one of the most important politicians and heroes of Independence). It should be noted that Bastus y Falla was a Spaniard newly arrived in 1807 and he had replaced Don Joaquín Camacho as the corregidor of Pamplona. What the cabildo members thought of Camacho is evident from a minute:

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 16, fo.849.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 16, fo.850.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPS, tomo 16, fo.850. The records of the previous case of Pamplona is in AHN, EPS, tomo 8, fo.67-88.

(the people) se sintió muy feliz en la consecucion de un jefe cuya literatura, prudencia, celo, desinterés e integridad mantienen a todo el vecindario en una paz y tranquilidad inalterables, porque todos los vecinos están satisfechos de que sus sentencias son justas y sus consejos, que no rehusan, los más seguros.<sup>1</sup>

One can guess what this change had meant for the people and the cabildo of Pamplona: the sudden switch from impartiality to manipulation in election, along with the replacement of a creole corregidor by a Spanish one. It also helps us understand why the cabildo and the people rebelled against Bastus y Falla on 4 July 1810, an outstanding event in the very first days of Independence.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Pamplona, the cabildo's defence of its right to elect the mayor is defined: the majority (la pluralidad de sufragios) elects.

The confirmation was only a matter of counting votes. Also relevant here is the way the cabildo's views coincided with popular feelings, and the emergence of a combined opposition to Bastus y Falla later on.

Mompox was an important river-port on the Lower Magdalena, surrounded by good cattle lands. The marquesados of Torrehojos and Santa Coa resisted the occupation of their lands by settlers throughout the eighteenth century. The Marquises, particularly Gonzalo José de Hoyos, in the last quarter of the century, sent many petitions to the Viceroy and even to the

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<sup>1</sup> L. Martínez Delgado, Noticia biográfica del prócer Don Joaquín Camacho, Documentación. Bogotá, 1974, p.117, quoted by R. Gómez Hoyos, La revolución Granadina de 1810, Bogotá, 1982, vol.2, p.57. Don Joaquín Camacho wrote a well-informed description of the province of Pamplona including the city of the same name, the city of Girón and the village of San José and Rosario de Cúcuta, their climate and economy: 'Relación territorial de la provincia de Pamplona' in Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1942, vol. II, pp. 1-21.

<sup>2</sup> On 20 July 1810 creoles members of the cabildo of Santa Fé declared the Independence of New Granada and a cabildo abierto took place. This date has been considered the start of the Independence period and 7 August 1819 the end, when Bolívar's army won the battle of Boyacá.

King asking that their rights be upheld. Their large interests in the region and above all the bitterness bred by the long lasting dispute over land explain their concern over cabildo posts.<sup>1</sup>

In November 1797 the two alcaldes ordinarios of the villa of Santa Cruz de Mompo, the regidor fiel executor and the alguacil mayor, denounced attempts to manipulate the election on the part of the Marquis of Torrehoyos:

que el señor marques de Torrehoyos, Alferes Real de este cabildo, prevalido de sus condecoraciones y prepotencia, ahora, y en todos tiempos, ha procurado dominarlo para que no se haga otra cosa que su gusto y salgan siempre alcaldes de su devocion para gobernarlos por sí, y por medio de sus Directores, de modo que los hombres prinsepales y republicanos viven expuestos a ser victimas de sus venganzas; A este fin y de lograr el prurito de mandar, no ha perdonado diligencia para atraer a su partido los vocales del cuerpo, en mayor numero...<sup>2</sup>

The Marquis supported his dependants and also induced other officials to come from neighbouring places to participate in the election. Another of his manoeuvres was the denunciation of non-confirmed 'saleable posts' as vacant positions, and their subsequent sale or disposal at his direction. Because of the Marquis the people who held these posts had to renounce their occupancy, and he then placed in them people 'muy aparentes para ser

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<sup>1</sup> O. Fals Borda points out as motives of conflict between the Marquis and the cabildo: the demarcation of the boundary line between the Hato de Loba and the common lands of the villa -the ejido, and from 1781 on the cabildo's denunciations of weaknesses in the Marquis's title of nobility; he had never paid the confirmaciones. Perhaps the most meaningful antecedent of the conflict were the obstacles presented by the Marquis Gonzalo José de Hoyos to the experiment in autonomous existence that the province of Mompós enjoyed from 1774 to 1777.

Fals also holds that the entire affair represents a conflict between a 'new born bourgeoisie' and the 'traditional noblemen' power in the villa. He explains more convincingly that it was the demand for show of title made by the Marquis to settlers on his lands that embittered the good relations which the former Marquis, José Fernando de Mier y Guerra, had had with them. O. Fals Borda, Mompós y Loba, Bogotá, 1980, p.120A-125A.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 15, fo.534.

governados del Marques y su pandilla'.<sup>1</sup> Don Mauricio de Carcano was one of his creatures; from the moment he entered the cabildo, the other members ceased to attend it. When they were requested to attend the meeting to hand over one post to Miguel Guillín, another man of the Marquis, they excused themselves on the ground of sickness. They believed the Marquis was strengthening his party with regard to the coming year's election for mayors. These facts occasioned the lawsuit:

manifestando el empeño que tiene en asegurar la poecion de Guillin para contar con el mayor numero de votos en las elecciones del venidero año y vincular para siempre la vara de la justicia entre sus aliados, ó por mejor decir conservarla en sus manos, haciendose dueño absoluto no solo del gobierno de la Villa sino de la administracion de Justicia, para oprimir y amedrentar tanto a la Plebe, como a los hombres de bien y de honor que solo piensan en sus negocios.<sup>2</sup>

The crux of the struggle was the link binding officials with the plebe (the common people). While the complainants accused the Marquis of being an oppressor, he branded them as the representatives of the small group of whites of the town:

llegando a tanto extremo el odio con que nos mira el Marques, que estampó en su expocicion que nosotros componiamos una numerosa parcialidad de la mayor parte del pueblo en cuanto a blancos dando a entender estaba de la suya la Plebe, asegurando que el Publico gemia oprimido por el estanco en que al presente se halla comprimida la justicia y el cavildo, (sin duda cree el Marquez que el solo lo compone) a cuyo documento nos remitimos en prueba de nuestro acerto.<sup>3</sup>

The document of 1797 described the Marquis as a powerful and oppressive man, and claimed Mompos to be one of the most important sources of royal revenue. Consequently its inhabitants deserved more attention:

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 15, fo.535.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 15, fo.536.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

Hasta quando Excelentísimo Señor habra de durar la Dominacion del marques de Torrehoyos en esta infeliz Villa, una de las principais que contribuye al Real Herario muchos y crecidos Derechos Reales con el gusto y complacencia propios de fieles Vasallos?(...) La ley Castellana para que los poderosos no se apoderen de los Reximientos, comprende al Marques de Torrehoyos sin embargo de poceher el de Alferez Real con justo título y de que tenga confirmacion del Rey.<sup>1</sup>

The struggle of the inhabitants of Mompox and the Marquis along with the opposition to him from the cabildo, lasted right up to the Republican period. During Independence, his daughter and heir, the Marquesa de Torrehoyos, supported the royalist cause. She married a Spanish official.<sup>2</sup> By contrast the cabildo formally declared Independence on 6 August 1810 and afterwards most of the common people became involved in the war. The settlements which had been developed within the lands of the Marquesado later became parishes and towns.

While in Mompos in 1797 two groups of functionaries competed for the favour of the plebe, in Rionegro in 1802 the officials accused José María Aranzazu, a lawyer who had opposed their election, of intending to stir up a revolt among the plebe.<sup>3</sup> The city of Santiago de Arma de Rionegro was the third most important city in the province of Antioquia, where the main economic resource was goldmining.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPM, tomo 15, fo.357. The manoeuvres of the Marquis were also denounced by the lieutenant governor Ignacio Campillo (fo.561). My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> "La Marquesa de Torrehoyos y la llegada de Don Pablo Morillo", BHA, 43, 1956, p.430.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo. 739-46. E. Robledo in his Bosquejo biográfico del señor Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, assesses that, José María Aranzazu's lands were so large that within them four towns had been founded during the 1760s: Salamina, Aranzazu, Neira and Manizalez.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Restrepo, "Ensayo sobre geografía, producciones e industria de la provincia de Antioquia eu el Nuevo Reino de Granada", in Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1942, vol. I, pp. 243-286.

In September 1802 there were constant public festivities which usually lasted up to eleven at night. Many people from neighbouring towns came. On one of those evenings some men insulted the alcaldes. Later on, the judges blamed Don José María Aranzazu for inciting the people to such conduct.<sup>1</sup> The two witnesses examined declared that the accusation was false: no such event had occurred. On the contrary, they added, Aranzazu was a good man who had always defended the poor. Aranzazu wrote to the governor explaining that the judge Don Francisco Mejía had used the slander to take revenge on him because of Aranzazu's opposition to his election as mayor. Aranzazu warned that Mejía should either substantiate the charges or withdraw them, because 'de otro modo sería abrir la puerta a la violencia'.<sup>2</sup> The governor of Antioquia was also afraid of greater disturbances. He sought to resolve the case amicably and communicated this judgement to the Viceroy:

...porque me parece que si se continua el asunto podran resultar mayores disgustos entre aquellos vecinos principales de los que han experimentado hasta aqui, sobre lo que les he aconsejado con indiferencia y disimulo para que se traten y amen como manda Dios y quiere el Rey tendiendo presente el enlace de parentesco que media entre las familias y espero que el alto talento de Su Excelencia y su acreditada inclinacion a que reine la paz en los pueblos de su mando dara unas disposiciones en terminos tales que cese el ardor con que se han conducidos hasta ahora. Medellín 5 marzo 1802.<sup>3</sup>

Although one could assume that behind the feared confrontation between two groups of notables was the menace of a popular uprising, it was not explicit in the governor's document.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. McFarlane in his article "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada", pp. 47-50, has noted the relationship between civil disorders and communal festivities: festivals sometimes provide the occasion for disturbances.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.744.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPA, tomo 4, fo.746.

<sup>4</sup> F. Silvestre in his "Relación del estado de la provincia de Antioquia (1776)" assessed that

Don José María Aranzazu, as well as Joaquín Camacho, the ex-corregidor of Pamplona before Bastus y Falla, belonged to the enlightened associations of the creole elite. They were to play outstanding roles in the Independence period. Their previously-established links with the common people of their respective towns may well have been significant.

A lawsuit arose in Guaduas concerned with the opposition of a vecino to the election of Francisco Dávila as the mayor for 1799. This provided the occasion for the drafting of a memorial on the usual method of electing mayors in that town. Several men who had held offices in Guaduas gave their evidence about the local political tradition. Most of them agreed with the following version:

Don Juan del Busto y Maecha Alcalde Ordinario de segundo voto con residencia en Villeta que lo fui el año anterior de noventa y ocho. Certifico en toda forma de derecho, y en la manera que puedo, y debo; que lo que se estila en la villa de Guaduas en donde obtube el empleo, para las elecciones, Empleos y oficios concejiles de cada año es el metodo siguiente. El Alcalde Ordinario de primer voto que recide en Guaduas, como que tiene pleno conocimiento de los sugetos idoneos que hay para exercer dichos oficios, en aquellos sitios inmediatos elige y nombra al que le ha de subseder, y al de la Santa Hermandad, que a de asistir alli, y a los dos Partidarios de Quebrada Negra y Chaguani. El de segundo voto elige y nombra al que ha de asistir en Villeta, al otro Hermandadario y a los cuatro Partidarios de Sasaima, La Vega, Nocayma, Nimayma. Asi mismo me consta que en este presente año de nobenta y nueve es Alcalde ordinario de segundo voto con residencia en Villeta, Don Bartholome Osorio, y segun lo publico y notorio, tengo noticia que eligio y nombro para dicho empleo a su cuñado y compadre Don Francisco Dávila todo lo cual por ser así verdad, y en virtud de requerimiento verbal de Don Martín Riobo lo certifico y juro...<sup>1</sup>

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there were more gente distinguida (notable people) in Rionegro than in Antioquia. Although this is not a statistical datum, this sort of information about society was what the authorities used in coming to decisions. Rionegro was the successor of the ancient Santiago de Arma, founded by the conquistadores. In 1777 the black slaves of Rionegro, who numbered 2,056, participated in an uprising with those of San Jacinto, Guarne and Envigado. The conflicts with the black population during the second half of the eighteenth century increased to such an extent that it has been suggested that 'adquirieron muchas veces las características de una guerra civil'. J. Jaramillo Uribe, Ensayos sobre historia social Colombiana, pp.65-66. V. Alvarez, 'La presencia del negro en el mundo colonial antioqueño', Cali, 1979, (mimeo) quotes Jaramillo and agrees with his view.

<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 10, fo.389. My underlining.

Hence, what about ternas and confirmations? But there are records of ternas sent by the corregidores of Guaduas to the Royal Audiencia: Don José de Acosta for 1792, 1794 and 1797<sup>1</sup> and Don Antonio Blanco for 1806 and 1808.<sup>2</sup> Was it just a formality? A pretence? Perhaps, when the official said that each mayor nominated another official for the coming year, they really meant that he proposed him and that that name was to occupy the first place in the corresponding terna. It would be an expeditious way of managing the proposals within the cabildo. The numerous records of protest against the confirmation of a name which was not in the first place of the list provide evidence of this practice.<sup>3</sup> What is beyond doubt is that although there was a law about elections, it was loosely interpreted.

#### 2.1.4 Vecinos in defence of the established local order:

This exposé of the intervention of local inhabitants in the election of mayors during the late colonial period would not be complete without mentioning the case of Tocaima. It illustrates some of the outstanding features of colonial political life in the towns and villas of New Granada, providing a broader provincial framework. There is a remarkable record of the performance of many members of the Millán family in the governmental posts in the Tocaima province from 1752 to 1800.<sup>4</sup> Although the conflict blew up in 1783, there had been precedents involving vecinos' complaints since 1758. The family controlled the city of Tocai-

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC. Ternas for 1792 tomo 30, fo.341-351; terna for 1794, tomo 3, fo.566-569: Don Francisco de Busto y Maecha, for instance, figured in the first place of the terna for mayor of Nimaima; terna for 1797: tomo 30, fo.459-469.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, Ternas for 1806, tomo 23 fo.108-132; ternas for 1808, tomo 24, fo.445-454.

<sup>3</sup> Some of these denunciations became long lawsuits over the hierarchy among the officials involved. For Zipaquirá, 1782, AHN, EPC, tomo 2 fo.780-838; for La Mesa, 1806, AHN, EPC, tomo 28, fo.529-535.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.921-990 and tomo 9, fo.570-689.

ma, the settlements of Vituima Valley, Beltrán and Pully. There were many political disputes but none of them turned into riots. Some members of the Millán family had supported the Comunero movement and their opponents were aware of this. The case of Tocaima throws light on the relationship between local political affairs and that outstanding episode of popular action of 1781. While the full economic and socio-political history of the province over such a long period is beyond the scope of this research, some records provide an illustration of people's political attitudes and experiences.

Tocaima lies in the Upper Magdalena River Valley where the principal products were at that time livestock and sugar cane from which molasses and aguardiente were produced.<sup>1</sup> It depended on the Government of Mariquita until 1785, when it was granted its own cabildo.

Exactly when and why the Millán family became powerful is not clear. The first recorded indication of their ascendancy was in 1758 when some vecinos of the Vituima Valley addressed a report about their abusive influence to the procurador general. They were prompted to do this by the appointment of Marcos Vela, Diego Millán's brother-in-law, as the mayor of the partido and of Francisco Millán as the alcalde de la Hermandad.<sup>2</sup>

Los vecinos del Balle de Bittuyma de la Jurisdiccion de la Ciudad de Thocayma que aquí vamos firmados y en nombre del demas besindario se nos a echo justicia informar a Vuestras Excelencias los daños molestias e ynjusticias que (en) este besindario se padesen por la costumbre tan esttablecida que ese Cabildo tiene de nombrar Alcaldes todos los años a Diego Millán sus hijos y cuñado Marcos Bela, consiguiente este año lo es dicho Marcos de Partido y Francisco Millán de la Santa Hermandad los que como hermanos y parsiales se afirman para executtar cualesquier causa por infima que sea y tambien como estos se dirijan por las Induziones que el dicho Diego Millán les haze a ttodo su gustto, nunca sale la justicia de su casa por lo que siempre se hallan absolutos y poderosos y careze el mas vesindario de la distribucion de justicia por los motibos que en el querpo de este expresaremos.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M. P. Brungardt, 'The structure of the agrarian economy of New Granada in the late Colonial Period', p.14; F. Silvestre, Descripción del Reyno, p.58.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 4, fo.944-946.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.943-944.

While most of their complaints were related to the poor performance of those members of the Millán family in public office, they also pointed out that Don Marcos Vela had embezzled the Estancos Reales (royal monopolies). According to the petition the Millán were 'odious' men who dispensed justice without rhyme or reason. Whenever one of them was mayor, prisoners were not taken to jail but to Diego Millán's own house, where he had installed contraptions such as the cepo, (the stocks). The Milláns used to take aguardiente from the estanco to their homes. When they were mayors of the Hermandad they undertook all the civil lawsuits, thereby exceeding the legal limit of five and also imposed excessive fines. Since they did not want to obey the local priests they asked to be recognized as parishioners of Guaduas, a neighbouring villa.

The Millán family was accused of breaking every existing rule of local colonial society. They cheated the fiscal administration by stealing aguardiente. By requesting a separation from the parish of Vituima, they challenged the regular ecclesiastical organization. They defied the law by deliberately exceeding the limit of five civil law cases to be undertaken by any alcalde de la Hermandad. Finally, their setting up of instruments for the physical maltreatment of prisoners in their house signified their wresting the means of punishment from the State, and their adopting them as if they were a personal privilege. On the other hand, when the vecinos accused them of such abuses they did so in defence of the established order: defending the fiscal administration, the rights of the local parish, the rules of legal procedure and the customary methods of punishment.

The nine signatory vecinos warned that should any of the Milláns be reappointed mayor, they would reject him. They also provided a list of twenty men who were suitable to hold office, 'hombres sensibles de buena intencion'.<sup>1</sup> The priests supported the neighbours'

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 9, fo.575; tomo 24, fo.945.

representación with two further documents. Despite this warning, the cabildo broke its promise to consider the list of suitable candidates.<sup>1</sup> When Victorino Ximénez de Encizo, a front-man of the Milláns, was appointed mayor of Vituima for 1760, the complainants made a new demand. This time they gave power of attorney to procurator Blas de Valenzuela and the lawsuit was submitted to the Audiencia. The petition affirmed that Victorino Ximénez had to be rejected on the grounds of his incompetence, illiteracy, mixed blood, doubtful birth and lack of funds.<sup>2</sup> Through his lawyer, Ximénez asserted that his accusers were 'of a lower sphere and completely insolvent'.<sup>3</sup>

An enquiry was ordered. All the witnesses ascertained that Ximénez was the son of an india renegrada and a fugitive, that he did not know how to write and that he had been put forward by Miguel Millán on New Year's Day to take the oath of office.<sup>4</sup>

Doctor Domingo Caicedo, Ximénez's proxy, refuted their evidence stating that those who had been questioned could not be believed as they were mulattoes and muleteers.<sup>5</sup> A further enquiry was held and the findings showed that, although Ximénez's mother was Don José de Herrera's illegitimate grand-daughter, she was white and Ximénez a nobleman, and although he did not know how to write, there had already been three other illiterate mayors

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 9, fo.580.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 9, fo.577.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 9, fo.580.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 9, fo.594-604.

<sup>5</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 9, fo.607.

in Vituima.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this, Ximénez was cleared of the accusations and the neighbours were charged with the costs of the proceedings in October 1760.

Thus, while the local authorities demanded the disqualification of the witnesses on ethnic grounds, the vecinos did exactly the same as regards Ximénez to prevent him from holding office. Ximénez had to be rehabilitated to the rank of white and subsequently to that of nobleman to entitle him to be an officeholder. Colonial policy encouraged ethnic discrimination not only between Spaniards and creoles, but also between creoles and castas (mestizos, mulattoes, Indians). The common people became involved in these conflicts. Limpieza de sangre (not having mixed blood) was considered desirable and miscegenation was equated with degeneration. Being white was generally equivalent to having high social standing, being mestizo was generally equivalent to low status, and mulattoes were the lowest layer of freemen and were held in fear by the rest of society.<sup>2</sup> However, colour itself was not the only characteristic to be taken into account; origin, birth (that is to say the ethnic credentials of the parents and the legitimacy of their union), job, economic position and the general standing of the particular social group to which individuals belonged, constituted a complex set of characteristics according to which a person could be regarded as a white or a mestizo. The enquiries usually asked whether the person passed for white or mestizo, and this was the definitive criterion. Therefore the classification also varied according to the ethnic composition in each town. For instance, Victorino Ximénez was 'whitened' and ennobled in the hamlet of Vituima under a particular set of circumstances in a way which could hardly have happened in a larger town or city, still less without the support of a cliquish group such as the Milláns.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 9, fo.658.

<sup>2</sup> R. Konezke, "La legislación española y el mestizaje en América", in El mestizaje en la historia de Ibero-América, México, 1961, pp.59-64. M. Mörner, Race Mixture in the History of Latin America, New York, 1967, p.68-69.

The latter was the case in 1764. Although in 1760 the members of the cabildo of Tocaima had backed the election of Ximénez, those of 1764 rejected the appointment of Marcos Vela, Diego Millán's brother-in-law, as the juez de residencia for Tocaima. He was not only a man of low social status, but also both he himself, and the Milláns had been the office-holders whose performances he was now going to judge. In this case the opposition was successful. On 21 May 1764 Viceroy Zerda ordered Marcos Vela's appointment to be suspended and an enquiry about his standing to be conducted. It seems that the Milláns had lost their influence in the cabildo between 1759 and 1765. However they began to increase their power again from 1766 onwards, as they gained control one after the other of Vituima, Anolaima, Beltrán y Pully.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.949-950. José Ramón de Sierra presented a 'Relazion indibidual que en esta representazion tengo ofrecida al Ilustre Cavildo de los años que las familias de los Millanes y Velas han exercido Empleo de República contra todo lo divino y lo umano sacado de los libros capitulares del Cabildo de las ciudad de Tocaima desde el año de 1753 al presente de 1783.' Information from this 'relazion' produces the following note:

- 1753, Diego Millán, Alcalde ordinario Tocaima.
- 1754, Miguel Millán, Diego's son, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad
- 1756, Diego Millán, Alcalde Ordinario Tocaima.
- Marcos Vela, Diego's brother-in-law, Alcalde Vituima.
- Miguel Millán received the permanent job of Regidor perpetuo and Fiel Ejecutor.
- 1758, Marcos Vela, Alcalde, Vituima;
- Francisco Millán, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad, Vituima.
- 1759, Pedro Vela, Marcos's brother, Alcalde, Anolaima.
- 1766, José Manuel Rodríguez, Miguel Millán's cousin, Alcalde, Vituima.
- 1767, Marcos Millán, Miguel's brother, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad;
- Pedro Vela, Alcalde, Anolaima.
- 1768, Francisco Millán, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad.
- 1769, Juan José Millán, Miguel's brother, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad.
- 1770, Marcos Millán, Alcalde Ordinario, Tocaima.
- 1771, Francisco Millán, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad.
- 1772, Enrique Millán, Alcalde, Vituima;
- Juan José Millán, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad;
- Pedro Vela, Alcalde, Anolaima.
- 1773, Marcos Millán, Procurador General, Cabildo de Tocaima.
- Victor Jiménez, Alcalde, Vituima.
- 1776, Francisco Millán, Alcalde Ordinario, Tocaima.
- 1777, Juan José Millán, Alcalde Ordinario, Tocaima;
- José Manuel Rodríguez, Alcalde de la Santa Hermandad;
- Marcos Vela, Alcalde, Vituima.
- 1779, Pedro Vela, Alcalde, Anolaima;
- Juan José Millán Alcalde, Vituima;
- Gregorio Dávila, father-in-law of Miguel Millán's son, Alcalde, Beltrán;
- Francisco Millán, Alcalde Ordinario, Tocaima.
- 1780, Marcos Millán, Alcalde, Vituima;
- Joaquín Vela, Joaquín Millán's nephew, Alcalde, Anolaima.

There are also records of complaints about them in 1771. But after 1781, when part of the inhabitants of Vituima, including some of its local authorities, joined the Comunero movement, only two figures openly opposed the Milláns' conduct, though their rigged elections continued. At the end of 1781, Don Ramón de Sierra, alguacil mayor of Tocaima, denounced the election of officials for 1782 held in the cabildo; Don José Gabriel de Hoyos, newly appointed to be mayor 'of the second vote' of Vituima did not accept the job because of Millaán domination. Both of them alleged not only that Miguel Millán, Diego's son, was in the habit of appointing his relatives to most government posts, but also brought up the Millán family's involvement in the Comunero movement. It put them in an awkward position before the higher authorities. On 8 November 1781 José Gabriel de Hoyos asked:

se le franqueen documentos por donde se patentize convenir el derrivar el fuerte muro que tienen armado los cinco hermanos Millánes en Vituima, sus tios y primos en Anolaima; Veltran y Pully sus hiernos, parientes, compadres y parciales... Ciertamente es señor que es tanta la pobrísima situación que viven los vecindarios de Vituima, Anolaima, Veltran y Pully con esta otomana familia que pudieran haberse echo memorables eroes haciendo resistencia a lo sublevados socorreños, antes por el contrario dicen los auxiliaron y Pedro Millán primo de estos e oido decir fue de los magnates de la yntentada degolla de europeos de Santa Fe.<sup>1</sup>

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- 1781, Enrique Millán, Alcalde, Vituima;  
 Marcos Vela, Alcalde, Anolaima.  
 Benigno Dávila, Miguel Millán's son-in-law, Alcalde, Beltrán y Pully.  
 1782, Marcos Vela, Alcalde Ordinario, Tocaima;  
 a Millán's nephew, Alcalde, Anapoima;  
 Juan José Millán, Alcalde, Vituima.

<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.939.

There is reference to that degolla in M. Briceño, Los Comuneros, Bogotá, 1880, p.74 and F. Silvestre, Descripción, p.94, states:

Durante estos sucesos, se fomentó en la capital una secreta sedición por algunos mestizos y gente de poco viso, ni reputación en ella, en que acaso pudieron tener parte otros imprudentes creyendo a Rio Revuelto levantarse a mayores y conseguir lo que no podían imaginar, intentaron una conspiración y acabar con todos los vezinos principales y especialmente españoles, sorprendiendolos hacesse dueños de la capital, y, sustrayendose del dominio del Rey, erigirse ellos mismos en magistrados, cuyas cabezas lograron prenderse y dieron no poco susto por no haberse hecho inmediatamente justicia con ellos como correspondía...

Don José Ramón de Sierra recounted the dispute which took place at the cabildo meeting in November of 1781:

que con motivo de varias alteraciones que tube en la sala capitular el dia tres del presente sobre que no se nombrase para el inmediato venidero año de 82 a ningun hermano del regidor Fiel Executor Don Miguel Millán, de Alcalde del Partido de Bituyma por ser constante hace muchos años jimen aquellas infelizes jentes vajo el pesado yugo de los dichos y para mayor contenzion de los capitulares hize la expression no podian ser jueces los que habian patrozinado y dado ausilio a los enemigos de nuestro soberano, los socorreños en las turbaciones que mobieron, nada de lo cual vastto para que la pandilla o parzialidad de dicho Rexidor fiel Executor dejare de nombrar a Don Juan José Millán, y dandose por hagraviado el citado Rexidor se presento a la sala pidiendo zertificaciones del passage...<sup>1</sup>

In spite of these damaging accusations the Millán's regional power went on increasing. In February of 1782 they effectively managed to remove their opponents from the scene. They not only dissuaded Thomas Villanueva de Peñalver, their opponents' candidate, from taking up the office of mayor of Vituima to which he had been elected at first, but also made Don Juan Felix Ramírez de Arellano, the lieutenant governor, deprive Don Ramón de Sierra of voz y voto (all his right of participation) in the cabildo.

In the 1783 election, the electors who were themselves all inter-related chose the mayors for thirteen of the settlements in the province.<sup>2</sup> Francisco Navarro de Amaya, who as the lieutenant governor presided at the meeting, refused to accept the election because of the lack of quorum, the irregular election of all the office-holders in just one day and the kinship between electors and candidates. Having been notified of this, the Fiscal (Prosecutor) of the Audiencia ordered that all the members of the cabildo be examined. The inquiry lasted the whole of 1784 and in January 1785, having reached no solution, the Fiscal merely settled

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 27, fo.942.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.922-923.

for an order preventing them from holding any further fraudulent elections.<sup>1</sup> Ten years later the cabildo of Tocaima was abolished and replaced by a Letrado (lawyer) who was to work in coordination with the cabildo of Mariquita.<sup>2</sup> It remains to be proved whether this abolition had anything to do with the Millán family's activities. In any case their domination did not come to an end.

Vituima particularly could never escape from their control.<sup>3</sup> The Millán's power in Vituima grew to such an extent that even the local priest had to recognize their special status and ended up supporting them.<sup>4</sup> In one instance Don José Gabriel de Hoyos, one of the participants, tried to place the conflict in a different context, moving it from the political arena to the economic. He argued that because the Milláns had been so powerful for so long this made them worse, not better royal officials. For them royal taxes were low in the list of their priorities. Hoyos, from the other point of view, wanted to put forward men who were concerned that 'se restableciesen las caidas y abatidas rentas'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.1015.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Cédulas Reales, tomo 23, Cédula Real of 13 June 1795. Although theoretically the jurisdiction of the cabildo of Tocaima was divided up among the judges of Santa Fé, the village of Honda and the village of Purificación, in reality most of the lawsuits of Tocaima were undertaken by the cabildo of Mariquita.

<sup>3</sup> As the records show, Marcos Millán was once again elected as the Mayor of Vituima in 1798, while Manuel Doncel and Domingo Pereira, both of whom had been denounced as the fraudulent electors of 1783, were elected as the mayor 'of second vote' of Tocaima, and as the mayor of La Mesa, in 1798 and 1799, respectively. Moreover Francisco Antonio Vela and members of the Barragán family, all of them Milláns' relatives, figured in the ternas of Anolaima and Rioseco. In the same year the terna for mayor of Vituima was formed by Victorino Jiménez de Encizo, José Millán and Antonio Barragán, all of whom belonged to the clique.

AHN, EPC, tomo 2, 'Nómina de alcaldes para el distrito del Muy Ilustre Cabildo de esta capital'. It includes the lists for 1790, 1798, 1799.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.939. When José Gabriel de Hoyos asked the priest and the mayor to choose three people among the parishioners to be put forward for posts, he had to report that 'neither the priest nor the mayor had found anyone different than three Milláns'.

<sup>5</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 24, fo.940.

The participation of people such as the Milláns, and Don Miguel Cortés, Mariano Doncel's father-in-law and uncle of Alfonso Cortés, caudillo of Purificación, in the Comunero movement can be explained in the same way as that of the 'patrician creoles' of Socorro. The price rise in the Estanco de aguardiente, and the new regulations on the collection of the alcabala (purchase tax) and Armada de Barlovento affected the owners of sugar-cane plantations, and the small traders who did business with their mule-trains.<sup>1</sup> People from all social levels in the province of Tocaima became involved in the protest against the innovations of the Visitador Gutiérrez de Piñeres.

However, what is difficult to understand is the continuation of the Milláns in power after 1781 and moreover the support given to them by Don Felix Ramírez de Arellano, the lieutenant governor of Mariquita who had been directly attacked by José Antonio Galán, one of the outstanding leaders of the Comunero movement.<sup>2</sup> This might be explained either by the policy of reconciliation pursued by Viceroy Caballero y Góngora in dealing with a few of those involved in the riots, or because none of those Milláns who held posts after 1781 had been directly accused, though their close relatives had been. Furthermore, the abolition of the cabildo of Tocaima can hardly have a connection with the Milláns' participation in that movement since it came about in 1795, fourteen years later. However it probably was connected with the family clique. The Viceroy Espeleta in 1796 justified the recent suppression of three cabildos because of abuses in elections and misrule.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the Milláns

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<sup>1</sup> J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, pp.40-45 and 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p.240.

<sup>3</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excmo. Sr. Don José de Ezpeleta a su sucesor el Excmo. Sr. Don Pedro Mendinueta. Año 1796", in E. Posada (ed.), Relaciones de mando, Bogotá, 1910, p.318:

Por la misma razón y aun con mayores motivos, se han extinguido o suprimido tres cabildos y se ha propuesto a S. M. la extinción de otro. Estos cuerpos y sus individuos, destinados por las leyes a representar al

continued holding posts. Precisely what is singular in the case of Tocaima is the long lasting domination of a family (three generations), the extension of their power (nearly a whole province) and the acrimony of the ethnic and political accusations made in 1782-83.

#### 2.1.5 Vecinos and priests at local politics:

Along with mayors, priests were important figures in the cities and villages. Both groups were respected or criticized by neighbours and their behaviour was also a matter of public knowledge, a part of the publico y notorio.

By virtue of the Patronato Eclesiástico the Kings of Spain controlled the appointment of priests and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The Real Hacienda had the right of collecting tithes and the duty of supporting worship, including paying the stipends of the priests and the building and repairing of churches. In practice the vecinos and Indians maintained the priests and financed the building and repairing of churches through the payment of ecclesiastical fees for masses and sacraments and by means of the Cofradías. The vecinos and cabildos had a certain degree of control over these fees and they protested when priests tried to increase them.

However, the role of priests in towns covered a wider range than just providing religious services. They were also charged with the guardianship of the moral order, and consequently expected to fight against concubinage, drunkenness and absence from mass. But the mid point between excessive strictness and excessive lenience was difficult to find. There was a case in which the Audiencia had to declare that the priest could not prohibit balls from

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público, a favorecerle y a proporcionarle ciertas ventajas, no deben existir en las ciudades y villas que solo conservan el nombre de tales, habiendose perdido hasta la memoria de su antiguo esplendor u opulencia, porque se convierten de Padres de la Patria, en perjudicialísimos padrastrós, que por lo comun sojuzgan a los infelices habitantes del pueblo en que viven y abusan de sus oficios para perpetuar los empleos de alcaldes Ordinarios y demás electivos, en los sujetos de su parentela o facción.

taking place, and there were also instances of concubinage where the priest himself was involved.<sup>1</sup> Priests were expected to behave in a suitable manner. They had to guard against having any suspicious relationship with women, playing cards, trading, attending balls, bullfights and cockfights.<sup>2</sup>

From early in the colonial period the priests' sermons supported the authorities in the levy of tributes, the alcabala and other taxes.<sup>3</sup> Vecinos, officials and priests used to justify their acts for the sake of 'the two Majesties', God and the Crown. The parish was the unit of civil and ecclesiastical administrations; both were interlocked. An example of cooperation between civil and ecclesiastical authorities was the questionnaire sent by the King to the towns to obtain information about the economy, the morality and the degree of policía prevalent in each. The questionnaire was either to be answered by the priest or by the judge.<sup>4</sup>

In the eighteenth century hispanicization and conversion were almost complete in the western and central areas of New Granada. But that does not mean that there was no resistance even within the towns closest to the administrative centres or religious houses. The

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<sup>1</sup> M. Mörner in La corona española affirms that the Church never gave up its struggle against concubinage in Spanish America. (p.95). The case of the prohibition of balls after the 'hour of prayer' (6 p.m ) took place in Rionegro, Antioquia, in 1769 and caused a dispute about royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Archivo Histórico de la Academia Colombiana de Historia, Libro de respuestas fiscales, pp.77-81. Fiestas on St. John's Day were the most persecuted. In the seventeenth century Archbishop Sans Lozano prohibited bathing in the river and balls. In 1718 President Manrique did the same. J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1889, vol. I, p. 427 and vol. II, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> 'Constituciones sinodiales hechas en la ciudad de Santa Fé por el señor Don Fray Juan de los Barrios, primer Arzobispo de este Nuevo Reino de Granada que las acaba de promulgar a 3 de Junio de 1556 años', in J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada, vol. II, Apéndice, pp.498-499.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada, vol. II, p.203.

<sup>4</sup> Real Cédula of Aranjuez, 24 April 1801.

institutions existed but they did not always work. In towns and villas there was usually a better attendance at mass and more control over family morality. The peasants of outlying parishes rarely attended mass; they frequently lived scattered over the country working on the farms and had not always been well catechized. In some polyethnic parishes the Indians were under the heaviest ecclesiastical control; the whites resisted going to Church in order to distinguish themselves from the Indians. In other areas such as the Chocó, the areas bordering the Magdalena River and some areas on the banks of the Cauca River the inhabitants were living in a totally primitive way.<sup>1</sup> There was resistance to religious control in the late colonial period. Of course the extent to which and the way in which attitudes of acceptance and rejection were mixed up depended on factors whose relative importance varied according to time and place. Ethnic, social, political and economic factors contributed to the shaping and expression of different opinions. The part played by the personal behaviour of the outstanding figures of a town, such as the priest himself, the mayor and other notables was undeniable. Their conduct could provoke either resistance or support, free or forced, for religious practices, among the neighbours or hispanicized Indians. Indeed, during the Comunero protest of 1781 clear signs of a strong anticlerical trend appeared.<sup>2</sup> The isolation of most towns explained, to some extent, the overwhelming importance of local factors. Protests against ecclesiastical fees were the most direct and a common sign of resistance.

Even the reports of the Viceroy alluded to this abuse.<sup>3</sup> A proof of the priests' awareness of

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<sup>1</sup> V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, La familia en Colombia, Vol.1, Bogotá, 1963, pp.310-359. See also J. Friede, El Indio en la lucha por la tierra, Bogotá, 1944, p.45; J. Palacio de la Vega, Diario de viaje del Padre Joseph Palacio de la Vega entre los Indios y Negros de la provincia de Cartagena en el Nuevo Reino de Granada; G. Martínez Reyes, Cartas de los Obispos de Cartagena durante el período hispánico 1534-1820, Medellín, 1986, pp. 168 and 546.

<sup>2</sup> J. Loy, "Forgotten Comuneros: The 1781 Revolt in the Llanos of Casanare", HAHR, 61 (2), 1981, 235-257.

<sup>3</sup> Viceroy Guirior affirmed that the priests took more levies than those they had a right to. By 1776 there were 344 priesthoods in New Granada; "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Sr. D. Manuel Guirior", in E. Posada (ed.), Relaciones de mando, p.125.

was undeniable. Their conduct could provoke either resistance or support, free or forced, for religious practices, among the neighbours or hispanicized Indians. Indeed, during the Comunero protest of 1781 clear signs of a strong anticlerical trend appeared.<sup>1</sup> The isolation of most towns explained, to some extent, the overwhelming importance of local factors. Protests against ecclesiastical fees were the most direct and a common sign of resistance.

Even the reports of the Viceroy alluded to this abuse.<sup>2</sup> A proof of the priests' awareness of their economic interests was the description and classification of all the priesthoods of New Granada drafted by the priest Basilio Vicente de Oviedo. The first-rate priesthoods were those whose annual profits varied from \$1300 to \$2500 and enjoyed a good climate, the second rate were between \$700 and \$1200, and the remaining third and fourth-rate from \$250- \$600. Some exceptions were noticed by Oviedo in relation to the posts which had low profits but were honourable, such as those in the parishes within the city of Santa Fe.<sup>3</sup>

Who made protests against priests? What grounds did they base them on? How were these complaints managed? Did a uniform attitude towards the payment of ecclesiastical fees exist? Were most people concerned about priests' conduct? Did these protests imply an undermining of religious beliefs? Did they have political implications?

In 1780 sixty-six Spanish vecinos of Guaduas complained about the stipend that was being

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<sup>3</sup> B. V. de Oviedo, Pensamientos y noticias para la utilidad de los curas, published as Cualidades y riquezas del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1930. This sort of guide was common throughout Christendom.

However, in 1780, alleging that regular fees were not enough for his living expenses he put forward a claim to the discreto provisor for the reinstatement of the old payment, which he was granted. Thenceforth he charged the stipend to the inhabitants of Guaduas. The complainants affirmed that he had even tried to collect the unpaid sum for the previous three years. Poor and disabled people were being compelled to pay, and those who were not able to do so had been imprisoned. The priest had been supported by the mayor in carrying out this collection.

According to the document of the vecinos' proxy, the regular ecclesiastical fees and tributes collected from the neighbours of Guaduas amounted to 1300 pesos yearly which could be considered sufficient for the priest ('con que tiene suficiente congrua para su sustentacion'). It put Guaduas in Oviedo's 'first rate' category. But the Friar maintained at that time two colleagues.<sup>1</sup> The Fiscal, Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón, declared that the stipend had to be paid from the tithes collected by the Royal office of tithes instead of being charged to the neighbours.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 10, fo. 493:

aquel vecindario pasa de mil y quinientos vesinos y supuesto esto como cierto, lo es tambien que es raro el vesino, que no tenga un Ingenio de Trapiche, unos mas quantiosos que otros, y que todos siembran maiz, yuca y plátano y otras legumbres que produce aquel Pais. Y Pagandose de todo esto la primicia al respectos de 7 una, todos aquellos asendados pagan una Botija de Miel, una Carga de Plátanos, y a este respecto una anega de Maiz, y de las demas legumbres: con que passa el valor de solo la Primicia de quinientos pesos. Las tres fiestas anuales de Cofradias a 18 pesos cada una, importan 52 pesos. Las Misas de Aguinaldo con las de Natividad del Señor a 3 pesos cada una, 30. Nueve pesos de las Misas de Cofradias de mes y dos reales al año de Cada Cofradia. Que siendo todos estos emolumentos ciertos y seguros ascienden a mas de 700 pesos al año. Y considerandose quasi otra tanta cantidad en oleos, Velaciones y Entierros, pues en donde ay un numeroso vecindario, es preciso que haya muchos niños de Bautismo, por cuyo oleo se paga la limosna de 10 reales sin rebaja y a este respecto muchas velaciones a razon de 7 pesos y los entierros 7 si son pobres y de ricos con novenario y honras 20 y 50 pesos.

However, Oviedo classed Guaduas in the 'second rate' category; B. V. de Oviedo, Cualidades y riquezas del Nuevo Reino de Granada, p.267.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 10, fo. 494.

It seemed that the sixty petitioners had won. However an unexpected reaction occurred in response to the exemption they had achieved. Eighty-eight vecinos headed by the mayor Atanasio Medina, gave power of attorney to another lawyer in order to defend the priest. In their opinion, if the stipend were reduced the number of priests would have to diminish, with the consequent spiritual abandonment and moral loss for the people of Guaduas. These latter petitioners stated that the former were not authentic representatives of the inhabitants of Guaduas and of their beliefs and feelings. Obviously the latter group won the lawsuit.<sup>1</sup>

In 1793 Guaduas had 1.160 vecinos among 5.800 almas (total inhabitants). Both groups of representatives, the former sixty and the latter eighty-eight were large in relation to the average of signatories in representaciones in the cases already studied.<sup>2</sup>

From these proceedings one can see that the colonial mentality and even that of a single town could not be thought of as uniform. Religious indifference could co-exist simultaneously with strong loyalty to the church within a single town. The political factor also weighed in the balance of religious opinions: it was not accidental that the group which supported the mayor Atanasio Medina and the friars were in the majority among the vecinos of Guaduas. Differences between the economic and social standing of the members of one and another group of petitioners cannot be discerned. However these factors may have had an influence.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 10, fo. 546-552. Only secular clergy were meant to be parish priests, but some members of Mendicant Orders continued being so. This can explain the confusion in this case between the rights of a parish priest who had to live from tithes and fees, and a friar who lived on fund-raising and besides maintained two other friars.

<sup>2</sup> The vecinos of Guaduas plus those of other six parishes of its jurisdiction amounted to 2.352 and the total number of inhabitants was 11.760. However these data are from 1793. In 1778 the total number of inhabitants was 8.799. Assuming the same rate as 1793, the numbers of vecinos of Guaduas would have been 859. The group of eighty-eight petitioners would have been 10% and that of sixty 7%. The percentage of vecinos involved 17%. Data for 1778 from 'Estado en que se halla la población del Reino en cada uno de los años anotados en los respectivos distritos sacado de los padrones particulares de cada pueblo formado en 29 de Noviembre de 1788', in AHN; data for 1793 from A. Hincapié, La villa de Guaduas, Bogotá, 1952, p.62.

By keeping up the extra stipend and the maintenance of three friars the mayor's group would impose a more vital religion and a stricter moral code upon the common people, and thus ensure a tighter control over their daily life.

In a similar way to Guaduas, the city of Ocaña, belonging to the province of Santa Marta, had a prosperous trade. Its commercial connections were with Tunja and Mompox.<sup>1</sup> In 1799 the priest Diego Gavino Quintero was accused of having increased the ecclesiastical fees, namely those for funerals, weddings and notarial certifications. The accuser in this case was the cabildo of that city. The priest denied the allegation and asked for his books to be inspected.<sup>2</sup>

As the Constituciones Sinodiales on which the fair fees should have been based did not appear in the books of that parish, the priest had fixed the prices in accordance with 'una practica inmemorial de que hacen capaz los libros antiguos y modernos'. None of the fees exceeded twenty-seven pesos. He also proved that the prices for certifications coincided with those of the arancel real (Royal fees).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> F. Silvestre, Descripción del Reyno, p. 48:

En Ocaña que es de su jurisdicción se tejen algunos Lienzos, se hace Azúcar, Panela, que es menos que aquella, se coge Cacao y se siembra algún Trigo, que se extrahe para Mompox, y minerales de tierra de Oro.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Tomo 10, fo. 477-485.

<sup>3</sup> Since his arrival in 1791 the priest Quintero had administered:  
 250 funerals of low Cross for two or three pesos each.  
 70 funerals of high Cross for four or six pesos each.  
 80 funerals of high Cross for eight to ten pesos each.  
 34 funerals with Mass and vigilia for sixteen to twenty-three pesos each.  
 4 idem for twenty-four to twenty-five pesos each  
 90 idem for twenty-seven pesos each.  
 315 free for poor people.

The real problem was not the fees themselves. They were classified in relation to the economic position of the parishioners. For instance, while a major funeral 'con cruz alta, capa fluvial, tres posas, Missa y Vigilia' was assessed at twenty-seven pesos which 'se cobran a todo el que tiene posibles para ello', the funeral with low cross would cost only two or three pesos. The publication of marriage banns had differential costs according to ethnic status and economic condition:

Por informaciones para casamiento de ultramarinos, doce pesos y medio..	12.4
Por unas dichas para criollos seis pesos inclusive amonestaciones, entendiendose que sean personas blancas y de comodidad	6."
Por las de los pardos y gente humilde quatro pesos inclusive las amonestaciones	4." <sup>1</sup>

The cabildo focused its accusation on the fee for burials, because, they said, it had been charged to poor people. The priest Quintero replied:

El entierro de Salvador Rojas que el cabildo saca por ejemplar es cierto se hizo por los veinte y siete pesos de la costumbre en concepto de tener con que poderlos sufrir, respecto hacer vicible y constante en el lugar que hace pocos años edifico una casa de texa con asesorios, y otras piezas, en calle Real que parece hacido abaluada en setecientos pesos. Asi mismo mantenía una pulperia publica bien paramentada y con regular manexo: conque no es mucho, se le hubiere hecho el entierro en dichos terminos y habiendo muerto intestado, e ignorante si estaba o no adeudando, que aun quando esto fuera, parece que el entierro goza de privilegio.... (pues)... no sería licito que la Iglesia sobrellevase la eternizacion, que comunmente tienen en esta ciudad las causas mortuorias.

Ocurreme tambien notar sobre el cargo que se me hace de aun falleciendo las gentes en los campos y siendo sepultados sin asistencia de cura ni sacristan, se excijen los mismos derechos: lo cual nace de haver en esta jurisdiccion un paraxe nombrado los Llanos de la Cruz a distancia de seis o siete leguas y en el una capilla sin puertas y desamparada en medio de una sabana en cuio distrito hay algunos hacendados que cuando enferman mandan a esta ciudad en solicitud de Cura, para que vaya administrarle los santos sacramentos, lo que puntualmente se verifica y muriendo, los entierran alli sin dar aviso aunque sean personas de comodidad, que es la causa por

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 10, fo.478-479, 481, 483.

la que se les obliga al pago de los derechos, que industriosamente quieren usurpar....<sup>1</sup>

The Church controlled all the rites of passage and much that determined status. Birth, marriage, sickness and death implied sacraments and fees. Certifications of titles and of righteousness or any other testimony were also charged for. Funerals were the most spectacular rituals and consequently the most expensive. Although funerals could be either ostentatious or simple, it was the priest who finally decided on the appropriate kind and the corresponding cost. When wills were not available the priest charged the fees with regard to the known public standing of the dead person. But incorrect assessments were sometimes made. There were accusations of charging high fees for a slave's funeral on account of the slave-owner's economic standing. The priest of Ocaña had held a funeral of high cost for a slave for the mischievous purpose of charging the whole price of the caballo andón he had left.

Compulsory burial in the church was another means of ecclesiastical control. It was believed that the dead ought to be laid in holy ground. Although at the end of the century new knowledge bore out the fear that the accumulation of burials near a church could cause epidemics, the refusal of some parishioners to take their deceased to the church was motivated by a desire to avoid the fees rather than with any such fear. This attitude reveals a certain loss of respect for ecclesiastical practices which seemed connected to the priest's personal interest.

In the case of Ocaña, the role played by the cabildo in the expression of the community's grievances reminds us of its function of receiving the complaints of the vecinos. But, apart from that, the records of previous disorders in Ocaña in 1755, 1756 and 1760, studied by A. McFarlane, suggest that rivalry between officials and clergy existed there. Some clerics had

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 10, fo. 483.

played a leading part in the disturbances of 1755, and in 1760 'a rioting crowd gathered in the main square, wielding sticks and swords, and forced the alcaldes to retreat, pursued by shouts of 'Long live the Church' and 'Death to the pícaros from the rioters'. The mayors denounced 'a long-standing conspiracy among local clerics and their relatives to oppose the oficial real'. On that occasion, as A. McFarlane says, 'the alcaldes attempt to quell the disturbance at the priests' house on 11 December provided the populace with an opportunity to express their resentment in direct action, legitimized as a defense of the church'.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, there is a gap of forty years between those disorders and the protest of the cabildo against the abuses in ecclesiastical fees during which one does not know how the factions within the community evolved. In the lawsuit of 1799, the priest for his part accused the cabildo's regidores of being members of a single family and denounced this as the cause of his persecution. The Fiscal and the Royal Audiencia, disregarding this point, ordered the priest to charge the fees according to those established (and increased) by the Bishop of Santa Marta in 1799. In this way the crucial point was avoided; the assessment of the people's economic capacity and the decision of the kind of funeral they could afford remained in the priest's hands. Perhaps the whole story was just another affair in the long lasting conflict between the civil authority and that of the local ecclesiastics.

In 1803 Diego Gavino Quintero was still in Ocaña as Cura Rector, Vicario y Juez eclesiástico. His report on the occasion of the Real Cédula of Aranjuez, 24 April 1801, states that although the inhabitants of that jurisdiction were poor peasants living scattered over the countryside, all had received Baptism, even the poorest:

...ninguno que haya nacido en esta grey se le retenga ni aun por un año el Bautismo, Oleo y Chrisma, porque si es por notoria pobreza, se le administra gratis, y si por adición se le amonesta y exorta, y por eso y precaver cualesquiera acontecimiento peligroso de los que a cada paso son manifiestos en los partos, se tiene mandado que ninguna mujer preñada, entrando en meses mayores, subsista en sus havitaciones de

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<sup>1</sup> A. McFarlane, "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada", p.31.

campos retirados de la parroquia.<sup>1</sup>

By that time, priest Quintero had been in that jurisdiction for thirty-five years, first as doctrinero in towns rond about and then as the Rector of Ocaña; a truly provincial pilgrimage.

In Mariquita, it was also the cabildo which complained of the priests' moral behaviour and avarice. In the report drafted in 1803 about the morality of the province it stated that the priests,

A mas de ser muy desinteresados en todas sus partes con su ministerio, pues en sus iglesias de los mas no se predica el Evangelio, ni se enseña la doctrina lo cual da compasion pues muchos ancianos se encuentran sin saber los principales dogmas de nuestra religion y no saben persignarse.

... muchos parrocos o todos sus pláticas solamente se reducen sobre la recaudacion de sus primicias y exaccion de los Derechos Parroquiales, y muchos veces satirisando y vejando a los feligreses hasta a los Jueces Reales, haciendo de la Santa Iglesia teatro de ira y de la mas injusta venganza de pasiones que conviven viviendo desapercibidos de tan precisa obligacion de curas.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Informe del Cura Rector de Ocaña Diego Gavino Quintero, Cédulas Reales, tomo 34, fo.441.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Cabildos, Tomo 8, fo. 482 and followings; quoted by V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, La familia en Colombia, vol.2, p.351. This author quotes several of those reports drafted by priests in response to the Real Cédula of Aranjuez of 1803. In many cases priests allude to the low level of religiosity in their towns. For the Chocó the priests explained that the bad climatic conditions and economy impeded the congregation of settlers in one place and consequently their attendance at Church. For Santander, Cundinamarca, Tolima and Antioquia, reports also alluded to the people living scattered over the countryside, the distance and poverty of the parishioners. In some cases they denounced neglectful attitudes and even an open refusal to attend mass on the part of the inhabitants; civil authorities did not collaborate with priests and the notion was common that Indians but not whites were compelled to attend mass; pp.307-359. Oviedo says that Mariquita used to be a parish of 'first rate' category, but it had declined and might now be considered of 'second rate'. B. V. de Oviedo, Cualidades y riquezas, pp. 258-259.

From the town of Guasca in 1797 a number of vecinos protested against the abuses of the priest Ramírez de Arellano.<sup>1</sup> Guasca, directly linked to the jurisdiction of Chocontaá, used to be an Indian town, but was converted into a parish some time in the 1770s, having a population of 638 Indians and 1050 vecinos in 1776.<sup>2</sup> The priest had been prosecuted for being neglectful in the administration of the sacraments, for overcharging fees, and for favouring two women of illicit lives. He was suspected of having a relationship with one of them. In response, Ramírez de Arellano collected several declarations of his good conduct in 1798.

The corregidor Manuel Vanegas gathered some vecinos together and obtained forty-six signatures giving power of attorney to Juan José Caballero, lawyer of the Royal Audiencia, to act on their behalf. Caballero alleged that the declarations supporting the priest had been obtained under threat. The priest's proxy for his part showed nine letters in which the same numbers of vecinos claimed that they had been forced to sign the power given to Caballero; he also intended to disqualify them as mestizos, poor and dependent on 'the Tobares'.<sup>3</sup> In December 1798, six of these nine vecinos signed other documents stating they had been forced by the priest to withdraw their signatures from the document given to Caballero.<sup>4</sup> Finally in April 1799, when they had all been called to Santa Fe, they said they had given

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Tomo 8, fo. 131-219.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Visitas de Cundinamarca, tomo 7, fo. 498-499. In January 1774 Oidor Manuel Romero decreed the Resguardo land of Guasca was to be sold. (AHN, Visitas de Cundinamarca, tomo 7, fo. 661-662). Guasca was a parish of 'second rate' category; B. V. de Oviedo, Cualidades y riquezas, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 8, fo. 135-156. Manuel Vanegas might be the same man who in 1799, as regidor of the cabildo of Vélez, rejected the vecinos' petition for dismissing Miguel Cadena from the office of mayor of Santa Ana. He would be a member of the cliquish family group of Angulo-Vanegas - Tejada that dominated the province of Vélez, at least up to 1809.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 8, fo. 198-210.

that power to Caballero willingly, and the letters to the priest under threat of imprisonment.<sup>1</sup>

While the corregidor, Manuel Vanegas, supported the vecinos' and Indians' position, the priest obtained the backing of the mayor. The two sides accused each other of maltreating the Indians. The mayor, the priest and corregidor had already undergone prosecutions for abuse of justice towards the Indians.<sup>2</sup> The lawsuit continued up to 1800 and in this period Ramírez de Arellano was suspended from the priesthood.

Apart from the priest's abuses and the arguments of ethnic character and poverty in the disqualification of witnesses, what attracts one's attention is the handling of the witnesses. Tricks, impostures, and threats accompanied declarations, letters and signatures. Notarial manoeuvres were much used, and in an illiterate society the written word and above all the signature took on magic worth. People became aware that their names were of value in the solution of lawsuits and learned about the flexibility of the law. As a result of this way of dealing with conflicts a grand petty-fogging legal tradition was being created and elaborated. On the other hand, officials and priests were convinced that they had to seek for a sort of popular consent.

The cases that have already been studied reveal that the possibilities of alliances and counter alliances among vecinos, priests, mayors, cabildo and corregidores were numerous. They were the common actors in the political life of the towns in the late colonial New Granada.

Their attitudes changed with time and circumstances. The neighbours of the parish of Santa Rosa, jurisdiction of Tocaima, adopted two distinct attitudes towards two different priests in

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 8, fo.219.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 8, fo. 915.

1802 and 1803. In 1802 eleven vecinos of that parish protested against the appointment of Don Ignacio Pulecio as the mayor. They regretted that the opinion of the priest had been disregarded, contradicting what had been the custom. The priest certified that Pulecio had failed to obey the obligatory precepts, to which Pulecio replied that he did not belong to that ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The priest then excommunicated him.<sup>1</sup>

One of the defenders of the same priest, Don Miguel de Lombo, mayor in 1803, headed a further representación of vecinos against another priest, Miguel de Barragán, who had installed a pillory in the main square and had appointed Don Agustín Pulecio to be mayor during two short periods when Lombo had been sick and absent. Lombo as mayor had defended the vecinos from lashes and removed the pillory. As the witnesses who were examined confirmed the charges, Barragán was suspended, imprisoned and not allowed to celebrate mass.

In spite of this verdict from the Royal Audiencia, later on Barragán obtained sworn evidence of his own good conduct and of the profligacy of his parishioners from the priests of neighbouring parishes. The cabildo eclesiástico acquitted him in 1804. The Fiscal Real had to be content with demanding that Barragán should abstain from intervention in civil matters.

It was not their religiosity or the lack of it that conditioned the attitudes of the vecinos of Santa Rosa towards priests. Despite their sacred investiture, ecclesiastics were thought of as authorities whose performances were a matter of public concern. The ambiguity of the Laws of the Indies allowed people to use them in contradictory ways; In 1802 they reminded the authorities that they should take into account the priest's opinion in order to stop Pulecio from holding the post of mayor; in 1803 they accused the priest Barragán of interfering in

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 14, fo. 991-99.

civil business and in the election of the mayor. It was rather the defence of their rights which explains and links these two contrasting attitudes in two consecutive years. Neither mayor Pulecio nor priest Barragán had been accepted by those vecinos who were considered well-informed. These vecinos wanted clerical intervention provided that it would help their aims. In this way priests were also pieces in the political game.

In fact, there were no clear rules for the intervention of priests in the election of mayors. In 1790 Don José Felipe Groot, the priest of Susa, asked the Viceroy Ezpeleta not to confirm any of the names of the terna sent by the corregidor of Zipaquirá. He complained about the fact that he had not been consulted for the drafting of the terna. The corregidor of Zipaquirá replied that the custom of consulting with the priest did not exist.<sup>1</sup>

In 1795 four vecinos from Nemocón accused the priest, Doctor Nicolás Cuervo, of promoting the appointment of Salvador Garrido as mayor. Behind the apparent conflict lay a personal struggle between one of the petitioners and the priest's brother. The corregidor of Zipaquirá, mediated between them and confirmed Garrido's appointment afterwards.<sup>2</sup> In 1802, the priest from Ubaté, also within the corregimiento of Zipaquirá objected to the appointment of Manuel Parra as mayor in 1803 because he was 'fatuous' and almost mad. Parra was dismissed.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover there is one case of a petition taking into account one particular priest's opinion on an election but not another's. It occurred in Machetá in 1812, during the Independence

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, tomo 14, fo. 936-41.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 4, fo. 495.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 23, fo. 609-616. Nemocón having 80 Indians and 50 vecinos was put in the 'second rate' category; B. V. de Oviedo, Cualidades y riquezas, p. 101.

period. The special reasons alleged deserve attention:<sup>1</sup>

Señor subpresidente y Director

Los vecinos del pueblo de Machetá que formamos ante su Excelencia con el debido respeto y como mejor proceda en derecho parecemos y decimos que tenemos entendido que el Ilustre Cuerpo Civico en la propuesta y eleccion de Alcalde Pedaneo de Macheta no solo se ha separado de la terna que el actual Juez y cura excusador han dirigido conforme a la costumbre y practica constantemente observada sino que ha tomado por modelo lo que el cura Don Francisco Barreto ha hecho y esto en circunstancias de estar separado del beneficio por causas que para ello se han presentado y sobre que estamos siguiendo el conveniente juicio en el tribunal eclesiástico.

El Reglamento de Tribunales y Municipalidades al capítulo 7, (subtítulo) 3ro, artículo 52 dispone los terminos en que se ha de proceder en la eleccion de alcaldes pedaneos....

El cura Barreto, lejos de tener en consideracion que se ha propuesto en tal disposicion antes lo que quiere es que el pueblo no tenga influjo en el nombramiento porque pretende que le sirvan a sus designios y solo sean de su confianza. La propuesta hecha por el Alcalde actual y el cura excusador se allega mas al espiritu de la disposicion cuando los pueblos deben tener influjo en el nombramiento de sus gobernantes.

Once again in Machetá the relevant aspect was not the opinion of a priest by virtue of his rank but whether it coincided with what were considered better-informed-views.

The role of the priest in politics was sometimes made more prominent during the period of Independence. The basic ground continued to be the same: common opinion (or that which claimed to be so) had to be consulted about the elections of mayors, interventions of priests and the conduct of both authorities.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 21, fo. 561-562. Machetá was classed as a 'third rate' parish. B. V. de Oviedo, Cualidades y riquezas, p. 109.

## 2.2 Autonomy and rivalry between towns

That consciousness of their own dignity commonly observed in provincial people, and equally notable in their interventions in local politics, underlay both their desire for the autonomy of their settlements and the competition between them. The colonial administration established a hierarchical subordination in civil and ecclesiastical matters. The structure ranged from the 'viceparishes', which depended on the judge and the priest of the nearest full parish, to the capital city of the viceroyalty with the Real Audiencia and the Archbishopric, including parishes, towns, villas and cities.<sup>1</sup> These two last-named were confirmed by the award of their own titles decreed in a Cédula Real by the king. Jurisdiction, in geographical, administrative, political, juridical and ecclesiastical terms was assigned to each of these positions, whose limits and extent were zealously guarded by both local rulers and ruled.

Although formally all settlements fit in some way into this hierarchical structure, distinctions have to be made between two major patterns of human settlement. In any case the original Hispanic scheme of Spanish cities and Indian towns had been rapidly subverted since demographic growth had been mainly mestizo. In the first place, in the Eastern and Central part of New Granada, mestizaje, both biological and cultural, together with the policies of composición of previously indian lands now in the hands of mestizos and whites, combined to produce the transformation of former Indian towns into mestizo hamlets, to the point of these being recognized as parishes 'of whites'. In the second place, in mining or cattle-raising border areas in several regions of the Viceroyalty, settlements were founded either by gradual

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<sup>1</sup> See J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil, T. II, pp. 60-62; G. Colmenares, "Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales en las provincias del Cauca, 1810-1830", pp. 137-180.

The Spanish colonial hierarchy was in descending order as follows: Ciudad virreinal/capital = capital city of the viceroyalty; ciudad = city; villa = important town with a cabildo, equivalent to borough; pueblo = town/ village; parroquia = parish; viceparroquia = viceparish.

spontaneous gathering of freemen at cross roads and on the edges of the haciendas, or as the result of the government policy of removing lands from the hands of hostile Indian groups.<sup>1</sup>

The ranking achieved by each settlement was also regarded as determining the status and dignity of its local government and its inhabitants. Associated with this sense of dignity were some elements of local political culture: 'local patriotism', a search for autonomy, and a sense of rivalry and competition among settlements in a given area or region.

The first element, 'local patriotism', was linked to an inherent loyalty to forebears considered as town fathers. This real or mythical attitude was based on an early colonial practice by which towns were founded by individual settlers entrusted with this mission. They had to undertake the development of the town, and thus a certain commitment to public progress was passed down from one generation to another.

The loyalty to the local birth place (patria chica) was strengthened and mixed with kinship ties, feelings of empathy with fellow-countrymen (paisanaje) and godparenthood (compadrasgo).<sup>2</sup> The size of the Spanish State, its diversity and lack of communication, gave rise to a local form of patriotism rather than to a Hispanic one. Local patriotism was not defined by contrast with the Hispanic version, but referred to the area within which the standing of a

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<sup>1</sup> See H. Tovar Pinzón, Grandes empresas agrícolas y ganaderas, su desarrollo en el siglo XVIII, Bogotá, 1980, pp.17-30. The author distinguishes between closed frontier for the case of taking resguardo lands, and open frontier in the case of new settlements either in areas of rebellious Indian or in unsettled land.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Historia del derecho español en América y el derecho indiano, pp. 124-ss, 220-230, 357-ss. About lineage and politics see J. Jaramillo Uribe, Ensayos sobre historia social colombiana, pp. 163-202; G. Colmenares, Historia económica y social de Colombia, 1537-1719, Medellín, 1975, pp.408-434, and Cali, terratenientes, mineros y comerciantes siglo XVIII, pp.171-183; M. T. Uribe, J. M. Alvarez, "El Parentesco y la formación de las élites en la Provincia de Antioquia"; H. Llanos, "Surgimiento, permanencia y transformaciones históricas de la élite criolla de Popayán (siglos XVI-XIX)", Historia y Espacio, 1 (3), Cali, 1979, 19-105.

given settlement in relation to the neighbouring ones proved meaningful. It was precisely the standing and jurisdiction of a town within a given region that was the concern of its leaders.

Those hamlets which suffered from neglect or oppression from the judges, priests or inhabitants of the towns to whom they were subjected ardently desired autonomy. This was also the case of larger towns whose inhabitants felt they deserved better treatment because they produced substantial income for the crown. They usually requested the title of villa or ciudad. Consequently, a cabildo would be appointed; cities, though not villas, were given wider jurisdiction over many neighbouring towns.

Competition, rivalry and envy of one town towards another were common. Lack of planning in colonization led to some misguided foundations which eventually failed. If a settlement disappeared, its inhabitants had to attach themselves to a more prosperous neighbouring town. In other cases, accessibility to human and natural resources changed and the pattern of settlement was recast. Those settlements which slowly stagnated tended to express resignation or resentment, whereas those which progressed sought autonomy and higher titles, while evenly-matched communities competed for resources and priority within their region. In the process of confronting these possibilities urban nuclei adopted different attitudes and a variety of conflicts took place. Once more, corregidores, cabildos, mayors, priests and vecinos were the protagonists.

### 2.2.1 Changing hierarchy and shaping allegiances:

Socorro, in spite of its outstanding economic development, had to overcome a number of impediments in its progress towards conversion into a city.<sup>1</sup> In 1762, a parish of 3.000 inhabitants, it expressed its wish to be separated from the villa of San Gil and to become a corregimiento. Its inhabitants and cabildo alleged that they had a Cathedral with a nave, two

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<sup>1</sup> F. Silvestre, Descripción del Reino de Santa Fe de Bogotá, pp.46, 61; P. F. de Vargas, Pensamientos políticos, pp.43-44, 80-82, 142.

aisles and a tower, a public square, a jail, a house for the cabildo and that trade was flourishing. These were signs of greatness lacking in many cities. Moreover, regarding the quality of the people of Socorro, they stated the following:

...crece y aumenta la gente, no quedandose en esto la felicidad de aquel pais sino que igualmente se adelanta la decencia, lustre y honrosidad de aquellas familias y vecinos pues todos anhelan su exterior decoroso y buen nombre de la reputacion arreglada de sus procedimientos. Sin que se noten vicios ni hechos escandalosos ni se de particular motivo para declarar infamia alguna, conteniendose todos en los mas posible a la buena opinion que tanto ilustra a las familias y vecinos y felicita a los lugares...<sup>1</sup>

Proper attire and good moral reputation seem to have been the signs of decencia; a sense of decorum which implicitly referred to a comfortable standard of living and socially acceptable actions and manners within a code of continence. Most probably what underlay this declaration was a desire for ethnic differentiation from the Indian population who were associated with licentiousness and depravity.

The relationship between the rank of the settlement and the dignity of its inhabitants is also explicit here: gaining a 'good opinion' for the place was a task for all the 'families and neighbours'.

What other changes were involved in the conversion of the parish into a city? The inhabitants argued that through being awarded the title of city, trade would expand, justice would be better administered and more 'saleable' jobs would swell state income. If they continued to be dependent on Girón, they would feel discriminated against, denigrated:

...el titulo de ciudad con cuyo esplendor se animarian sus moradores a mayores adelantamientos que seran tan utiles al Reino como provechosos a ellos mismos; y de lo contrario siempre se miran con sonrojo y con pudor, faltandoles la libertad y viviendo

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Cabildos, tomo 10, fo. 2v.

en subordinacion a aquella villa...<sup>1</sup>

Autonomy meant liberty and prosperity, while subordination led to shame and stagnation for the inhabitants once their settlement had reached a certain stage of development.

The corregidor of Tunja, Alfredo Real de Franco, and the cabildo of San Gil strongly opposed the proposal of Socorro and started a lawsuit. There were many differences between Tunja and Socorro which eventually caused great rivalry between the two. Tunja, founded in 1539, had been the rival of Santa Fe during the sixteenth century. It was an aristocratic society of encomenderos that lived off the tributes of a large Indian population and the manufacture of woolen textiles. Socorro was a foundation dating from the eighteenth century with few aristocratic settlers although the majority of its dwellers were whites. It depended on a variety of crops, cattle-raising and the manufacture of textiles and hats. Socorro was subordinated to San Gil and both belonged to the large corregimiento of Tunja. In 1771 Socorro was granted the title of villa and subsequently autonomy from San Gil, although the two places continued to be involved in a lawsuit over jurisdictional limits.<sup>2</sup> In 1778, the fiscal Moreno y Escandón suggested that the corregimiento of Tunja should be divided up, but the visitor, Gutiérrez de Piñeres, disregarded the proposal. In 1781 Socorro and San Gil, putting aside their traditional rivalry, included in the Capitulaciones of the Comunero movement a request for the office of corregidor for their jurisdiction, stating that the holder should be a creole and that he should be autonomous, not depending on Tunja. Although Juan Francisco Berbeo, the leader of the movement, succeeded in obtaining the post and being nominated

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Cabildos, tomo 10, fo. 4. My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> Real Cédula of San Lorenzo, 25 October 1771; AHN, Poblaciones de Santander, tomo 3, fo.31-673; 756-760.

to it at that time, it was afterwards suppressed along with all the other gains of the other Comuneros.<sup>1</sup> It was in 1795 under the government of Viceroy Ezpeleta (1789-1796) that the former corregimiento of Tunja was divided up into three corregimientos with capitals in the city of Tunja, the villa of Socorro and the city of Pamplona respectively.<sup>2</sup>

Later on, during the succeeding administration of Viceroy Mendinueta (1796-1803) the villas of Socorro and San Gil with their keenly-felt aspirations for autonomy, requested the creation of a separate bishopric in that area, but without success.<sup>3</sup>

As can be seen Socorro was confronted by the jealousy of the older city of Tunja, whose preeminence in the region was threatened by the increasing progress and aspirations of Socorro as well as by the competition of San Gil, a similar settlement which Socorro itself depended on. However, localism was not always the dominant attitude. Feelings of local rivalry alternated with a sense of solidarity between Socorro and San Gil. This produced alliance or antagonism according to the individual situation.

To complete the picture there is another case from the same region, although this time concerning lower-ranking communities. When Socorro expressed its desire to be raised to the status of a city, its inhabitants and those of the neighbouring parishes Santa Bárbara de las Juntas, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and Simatoca had agreed with that ambition. However, later on when the viceparish of Santa Bárbara de Chima which belonged to the parish of

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<sup>1</sup> J. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, pp. 211-214.

<sup>2</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excmo. Sr. D. José de Ezpeleta a su sucesor el Excmo Sr. D. Pedro de Mendinueta. Año de 1796", in E. Posada, Relaciones de mando, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada por el Excmo. Sr. Virrey Pedro de Mendinueta a su sucesor el Excmo. Sr. D. Antonio Amar y Borbón. Año de 1803", in E. Posada, Relaciones de mando, p. 417.

Simatoca asked to become a parish, it met open opposition from the latter. In 1772 the vecinos of Chima gave a power of attorney to Don José Camacho and to Don Bernardino Girón, mayor of Simatoca, to request from the Viceroy and the Curia Metropolitana the title of parish for Chima. At the request of the Curia the parish priests of Oiba, Páramo and Zapatoca gave their consent, but the priest of Simatoca, the most directly concerned with this separation, gave power of attorney to another lawyer to oppose this petition. After three years of deliberation, Chima was granted the title of parish of La Inmaculada Concepción de Santa Bárbara de Chima.<sup>1</sup> What the priest of Simatoca was probably afraid of was the decline in population of his curato and a corresponding decrease in status, tithes and ecclesiastical fees. Instead, the conversion of the parish of Socorro into a villa was welcomed as it was undoubtedly a far more prosperous settlement and completely independent from the smaller surrounding parishes.

The hostility of parish priests to the attempts to dismember their parishes was sufficiently widespread to be alluded to by the enlightened parish priest of Girón, in the same geographical region of Socorro. Eloy Valenzuela, in his reply to the Cédula Real of Aranjuez, in 1803, maintained:

Los curas por la desmembración de sus rentas podran hacer la misma oposición, con los mismos u otros colores y unos y otros tal vez lo acreditaran con pruebas. Asi es que los curas en los informes pedidos...ni tocan el punto de las parroquias, y si disimuladamente el de la creación de Obispados.<sup>2</sup>

For instance, in 1766 the priest of the villa of San Gil had a disagreement with the parish priest of the Indian town of Guane stemming from a petition by the Indians of Curití, a

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<sup>1</sup> R. Gómez Rodríguez, Chima, vida y hazañas de un pueblo, Bucaramanga, 1971, pp.53-58.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, "Informe dirigido a Don Pedro de Mendinueta por el cura párroco de Girón", Poblaciones de Santander, tomo 2, fo. 428-431.

neighbouring town, who alleged their spiritual abandonment. In this case, however, it was not a question of an increase in status.

As has been seen above, many parishes and cities in the corregimiento of Tunja had been former Indian towns which had lost their lands because of the pressure of the vecinos upon them. Many historians have studied this process. There were social and ethnic tensions of variable intensity and duration in every town.<sup>1</sup>

Within the same corregimiento of Tunja there was another traditional source of rivalry between the cities of Pamplona and Girón. The administrative division of the jurisdiction of Tunja into three corregimientos in 1795 provoked the resentment of Girón whose cabildo opposed the moving of the government to Pamplona. These two cities had been involved in a law suit about jurisdiction in 1722 over the town of Bucaramanga, where the Indians of five encomiendas had been gathered from the seventeenth century under the government of Pamplona. In 1790 the cabildo of Bucaramanga, which had already been raised to the status of a city, supported by the cabildo of Pamplona, complained about abuse of jurisdiction over some nearby mines on the part of Girón.<sup>2</sup>

Two years before the administrative decision of Viceroy Ezpeleta, the cabildo of Pamplona had ineffectively fought against the petition for the title of villa to be granted to the parish of Rosario de Cúcuta, whose jurisdiction was to include the Indian towns of Bochalema and Chinacota, withdrawn from Pamplona.<sup>3</sup> The neighbours of the parishes of El Rosario and San José de Cúcuta declared that these areas contained sixty white householders and two hundred

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<sup>1</sup> See section 3.2 of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Poblaciones de Santander, tomo 1, fo. 394-514.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Poblaciones de Santander, tomo 2, 589-596;714-865.

'second class dwellers'.<sup>1</sup> There was only one magistrate who was unable to cope with all the civil suits. They promised to finance the building of a church and a jail if permission to collect certain taxes was granted, and if they had cabildo posts to be sold. What seems definitive in the attempt of Cúcuta to gain the support of the Viceroy and the Real Audiencia was the attitude adopted by its inhabitants towards the Comunero movement. They had prevented rebels coming from Pamplona passing Cúcuta on their way towards Maracaybo province. The Archbishop Viceroy Caballero y Góngora declared that they had risked their lives and goods in order to defend the government. His Majesty's accountant pointed this out as a reason for the granting of the desired title:

...a más de tener dicha Parroquia en su favor para la obtencion de ésta gracia el particular mérito contraído por sus vecinos durante las ultimas commociones populares del Virreynato de Santa Fe, en que dieron las mas convincentes pruebas de su constante amor y lealtad a nuestro Soberano, exponiendo en su defensa sus caudales y vidas y sin cuyo auxilio tal vez no se hubiera podido contener el atrevimiento de los sediciosos pues justamente fueron cortados y dispersos en la misma parroquia del Rosario; cuyo hecho hace mucho honor a los expresados vecinos, y los juzga el Contador General muy dignos de la merced que solicitan segun que tambien la propone en su favor el Reverendo Obispo Auxiliar de Santa Fe...<sup>2</sup>

In comparison with the above, the opposition of Pamplona was ineffective, as that city had been one of the main centres of unrest. In this case rivalry had had clear political and military expression. Since Cúcuta's loyalty had been proved. His Majesty approved its title as "Noble fiel y valerosa villa" in 1789, though it had to submit to the Council again.

In spite of these conflicts the inhabitants of Pamplona and Cúcuta as well as those from Ocaña and Salazar de las Palmas all combined in opposing the merger of their parishes with the Bishopric of Mérida de Maracaibo, recently separated from Santa Fe and geographically

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<sup>1</sup> 'vecinos de segunda clase'.

<sup>2</sup> AGI, Santa Fe 715.

situated within the neighbouring Intendencia of Venezuela. The parishioners drafted several representaciones opposing such a measure and Viceroy Ezpeleta supported them. Although the decision was not reversed, they found ways of keeping their relationship with the curia of Santa Fe voluntarily and at their own expense.<sup>1</sup> This is remarkable, especially when these same cities had strong commercial links with provinces of the Venezuelan Intendencia; their merchants took the cocoa crop to be shipped to Lake Maracaibo.<sup>2</sup> Thus here a regional and even a proto-national sense existed, along with that of local identity.

### 2.2.2 The cost and meaning of being a villa:

One of the most pathetic cases of competition between a city falling into decline and a newly prosperous settlement occurred in Antioquia. In the 1770s the vecinos of the valley of Rionegro had proposed moving the old city of Arma to this flourishing area. The Real Audiencia of Santa Fe reported to the King on the decline, ruin, sterility and lack of population of the city of Arma as well as the prosperity, wealth, fecundity and demographic growth of the site of Rionegro which amounted to more than nine thousand people, thirty of whom being rich were able to afford the cost of public posts.<sup>3</sup> Once the move was decreed, the new city was called Santiago de Arma de Rionegro and a series of measures were proposed in order to enhance its development. The cabildo asked the King for permission to levy some taxes in order to increase public revenue and finance city expenditure and public works. Taxes on stores, gaming houses, bridges, cattle and livestock were fixed. In order to endow the city with large natural resources it was proposed to take a part of the resguardo land of the Indians of San Antonio de Peryra from them to constitute propios and ejidos and to move the Indian huts

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<sup>1</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excmo. Sr. D. José de Ezpeleta", in E. Posada, Relaciones de mando, pp.284-286.

<sup>2</sup> BM, Egerton, 1.087, No. 2, fo. 40-242.

<sup>3</sup> AGI, Santa Fé 706.

to the site of Chuscas. A place for the plaza (central square) was designated and from there streets and city blocks of one hundred yards were designed according to a formal grid. Saturday was the day fixed for a weekly market for the scattered inhabitants to come to the city, become civilized and acquire the habits of social intercourse and good manners. The small stores situated in the fields outside the city boundary had to move within its grid and submit to paying the taxes. Measures such as these were suggested by the newly appointed cabildo and the governor of Antioquia, Francisco Silvestre, and backed by the Oidor Mon y Velarde.

Rionegro had taken from Arma not only its title but also the image of the Virgen del Rosario. Moreover the public posts were filled by 'notables' of the new site and not by the inhabitants of the former city. Furthermore the zeal of the Viceroy went as far as to order the demolition of the old Arma, which like a ghost town could be used as a hiding place for bandits. Earlier in his capacity as Visitor, Mon y Velarde had affirmed that the inhabitants of Arma, about 332 people,

primero se desertarán de la Provincia y aún si fuera posible de los dominios del Rey Católico, que reunirse a los de Rionegro...<sup>1</sup>

While some cities had been left out of the mainstream of trade the notion of city had also been redefined. Although urbanization had been one of the principal strategies of colonization from the earliest colonial times, the emphasis had been on its political and administrative functions as relating to people and territory rather than on commercial aspects.

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. Mon y Velarde, "Sucinta relación de lo ejecutado en la visita de Antioquia en que se expresan las principales poblaciones, con su situación, clima y temperatura, los términos de cada jurisdicción, y sitios correspondientes a su distrito", in E. Robledo, Bosquejo biográfico del Señor Oidor Don Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, vol. II, p.310.

In late colonial New Granada, urbanization had started to mean the improvement of the cities and towns, financial cleaning-up and better urban services, as well as a closer control on the morality and decorum of the people.<sup>1</sup>

There was also rivalry for resources between cities with the same status within Antioquia province. The animosity between the capital city, Santa Fe de Antioquia, and the two other main cities, Medellín and Rionegro, increased in the 1790s on the occasion of the building of the Hospital San Juan de Dios in Medellín. Rionegro and Medellín were both granted permission from the Viceroy Ezpeleta to build hospitals. Therefore both cabildos, according to the rules, had taken the ninth-and-a-half part of the tithes of the province. Afterwards they discovered that the city of Antioquia claimed that this share belonged to its hospital, which was an older institution that had been accustomed to appropriate this income. The litigation dragged on and on, and eventually Rionegro and Medellín were favoured.<sup>2</sup> According to E. Robledo, the foundation and development of Medellín, Rionegro and Marinilla during the seventeenth century caused the decline of Santa Fe de Antioquia, to such an extent that the cabildo had tried to restrict emigration. It had no success, as families preferred the better climate of the other places. Some vecinos of the city of Antioquia, owners of cattle in the Aburrá Valley and mines in Los Osos, gathered at the site of Ana and clashed with the old elite of the Antioquia cabildo, who strongly opposed its conversion into the villa de Medellín in 1675.<sup>3</sup> The case of Santa Fe de Antioquia was one of the most dramatic ones, but it was not unique in the province. Similar lawsuits occurred between Yarumal and Santa Rosa and

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Morse, "The Urban Development of Colonial Spanish America", in The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol. II, pp. 67-104, for the place of this development among the 'Bourbon reforms'. See also section 1.3 of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> L. Latorre Mendoza, Historia e historias de Medellín, pp.62-65.

<sup>3</sup> E. Robledo, Bosquejo biográfico del señor Oidor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, vol.1, p.36. See also J. A. Benítez, El Carnero de Medellín, 1797, ed. by R. L. Jaramillo, Medellín, 1988, pp.19-22.

between Manizales and Sonsón, as well as the one already referred to between Rionegro and Arma.<sup>1</sup>

There is also evidence of other cases in the same province where the feeling of local belonging and the emulation among cities and villas rose to a high level of intensity. Rionegro was confronted not only by the resentment of the old city of Arma but also by that of the neighbouring parish of Marinilla. In spite of the proximity of the two settlements their inhabitants were not on good terms. Those from Marinilla had also asked for the title of villa although they did not have enough resources to afford the subsequent expenses:

entre sus habitantes no se profesa la mejor armonía; han pretendido los de Marinilla título de Villa y aún se dice que lo han obtenido de la real piedad; pero con ciertas cargas que son superiores a sus fuerzas, por lo que no usaron acaso la gracia concedida, y creo sería lo más conveniente para su mismo beneficio; pues los oficios concejiles y la precisa asistencia de los sujetos que hayan de servirlos es preciso que introduzcan cierto lujo y causen continua distracción del trabajo, no sufriendo aun esta policia las circunstancias actuales de aquellos vecinos...<sup>2</sup>

This contradiction between the desire of being a villa and the incapacity to afford the expenses involved was also encountered by the inhabitants of the villa of Guaduas, though on a larger scale and with particular nuances. The insistent request of Don Joseph de Acosta to the king for the recognition of Guaduas as a villa is one of the striking examples of the grounds on which these claims were based and also of the underlying ideology involved. Although Acosta was corregidor of the jurisdiction and Guaduas had been designated a villa by Viceroy Ezpeleta in 1789, he asked the king for the title of Alférez Real and a proper acknowledgement of the status of Guaduas through the grant of a coat of arms. No-record of any positive

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<sup>1</sup> M. T. Uribe, J. M. Alvarez, "El parentesco y la formación de las élites", p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Mon y Velarde, "Sucinta relación de lo ejecutado en la visita de Antioquia", p.311. Marinilla had been attached to the province of Antioquia in 1756 and its dwellers felt they were more 'decent' than Rionegro's.

response to this request exists.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, there was no common accord among the officials of Guaduas. On the one hand the corregidor Acosta, who was owner of one of the best sugar-cane haciendas in colonial New Granada, offered in 1792 to hold his post without "pensión alguna de la Real Hacienda ni del público". On the other hand, in 1807, the mayors of Guaduas and of the settlements under its jurisdiction complained about the expenses that their jobs entailed and asked the Viceroy to grant them the so called "libertad de derechos de títulos de jueces", which meant exemption from paying for their jobs. It seems that those appointments were held in low esteem:

En dicha jurisdiccion se ocupan precisamente trece sujetos en los empleos de judicatura, se les exigen derechos de media nata, Escrivania, sello y titulo a cada uno; y este titulo ha de estenderse en Papel del sello que vale 6 ps. el pliego y esto cada año ay la misma pension. Ello parece que es introduccion al Real Herario, pero si a fondo se concidera es estraccion de él por que este gasto anual es cortarle un brazo a un pobre labrador para el exersicio y trabajo de sus Labores en que al cabo del año rendiria a S. M. no éstos seis pesos sino muchos Ducados por diferentes ramos

Many people, they add, the most suitable candidates for the posts, excused themselves from holding them because of this payment. In a villa such as Guaduas, located beside the 'royal road' to Santa Fe, the public works that had to be organized by the mayor were numerous; the maintenance of the road, the supply of horses or mules for troops and their baggage and sometimes the provision of water, firewood and light. In 1807, the same mayor of Guaduas asked various neighbours their opinion about these obligations. They testified that the vecinos of Guaduas and its mayors bore these burdens without any assistance from the inhabitants or mayors of the neighbouring towns of Vituyma, Rioseco, Anolaima and Siquima, who had previously shared them.<sup>2</sup> The ambiguity of Guaduas's position was reflected in political

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<sup>1</sup> A. Hincapie Espinosa, La villa de Guaduas, pp. 91-92.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 12, fo.687 and followings.

matters. While it had to bear alone these costs in order to maintain the standing of villa with important visitors -Humboldt, the Viceroy and Archbishops - its authorities enjoyed complete autonomy from any other government than that of the Real Audiencia. However, Guaduas was not free from jurisdictional conflict.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.2.3 Mulatto and mestizo towns in a slave system:

G. Colmenares has alluded to the particular characteristic of the late colonial occupation in the Cauca Valley, where the new towns resulted from the settlement of mestizo, mulatto and poor white people around the hacienda chapels, on the borders between haciendas and at the cross-roads of trade routes. Tuluá, for instance, a former doctrina for Indian labourers, was gradually settled by some white farmers. Although they petitioned for the title of villa in 1759, it was not granted them: the cabildo of Buga opposed the petition because of its own need for resources. Hato de Lemus arose on the borders of the hacienda of that name. It was founded by Viceroy Ezpeleta to put an end to the conflict between two powerful families over this land. Candelaria and Llanogrande developed through the cultivation of tobacco.<sup>2</sup>

One of the longest law-suits in the Cauca Valley was that between the city of Caloto and the asiento of Quilichao. Ethnic prejudices greatly inflated the argument of the vecinos of Caloto, who were supported by the mine-owners of Popayán. With the resurgence of activity in the mines of Caloto at the end of the seventeenth century, mestizos, mulattoes and poor white families settled the foothills of the Popayán plateau at a site called Quilichao. As early as 1721 the powerful mine-owners of Popayán has attacked this settlement as a threat to the stability of the slave system, but the new settlers continued to fight for its survival and

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Poblaciones Varias, tomo 8, fo.465-475, tomo 11, fo.285-292. From 1801 to Independence its Corregidor Antonio Blanco fought a lawsuit with the cabildo of the villa of Honda for the jurisdiction over the towns of Rioseco, Chaguaní and Chipaima.

<sup>2</sup> G. Colmenares, "Castas, patrones de poblamiento y conflictos sociales en las provincias del Cauca 1810-1830", pp.175-176.

recognition and in 1755 Viceroy Solís granted them the title of villa.<sup>1</sup> The landowners of Caloto, a ciudad falling into decline, not only continued to dispute the rights of access to mines, water and firewood with the new villa, but also went so far as to petition the King for the extinction of Quilichao, which was granted in 1802. Afterwards, in the face of the open hostility of the judges of Caloto and with the clerics, miners and landowners from Popayán against them, the vecinos of Quilichao asked for the conversion of the asiento into a parish with its own priest and judges.<sup>2</sup>

Cases of competition for natural resources were so numerous in late colonial New Granada that they occasioned a particular comment from one Viceroy:<sup>3</sup>

Al paso que algunas ciudades y villas decaen de su floreciente estado, prosperan otras y van recibiendo cada día mayores adelantamientos. Esto excita la emulación y aún la envidia de las que caminan a su ocaso, y no pudiendo detener el impulso de las causas que las precipitan a él, ni estorbar los progresos de sus rivales, se contentan con la inútil preservación de sus privilegios, de sus cabildos y de sus jueces, y se complacen en impedir que se trasladen o que se erijan en aquel paraje donde las llama la necesidad. Hay ejemplares en el Reino de esta conducta tan perjudicial y sin detenerme en citarlos, porque V. M. ha de verlos, me ceñiré sólo a decir que una observación da a conocer que cuando mengua una población y crece otra porque la primera le faltan ya los recursos, al paso que los tiene y encuentra por felicidad la segunda, en cuyo supuesto ni se puede impedir la decadencia de una ni se debe dejar de fomentar la prosperidad de la otra.

Nevertheless, the enlightened point of view of Viceroy Ezpeleta did not work in the case of Quilichao-Caloto. Racial prejudice and the argument of threat to the slave system were so effectively emphasized by the landowners of Caloto that the royal decision ended up favouring them to the disadvantage of the settlers of Quilichao.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibidem, pp.159-163.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Poblaciones del Cauca, tomo 1, fo. 722-792.

<sup>3</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excmo. Sr.D. José de Ezpeleta", in E. Posada, Relaciones de mando, p.319.

The rivalry between Buga and Cartago, both founded in early colonial times, was an old case of jurisdictional litigation. The supply of meat for the towns, rights to participate in local politics and the dispute about their antiquity were some of the various motives which drove them to go to law.<sup>1</sup> However these differences, as well as those between Buga and Cali, did not impede the union of the six main cities of the Cauca Valley, namely Cali, Buga, Cartago, Caloto, Anserma and Toro, during the time of Independence and their fight against the royalist government of Popayán, the provincial capital.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Old and new foundations competing for 'hatos' and lands:

The settlers of the Magdalena river valley, which crossed New Granada territory from South to North, lived either in the main river-ports or scattered in the fertile riverside lands, living off a variety of crops (sugar cane, tobacco, plantain) and cattle raising. Different degrees of mestizaje between whites and blacks and in some areas with Indians reinforced the cultural diversity of the valley.

Mompox, an important port on the lower Magdalena was the administrative base for the surrounding towns, most of which were newly founded. It was also the point of shifting equilibrium between the merchants and landowners, and the old and new settlers in competition for lands and herds, for hatos. The merchants had petitioned for the autonomy of this region from Cartagena and in 1774 their wish was granted by the King. Nevertheless, this first experience of freedom did not last, since the struggle between the merchants and the traditional 'nobility' of the villa headed by the Marquis Gonzalo José de Hoyos put an end to

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Poblaciones del Cauca, tomo 1, fo. 152-153.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Zawadsky, Las ciudades confederadas del Valle del Cauca, and D. García Vásquez, Los hacendados de la otra banda. This federation will be explored in the second part of this thesis.

it in 1777.<sup>1</sup> Again in 1805 the cabildo of Mompox asked the King for its constitution as a gobierno político y militar, the title of ciudad and its elevation to a Bishopric independent of Cartagena. None of these petitions were granted.<sup>2</sup> However, as the merchants had a particular interest in their villa's autonomy, which meant the possibility of direct external trade and contraband, the competition for the cabildo posts continued and the latent conflict with Cartagena broke out with violence during the Patria Boba.<sup>3</sup>

Forming a triangle between Mompox, Santa Marta and Riohacha lies an area of fertile land which was constantly under threat from the Guajiro and Chimila Indians. Various strategies were put into action, such as the sending out of missionaries and military expeditions, but the most constant was the foundation of towns to 'colonize' these parts. The fight against the Indians characterized these foundations which dotted the border region. The city of Valencia de Jesús was a case in point. Situated between the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta and the Magdalena River and founded in the 1770s during one of the largest pacification campaigns, this city faced a crisis at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It had already been transferred from its former site, called Pueblo Nuevo, where it had been founded by Mier y Guerra in 1750. Although, as O. Fals Borda has maintained, the fight against the Chimila people was virtually brought to an end during the 1770s, the inhabitants of these towns that had been established on the frontier with the Indian lands continued to suffer.<sup>4</sup> The reply of

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<sup>1</sup> See O. Fals Borda, Historia doble de la Costa, vol.1 Mompox y Loba, pp.120A. The power struggle in the cabildo of Mompox has already been explored in section 2.1.3 of this thesis, pp. 164-166.

<sup>2</sup> AGI, Santa Fe 669.

<sup>3</sup> Reference to the rivalry between Cartagena and Mompox during the Patria Boba, will also be made in section 4.3 of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup> See O. Fals Borda, Historia doble de la Costa, vol. 1 Mompos y Loba, pp. 109A, 113A, 117A. Representaciones about elections in Valencia de Jesús has been seen in section 2.1.1 of this thesis, pp. 149-152.

its cabildo to the Cédula of Aranjuez of 1802 shows a marked tone of resentment. Juan de la Rosa Galván refers to Valencia de Jesús as a town which used to be:

...féliz en el nombre y no menos en sus progresos. Poblada de gran numero de vecinos hidalgos, abundantísima en caudales...<sup>1</sup>

The Chimila Indians constantly attacked the town, and its inhabitants responded militarily. After mounting numerous and violent expeditions the Valencianos won the war, but many of them died, others abandoned the region and great fortunes were lost. They could not enjoy even this "difícil felicidad" because of the greed of the neighbouring settlements:

porque ya lograda la empresa y puestos en franquia los terrenos, vieron los poderosos de Santa Marta, Valledupar y Villa de Mompos quienes fundando Hatos corpulentos de Ganado han comprado las mejores tierras, y haciendose señores de ellas quan no han dejado a estos infelices moradores donde puedan lograr algun fomento, Y en fin son aquellos los que disfrutan la utilidad y estos miseros vecinos los que llevan sobre si aquel inmenso trabajo de la pasificacion sin sueldo...

Aqui tenemos lo que fue una gran ciudad y pudo haver reportado mayores utilidades reducida a una estatua de miseria.<sup>2</sup>

This explicit complaint about the powerful men of neighbouring cities undoubtedly refers to the Marquis Gonzalo José de Hoyos owner of the Hatos of Loba, San Juan de Buenavista y Carreralarga, among others. In contrast, the previous Marquis José Fernando de Mier y Guerra had earned the gratitude of the cabildo of Valencia de Jesús as the greatest contributor to the conquest of the Chimilas.

It was not the sole conflict between the settlers of the towns and the cattle owners. Gonzalo José de Hoyos had been appointed the successor of the Marquis José Fernando de Mier y

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Cédulas Reales, tomo 34, fo. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, fo. 368-369.

Guerra by the Viceroy Caballero y Góngora for the government of Santa Marta in 1782. In 1797 he resigned. One of the most important missions carried out by these officials was the foundation of towns in those areas of the province which constituted inner frontiers or pockets of misgovernment or lawlessness surrounded by formal occupation. The authorities attempted to subdue the scattered inhabitants who at different levels refused to lead their lives within approved colonial patterns. The cabildos of the cities founded by Mier y Guerra in the 1750s, such as Tamalameque, Valledupar, Tenerife and Nombre de Jesús, came into conflict with the new Marques through his abuses of jurisdiction and the taking of propios lands for his own benefit and on behalf of other cattle owners.<sup>1</sup> Vecinos and mayors gained satisfaction from the Real Audiencia which found against the cattle owners and the Marquis.<sup>2</sup>

The military cabos responsible for the towns founded by the new Marquis rejected the authority of the mayors of Tamalameque and solely accepted that of Gonzalo José de Hoyos.<sup>3</sup>

Cases of competition for lands and jurisdictions such as those cited above involved personal loyalties in a scheme similar to what is now known as clientelism.

One is reminded by the assertion of the second Marquis in his dispute with the cabildo of Mompox that he had the support of the plebs against the power of the merchants.<sup>4</sup> It is likely

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<sup>1</sup> About 470.000 has. were held by three families (Mier, Madariaga and Lanz) in Santa Marta province. Between 1699 and 1800 thirteen families of Cartagena and Sta. Marta provinces acquired 130.000 has. through composición, while the vecinos of six towns received 34.000 has. H. Tovar, Grandes empresas agrícolas y ganaderas, su desarrollo en el siglo XVIII, pp.34-35.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Poblaciones varias, tomo 1, fo.899-913, tomo 2, fo.1-308.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Poblaciones Varias, tomo 3, fo. 928 and followings.

<sup>4</sup> See section 2.1.3 of this thesis.

that an underlying military-civil conflict is part of an explanation of these alignments of towns and authorities. It makes the question more, rather than less complex.

At the opposite end of the Magdalena River valley there was a pocket of frontier between the West (Popayán province) and the Centre (Santa Fe province). The city of Timaná was founded in 1537 in the middle of territory occupied by the Andaquí Indians. The city of Neiva, founded a year later, had to be transferred twice due to the hostility of the Indians and in 1569 its Spanish settlers had to move to Timaná.<sup>1</sup> Timaná underwent a crisis at the end of the eighteenth century, resulting to some extent from the fast growth of Garzón, a town in close geographical proximity. Garzón, founded in 1797, had rapidly reached a state of relative prosperity, which contrasted with the decline of Timaná. It was in 1800 that Don Luis de Ovalle, as a proxy of the cabildo, asked Viceroy Mendinueta for the transference of the villa to Garzón. He stated that Timaná "mas bien que llamarse poblacion de gentes cultas, merece el nombre de destierro...", and continued to blame the poverty of the natural environment for the state of decline. Instead, he argued, Garzón "reune cuantes ventajas y comodidades pueden apetecerse" and was placed in the centre of the jurisdiction of Timaná. The cabildo of Garzón supported that petition and offered sites for public buildings. The Viceroy ordered a thorough inspection of both settlements. Afterwards, the process of Independence seems to have led to a spiritual renewal among the inhabitants of Timaná, as occurred with other towns.<sup>2</sup> The hostility of the Andaquí Indians had been for the city of Timaná during the seventeenth century what the Chimila Indians were for the city of Valencia de Jesús in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1800 the encomiendas of Andaquí had almost completely vanished and there were some Indian groups left that had never been subdued by

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<sup>1</sup> J. García Borrero, El Huila y sus aspectos, Neiva, 1983, pp.47-48, 58.

<sup>2</sup> J. Díaz Jordán, Proceso histórico de la parroquia de Garzón. He quotes from the archive of the Curia of Garzón but without citing volume numbers.

the Spanish government.<sup>1</sup>

At the lowest level of politics, in the same province of Neiva, the viceparish of Villavieja, seeking recognition as a parish, faced opposition from Alpujarra, a neighbouring parish with which it had shared the surrounding fields and herds and on whose priest the inhabitants of Villavieja depended for religious services. The settlement was just a set of scattered farmsteads around a small chapel of adobe and thatched roof near a Jesuit hacienda of the same name. In 1763 a number of inhabitants of Villavieja asked the Archbishop of Santa Fe for the viceparish to be converted into a parish, so that they could have their own priest for their pasto espiritual:

Carecemos de pasto espiritual por tanta distancia y no podemos oír la santa misa con puntualidad ni recibir los santos sacramentos ni tampoco cristianar a tiempo los niños que van naciendo. Para que haga nuestra capilla y vecindario de parroquia y nos mande cura perenne, nos comprometemos a sostener la decencia del señor cura, a mantener encendida con aceite la lampara del Santísimo y los demás gastos que vengan de la capilla y del culto. Si podemos hacer lo dicho porque hay mas de 90 cabezas de familia y mas de novecientas personas mayores, aparte en estos hatos de Villavieja, San Nicolas, Boqueron, Salero, Rascaparrillas, Sierra y otros. La nuestra capilla tiene ornamentos, Cristo, Caliz y mas otras cosas del culto divino. Para la gloria de Dios y bien de nuestras almas pedimos esta gracia de parroquia.<sup>2</sup>

The Archbishop of Santa Fe, Monseñor José Javier de Araus, who had been in favour of the petition, died before it was granted. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the governor of Neiva J. A. de Lago suggested setting the new parish around the chapel of the former Jesuit hacienda. The Junta de Temporalidades, an institution created to deal with the goods of the expelled community, accepted the suggestion in 1775.

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<sup>1</sup> P. San Pablo, Historia del municipio de San Agustín, Undergraduate thesis, Universidad del Valle, mss. pp. 183-184 and 192-194.

<sup>2</sup> J. Díaz Jordán, Proceso histórico de la parroquia de Garzón, pp.104-105.

However, another claimant to the cattle and lands appeared. In 1772 the ecclesiastical Visitor Francisco de Vargas had annexed the hatos of Boquerón, Salero and Rascaparrillas to the parish of Alpujarra and thereby had dispossessed Villavieja and hindered its conversion into a parish. The Villavieja dwellers protested and the Visitador backed down; not so the priest of Alpujarra, who was reluctant to lose his gains from a recently increased congregation. The lawsuit lasted up to 1795 when the Viceroy Ezpeleta ratified the decree of the Archbishop of Santa Fe. The desire for autonomy on the part of the inhabitants of Villavieja and probably the progress of the settlement gained the parish the title of villa from the Junta Provincial at the time of Independence, when this was a common political strategy for gaining a town's support.

The householders of all these viceparishes and parishes were probably mestizo descendents of the native Indian communities who had adopted Hispanic ways and wanted to become proper vecinos. Although their towns were not the result of the new policies of concentrating people, access to land and cattle was a matter of discord, as it was in the low and middle Magdalena River Valley.

The foothills of the Eastern Cordillera and the Eastern plains constituted another border region where settlements faced similar adversities. In 1765 the cabildo of San Juan de los Llanos reported to His Majesty that many inhabitants had left the town due to the hostility of the Indians, and had settled in San Martín. Consequently there were no suitable people to fill public posts. In 1794 a report from the royal fiscal confirmed the disastrous situation of the town, the cabildo and the missions.<sup>1</sup>

The case of Chire, an old settlement on the edge of the Casanare plains, was also a question of honour. In 1773 the citizens had to contend with the measures of governor Francisco

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Poblaciones Varias, tomo 8, fo. 128-134; tomo 9, fo. 875-907.

Manuel Quiroz. He estimated that there were only a few individuals capable of holding public posts and that the inhabitants could not afford the maintenance of a cabildo. He had therefore suppressed this body and left just an alcalde pedaneo as ruler. The inhabitants, influenced by the priest, decided to appoint two mayors and a procurador general. When he learnt of this reaction, Quiroz appealed to the Real Audiencia for confirmation of his measures and suggested the alcalde pedaneo should be appointed by the cabildo of Pore, the nearest city. Thus, Chire lost its autonomy. Moreover, it was not allowed to move to another site as its inhabitants and priest had planned.<sup>1</sup>

Frontier areas were more exposed to local and external hostilities. Not only hostile Indian communities but also landowners worked against their stability. Bourbon agents did not show the compassion and sympathy of the preceding regime.

#### 2.2.5 Jurisdiction, etiquette and fiestas as expressions of a town's standing:

As did cities and towns, so their officials themselves set great store on public acknowledgement of their status. Records exist of an enormous quantity of small lawsuits between officers. Most of them are concerned with the limits of jurisdiction and authority of a particular officer, the modes of treatment he deserved according to his position in the range of officeholders, and to the title of the settlement he ruled. Some are offered here as examples.

In 1781 the mayor of the partido of Cucuniba complained about the teniente corregidor of Ubaté because he had been addressed by that subordinate with the words ordeno y mando instead ruego y encargo which were the proper form according to the ranking of both. The proxy for the mayor of Cucuniba stated that the motive of the teniente corregidor had been no other than "sojusgar a mi parte y a su jurisdiccion y arrogarse sobre ella un predominio

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<sup>1</sup> J. Raush, A Tropical Plains Frontier. The Llanos of Colombia 1531-1831, p. 144.

y superioridad que no le corresponden por su empleo".<sup>1</sup>

In 1805, the juez teniente of La Mesa received a document from the teniente letrado of Tocaima province in which he was ordered to examine some witnesses for a lawsuit that was in progress. Because the document with the annexed questionnaire and names of witnesses finished with the terms "... por lo tanto tuve a bien mandar librar y libro el presente por el ordeno y mando a las justicias de La Mesa...", the juez teniente claimed he deserved a better treatment.<sup>2</sup> There was, notwithstanding, a conflict about autonomy behind this allegation. Since 1795, when the cabildo of Tocaima had been suppressed, the cabildo of La Mesa had elected their mayors and the previous letrado of Tocaima had ratified them without any objection. Hence the intervention in the 1806 election and the words ordeno y mando used by the newly appointed letrado were considered as offences against the autonomy and standing of the cabildo of La Mesa.<sup>3</sup>

There were also complaints from higher officials about the disobedience of their subordinates. Don Pedro Ignacio Nieto, regidor alcalde mayor provincial of Sogamoso in 1804 consulted the corregidor of Tunja about the extent and quality of his jurisdiction. Doctor Joaquín Umaña, lawyer of the Real Audiencia, resolved the inquiry by stating that the pedanea jurisdiction was inferior to the ordinaria and consequently it was imperative for an alcalde ordinario such as Nieto, the district mayor, to use the words ordeno y mando whenever addressing pedaneos.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 21, fo. 492-493.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 28, fo. 530.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 28 fo.521-535. The job of teniente letrado was created in the administration of Ezpeleta for Honda and Mompós. The Viceroy wanted to create others in Antioquia, Tunja and Girón. They should advise the corregidores and unlearned judges and were paid from the propios of the cabildo. These newly appointed lawyers provoked jealousy among the unpaid officials... "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excmo. Sr. D. José de Ezpeleta", in E. Posada, Relaciones de mando, pp.319-320.

such as the official of Sogamoso who had indeed challenged his authority.<sup>1</sup>

Although conflicts over jurisdictional autonomy fill volumes in the colonial records, many of them were just personal rivalries. But even these latter cases reveal a profound and pervasive sense of honour, dignity and personal respect, that needed to be displayed and confirmed by symbolic acts and to find expression in ceremonial language. While looking for a historical explanation of this distinct sense of individual worth so persistent in Hispanic American culture, I have found a passing reference to the work of L. Benítez,

... who holds that in the New World the Spanish Conquerors exaggerated the concept of individual worth because they were "marginal men". These men were "nobodies who wanted to be somebodies". In the new lands they conquered they made themselves hidalgos, -"sons of someone"- (hijos d'algo). Each person had to insist that he was distinctive, because he had no adscribed distinction...<sup>2</sup>

Eighteenth-century Spain had still a social configuration dominated by aristocratic values. Many of these men, who lacked distinguish lineages, attempted to gain merits within that social framework and through economic means. An official appointment meant social recognition and offered the opportunity to do things which according to the values of the colonial society were worthwhile.<sup>3</sup>

Deep sensitivity about their own standing within the hierarchical order as well as about the meaning of details in an elaborate system of etiquette also provoked lawsuits and consultations about the orden de asiento; that is to say, who had to enter a place first, and

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas Y Obispos, tomo 13, fo. 702-714.

<sup>2</sup> J. Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Cultures", in American Anthropologist, 17 (5), 1955, 492. He quotes from L. Benítez, Ecuador, drama y paradoja, México, 1950, pp.53-54.

<sup>3</sup> For the notion of 'configuration', see N. Elias, La sociedad cortesana, México, 1982, pp.30-31.

how the members of a cabildo ought to seat themselves. In Cartagena in 1767 Francisco García del Fierro and Francisco Antonio de Aristegui, regidor and procurador respectively, were involved in a lawsuit about precedence in public ceremonies. Disputes about the same matter occupied Matías Rojas and Joaquín Ibarra, regidor and fiel ejecutor of Popayán from 1774 to 1777; between Joaquín Lascano and Tomás de los Santos, regidores of Honda from 1791 to 1795.<sup>1</sup>

Even among non-officials ceremonial treatment was important. A. Twinam gives a good account of the case of Antonio Muñoz, a merchant of Medellín who complained about other men who did not address him as Don. This led to a long lawsuit which eventually resulted in neither he nor his brother occupying a municipal council position.<sup>2</sup> As etiquette and ceremonial treatment were forms for maintaining the equilibrium and distribution of power in this graded society, any change appeared as an attempt at destabilize it.<sup>3</sup>

The cabildo as a body was not immune from this generalized tendency. Its members were concerned about the confirmation of their status within their own city or villa, and in relation with other places.

Alert in defending their range of activity, the cabildos and other civil authorities rejected policies that threatened to reduce their influence. Allan Kuethe has noted the fight of the cabildos against the privileges that withdrew pardo militia and soldiers from ordinary justice after 1773 and gave them the fuero militar. Such men sought opportunities to demonstrate their resentments and to harass the magistrates, thus effectively undermining the authority

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Policía, tomo 7, fo.46-56; tomo 4, fo.170-306; tomo 8, fo.287-311.

<sup>2</sup> A. Twinam, Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia, pp.198-221.

<sup>3</sup> See N. Elias, La sociedad cortesana, pp.118-120.

of the cabildos. The immunities had also been granted to the militia to encourage both devotion to duty and esprit de corps. Hence, both institutions, cabildos and militias, confronted each other with pride, jealousy and emotion. The adjustment of the military reform carried out in the 1790s suppressed the fuero for the militia.<sup>1</sup>

Cases of competition in jurisdiction between ecclesiastical and civil authorities were constant throughout the entire history of New Granada, as the clergy had enjoyed their fuero from the beginning of the colonial period. J. M. Groot gives an extensive account of those conflicts between the Audiencia and the canons over patronato. Although a modern history of the colonial Church is lacking, there is evidence to show that there was also confrontation at local level. We have already seen the rivalry between priests and judges or the whole cabildo in similar cases in previous sections.<sup>2</sup> V. Gutiérrez de Pineda describes the struggle between the corregidor and priest of the parish of Peladeros, provincia of Tocaima, in order to draw attention to the animosity between ecclesiastical and civil authorities as an incessant problem.<sup>3</sup>

They and the city dwellers delighted in holding fiestas and parades with the degree of ostentation corresponding to the rank of each urban centre. Holding such public events, wearing gaudy uniforms and adopting more elaborate etiquette and formal manners, the notables impressed their fellow townsmen, distinguished themselves from the common people and enhanced the name of their city or villa. Titles, order of seating and ceremonial language express the character of the rulers and convey the appreciation of the ruled. F. Pike has noted

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<sup>1</sup> J. Kuethe, Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808, Gainesville, 1978, pp.25-37.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada, Tomo II. See also sections 2.1.5 and 3.6 of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup> V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, La Familia en Colombia, vol. I, pp.345-346.

the peculiar toleration of the Hapsburg monarchs to the waste of resources by the cabildos on such events:

... cabildo members found the satisfaction and feeling of fulfillment which was denied them in the ordinary processes of local administration. Royal toleration of financial irresponsibility at the local level was, therefore, an all-important source of cabildo loyalty to the Crown during the Hapsburg era.<sup>1</sup>

This Hapsburg legacy persisted and continued to shape the attitudes of cabildo members even when Bourbon rulers tried to discourage expensive public events and when innovations in language gave a new dimension to the feeling of local belonging.

A renewed effort at controlling expenditure on public celebrations was part of the Bourbon desire to rationalize the economy and counteract wastefulness. The refusal of cabildos, notables and ordinary people to conform, confirms how important the sense of dignity and distinction was for people and places, and how significant they considered public display. One of the best known cases is that of Antioquia. A. Twinam has pointed out that being Alférez of the fiesta of La Candelaria was an alternative route for promotion to municipal council positions or, at least, to securing acceptance in upper social circles, particularly for rich mestizos or bastards.<sup>2</sup> Exactly as happened during the Hapsburg period, public celebrations offered the best occasions for displaying power and distinction and encouraging the desired popular acknowledgement of those who held the fiesta. The visitador of Antioquia, Mon y Velarde, in his long criticism of these lavish events prior to his decree of regulation of fiestas, made this assessment:

Por lo común todos los trofeos que quedan despues de las fiestas a mas del victor, es

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<sup>1</sup> F. B. Pike, "The Cabildo and the Colonial Loyalty to Hapsburg Rulers", in Journal of Inter-American Studies, 2 (4), 1960, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> A. Twinam, Miners, Merchants and Farmers in Colonial Colombia, p. 180.

el popular aplauso de quien labró tantas arrobas de pólvora, tantas de cera, que subió tanto rancho, que gastó tantas botijas de aguardiente: estos son los laureles que texen la corona de un Alférez consumido y gastado.<sup>1</sup>

But going against current tendencies was almost imposible. Bourbon officials were fighting with a system of values and endangering an order whose full sense they hardly understood.

In 1785 an earthquake seriously affected the central uplands of New Granada. As a result the corregidor of Zipaquirá prohibited the festival and bullfight that usually took place in Ubaté in August, considering that such a celebration would be an occasion of sin and no way of appeasing God's anger. However the corregidor of Ubaté replied that the ban was imposible as the Alfereces had begged him not to suppress the event because they had already organized everything and spent a large amount of money. The case was taken to the Audiencia which confirmed the prohibition, but it seems that the fiesta took place notwithstanding. If one realizes the Alfereces had nothing to gain other than prestige in this event, the case provides a glimpse of how important this particular achievement was for them.<sup>2</sup>

Local rulers and ruled alike agreed on the importance of holding sumptuous fiestas as a way of mantaining and enhancing the prestige of their home town.<sup>3</sup> Mayors, regidores, priests and notables as well as ordinary people were concerned about the status of their town and strove

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<sup>1</sup> J. A. Mon y Velarde, 'Reglamento', in E. Robledo, Bosquejo biográfico del señor Oldor Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, tomo II, p.180.

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Tisnes, Capítulos de historia zipaquireña, pp.219-224. In 1718 the vecinos of Ubaté and Zipaquirá had also protested against the prohibition of effecting and attending bullfights. On that occasion they won. See J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada, tomo I, p. 469.

<sup>3</sup> In a recently published article, J. P. Viquería, "Diversiones públicas y cultura popular en la ciudad de México durante el siglo de las luces", Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 44, 1987, 195-228, explores the popular defense of traditions (carnaval, theatre, bullfight and gambling) as a reaction against Bourbon control.

for its relative autonomy. It seems that the rank of the town, its authorities and its inhabitants all had to do with its expenditure rather than with its incomes.

#### 2.2.6 The notion of local belonging:

The notion of belonging to a hometown or to an area underlies and, at some extent, explains attitudes and actions such as those we have seen above. Although, the order of priorities and allegiances was not always so clear, one can agree that most cases followed the lines suggested by John Lombardi:

If it were possible to map the lines of thought, loyalty, interest and emotion that linked individuals of the Spanish American enterprise to each other and to their sovereign, the lines would reach directly from individuals to the nearest town, from there to the other major towns in the region, and ultimately to the sovereign. Even though the data for such a map are hard to find, we can glimpse the orientation of this mind set through the descriptions contemporaries gave of their times and their places.<sup>1</sup>

However, the hierarchical order of the settlements determined not only allegiances but also rivalries. Neither were these vertical allegiances exempt from conflicts of autonomy and emulation nor was the order of priorities so clear as to avoid cross-purposes. Moreover, in several cases which have been analyzed it appears that the feeling of belonging to a hometown, to a larger region and to the whole country (el Reino) could be ranged in changing orders of priority according to prevailing conditions, even for the same group of citizens. Cabildos adopted liberal attitudes whenever a desired segregation or autonomy did not directly affect their jurisdiction, control of labor and natural resources. They were also able to put aside localist conflicts, act together defensively, as bound by a sense of common interest and by a feeling of belonging to a broader territory. Whenever the cabildos and people of a given area were under the threat of being attached to another government, they endeavoured to maintain the statu quo. They tended to defend the social order, not only that of the hierarchical position of each settlement, but also the relationships of solidarity or competition. Officials,

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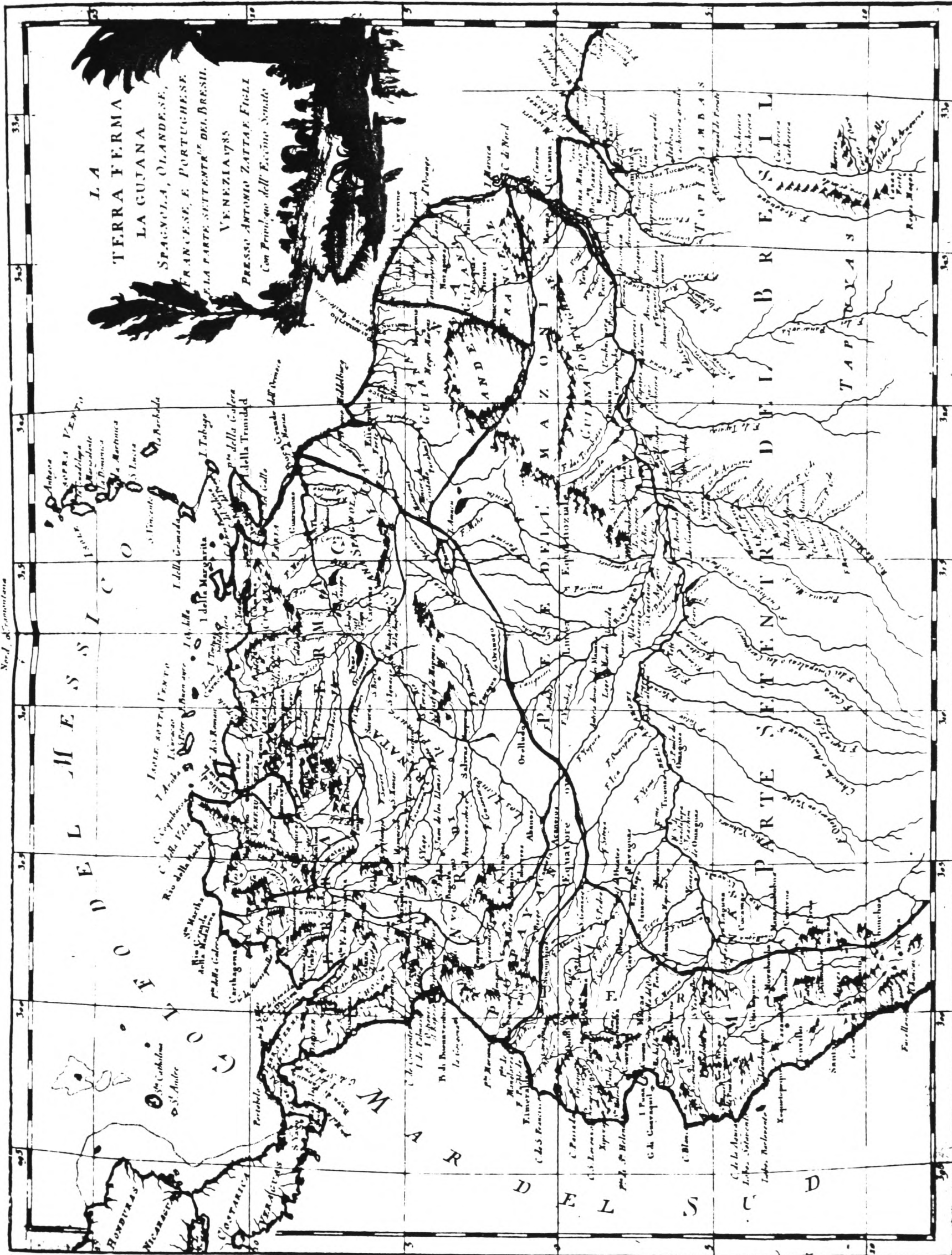
<sup>1</sup> J. Lombardi, People and Places in Colonial Venezuela, Bloomington, 1976, p. 47.

priests and parishioners also possessed local status that they did not want to be disregarded when attached to another order. What is clear is that the geographical-administrative order expressed and shaped the relationships among towns and town-dwellers during the late colonial period. It can be supposed that most of non-Indian people shared this sense of order.

The recognition of a title, a standing and a jurisdiction for a settlement and for its authorities; the competition for natural resources, labour and 'clientelas'; and the holding of fiestas; all these experiences reinforced the feeling of local belonging. Every social layer had a particular understanding of how that feeling applied to the dignity and honour of its own members and to some extent this constituted a factor of local social cohesion. The sense of communal identity, although a 'subpolitical' attitude, became gradually tinged with the language of patriotism in a way that would, at a later stage, mark popular commitment to Independence.

Bourbon administration endeavored to impose an enlightened point of view according to which towns in decline should not be encouraged to survive, while those prospering should be fostered. The cabildos ought to strive for the enhancement of the city through ordering their finances and carrying out public works instead of through holding fiestas. In several cases these policies clashed with traditional feelings and time-honoured habits. In other cases Bourbon aims converged with the vecinos's efforts.

If any notion of region existed in the late eighteenth century for the inhabitants of New Granada, it was that of a natural area defined by the standing of several settlements among which the relative status of one's own home town in relation to the other centres of population was significant.



Nord. di Carantana

Nord. di Meridie

### 3. REPRESENTACIONES OF INDIANS

For the Spanish mentality the municipal unit was the basic form of living in public order and in a decent Christian manner: living en policía y a son de campana. The municipal unit existed for both Spaniards and Indians, though their municipalities were separated, in order to maintain ethnic separateness. The policy of reducciones was to bring people together instead of allowing them to live scattered all over the country. R. Morse has concluded: "Colonization, then was largely a labour of 'urbanization', that is a strategy of settlement nucleation for appropriating resources and implanting jurisdiction".<sup>1</sup>

Reducción of Indians into towns was ordered as early as 1551. It had a fiscal aim, to facilitate the collection of tributes; and it was seen as essential to their indoctrination. Reducción was also ordered for "españoles y mestizos que en esta tierra hubiere vagabundos y holgazanes", in 1558.<sup>2</sup> After some time, a reducción became a doctrina, (a parish of Indians) and then a town; a set of parishes constituted a corregimiento.<sup>3</sup> Once institutionalized as a town, a pueblo de Indios achieved a sort of autonomy and had to follow the geometric layout of the gridiron

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<sup>1</sup> R. Morse, "The urban development of colonial Spanish America", in The Cambridge History of Latin America, Cambridge, 1985, Vol. II., p. 78. M. Góngora, in his Studies of the Colonial History of Spanish America, Cambridge, 1975, p. 72, affirms that what they called 'policía' is what we would today call 'civilization'. The Leyes de Indias insisted on this point. In New Granada, the "Reglas y Constituciones" given by the Archbishop Don Fray Luis Zapata in the seventeenth century resumed this policy and committed the priests to collaborate in it. The document is in J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1893, vol. I, pp. 507-514.

<sup>2</sup> M. Mörner, La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de Indios de América, Estocolmo, 1970, p.47.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, Barcelona, 1958, p. 93:  
Ahora se emplea la palabra corregimiento para designar un conjunto de éstos grupos de indios de población, porque constituyen pequeñas entidades políticas y administrativas dentro del complicado engranaje del Imperio Español, en las cuales el Corregidor, funcionario de recuerdo nada grato va a ser grato, en la mayoría de los casos, al encomendero.

town plan: "debería haber un cabildo compuesto de indios y una traza o planificación urbana con iglesia, ayuntamiento, cárcel y plaza". In 1560 instructions were given to concentrate the natives in permanent villages.<sup>1</sup>

The Indian inhabitants could be chosen to be mayors or regidores in their towns. Ots Capdequí quotes from the Recopilación of 1680:

Ordenamos que en cada pueblo y reducción haya un Alcalde indio de la misma reducción y si pasare de ochenta casas, dos Alcaldes y dos Regidores, tambien de indios; y aunque el pueblo sea grande, no haya mas de dos Alcaldes y cuatro Regidores, y si fuere de menos de ochenta indios y llegare a quarenta no mas de un Alcalde y un Regidor los cuales han de elegir por año nuevo otros, como se practica en los pueblos de Españoles e Indios en presencia de los Curas. <sup>2</sup>

However, the corregidores entrusted with the government of a set of pueblos de indios were always Spaniards or creoles; more often than not, they appointed tenientes (lieutenants) for each town, who would be either whites or mestizos. Appointments also occurred of Indian lieutenants. Increasing contact with corregidores, judges, notaries and interpreters led to the progressive curtailment of the Indian cabildos' functions. During the early colonial period the institutions through which the landowners and miners controlled the labour of Indians were encomienda and repartimiento, but the Indian population directly linked to the Crown such as those of reducciones or resguardos prevailed afterwards.<sup>3</sup> Neither did the initial dual scheme of settlement last long in reality. R. Morse has summarised the evolution of the colonial settlement design, from the former dualism of ciudades españolas and pueblos de Indios towards an ethnic mixture, biological, spatial and cultural, which in the eighteenth

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<sup>1</sup> M. Mörner, La corona española, p. 48-50; M. Góngora, Studies in Colonial History of Spanish America, pp.95, 116-118.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Ots Capdequí, Instituciones, p. 92; M. Góngora, Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America, pp. 95 and 118.

century was clearly beyond reversal:

On the Bogotá sabana the pueblos de indios or resguardos were increasingly infiltrated by whites, mestizos and a few pardos and blacks, a change often signalized by the conversion of resguardos into parroquias.<sup>1</sup>

The dissolution of boundaries, at first a result of the inevitable miscegenation, subsequently received legal recognition: a lot of Indian land was transferred to Spanish hands through denuncia and composición.<sup>2</sup> Rich whites, encomenderos, were allowed to be members of Indian parishes near where they lived from 1622 onwards.<sup>3</sup>

In late colonial New Granada the visit of Verdugo y Oquendo and Arostegui (1755) and that of Moreno y Escandón (1775-76) testified to progressive miscegenation and the decrease of the Indian population. Although hesitant at first, both visitadores ordered the extinction of some Indian towns and the removal of the remaining population to other places. The most recent legal basis for such action was a Real Cédula of 20 December 1707 that ordered towns which had less than twenty-five tributaries to be joined up to larger ones. Visitas de la tierra were made to the areas of dense Indian population in order to evaluate the number of Indians liable for tribute, revalue the tax assessments and control relationships between encomenderos, Indians, priests and corregidores. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the provincias of Santa Fe and Tunja had received visitas in 1552, 1559-60, 1562-63, 1564, 1584,

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<sup>1</sup> R. Morse, "The urban development of colonial Spanish America", p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> C. Gibson, "Indian societies under Spanish rule", in The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol.II, pp. 381-419: Denuncia permitted any Spanish colonist to claim vacant land and after some formalities and the payment of a fee, to hold it as a legal owner. Composición permitted him to gain full legal possession of any portion of his property that suffered from defective titles. p.410.

<sup>3</sup> B. V. de Oviedo, Cualidades y riquezas del Nuevo Reino de Granada, Bogotá, 1930, (passim)

1591, 1593-95, 1595-1600, 1617 and 1635. Afterwards the region had been left in the hands of local powers for more than a century.<sup>1</sup> The eighteenth-century visitas also indicated the high level of hispanicization of the Indians of Santa Fe and Tunja and the great number of libres (freemen) who lived in or close to the Indian towns. Often these vecinos sought their conversion into parishes. In this way demographic change - miscegenation and the decline in Indian numbers - results in a conflict between Indians and non-Indians for access to former Indian land, expressed in the demand for conversion into parishes.

According to the report of Viceroy Guirior in 1776, the Archbishopric of Santa Fe had 344 parishes, distributed among twenty-four cities, seven villas, ninety parishes, 195 Indian towns and twenty-eight reducciones.<sup>2</sup> The Viceroy's reports confirmed the precarious conditions of the administration in corregimientos. Viceroy Caballero y Góngora pointed out that as the job of corregidor was unpaid, corregidores had become

...verdaderos monopolistas tanto de los frutos que se extraen de las Provincias quanto de los Géneros comerciables que se introducen en ellas con notorio agravio de los vasallos del Rey que claman por la protección de las leyes; pero el desorden es tan inveterado que se ha convertido en una especie de derecho consuetudinario, hasta alegarse en los juicios de residencia, y ciertamente nunca podía remediarlo ni castigarlo el gobierno mientras se pretende que trabajen sin remuneración.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See J. Jaramillo Uribe, Ensayos sobre historia social colombiana, Bogotá, 1968, pp.106-115; J. M. Ots Capdequí, Historia del derecho español en America y el derecho indiano, Madrid, 1969, pp. 188-189; G. Colmenares, La provincia de Tunja, Bogotá, 1970, pp. 49-57; M. González, El resguardo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, pp. 65-77; J. O. Melo, "Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón: retrato de un burócrata colonial", in the recent edition of F. A. Moreno y Escandón, Indios y mestizos en la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1985, pp. 5-36.

<sup>2</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excmo. Señor Don Manuel de Guirior al Excmo. Señor Don Manuel Antonio Florez, Año de 1776", in E. Posada,(ed.) Relaciones de Mando, 1910, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Arzobispo de Córdoba a su sucesor el Excmo. Señor Don Francisco Gil y Lemus", in E. Posada, (ed.) Relaciones de Mando, p.234.

In addition, Viceroy Ezpeleta's report noted that the corregidores of New Granada, as distinct from those of Quito, could not live on the Indian tribute due to the poverty of the country; consequently their lieutenants in some towns commonly instigated lawsuits in order to charge fees, their only means of livelihood.<sup>1</sup>

From 1676 the trade carried on by corregidores with the Indians was called repartimiento de mercancías. The abuse of these monopolies was commonplace in all the Indian areas of Spanish America and led to complaints and numerous accusations in all the viceroyalties.<sup>2</sup> The Indians did not remain passive. It has been suggested that among Indian peasant communities in Mexico and the central area of the southern Andes rebellion was recurrent.<sup>3</sup> In New Granada, however, repartimiento de mercancías was not a widespread practice; it occurred mainly on the Eastern Plains frontier, the Llanos de Casanare. This does not mean however, that there were no complaints about and unrest caused by the practices of the corregidores, tenientes, priests and vecinos.

The Indians also made representaciones. To some extent representaciones in themselves were a sign of hispanicization. Just as Indians often insisted on their own Christianity, similarly

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<sup>1</sup> "Relación del estado del Nuevo Reino de Granada que hace el Excmo. Señor Don José de Ezpeleta al Excmo. Señor Don Pedro de Mendinueta, Año de 1796", in E. Posada (ed.), Relaciones de Mando, p.318-320.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lynch, Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, London, 1958; M. Morner, "La Reorganización Imperial en Hispanoamérica", in Iberoromansi, vol. IV, no. 1, 1969; D. Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810, Cambridge, 1971; S. J. Stein, "Bureaucracy and Business in the Spanish Empire 1759-1804: Failure of Bourbon Reforms in Mexico and Peru", HARH, 61 (1), 1981, 2-28.

<sup>3</sup> J. Campbell, "Recent research on Indian Peasant Revolts 1750-1820", in LARR, 14 (1), 1979, 3-49; C. Hunnefeldt, Lucha por la Tierra y Protesta Indígena, Las Comunidades Indígenas del Perú entre Colonia y República, 1800-1830, Bonn, 1983; J. Gölte, Repartos y rebeliones, Tupac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economía colonial, Lima 1980; S. O'Phelan Godoy, Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth Century Peru and Upper Peru, Köln, 1985.

by drafting representaciones they emulated whites and mestizos. Christianity and writing representaciones were two manifestations of the same desire for acceptance. One can add that Indian representaciones share some characteristics with, but also differ from, those of white or mestizo vecinos. This chapter will explore Indian representaciones and the evidence they offer for Indian beliefs, motives and political practices.

### 3.1 Defending Indian land from intruders and greedy authorities

In the Indian town of Siquima in the poor corregimiento de los Panches in 1785 five Indians including their teniente de indios drew up a representación against Tomás Farfán.<sup>1</sup> Farfán, not being a lieutenant but an intruso juez (an interfering judge), had read out in the central square a document which stated that the Indians no longer had the right to their lands and whoever worked them would receive twenty-five lashes. Farfán received rent from Indian land and was a householder in that pueblo de indios. They argued that he had no right to receive rents. The Fiscal forbade Farfán to act as teniente and ordered the corregidor Francisco Colina to investigate and report. Interesting antecedents in Farfán's career then came to light. Farfán could show six documents in which he had been empowered by different officials to collect various taxes among the Indians: four mayors of Anolaima (in 1775-1778, 1782 and 1783) had entrusted him with the collection of the alcabala and the aguardiente tax, the upkeep of roads and the control of local morals. Two corregidores of the Panche Indians had also appointed Farfán as lieutenant in Siquima. His powers included the collection of tributes on St. John's Day and Christmas Day, obliging the Indians to work and to go to mass, and punishing them in cases of drunkenness.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As Siquima neither appeared in the records of the visitas of Valcárcel (1635-36) nor in those of Oquendo (1755-56), nor in those of Moreno y Escandón (1775-76), it is difficult to find data about it. Lists of the towns visited can be seen in M. T. Molina, La encomienda en el Nuevo Reino de Granada durante el siglo XVIII, Sevilla, 1976.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 28, fo 317-356.

Besides these documents, the testimonies of two notables of Anolayma and of the priest of Siquima supporting Farfán were received. The Indians were commanded to gather in the central square of the town in January 1787 to be questioned. It is highly likely they were previously threatened, since they said that they had nothing against Farfán. Having established this, the Fiscal assumed that two of the complainants had spread rumours because of personal grievances.

The helplessness of the Indians, the remoteness of their towns and the extent of the teniente's power had encouraged his abuses. For the mayors and corregidores, a teniente in the distant Indian towns was a suitable instrument for keeping control. But, as the case of Farfán shows, while the mayor changed every year a skilful teniente could retain his little empire in a remote town for ever. The Crown could never prevent the appointment of tenientes.<sup>1</sup>

The social type represented by Farfán is not that of the front-man who has figured in several of our cases of elections. This powerful man in the microcosm of a pueblo de indios which had already been hispanicized foreshadows the figure of the gamonal or cacique político who would play an important role in political life after the establishment of the Republic.<sup>2</sup>

In these proceedings there are some facts that illustrate the slow but steady process of the dissolution of the economic and political bases of the Indian communities. When Farfán ordered the Indians not to go to their lands he was seeking to usurp their land-rights. When he collected the taxes, he was supplanting the functions of the alcalde de indios. When the

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<sup>1</sup> M. Mörner, La corona española, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Deas, "Algunas notas sobre la historia del caciquismo en Colombia", Revista de Historia, 2, Bogotá, 1976, 29-43.

corregidores, the notables and the priest supported the 'intruding judge', they show that they have little interest in the survival of the Indian community as such. Many officials wanted to dispossess the Indians from their lands in order to make personal profits; Farfán is an example.

In Siachoque, one of the largest Indian towns of the province of Tunja, the priest, Francisco Navarro, and the corregidor, Don José Maria Xaimés, were accused in 1806 of maltreating the Indians.<sup>1</sup> Don Pedro Pablo Zipasusa had drafted in his name and on behalf of the Indians two representaciones stating their grievances. The fiscal protector asked the corregidor Xaimés, one of those accused, to carry out an enquiry. Instead, this corregidor assembled reports testifying to his own good conduct in the affair from the governor and his lieutenant and from four Indians.

The corregidor and the priest began to threaten and persecute the Indian plaintiffs because of their official complaint. Their sheep and cows were taken from them and they were imprisoned, pilloried and given lashes. Some single Indian women were abducted by the priest and the corregidor. The priest declared in the pulpit:

...este año no doy la comunión a los indios que han pedido contra mí ni a los que han arrendado las tierras de Ziatoca comprendidas en los resguardos de otro pueblo...

In May the Indians presented another petition stating that the corregidor had paid some whites to imprison Indians on the pretext of their owing the demora (a tribute). Some Indian notables had helped the whites in this persecution. The Indian complainants asked for the enquiry to be carried out by the mayor of the whites of the town. This case continued for a long time until it was eventually filed away unresolved.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 13, fo. 277-282. At the time of the visit of J. M. Campuzano (1777), Siachoque had 1104 Indians and 416 vecinos; G. Colmenares, La provincia de Tunja en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, p. 102.

The union of a priest, a corregidor, a governor and a teniente with the implicit complicity of the fiscal protector constituted a formidable alliance in the face of which the Indian group could not put up any effective resistance. Though the lawsuit over the Indian land in Siachoque began with the petty disagreements between the Indians and the priest, it revealed the real nature of the conflict. It seems that the Indians understood this:

Seguramente Señor porque unidos y confederados solo se trata de tiranizar a los indios destruirles sus pocos intereses, desterrarlos del Pueblo, y acabar con todos y con quanto tienen, sin mas motivo que saciar su codisia...<sup>1</sup>

The priest in the case of Siachoque used both material and spiritual threats to further his own interests and those of the corregidor. The fear of being forced to abandon their homes and land was keenly felt by Indians in the second part of the eighteenth century. Their survival depended on their keeping up the numbers in their towns. Both sides, the Indians and their enemies, were aware of this. Wherever a priest joined the group interested in taking over the Indian lands, ecclesiastical fees and threats from the pulpit reinforced the pressure on the Indian community to abandon their homes.

Such associations often occurred in New Granada. A complaint to this effect was included as one of the main Indian grievances in the seventh clause of the Capitulaciones de Zipaquirá during the Comunero movement. It condemned the corregidores and parish priests for alliances for the purpose of exploiting the Indians:

...que hallandose en el estado mas deplorable la miseria de todos los Indios...  
 ...sacandoles los corregidores los tributos con tanto rigor que no es creible, a lo que concurren los curas por el interes de sus asignados estipendios...  
 ... que atenta (a) la expresada miseria solo quede la contribución total anual de 4 pesos los indios y los requintados de 2 pesos y que los curas no les hayan de llevar derecho alguno por sus obvenciones de oleos entierros y casamientos, ni precisarlos para el nombramiento de Alférez para sus fiestas, pues estas en caso de que no haya devoto que

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 13, fo. 280.

las pida, las costeen las cofradias, cuyo punto pide de necesario preciso remedio...<sup>1</sup>

The priests tended to encourage the collection of tribute, since a portion provided their stipend in Indian parishes. The same clause of the Capitulaciones prohibited the overcharging of Indian parishioners in the payment of ecclesiastical fees for baptism, weddings and funerals. This practice was hated by the Indians and had also been censured by some bureaucrats.<sup>2</sup>

In their claims the Indians revealed their feeling that all these abuses by civil and ecclesiastical authorities offended the established sense of the colonial order. It seems that the demands on the community had reached such an unbearable extreme that the tacit colonial pact, originally imposed on the conquered races and to some extent accepted by the hispanicized communities, had been broken from above.<sup>3</sup>

In other cases the attempt at disruption of pueblos de indios followed by their conversion into parishes, and the ensuing conflict, is more evident.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Cárdenas Acosta, El movimiento comunal de 1781 en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, reivindicaciones, Bogotá, 1969, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> J. T. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, la revolución comunera en Colombia, 1781, Bogotá, 1980, p.196. R. Morse, "Claims of Political Tradition", in P. Bakewell, J. Johnson and M. Dodge (ed.), Readings in Latin American History, vol. 1, Durham, 1985, p. 417, affirms that "Corregidors of Indian towns regularly exploited their wards for personal gain, often in conspiracy with priests and Indian Caciques". See also L. G. Campbell, "Recent Research on Andean Peasant Revolts, 1750-1820".

<sup>3</sup> C. Hunnefeldt, Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena: las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre la Colonia y la República, 1800-1830; the author shows how the priest and caciques exceeded the limits of their 'pact' with the Indians by placing extraordinary demands on them.

### 3.2 Avoiding conversion into parishes

In 1808 in another pueblo of the Panche Indians, Guatequí, a number of the inhabitants in correspondence with the Audiencia, requested the maintenance of their teniente de indios, Valentín García, in his post, and denounced the attempt to remove him instigated by the priest under the influence of the newly arrived José María Conde.

Conde and the priest proposed that an Indian, Ignacio Mendoza, should take over the post. According to the Indians' declaration Conde wanted to intimidate them and cause them to leave the town, which would help towards its conversion into a parish. Conde had also stolen the proceedings of a lawsuit that the previous mayor had brought against Mendoza.<sup>1</sup>

Todo esto Señor, procede de que en el citado nuestro Pueblo se nos ha avecindado bien a disgusto nuestro Don José María Conde, quien según tenemos entendido sugiere estos pensamientos al referido Nuestro Cura y parece que sus proyectos se extienden a más. Pues de lo dicho y de lo que oímos y vemos así se infiere. El fin de haber puesto a Mendoza de Teniente es para que tratándonos con crueldad hagamos fuga llevados del miedo y dejando desierto nuestro Pueblo, volverlo Parroquia o hacer uso de los Resguardos a su arbitrio, y también de los ganados que tenemos de Cofradías que siempre estuvieron al cuidado del citado García dando de ellos las más exactas cuentas. Nosotros siempre hemos vivido pacíficamente y en el año que hace que nos gobernaba nuestro teniente Don Valentín García, ninguna novedad había ocurrido, apenas ha entrado Mendoza que ya han comenzado a salirse y a hacer la fuga algunos de los Naturales, y todos estamos dispuestos a hacer lo mismo pues ha comenzado a hacer crueles justicias dando azotes sin consideración y sin causa. El Mendoza es todo de Don José María Conde...<sup>2</sup>

In the end they asked for García to be confirmed and Conde to be exiled.

Colonial society had many social types in its ranks and offered innumerable possible combinations. In the case of Guatequí, here was an Indian community defending its white

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 23, fo. 931-933. Mendoza had been previously expelled from Guatequí during the 1790s; in 1799 he had been accused of perversion of justice in Titiribita, (see section 2.1.2, p.158 of this thesis). In 1808 he appeared in Guatequí again.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 23, fo. 931-933. My underlining

teniente and rejecting an Indian teniente, who was supported by the priest and another non-Indian.

The Indians in this case were aware of the real process which was behind the election of their teniente; they clearly distinguished their main interest, their survival as a pueblo de Indios, and have no ethnic prejudices in favour of a teniente of their own race.

The conversion of any Indian town into a parish had to come about from the decrease of its Indian population, leading to the presumption that the land of the resguardo could reasonably be bought by non-Indian people. The device of frightening Indians away was therefore appropriate. When the Indians of Guatequí naively threatened to flee the town, they actually believed the protection they sought would be given. Indians believed in colonial legislation and regarded it as their only defence. This attitude towards the law persists among Indians well into the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup>

The rejection of strangers newly settled in an Indian town had good justification in colonial law. During the sixteenth century it was held that the bad example of the strangers (non-Indians) led the Indians astray. The prohibition against non-Indians living in Indian towns was repeated many times during the following two centuries, but its effectiveness was very limited.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the Indians always alluded to it.

Ignacio Mendoza, the Indian proposed by the priest and Conde to be teniente in Guatequí, fits

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<sup>1</sup> J. Friede, El Indio en lucha por la tierra, p.31-32: "Un rasgo característico de la lucha de los resguardos por la retención de sus tierras es la ciega confianza y el apego incondicional del indio a las disposiciones legales; es decir: el legalismo que todavía subsiste y sorprende al tratar con los indios".

<sup>2</sup> M. Mörner, La corona española, pp.27-36; 253-258; "Las comunidades indígenas y la legislación segregacionista en el Nuevo Reino de Granada", ACHSC, 1 (1), Bogotá, 1963. R. Morse, "Claims of political tradition", p.417.

the image of the social type of indio ladino, acculturated Indian. Although in 1558 the cabildo of Santa Fe de Bogotá had decided that neither "indios ladinos, ni negros, ni mestizos, ni mulatos, ni otras gentes dañosas ni perjudiciales a los Indios" were allowed to live in Indian towns, the Spanish authorities were unable to come to an agreement about this problem.<sup>1</sup> At first being an indio ladino implied being a Spanish-speaker. But by the mid-seventeenth century most 'reduced' Indians understood Spanish and the Bourbon administration later put forward a policy of complete acculturation: the Real Cédula of 10 May 1783, forbidding the Indian language signalled this ultimate decision.<sup>2</sup>

What distinguished Mendoza from the other Indians was not his speaking Spanish but his belonging to no community. The reasons expressed by the Indians for the rejection of external influences and their fear of the conversion of their pueblo into a parish centred on one preoccupation: the defence of the community. The complaints about lashes, for instance, was urgent just because this punishment led to the flight of many Indians. The feeling of community in pueblos de indios was stronger than that of vecinos in villas and towns. The former knew that they had to survive as a collective entity rather than as individuals. The number of inhabitants determined the size of the resguardo and subsequently the permanence or extinction of the whole town.

Similar processes of miscegenation, pressure on their lands and attempts at conversion into parishes were suffered by many Indian communities. Some white vecinos of Fusagasugá asked for the demolition of the Indian hamlet in 1772, as did the Spanish inhabitants of Fomeque

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<sup>1</sup> M. Mörner, La corona española, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Groot, Historia Eclesiástica y Civil, Bogotá, 1889, vol. 2, p. 134. Through the Real Cédula of 10 May 1783 "se determinó desterrar absolutamente el dialecto indígena, determinando varios medios para obligar a los indios a no hablar sino en español, entre ellos el de prohibirles absolutamente que se enseñase a los muchachos la lengua muisca".

in 1798.<sup>1</sup> The vecinos of Cogua petitioned for the abolition of the respective resguardo in 1779 and sponsored a legal suit that lasted until 1790.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that similar local tensions preceded the vecinos' petition for conversion into parishes in many other towns in the province of Tunja, such as Chiquinquirá in the 1750s, Ramiriquí in 1774, Sogamoso and Somondoco in 1778 and Soatá in 1807.<sup>3</sup> In Somondoco the Indian doctrina had been demolished and the Indians had been moved to Sutatenza by decision of the visitador Verdugo y Oquendo in 1756. However, the Indians of Ramiriquí were moved only twelve years after the vecinos' petition for conversion. In Chiquinquirá 155 families of freemen petitioned the government for the right to take over some lots which, accordingly to their declaration, were not needed by the Indian community. Besides, they pointed out that the white vecinos paid 700 pesos of sales tax yearly, an amount that could hardly be expected from an Indian town.

At times the Indians put up strong resistance. In 1780 the Indians of Firabito in the province of Tunja refused to move to Nobsa and to sell off their resguardo land.<sup>4</sup> In the province of Socorro, the Indians of Onzaga in 1794 and those of Mongui in 1796 asked the authorities of Tunja for the restitution of their respective resguardos which had been removed when their communities were attached to Sogamoso.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Poblaciones Varias, tomo 7, fo. 665-706 and fo. 325-432 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Poblaciones Varias, tomo 7, fo. 442-664.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Poblaciones de Boyacá, tomo 1, fo.228-249; tomo 2, fo. 236-352 and fo.902-963; tomo 1 Bis, fo. 67-78 and fo.54-61.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, Poblaciones de Boyacá, tomo 1, fo.741-792. In this case, however, the resistance came not only from the Indians but also from a number of vecinos who had rented lots. The resguardo was auctioned, and in spite of several bids on behalf of the Indian community and on the part of the vecinos, the favoured was José Antonio del Lago, the owner of the hacienda within which the resguardo was situated.

<sup>5</sup> AHN, Poblaciones de Santander, t.3, fo. 209-213; Poblaciones de Boyacá, tomo 2, fo. 113-116.

The granting of the title of parish or city to a given settlement sometimes involved neighbouring Indian towns, in that they were assigned to the newly-created jurisdiction in order to make up the required extent of land and numbers of population.

The Chitaraque Indians protested against the erection of a parish on the neighbouring site of Oiba in the province of Socorro in 1799.<sup>1</sup> The Indians of San Juan de Ciénaga in the province of Santa Marta had acted in the same way earlier, when in 1754 they had hindered the foundation of a new settlement on the Córdoba River by taking the case to law; similar action was taken by the inhabitants of the town of Ambalema in the province of Neiva, who claimed their right to resguardo land which had been taken for the erection of a parish in Puli in 1802.<sup>2</sup>

Even in the cases of larger settlements such as Tuluá in the Cauca Valley and Rionegro in Antioquia province, the granting of the title of villa was followed by petitions for transference of the neighbouring Indian towns and for the right to take over their lands.<sup>3</sup>

The case of the Indians of San Agustín, however, seems to have been very different. In the Upper Magdalena River Valley, though the Timaná Indians had put up strong opposition to Spanish settlements, the encomiendas had almost completely vanished in the eighteenth century. There were only scattered Indians groups left who had never been subdued by the Spanish government. An 'urban' order had at the end been imposed on the region. Some Indians, while they considered themselves descendants of the original natives, nonetheless

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Poblaciones de Santander, tomo 3, fo. 186-195

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Poblaciones Varias, tomo 4, fo.119-123; tomo 11, fo. 1-14.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Poblaciones del Cauca, tomo 1, fo. 793-926; AGI, Santa Fé 706.

desired to live under Spanish rule. They were involved in interminable legal processes when in the early eighteenth century they asked for the erection of a parish in San Agustín and were confronted by the opposition of the landowners and the priests.<sup>1</sup> First, there was the priest Valderrama, the former owner of the hacienda of Labahoyos, second, the priest of Timaná, Andrade, and third, the new owner of the said hacienda, Don Jerónimo de Torres. The Indians had built a chapel and furnished it, on a piece of land they were granted in 1753. When the priest Valderrama sold the hacienda to Torres, the Indian land was included in the sale. Torres accused the Indians of living in concubinage, incest and extreme laziness, for which reasons the destruction of the chapel was ordered in 1765. The Indians petitioned for justice again, and on 29 March 1770 a decree was granted in their favour. The landowner Torres appealed and on 18 May the decision was reversed. In 1771 the town was destroyed. It was only in 1790, when the petition for the erection of a parish in San Agustín was presented by some poor white vecinos attached to the Indian group, that the Real Audiencia granted it.

In this case it was the Indians who were interested in the creation of a parish and the authorities who opposed it. The priest Andrade hindered the creation of a parish which would compete with that of Timaná. The landowners did not want to cede land to the Indian parish since they thought that it could later become a town and petition for an ejido. The authorities proposed that the Indians be moved to Pital or Timaná, which were Spanish parishes. In this proposal the authorities forgot that they had accused the Indians of being vicious and consequently a bad influence on white parishioners. The Indians rejected this option, not wishing to be humiliated by the whites. The protector and a priest of Popayán supported the Indian claim, as Viceroy Pizarro and Messía de la Cerda had done years before. The Indian leaders were all member of one family, the Astudillos, who were proud of their ancestors and eager to found a definitive settlement for the small group of seventeen families who willingly

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<sup>1</sup> P. San Pablo, San Agustín, del latifundio colonial al municipio republicano. Undergraduate thesis, Universidad del Valle, mimeo, 1988.

joined their initiative. In this respect too, this was an exceptional case.

### 3.3 Deflecting conflicts away from the Indian community

Cheva was a partido inhabited by Indians and poor vecinos in the corregimiento of Gámeza, Province of Tunja.<sup>1</sup> In February 1803 a number of Indians complained about the priest's abuses. They claimed that because of his hunting expeditions he had neglected the administration of the sacraments and the mass, that he had cruelly persecuted Indians and that he had taken the profits of the common lands and intended to seize the resguardo land. In April the corregidor of Gámeza, Ignacio de San Miguel, also accused the priest, Joaquín Nieto, of overcharging and overworking the Indians.

At first the testimonies collected exonerated the priest from most of these charges and accused the corregidor San Miguel of having turned the Indians against the priest. San Miguel had also been impugned by the corregidor of Tunja; he believed that this last accusation had been instigated by the priest Nieto through his brother Pedro Nieto.<sup>2</sup> The fiscal's judgement on 28 November 1803 had acquitted San Miguel; that of 2 March did not.

For his part the Indian teniente de indios of Cheva, José Ignacio Zerresuela, backed the priest

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<sup>1</sup> In 1775, Cheva had 175 Indians and 371 vecinos; in 1777-1778 it had 169 Indians and 582 vecinos. See G. Colmenares, La provincia de Tunja, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 13, fo.746-756. This Pedro Nieto could be the same person as a Pedro Ignacio Nieto, then corregidor and district mayor of Sogamoso in 1804, as well as the author along with Juan Francisco Berbeo of the first draft of the Capitulaciones de Zipaquirá, the demands of the Comunero revolt against the Spanish rulers in 1781. A Pedro Nieto also appeared as lawyer and provincial mayor of Tunja, appointed to judge the rebellion of Cadena and Rosillo in 1809 in Casanare. He declared that the two young men were public enemies who ought to be hanged. See J. T. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, p. 193; J. Raush, A Tropical Plains Frontier (The Llanos of Colombia 1531-1831), Alburquerque, 1984, p.133.

Nieto and attacked the corregidor San Miguel:

que es notoriamente constante que antes de que dicho Don Joaquín de San Miguel viniese de corregidor a este partido, estaban los Indios de este pueblo enteramente arreglados y prontos al cumplimiento de sus obligacion pero que desde el día en que llego a este lugar y se acompañó con el sitado Joaquín Zerresuela, conspirados contra su cura Joaquín Nieto, se hallan en el día todos los Indios tan seducidos e insolentados que ha llegado día en que tan solo dos han concurrido alcumplimiento de la doctrina Cristiana, porque persuadidos por el sitado San Miguel de que ya buelbe de corregidor se han profugado todos esperando su llegada sin que el declarante como teniente tenga arbitrio para reducirlos porque sí lo intenta, se le levantan y ultrajan (...); que aunque el declarante le da las quejas a su cura por no tener otro auxilio de pronto, este no se ingiere en cosa alguna por la malevolencia que le tienen los Indios...<sup>1</sup>

The two Zerresuelas were brothers, whose father had been 'perpetual captain' of Cheva. While José Ignacio, then teniente, supported the priest, Joaquín fled from the town in 1802 to avoid persecution by the same priest. Joaquín had undertaken the defence of the resguardo lands. His later alliance with the corregidor San Miguel is likely to have been due to the fact they had a common enemy: the priest Nieto. Although the case ended up as a lawsuit between the corregidor and the priest, the Indians had been aware of the priest's aims and some of them had not remained entirely passive. The tax collector of Gameza reported to the corregidor of Tunja:

... el cura del pueblo de Cheva me pide los títulos y Resguardo de aquel pueblo, los que temerosos los Indios de su perdida y maliciosos de alguna traicion mandaron al tributario Joaquín Zerresuela con ellos para que se mantuvieran en mi poder, y exponiendome este indio andar fugitivo del pueblo, porque su cura le queria castigar...

Este mismo indio ha solicitado poder de fianzas de los mejores vecinos para asegurar la cantidad a que alcancen los tributos. Su padre fue capitán perpetuo que hubo y este hacia los arriendos de algunos pocos de tierras y con esto satisfacía a los cobradores su entero y la pretension de este es solicitar el mismo medio y quitarle al cura el uso del Resguardo que segun infiero esta bastante interesado en el y assi lo dicen los Indios.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 13, fo.757.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 3, fo.763. The underlining is contemporary, and in the margin is the word 'ojo' written.

Don Manuel del Pozo y Pino as corregidor of Tunja, ordered that the titles of the resguardo should not be handed to the priest and the petition about hiring lands should be presented to the High Court.

The vecinos of Cheva were also interested in this deal. They would make gains from the exploitation of the rented Indian lands and the Indians could pay the tribute with the rent that was collected. The land would be retained by the Indian community and it would survive in this precarious position until it was converted into a parish, similarly to what had happened in several of the Indian towns of the province of Tunja. As the priest knew he would be excluded from the arrangement, he wanted to prevent it. The corregidor San Miguel had had wide experience in dealing with local politics in many places. In this case he joined the Indian resistance, as the priest was also his enemy.

On the other hand, in the view of José Ignacio Zerresuela and the priest, there was an underlying assumption that the Indians did not have any worthwhile aspirations of their own and, being naive, could have been incited to protest only by outside agents. It was as if they were not aware of the unfairness of their situation until the corregidor had awakened them. Thus, the passive and obedient Indians suddenly became a menace; their rebelliousness could only be attributed to machinations of an enemy agent.

Non-attendance at Church as a rejection of the priest was a passive expression of resistance by the Indians, since his preaching appeared to them as a form of excessive interference in their lives and a justification of his maltreatment of them. It was comparable in some ways to the abandonment of the town. It must be noted here that during the Comunero revolt the Indians of Casanare, even some of those who remained faithful, had refused to attend religious services. In that region (four-fifths Indian, less than a tenth white) the movement took the form of an anti-white and anti-clerical protest; the Indians throughout the region harassed

priests and white officials.<sup>1</sup> But this behaviour of the Casanare Indians was much more radical than that of the Indians of the interior. As John Phelan has noted, the Indians of Tunja, Velez and Sogamoso claimed their rights over the resguardo lands and salt-mines but they did not attack the Church nor reject Spanish culture.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, by 1805 the lawsuit of Cheva had been concluded. The passing of sentence on the priest was avoided by simply exhorting him to do good.<sup>3</sup>

In a way the Indian community was able to deflect the internal conflict between the two Zerresuelas brothers to the larger Spanish society by using the tribunals. Thus, the conflict manifested itself as the competition for resources between the priest and the corregidor, both of them external to the Indian community. Though this struggle still hurt the Indians, an internal conflict in one of the most notable Indian families would have been far worse. The deflection of the conflict to Spanish world turned out to effective defensive measure.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. Raush, A Tropical Plains Frontier, pp.92-98.

<sup>2</sup> J. T. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, pp. 132-133.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Curas y Obispos, Colonia, tomo 3, fo. 873-874.

<sup>4</sup> This defensive process of deflection has been thoroughly examined by E. Van Young, "Conflict and Solidarity in Indian Village Life: The Guadalajara Region in the Late Colonial Peru", HAHR, 64 (1), 1984, 55-79. He examines the apparent contradiction in Indian villages between the increase of internal social differentiation and the "continuing survival of corporate land-holding Indian peasant villages" during the late colonial period. He shows "how it was at least temporarily resolved through the deflection of intragroup conflict to the world outside the Indian peasant village"; p. 57. See also S. Stern, "The Social Significance of the Judicial Institutions in an Exploitative Society: Huamanga, Perú, 1570-1640", in G. Collier, R. Rosendo, J. Wirth (ed.), The Inca and the Aztec States, 1400-1800, Berkeley, 1982.

### 3.4 Defending the old rules

Whenever the Indians had access to something more profitable than lands, the conflicts were more complex. The highland towns of New Granada which possessed salt mines were scenes of disputes and tumults. Zipaquirá in 1768 was the scene of the greatest disturbance,<sup>1</sup> and at the time of the Comunero revolt, riots against the authorities took place in these salt mining towns.<sup>2</sup> In 1808, when the priest of Nemocón denounced the abuses of the mayor and the administrator of the salt mines, the result was a long lawsuit.<sup>3</sup> The Indians had traditional rights to work shifts in some particular mines and the vecinos possessed similar rights in others. In 1768, the fiscal Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón drafted a Dictamen stating how the administration of the mines should be organized; in his Dictamen the traditional way of working was basically adhered to, but with fixed rules in order to stop the abuses such as those which had caused the uprising of that year.<sup>4</sup> In 1778 a decree of 30 June ordered the Indians of Zipaquirá and Tausa to move to the town of Nemocón. The salt works of those Indians passed into royal administration and Indians from different areas relocated in Nemocón were to share the work and the profits while also paying the tribute.<sup>5</sup> According to the Dictamen and 'Instructions' of Moreno y Escandón, the profits of the Nemocón mines were to be divided as follows: 6% for the administrator, 3% to the accountant, 4% to the common fund (caja común), and the remainder, after payment of wages, to be shared out among the

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<sup>1</sup> L. Orjuela, "El motín de 1768", in Minuta Histórica Zipaquereña, Bogotá, 1909, pp.560-562.

<sup>2</sup> L. Orjuela, Minuta, pp.299-313; J. T. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, pp.151, 169-170.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 35, fo.470-503.

<sup>4</sup> F. A. Moreno y Escandón, 'Salina de Zipaquirá', in L. Orjuela, Minuta, pp.522-546.

<sup>5</sup> See L. Orjuela, Minuta, pp. CXLI and 3.

participants in production (Indians and some vecinos).<sup>1</sup>

The Indians believed that the salt mine of Nemocón belonged traditionally to their forebears. In 1781 Ambrosio Pizco, the chief of the Indian contingent in the Comunero movement, was accused of having promised his followers the restitution of this inheritance. The fourteenth clause of the Comunero Capitulaciones requested the return of the salt mines to the Indian communities and the suppression of the recently created state monopoly of them. After the Capitulaciones, on 1 September 1781, the Indians of Nemocón rose up in mutiny and conflagration. Ambrosio Pizco and some other Indians were later sent for trial to Santa Fe.<sup>3</sup>

In 1807 the priest of Nemocón accused the administrator of the salt mine of ill-treating the Indians. Primo Groot, a Royal official entrusted by the Viceroy with the examination of the case, confirmed the charges. Juan Manuel Salgado, the administrator, had not distributed the profits among the Indians fairly; on the contrary, he had obliged them to take goods on credit from him; he had collected tribute from Indians aged only thirteen years old (they should have been over eighteen and a half years old). The mayor Rafael Torres, previously Salgado's clerk, supported him. Torres was also accused by Groot of serious perversions of justice, particularly against Indians. Salgado and Torres had both enriched themselves through their posts.<sup>4</sup> Groot's denunciation described their miserable state before they had obtained public posts:

Rafael Torres era la de un mozo con el pie en el suelo, cubierto con una triste ruana, sin casa en que alojarse, pues el mismo teniente lo tenia recogido de caridad, y la de Salgado poco mas o menos.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 35, fo.477.

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, pp. 130, 194, 244.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 35, fo.478-480.

After their administration of the mines

lo ven vestido de las mejores telas, que no se quita la bota fuerte que cuando se presenta con zapatos es con el buen fuego (sic) de evillas de oro, lo (sic) que en su casa mantiene en su cuarto dos o tres relojes, charpa (sic) de pistolas, y que el servicio de su mesa se hace todo con plata labrada. Del mismo modo y aun mas es el estado actual de Salgado...

In spite of his promotion or perhaps because of it, Salgado maintained a palpable influence over the Indians. He anticipated the transference of his post to Groot and threatened the newly appointed official by blaming him for the lack of funds to pay the Indians, for which he himself was responsible. He knew how to pull strings and caused a tumult, he had warned Groot.

No document exists which refers to the influence of Salgado over the Indians of Nemocón so telling as that about lieutenant Gutiérrez Rosales's influence over the Indians of Zipaquirá, a very similar case. The measures suggested by Moreno y Escandón on his visit to Zipaquirá on the occasion of the riot of 1768 were aimed at the correction of Gutiérrez's abuses towards the Indians. However their attitude when Gutiérrez had been prosecuted for tobacco-smuggling suggests they might have considered him as their benefactor.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. Orjuela, *Minuta*, p.561-562:

... el domingo 3 de Abril, llega a Zipaquirá Don Antonio Arjona, Administrador de la Real Renta del Tabaco de la ciudad de Santa Fé y partidos agregados, asistido de un piquete de caballería de seis soldados y un cabo de la guardia del Virrey. El objeto era practicar una ronda en la casa de D. Francisco Gutiérrez Rosales, que daba a la plaza, por denunció que se tenía de que allí se tenía oculta alguna partida de tabaco de contrabando. A la ronda asiste el alcalde Domínguez y aunque el comiso buscado no se halla, el alcalde intima a Gutiérrez orden de prisión y éste es conducido a la cárcel. Al primer aviso que reciben los indios se congregan en un abrir y cerrar de ojos y vuelan al socorro de su patrón, al tiempo que acierta a llegar el cura y a su instancia el alcalde accede a la libertad de Gutiérrez, quien por este medio es restituido a su casa. Pero el motín de indios no amaina; y como momento a momento sube de punto, al cabo la dificultad estriba en que el Alcalde abandone la casa de Gutiérrez por entre las amenazas de una turba encolerizada. Gutiérrez a su vez, aunque con tibieza trata de apaciguar a los indios, maliciosa y disimuladamente les guiña el ojo como incitándolos a obrar en sentido contrario a sus amonestaciones. Como el aprieto no da espera, se resuelve que el Alcalde monte a caballo y parta por entre los indios a carrera abierta, resguardado por el piquete de la guardia del Virrey; y poniéndolo por obra deshácese sobre el Alcalde fugitivo y su comparsa tal nube de pedrisco que los soldados, remisos en hacer uso de sus armas, no paran hasta dar en Santa Fé...

Francisco Gutiérrez Rosales had arrived in Zipaquirá declaring himself 'persona pobre y

The figure of the administrator in the mining towns played an important role in local politics. He had the means to gain the favour of the Indians in spite of abuses, as he was the one who gave them their shares in the profits. When after years of manoeuvring, an administrator's stratagems were discovered, the judges found it difficult to deal with the many pressures, interests and people involved. In the case of Nemocón, the priest and the special commissioner Groot and the nineteen vecinos, who had also signed the denunciation, were able to mount a formidable attack on the administrator Salgado and the mayor Torres. But Salgado's reliance on the Indians' support was the definitive local weight in the balance of power. Finally, the case was considered so serious that the Fiscal Protector transferred it to the crime section in the Real Audiencia.<sup>1</sup> The transfer meant it was not a simple civil case but a criminal one.

One wonders if what Salgado appealed to was the time honoured Indian right to the Nemocón salt mines. It was so rooted in their tradition that in 1827, in the Republican period, the Indians gave power of attorney to Luis Vargas Tejada to secure the restitution of the mines.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Salgado was able to picture Groot's and the priest's intervention as a state attempt to get closer control of the business. Perhaps some Indian leaders had their own interest in the continuation of Salgado's management.

It seems however that the Indians did not expect any improvement of their situation from official innovations. The innovations had wrenched land, mines, and posts out of Indian hands. During the comunero movement they expressed their desire to put an end to all these

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caballero' (a poor gentleman). He became alcalde pedáneo in 1756 and replaced corregidor Brito as a lieutenant in 1758. Brito accused Gutiérrez of disrespect towards his authority and towards the neighbours. (AHN, EPC, tomo 21, fo.415-421).

<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 35, fo.503.

<sup>2</sup> L. Orjuela, Minuta, p. CLII.

abuses committed by corregidores, tenientes, priests and vecinos. According to J. Phelan the expectations of the restitution of resguardos and mines constituted the Indian utopia of the time.<sup>1</sup>

The motín in Túquerres in mid 1800 deserves special attention. The Indians of the provincia de los Pastos killed corregidor Francisco Rodríguez Clavijo and his brother. A lot of testimony focused on maltreatment and constant abuses comitted by the corregidor and his brother. The corregidor overcharged the Indians in tributes and diezmos, put them to work for personal gain without payment, invented lawsuits and forced people to sell their property for nothing. He flogged Indians, put them in the pillory and the stocks. He lived in the Aguardiente factory with his family as if it was his own, possessed gambling-houses in the province and had behaved immorally during fiestas. He had also spoken badly about some vecinos and concealed foreign convicts. Finally, the corregidor's brother, Atanacio Clavijo, bought the farm of the diezmos of Túquerres and Guaytarilla from Francisco Muños and tried to collect the tax on many products which had customarily been exempt. When the priest read the new disposition (recudimiento) in the Church, two Indian women ripped the paper from his hands and destroyed it. The corregidor considered this action as a crime of lese-majesté and ordered the Indian women to be taken to jail. Knowing the hopelessness of their situation, they threw themselves over a cliff. Immediately a riot took place. The factory was burnt and the Clavijo brothers were killed in the Church. There was no robbery.

There are two previous representaciones of vecinos complaining about Francisco Clavijo, in 1794 and 1797; they stated that Clavijo's offences were countless. In the petition for clemency, the cacique declared that the Indians had also previously made formal complaints which remained unanswered. The document described the corregidor as a despot, a tyrant, an oppressor of the Indians. In May 1801, in spite of the defence of the Protector de Naturales

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<sup>1</sup> J. T. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, pp.113-119.

in which he emphatically excused the offenders as being under the pressure of a 'despotic tyrant', the fiscal of the Real Audiencia ordered the Indians to be punished for such a serious offence and ordered them to rebuild the burned factory.<sup>1</sup>

A month after the riot, Viceroy Mendinueta on the information of the governor reported to the King an absolute state of calm in the province of Los Pastos. The Indians had repented, seemed submissive again and had begged for mercy.<sup>2</sup>

According to the governor, the cacique and some Indian notables the offenders had been compelled to resort to action through the the ineffectiveness of the legal complaint and their despair at seeing exploitation taken to such an extreme. Besides these two points the petition for mercy alluded to the roughness, abject poverty and rusticity of the Indian 'delinquents' as well as to their honesty and lack of evil intention. What had happened was that the latest abuse of the corregidor's brother overstretched the Indians' capacity of submission and provoked a violent, despairing outburst. Afterwards, the Indians went back to their traditional acceptance of order.

### 3.5 Indians as a pasive element in political conflict

From the mining province of the Choco, erected to a governorship in the 1720s, the Chami Indians addressed in 1803 a representación to the Real Audiencia complaining about their corregidor, Don Pedro de la Cruz. The resulting inquiry found that there were no good motives

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Empleados Públicos del Cauca (Henceforth EPCa), tomo 4, fo. 915-979. See S. E. Ortiz, Agustín Agualongo y su tiempo, Bogotá, 1958, chapter 3. According to the author. the leaders of the riot were hanged.

<sup>2</sup> AGI, Estado 52 (99) and (101).

for complaint, which arose out of the interests of Don Tomás Alvarez del Pino of Cartago who, supported by the priest of the Chami Indians, wanted to be appointed corregidor instead of De la Cruz. Don Tomás Alvarez del Pino was the real author of the representacion. It was clear to the commissioner that "white vecinos were using Indians in order to satisfy their passions and desire of revenge".<sup>1</sup>

This assessment coincides with the explicit petition of the vecinos of Cartago for the conversion of that city into the capital of the Choco province, first presented to the Viceroy in 1793 and unsuccessfully repeated in 1807.<sup>2</sup> In this case one can accept the explanation of Indian claims instigated by a 'hidden hand'.

Also on the Pacific Coast and within the large Popayán province, in the gold mining district of Iscuandé, the teniente de gobernador and the mayor complained about the abuses of the priest of Timbiquí towards the Indians of the parcialidad of Mícaý in 1774. The priest Tomás de Bárcenas was accused of collecting perquisites from the Indians in spite of having been neglectful in his religious duties; the priest had also demanded labour from the Indians without paying for it. He asked the teniente for the appointment of an Indian clerk for his own personal service.

In the same document the teniente explained that at Easter the Indians had come from the surrounding areas bordering the rivers, where they lived, to pay the tribute as usual. The teniente had collected this and forced those who had not paid to compensate through labour. The next day the priest rang the bells calling to doctrina. He wanted a clerk to be appointed and was resentful because the teniente not only did not do so but had also already accused

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Poblaciones del Cauca, tomo 2, fo.278-305.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Poblaciones del Cauca, tomo 2, fo. 870-900; 925-975.

him of abuses and negligence. The teniente did not allow the Indians to go to the unscheduled service as they had to work to settle their debts. The two men came face to face and insulted one another publicly.<sup>1</sup>

Although no documents exist relating to the final results of this case, the priest Bárcenas continued in that district for six more years. In 1780 he was involved in another confrontation for the control of the Indians with the priest Perlaza, who had been recently appointed by the Bishop of Quito. On that occasion the priest Bárcenas seems to have gained some supporters, since in August he was able to summon them in an attempt to seize the other priest. Though he was helped by the mayor of Timbiquí, he came up against the opposition of the teniente of Iscuandé and of the mayors of Guapi where his expedition had halted. Beforehand, he had repeatedly warned off the priest Perlaza: "le desocupase estos rios".<sup>2</sup>

These two cases would not be taken into account in this search for Indian participation in local politics if there were not some signs of Indian acquiescence with the manoeuvres of one or other of the parties involved, although it was clearly circumstantial. In the midst of this competition for the control of Indian labour, 'clienteles' were taking shape. These would emerge as factions when the major political events of Independence occurred. Despite its remoteness, Iscuandé district would not be free of internal disputes between parties and factions during the early Independence period.

### 3.6 Indians and priests: faith, stipends, land and politics

In the hispanicized Indian towns the priests, along with the mayors and corregidores or their

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<sup>1</sup> ACC, Sig. 5789 (Col- CII- 24g).

<sup>2</sup> ACC, Sig. 5789 (Col- CII- 24g), fo. 8-9.

lieutenants, played an important role. As in white parishes, the priest's role went beyond religious matters. From the beginning of the colonial period christianization, the changing of family customs into Hispanic forms, the settlement of peoples in policia bore most heavily on the Indians. Among all the forms of acculturation - language, agricultural techniques, new consumption habits, the cooptation of upper-class Indians, mestizaje and religious teaching - the last was the one which drew the strongest efforts from the Spanish side and received the greatest acceptance, though still only partial, from the Indians.<sup>1</sup>

The hispanicized Indians frequently complained about priests, but at times gained a priest's support in their grievances against the corregidores or their officials. Even if the priest kept out of conflicts, he would frequently be asked at least for an opinion. There were diverse kinds of alignments among all these protagonists, and all possible combinations appear in the records. The three most common were the following: Indians against priest and corregidor; Indians and a civil authority against a priest; and Indians and a priest against a civil authority. However, other protagonists, such as the vecinos of the parish, or the fiscal protector de naturales, occasionally intervened. Every one of these situations has been referred to above. The first, in the cases of Siachoque, Siquima and Guatequí; the second, in the case of Cheva, and the third in the case of Nemocón.

The priests' role in local politics, although comparable to that of other authorities, was endowed with a unique character. Priests, like some officials, moved around the Viceroyalty as they changed parishes; they thus connected one parish with another. Many had spent previously time studying in Santa Fe. They built up their own network, more formally linked in the case of the Church than with the lay officials. They spread the same basic scheme of acculturation among the Indians with greater uniformity than the secular officials did, even though the desired New Granadan local Concilio for unification of religious practices was never

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<sup>1</sup> See C. Gibson, "Indian Society Under Spanish rule", in The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol.II, Cambridge, 1984, pp.381-419.

held in the eighteenth century.

The priests were often considered the only state representatives in remote places, and were even preferred to lay officials for some particular secular tasks in areas which had already been hispanicized. Priests were entrusted by Viceroy Ezpeleta with collecting the papers which were believed to have been distributed containing the "Rights of Man and Citizen" in 1794; priests were, as we have seen, required to answer the Real Cédula of Aranjuez of 1802 about settlements, resources and ways of living. They shared with officials the responsibility for public events as well as for religious fiestas and consequently exerted control over people's entertainments.

The uniqueness of the priests' role lies in the pervasiveness of religious belief and the power of the Church. All aspects of life had religious meaning. The rhythm of everyday existence was marked by the stroke of the church bells in towns, villas and cities; there were weekly rhythms in small parishes with Sundays for mass and market, and annual rhythms with Epiphany, Advent, Easter and Christmas as well as many other Saints' days, patron Saints and days dedicated to the Virgin. The ringing of the church bells could also announce fire or danger: it was the sole means of summoning people. A political event such as the election of annual officers had to be preceded by the attendance at mass of all the electors, and the tribute collection took place twice a year on St. John's Day and Christmas. Moreover in those communities where the militia had been set up by the military reform of 1773, the training sessions took place after the Sunday mass.<sup>1</sup>

The most effective area of acculturation of the Indians was in the religious sphere. Not only did the Christian God and a complete new iconography replace the Indian divinities, but also Christian institutions such as cofradías and compadrazgo (godparenthood) were so profoundly

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<sup>1</sup> A. J. Kuethe, Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808, Gainesville, 1978, p. 20.

assimilated by the Indians that they became their favorite ways of organization and resistance against the pressures of desintegration.<sup>1</sup> Indian communal organization was pervaded with religious tutelage. Religious control also permeated intimate individual concerns. People's grievances and wishes, achievements and failures as well as moral behaviour were matters well known to priests, which conferred on them powers of persuasion and of manipulation. Priests had also the means of spiritual consolation and punishment: they could pardon or condemn.

Notwithstanding, illegal and excessive fees, clerical greed for Indian lands, excessive strictness caused dissatisfaction. Some expressions of anti-clericalism can be found in the Comunero revolt. John Phelan in his analysis of the Capitulaciones points out that six out of thirty-four demands concerned the abuses of the clergy.

Outlining the picture of the piety of the different New Granadan ethnic, regional and social groups is not an easy task. Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda has attempted to do so on the basis of the answers to the Real Cédula of Aranjuez.<sup>2</sup> In the already hispanicized areas the vecinos of cities and villas usually attended mass and religious services, while in the outlying parishes the peasants had serious difficulties in doing so. The Indians were obliged to attend the doctrina. On several occasions white and mestizo dwellers attached to Indian parishes expressed their rejection of religious practices: they were not Indians. This attempt at a differentiation from the Indians was commonly expressed in the saying "cura mande Indio", and reinforced by resistance to building roads to the nearest parish, as well as by the practice of settlement on the limits between two ecclesiastical jurisdictions to avoid being under the control of the priests. Besides, there existed areas of strong resistance to hispanic and

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<sup>1</sup> C. Gibson, "Indian society under Spanish rule", pp. 381-419; G. Graff, "Spanish Parishes in Colonial New Granada: Their Role in the Town-building on the Spanish American Frontier", The Americas, 33 (2), 1976, 336-351.

<sup>2</sup> V. Gutiérrez de Pineda, La Familia en Colombia, Bogotá, 1963, vol.1 pp. 307-359.

religious acculturation such as the Middle Magdalena River, the Chocó province and the Eastern plains of Casanare. These areas constituted enclaves surrounded by the more hispanicized regions. However, in Spanish cities and villas there also existed indifference and negligence in the adjustment of ways of living to Christian precepts.<sup>1</sup> These features modify the general picture of religious concern and reverence towards the Church and its ministers, though the general picture would be one of conformity.

The cases chosen for this chapter are just examples, typical of many others in which the same characteristic processes and attitudes are also observable. As Indians became more hispanicized they acquired a better knowledge of the rules and devices they could use in their own defence. However, the diversity of external pressures ended up by dividing communities and forcing them to yield. One has to agree with Charles Gibson:

... the long term advantage lay on the Spanish side for the Spaniards were wealthier and stronger, could afford higher prices and bribes, could employ more skilful lawyers, and could afford to await the next favourable opportunity. For the most it was a process that proceeded in one direction. Lands that came under Spanish control rarely reverted to Indian possession.<sup>2</sup>

The processes of losing access to lands and mines, and of conversion into parishes were not reversible, though they were delayed and hindered by Indian resistance.

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<sup>1</sup> See J. Palacio de la Vega, Diario de Viaje del Padre Joseph Palacio de la Vega entre los indios y negros de la Provincia de Cartagena del Nuevo Reino de Granada, 1781-1788, and G. Martínez Reyes, Cartas de los Obispos de Cartagena de Indias durante el periodo hispánico, 1534-1820, Medellín, 1986.

<sup>2</sup> C. Gibson, "Indian Society Under Spanish rule", p. 411.

PART TWO

#### 4. THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE "PATRIA BOBA"

In the previous sections ideas and political experiences have been traced in the activities of educated creoles, ordinary vecinos and Indians. Each social group had distinguishable characteristics. Although each chapter has primarily focused on one stratum of society, the perceptions, concerns and behaviour of its members were often related to those of the others. This section is different. It studies the short period between 1810 and 1815 - the Patria Boba - when the declaration of Independence and the establishment of a new government modified the political scene and put into circulation new perceptions and alternative senses of order. The creoles had a directing role in the events. Nonetheless the other two strata, ordinary vecinos and Indians, also got involved.

Scholars have found evidence for either the neo-Scholastic ideology as legitimation of Independence or the Enlightenment as its inspiration.<sup>1</sup> This chapter examines the operation of traditional beliefs and the circulation of the new ideas whenever they are relevant to the political experience of the three groups under study. I attempt to survey the general scene of the first period of Independence (1810-1815), to explore the modes of involvement of creoles, ordinary people and Indians in the events of the so called Patria Boba, and to discern their notions of authority, liberty, community and justice.

The following reflections assume a basic knowledge of the period, eschew narrative and take a lot of details for granted. Most of the documents here analyzed have been printed in collections, series or bulletins. Others are original proclamas, broadsheets and pamphlets, frequently unique examples, conserved in particular fondos of the Biblioteca Nacional. Some come from the archives. However, none of them have been previously analysed in the way

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<sup>1</sup> See M. Góngora, Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America, Cambridge, 1975; G. Dealy, "Prolegomena of the Spanish American Political Tradition", HAHR, 48 (1), 1968, 37-58, and R. Morse, "Claims of Political Tradition", in P. Bakewell, J. Johnson and M. Dodge (ed.), Readings in Latin American History, vol. 1, Durham, 1985.

this thesis attempts.

Even before Independence was declared in 1810 alignments which can perhaps be defined as either more 'royalist' or more 'patriotic' had appeared in some cities and towns after the abdication of Ferdinand VII. Although there existed local disputes, different regions acquired a particular political character which would soon lead to their acquiring a political label. It seems that these alignments followed a strong geographical pattern: villages, towns, cities and provinces, rather than persons and groups, opted for one or the other side.

This thesis has traced the ideological and political processes which led groups of creoles with a relative degree of popular support to declare Independence. Why did this not happen in certain cities, such as Popayán, Pasto or Santa Marta? At least a provisional answer has to be attempted until further research can provide more thorough explanations. Memoirs of patriot creoles of Popayán have focused on some elements which explain the cases of Popayán and Pasto. There is governor Tacón's strong personality and masterful handling of power; secondly, the influence of the religious orders over the people; thirdly, the notables' fear of repression, and of what they called the thoughtlessness and instability of the people.

The Quiteño patriots had surrendered in Guaitara on 16 October 1809. Governor Tacón went to Pasto in November:

Su presencia y su genio activo hicieron esforzar el valor de los pastusos. Desde entonces se formó en ellos esa tenaz adhesión a la causa del Rey, y esa opinión antisocial que tantos males a causado a Popayán, a su Provincia y aun a toda Colombia.<sup>1</sup>

In Popayán, comenzó el dictado de Juntistas y taconistas, cada partido daba al contrario su denominación por hacerlo odioso; pero el del Gobernador adquirió la fuerza y la moral

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<sup>1</sup> S. Arroyo y Valencia, "Apuntes históricos sobre la revolución de la Independencia en Popayán", Biblioteca Popular, vol. XII, Nos. 119-120, Bogotá, 1898.

que da el apoyo o el pretexto de la Religión.<sup>1</sup>

(Tacón) de antemano había dispuesto que los frailes franciscanos se fueran para Pasto a entusiasmar a esos pueblos (...). Por todos los pueblos del tránsito fueron ejerciendo su misión de enardecer los ánimos de los patianos y demás pueblos del sur. Al acercarse a Pasto dejaron sus caballerías y todas las comodidades con que habían marchado, y remangándose los hábitos, tomando un bordón en las manos se exhibieron de este modo al pueblo diciéndoles que mirasen estas víctimas de los herejes; que la religión y sus ministros eran el blanco de los gifies insurgentes (calificativo con que denostaban a los caleños); que ellos iban a refugiarse en esa ciudad fiel y católica, para preservarse y preservar del contagio de la herejía a esos fieles amantes del trono y de la religión.<sup>2</sup>

The early commitment of both Popayán and Pasto to the repression of the Junta of Quito possibly sealed their loyalties. Castrillón considered the way in which they learnt about the Quito Junta was highly misleading: Bishop José Cuero y Caicedo, born in Cali and one of the leaders of the movement, was called an apostate, and the Quiteños heretics and insurgents; they had abjured religion and obedience to the King, had deposed the Conde Ruiz de Castilla and all the Spanish rulers.

Popayán, being the capital city of one of the largest provinces of New Granada, was the home of many landowners and miners. These with the officeholders benefitted from Spanish rule; they derived their livelihood from Indian services, slavery and taxes. The capital was situated in the midst of numerous urban and rural settlements of lesser size and status, some of which, such as Cali or Quilichao, had from time to time contested its primacy and authority. Although some members of its elite were aware of the new political ideas and had shared hopes and speculations with their relatives and acquaintances in Santa Fe and Cartagena, they could not influence popular opinion, which had been extremely well handled by governor Tacón.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibidem, p.268.

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Castrillón, Apuntamientos históricos curiosos sobre la guerra de Independencia en Popayán, Cali, 1934, p.38-39. This work was first published in the newspaper La Fé, Bogotá, 1868.

Similar elements, some present to a stronger degree, could explain the royalist sympathies of Pasto. The case of Patía has been the object of a meticulous study by F. Zuluaga. He has studied the process by which the Valley of Patía in Popayán province became a refuge for runaway blacks and mulattoes who practiced a defensive form of banditry. Don Juan Luis Obando, native of Pasto, and member of a family of diezmeros, and tribute collectors, lived in Almaguer and held local official posts. He built up a network of clients through the use of godparenthood and personal favours. When the patriot Junta of Quito was established in 1809, governor Tacón appointed Obando as captain. The Quiteños were portrayed as traitors to both King and religion. Obando's friends and 'clients' from the Patía Valley were first enlisted for this campaign and then, in 1810, for that against the patriot troops from the Cauca Valley. Later, Tacón decreed freedom for the enlisted slaves. Hereafter, the Patianos became the most important royalist guerrillas of South West New Granada. In this peculiar way these former rebels legitimized themselves as an armed group. Zuluaga also emphasizes the patiano resentment against Cauca Valley landowners and miners as a cause of this early development.<sup>1</sup> However, one wonders if there already existed resentment against the Popayán landowners and merchants, and whether they would have become patriots if a patriot member of one of those local leading families had recruited them earlier.

Undoubtedly, more studies such as Zuluaga's are needed for most local and regional processes, which remain without convincing explanation.

The city of Santa Marta in the extreme north of New Granada, as also Pasto in the South, represented another of the most obstinate strongholds of royalism. Unfortunately no specialized studies of Santa Marta yet exist.<sup>2</sup> The vicinity of these cities to larger ones which

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<sup>1</sup> F. Zuluaga, "Clientelismo y guerrillas en el Valle del Patía, 1536-1811", in G. Colmenares et al., La Independencia, ensayos de historia social, Bogotá, 1986, pp. 111-136.

<sup>2</sup> For the city of Pasto and the province of Los Pastos see S. E. Ortiz, Agustín Agualongo y su tiempo, Bogotá, 1958. The author points out two previous political experiences of the inhabitants of Pasto. First, the Viceroy's mercy in the popular protest of 1781 against the

had previously defined their commitment to the patriot cause, Cartagena and Quito respectively, suggest the persistence of time-honoured rivalries. Both Santa Marta and Pasto had been more important cities in early colonial times than they were on the eve of Independence; their 'dignity' as Spanish vassals was a matter of pride, and loyalty was a virtue to be defended as a source of identity, and as an expression of distinction. According to Sergio Elias Ortiz, Pasto expected to gain a higher status as a reward; a status which the 'infamous city of Quito' already enjoyed.<sup>1</sup>

Santa Marta like Popayán first had a popularly elected Junta and pretended to follow the leadership of Cartagena. The royalism of Pasto and Santa Marta was supported by the Indian communities of Los Pastos and San Juan de Ciénaga respectively, whose Christianity and loyalty to the king were singled out for praise by the Spanish rulers. In Santa Marta province there were also bandits who then legitimized depredations as part of the struggle against the insurgents:

Los indios de los pueblos inmediatos a Santa Marta habían recibido armas para ayudar a la defensa de la provincia, y como no podían estarse quietos las empleaban en saquear las propiedades de los ciudadanos ricos, con pretexto de que eran 'jacobinos' o disidentes. Los zambos, atraídos por el amor al robo y al saqueo, les ayudaban en sus empresas. Montalvo, aunque deploraba estos excesos, no se atrevía a castigarlos "porque era admirable su decisión (de los indios) contra los insurgentes"<sup>2</sup>

Leaving aside the racialist tone of this interpretation, it reveals the recruitment of Indians,

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new taxes: though a royal official was murdered, there were no fierce punishments and the taxes were not increased. Secondly, the early commitment of the people of Pasto to the repression of the Quito rebels in 1809.

<sup>1</sup> S. E. Ortiz, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

<sup>2</sup> E. Restrepo Tirado, Historia de la provincia de Santa Marta, Bogotá, 1953, vol. II, p.366. The author quotes from a letter of Viceroy Montalvo to Spain, 22 August 1813. The first Junta's composition is in "Noticias públicas de Cartagena de Indias", issue of 29 February 1810, No.70. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Miscelanea 122). See also J. M. Restrepo, Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia en la América Meridional, Bogotá, 1942, t. 2, p.67.

the participation of cimarrones and the ambiguous attitude of Viceroy Montalvo; it all resembles the Patía case in Popayán province very strongly. It is worth noting that the Indian communities of Santa Marta and Pasto were not included in the visitas of Moreno y Escandón and Campuzano and consequently had not suffered any official curtailment of their lands.

Although the question of what made a particular town or province opt for the royalist cause remains unanswered in most cases, J. Domínguez's thesis could be accepted as describing a general trend:

The political relations between elites participating in politics and the imperial and local governments responding to them were the decisive factors that led to insurrection or loyalty.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1 Creoles and the 'people'

Dic.8-1808: Desde el día 7 y 8 de Diciembre comenzó un fenómeno bien raro el sol al nacer o en su ocaso aparecía tan oscurecido y cubierto de sombras, que no ofendía en modo alguno el verlo de hito en hito. El vulgo sacaba de aquí presagios funestos, como los saca cuando aparece un cometa; pero el desgraciado Caldas habló en esta materia con el juicio de un buen físico, contestando a las visiones de periodista Don Manuel del Socorro.<sup>2</sup>

Independence was first declared in the provinces. Juntas were formed on 14 June in Cartagena, on 3 July in Cali, on 4 July in Pamplona, on 9 July in Socorro and on 6 August in Mompox. Forming Juntas was a traditional Hispanic form of coping with local problems; the cabildos participated in their formation, and those of Spain were seen as legitimate examples to be followed. However, when the Junta of Santa Fe was formed the deed took on

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<sup>1</sup> J. Domínguez, Insurrection or Loyalty, Cambridge, MA, 1980, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> S. Arroyo y Valencia, "Apuntes históricos sobre la revolución de la Independencia en Popayán".

a definitive 'national' character. This first stage showed strong creole features. Based more often than not on their position in the cabildos, the creoles were the promoters of the Juntas in the provinces and in the capital. They had a long consciousness of their prerogatives and privileges as a social stratum, experience of discrimination and distrust at the hands of the Spanish governors, Oidores and Viceroyes, as well as the limitation and failings of imperial policies. All these negative influences were combined with a more recent but growing awareness of the possibilities of economic improvement, drawn from their experience of both official and theoretical re-appraisals of the country, and a new though ambiguous language of patriotism. From creole representations of reality one can distinguish not only elements of complaint, stressed in the traditional bibliography, but also elements which had sprung up to suggest a different possible future. Correspondingly, Independence was to mean the prevalence of creole rights in the bureaucracy and the execution of their economic plans without the mediation of royal policies. Their expectations included liberation from Spanish officials who were considered 'haughty, distrustful and venal', as well as the elimination of all those reformist attempts to ennoble and whiten the castas, the sale of public posts and the granting fueros to pardos and coloured people, which had been recommended in order to gain money and support for an increasingly mean and apprehensive Crown.

At a higher level, this 'imagined creole community' saw the possibility of acting as a nation on the world stage, as a great republic, exporting crops in exchange for industrial goods, sending diplomatic agents abroad, raising loans and attracting white immigrants. "La patria del Criollo", in the phrase of Severo Martínez Peláez, did not foresee any radical social change of the stratified colonial society. Seemingly it would be unaffected by the frequent invocation of the sovereignty of the people.<sup>1</sup>

On 22 May the cabildo of Cartagena, with the assistance of the commissioner Antonio

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<sup>1</sup> S. Martínez Peláez, La patria del criollo, ensayo de interpretación de la sociedad colonial guatemalteca, Guatemala, 1973.

Villavicencio and the elected deputy for the Cortes, Antonio de Narvaez, achieved a share in the government of the province after having demonstrated to governor Montes that his policies excited popular discontent. The governor was also accused of being afrancesado. Henceforth he was obliged to have two members of the cabildo as 'associates' in government. Governor Montes did not respect this arrangement. His acts were then qualified as arbitrary and despotic, and in the session of 22 June he was removed his post. Blas de Soria, another Spanish official was appointed.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier in May Andrés Oribe, a Spanish official, reported to the King that Cartagena was divided into two parties. He had recommended that governor Montes be replaced by a person of character and integrity:

atendidas las circunstancias criticas en que nos hallamos de estar dividido el pueblo en partidos, el uno que apetecia y pedia la creacion de una Junta por medio de pasquines, y el otro que la resistia, siendo el primero protegido por los Alcaldes Ordinarios, y la mayor parte de los Regidores, y aun por ellos proyectada esta novedad, que procuraron fuese apoyada por el vulgo ignorante, e incauto, que inclinaron a su devocion por medio de sus confidentes, segun de publico se dice, formando por la noche Juntas, o conventiculos para tratar del particular en la casa del de primera nominacion, Dr Don José Maria Garcia de Toledo sin que ese procedimiento ilegal, y a la verdad sospechoso huviese tomado el Gobierno providencia que los contuviese, y cortase en tiempo el fermento que era de esperar, y hemos experimentado; llegando a tanto la insolencia de la Plebe que con la mayor libertad se producía en sus corrillos, y se presentaron al Alcalde citado, ofreciendole su defenza y proteccion.<sup>2</sup>

In Mompox the military Commander, Vicente Talledo, was the target of cabildo hostility from the beginning of 1810. The cabildo supported the Junta of Cartagena, set up on 14 June, and on 24 June a popular rising forced Talledo to surrender. Upon the arrival of the news of the events of 20 July in Santa Fe, the people of Mompox were summoned to the central square. They requested the removal of the royalist members of the cabildo, and in their place

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<sup>1</sup> R. M. Tisnes, La Independencia en la Costa Atlántica, Bogotá, 1976, pp.13-23.

<sup>2</sup> AGI, Santa Fé 629.

acclaimed some creole notables. These constituted themselves as the Junta on 6 August.<sup>1</sup>

In 1809 a Spanish official who was a newcomer, Don José Valdés, had been appointed corregidor of the province of Socorro. The inhabitants of that province had long been regarded as rebellious and restless through their participation in the Comunero movement of 1781 and their involvement in all the 'conspiratorial' plans of 1794 (the lampoons and the diffusion of The Rights of Man and the Citizen) and those of 1809 (movements of La Mesa, Santa Fe and Casanare). Vigilance of the suspect creoles was taken to such extremes that it caused a written protest from the cabildo on 26 May 1810, which remained unanswered by the Real Audiencia. Valdés began military preparations. In July there were rumours about a list drafted by the Spanish authorities of the names of men to be proscribed. It seems that the popular rising on 10 July was provoked by the military who fired from the barracks over the people's heads. After the crowd besieged the Capuchin Convent where the royalists had installed their stronghold, the main civil and military authorities were imprisoned, to the applause of the multitude. A Junta was constituted and a haughty memorial was sent to the Viceroy in Santa Fe. In it, corregidor Valdés was pictured as a tyrant and his collaborators were referred to as infamous.<sup>2</sup>

Similar events had preceded the overthrow of governor Bastus y Falla in Pamplona on 4 July 1810. A popular outburst occurred after a woman, María Agueda Gallardo de Villamizar, snatched the baton from his hands. Here again most of the inhabitants had seen themselves affected by the policies of distrust and oppression of the Spanish rulers. Socorranos and Pamplonenses had experienced the good-natured government of Joaquín Camacho before his replacement by these Spaniards. Camilo Torres and the lawyer José Antonio Maldonado had

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<sup>1</sup> P. Salcedo de Villar, Apuntaciones historiales de Mompo, Cartagena, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> H. Rodríguez Plata, La antigua provincia del Socorro y la Independencia, Bogotá, 1963.

served as attorneys for the Pamplonenses in their complaints about the actions of governor Bastus y Falla.<sup>1</sup>

In the Cauca Valley the cabildo of Cali declared Independence on 3 July 1810. Although not the capital of the province, Cali was the leader of a peaceful process of union and organization among the six Spanish cities of the valley. On 11 February 1811, a Junta Provisional de Gobierno de las Ciudades Amigas del Valle del Cauca was formed.<sup>2</sup> Governor Tacón in Popayán, after some initially dubious manoeuvrings, declared open hostility towards this initiative of the northern cities in his jurisdiction. He was then denounced as a tyrant and the principal enemy of the confederation. Other neighbouring provinces, such as Nóvita and Citará on the Pacific coast (today the Chocó department), and Neiva and La Plata in the Magdalena River Valley joined the fight against the 'despotism' of Tacón, "el primero de los tiranos enemigo declarado de la Independencia de los americanos". It seems that the provinces together became enthusiastically involved in political declarations and the enlistment of volunteers and the organization of battalions, which would soon lead to war.

Finally in the capital city of Santa Fe, everything was planned and calculated. On 18 July there was a rumour of an official conspiracy to assassinate many creole notables. On 19 July Camilo Torres, Ignacio de Herrera, Miguel de Pombo, Joaquín Camacho, José Acevedo y Gómez, Francisco José de Caldas and others had met at the Observatorio Astronómico and planned the patriot conspiracy: an affray between a Spanish merchant and several creoles, on a market day in the main square, with many people previously notified and the Fijo Battalion engaged in their support. A crowd was summoned through the ringing of the cathedral bells, a cabildo abierto was proclaimed, the Viceroy deposed and the creole leaders

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<sup>1</sup> S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, Bogotá, 1960, pp. 22-27. See pp. 159-162 in section 2.1.3 of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> A. Zawadzky, Las Ciudades Confederadas del Valle del Cauca en 1811, Cali, 1943.

elected by popular acclaim. Among those who signed the Acta del 20 de Julio figured several men from the provinces who were bureaucrats, priests, lawyers or merchants in Santa Fe.<sup>1</sup> José Acevedo y Gómez, the merchants' delegate and member of the Junta, wrote a letter dated 21 July 1810 to his cousin Miguel Lozano, from which one can guess how he felt about the events of the previous day:

Di a mis queridos paisanos que los adoro, que somos libres por su valor y constancia, que se estén tranquilos pero avisados. Alla irá Plata con el Acta impresa. Benítez es vocal, y Gómez, el clérigo, mis paisanos.<sup>2</sup>

The localist feeling was mixed with a sense of 'patriotism' relating to a larger territory. Creoles acted with a feeling of doing something quite on their own; it was a 'creoles' affair'.

In spite of their own sense of ethnic superiority, the creoles gathered the people together for the proclamation of Independence. From the beginning they understood that the people had an essential role to play in all this: their presence would legitimize the movement. The people responded to the invitation. In Mompox, Pamplona and Socorro a tradition of popular and active participation in local politics existed. Creole merchants from Mompox had very frequently found popular support in their struggles against the Marquis of Torrehojos.<sup>3</sup> Socorranos and Pamploneses had a time-honored reputation of opposing abuses of their authorities. The creole-Spanish rivalry between the members of the cabildo of Cali was well known, as was the uneasy relationship with governor Tacón in Popayán. Cali's creole elite

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<sup>1</sup> S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, pp. 139-177.

<sup>2</sup> L. Gómez, "El Tribuno del Pueblo", in BHA, 15, 1928, p.740. Miguel Tadeo Gómez was the administrator of the aguardiente monopoly in Socorro. He and his brother had gone to El Rosario. Acevedo y Gómez's parents were born in San Gil and his wife's family came from Socorro.

<sup>3</sup> O. Fals Borda, Mompox y Loba, Historia doble de la Costa, Bogotá, 1980, vol. 1, pp.120A-125A.

could usually rely on popular support on occasions such as that of 1743 when the Caicedo family was opposed by the Spanish 'party' for control of the cabildo.<sup>1</sup> Although the Buga-Cali rivalry would emerge soon afterwards, in this first early period of Independence these two cities, as well as the other four ciudades confederadas, emphasized their discontent with the Popayán government. Their federal form of organization proved exceptional.

As has been said, in Cartagena and Santa Fe popular participation was fairly well planned in advance. The actions that had to precede, provoke, justify and legitimize the destitution of governor Montes and Viceroy Amar y Borbon respectively had been dated and scheduled in a previous plan drawn up by a group of creoles in each city.

In all these cases we can see some common characteristics. The formation of what used to be called a 'party' started with meetings (called Juntas, conventículos or corrillos), and lampoons stuck on walls. Similar to the tertulias, these 'parties' were small groups with the characteristics of social clubs. They would publish broadsides and get up petitions. They differed from the early tertulias in that they had to appeal to a broader base of popular support. Some persons referred to as confidentes acted as informers or liaisons between the creole elite and the people. Priests often played this role. During this first stage, the elites and the people joined in a common front against their enemies. Thus, these parties defined themselves by indicating their enemy rather than by drawing up a coherent body of ideas. The enemies were usually the governors or corregidores such as Montes in Cartagena, Valdés in Socorro, Bastus y Falla in Pamplona and Tacón for the confederated cities of the Cauca Valley. They were called tyrants, despots, Godoy's creatures. The epithet of a tyrant seems to have been quite effective in appealing to popular support. A similar phenomenon was observed by J. Phelan in his study of the Comunero movement. At that time, the rebels declared that they were fighting a cruel, mean tyrant whose unique desire was the increase

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<sup>1</sup> D. García Vázquez, Los hacendados de la otra banda y el cabildo de Cali, Cali, 1928, pp.80-96; see also A. Zawadzky, Las ciudades confederadas, pp.14-19.

of taxes levied on the poor. A poem called nuestra cedula indicated the names of the enemies: Gutiérrez de Piñeres and Moreno y Escandón.<sup>1</sup> The proclamation of Caicedo y Cuero on behalf of the cabildo of Cali in July 1810 said:

Si así lo acordais- dijo Cayzedo y Cuero al pueblo- y el pueblo ilustre de Popayán no hace el último esfuerzo para derribar ese ídolo venerado allí por unos pocos, preparaos generosos compatriotas, estad resueltos a luchar con ese tirano a quien importa poco ver desolada la Provincia como él conserve su injusta exaltación.<sup>2</sup>

Behind the appearance of social unity during the political events of June and July 1810 lay completely different expectations, mutual distrust and a great deal of fear. The initial harmony between elite and people was soon to be broken: distinct cultural backgrounds - beliefs, notions, experiences- would result in dissension.

In Socorro it did not take long for contradictions to emerge. corregidor Valdés, lieutenant Fominaya and alférez Ruiz Monroy had been imprisoned in the building of the Administration of aguardientes. The people, however, were not content and wanted to punish them more severely. The creoles tried to arrive at a compromise:

... habiendo translucido el pueblo que no se pensaba castigar a estos sujetos autores de tantos males, y que protestaba ya abiertamente que asaltaría la administración y tomaría por sus manos venganza; los Jueces a pesar de los sentimientos de su corazón creyeron que debían trasladar al Corregidor a una de las piezas del cabildo para aquietar la multitud. No basto esta diligencia sino que exigieron algunos que se le remachase un par de grillos. El mismo Corregidor conoció la necesidad de este procedimiento que bastó para preservarlo de un insulto popular. Nosotros nos hallabámos en el caso de contemporar con un pueblo generoso y valiente...<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. T. Phelan, El pueblo y el Rey, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> A. Zawadzky, Las ciudades confederadas, p. 35. The author quotes from an original document in his personal collection.

<sup>3</sup> "Memorial del cabildo del Socorro al Virrey", 16 July 1810, in H. Rodríguez Plata, La antigua provincia del Socorro, p.24. My underlining.

Similar attitudes and motives can be observed in the events of August in Mompox. Notes from a contemporary daily record show a vindictive people, with the leaders swayed between fear of popular rage and the adoption of patronizing attitudes:

Día 7. Pero un rumor sordo que anunciaba el descontento empieza a dar a conocer que el pueblo no es un ente imaginario y que el de Mompox tiene caracter suficiente para hacerse guardar las consideraciones debidas...

(...)

Día 9. ... el descontento popular habia subido de punto y el desorden no estaba lejos. El rumor se habia convertido en un verdadero grito y ya era menester una medida tan prudente como rápida y enérgica...

El Alcalde Ordinario Don Pantaleón Germán Ribón y el Regidor Don José María Gutiérrez piden al pueblo que se les deje a su cargo el cuidado de satisfacerlo. Lo consiguieron, y en el instante parten a las casas de todas aquellas personas proscritas por la opinión popular y recogen sus voluntades para mediar por ellos. El pueblo es congregado en la misma tarde a son de cajas y de campanas, y tomando uno de aquellos la voz, da al pueblo la satisfacción que se apetecía. En medio del discurso y cuando se preguntaba quién sería el garante de la generosidad momposina, se oye el grito del ilustre párroco Don Juan Fernández de Sotomayor, quien en un entusiasmo verdaderamente apostólico, dijo: "que él respondía por el pueblo de Mompox, como que mejor que nadie conocía el virtuoso corazón de sus feligreses".<sup>1</sup>

As one can notice, a combination of prudence and energy was the way of subduing popular feelings, which here again are expressed in the language of passion. A guarantor of the virtue (generosity, magnanimity) of the people was demanded, and the "ilustre párroco" offers himself. and is acclatmed.

For Cartagena we have a similar episode in November 1810 when a new governor sent by the Cortes arrived. He was insulted and his imprisonment demanded by the people. Tomás Andrés Torres and Antonio de Narváez had to give in, and the newly appointed official was not received.

Earlier, in June, the overthrow of governor Montes had also been excused due to popular feelings: José María García de Toledo, the creole leader, let governor Montes know that his

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<sup>1</sup> M. E. Corrales, Documentos para la historia de la provincia de Cartagena, vol.1, Bogotá, 1883, p. 189. My underlining.

deposition was necessary "to calm and quieten the people's restlessness and discontent". A great number of negroes and mulattoes armed with machetes were gathered together from the poorer districts for this end.<sup>1</sup>

There also exist similarities in protagonists, attitudes and motives in the events of July and August in the capital city. In Santa Fe on 20 July the creoles had reported 10.000 people in the central square of a city of 30.000 inhabitants. Up to the election of the Junta, the creole leaders were able to control the situation.

Later, however, this was no longer the case. The plebe of Santa Fe felt the occasion propitious to demand a severe punishment for some of the Spanish authorities they had hated for a long time: the Viceroy and his wife, the fiscales Frías, Martínez Mancilla and Hernández de Alba:

Las amenazas del pueblo contra los antiguos mandatarios fueron en aumento; se clamaba en actitud airada contra ellos al punto que la junta no tuvo más remedio que acceder.(Día 25)<sup>2</sup>

It has been said that the Viceroy's wife "maintained a monopoly over various major commercial stores, the city market and the cheaper eating houses for the poor. Her actions caused her to be cordially hated by the lower class who were virtually at her mercy."<sup>3</sup> When she was taken to the women's jail, El Divorcio, women of the lower orders insulted and pinched her, despite her bodyguards and to the horror of the creoles. The next day, 14

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<sup>1</sup> R. M. Tisnes, La Independencia en la Costa Atlántica, pp.115-116.

<sup>2</sup> S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolucion del 20 de julio de 1810, p. 218. My underlining.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Monsalve, "Mujeres en la Independencia", BHA, 17, 1926, p.23. quoted by E. M. Cherpak, Women in the Independence of Gran Colombia, 1780-1830, Ph.D. Thesis, U. North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1973, p.118.

August, when the demands of ordinary life had displaced popular rage, the creoles freed the Viceroy and a party of the principal ladies of the city escorted the Viceroy's wife back to the palace. Among these ladies were Francisca Prieto (Camilo Torres's wife), Magdalena Ortega (Antonio Nariño's wife) and the Marquis of San Jorge's wife and a daughter-in-law.<sup>1</sup>

During that troubled July, one evening there was a rumour about a contingent of blacks approaching Santa Fe. This caused panic among the vecinos, many of whom had already been deeply worried about the frequent popular meetings and expected nothing good from them. Afterwards, it became clear that the alarm was false: a group of people from nearby towns headed by their priests was coming to the capital to volunteer. The night was then known as la noche de los negros. It is evidence of the dread of an uprising of the castas.<sup>2</sup>

Many other excerpts could be added to complete this picture. All of them were written during those restless days or soon afterwards.

No todas las peticiones del pueblo eran justas. Muchas respiraban sangre y dureza. La Junta Suprema concedía unas, olvidaba otras, otras, en fin negaba, con persuaciones. Don Antonio Baraya y el canónigo Don Martín Gil trabajaron mucho para disuadir y para tranquilizar a este pueblo enérgico, que deseaba con inquietud ver realizados sus deseos.

(La Junta)

Hizo comparecer a los sujetos que tenían influjo sobre el pueblo persuadiéndoles que dirigiesen su patriotismo a calmar la efervescencia y a evitar las reuniones populares que impedían a la Junta entregarse con reposo a sus meditaciones para providenciar sobre los grandes objetos que llamaban su atención.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Cherpak, Women and Independence, p.120.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Caballero, Diario de la Independencia, Bogotá, 1974, pp.69-70.

<sup>3</sup> F. J. de Caldas, J. T. Lozano, "Diario Político de Santa Fé", in S. E. Ortiz and L. M. Delgado, El periodismo en la Nueva Granada, Bogotá, 1910, pp. 59 and 17, (for 22 July and 7 August, 1810). My underlining.

The early apparition of so many elements of contrast and collision is worthy of note. 'Bloody desires' which had to be removed through persuasion; popular tumult upset the 'enlightened meditations' of the new creole rulers; 'petty revenges' and petitions interfered with the Junta's deliberations on important matters.

Popular disorders and irreverence as well as a certain creole distrust towards the castas (the ghost of the Haiti revolution was in the air) led to the emergence of negative reactions which overshadowed the euphoria of the first days of Independence.

In the case of Popayán there were some different features. Although at first the people had supported the Junta, it was not for long. Governor Tacón's energy and ability rapidly made the patriots ineffective. One of those creole patriots, Castrillón, in recalling the events ends by railing against the common people, women being especially mentioned on this occasion:

Se reunieron todas las mujeres de los barrios quién lo creyera!, las mismas que cuatro días antes disfrazadas de hombres y armadas de cuchillos, pedían a gritos la muerte del tirano y sus satélites, pero así son el mundo y el pueblo en todas partes. Desgraciado el que se fia en su inestabilidad y ligereza!<sup>1</sup>

His reference to the people and the world is ambiguous: human nature and 'the people' are unreliable; no one could trust in them; they are changeable, weak of convictions and opportunism. Although this assertion seems to have been motivated by the author's party defeat, it reveals a feeling of isolation in the creole patriots of Popayán from the pueblo.

Although the documents have been published only for the processes in the main cities, similar scenes took place in smaller settlements as can be demonstrated from some archival sources. In almost every town, wherever a patriot group was organized, it sought out one or more 'local enemies'.

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<sup>1</sup> M. J. Castrillón, Apuntamientos históricos curiosos sobre la guerra de Independencia en Popayán, p.31.

On 22 September 1810, a group of neighbours of Zipaquirá drafted a representacion to the Junta Suprema of Santa Fe, demanding the removal of some Europeans who were under suspicion of treason.<sup>1</sup> The example of Quito and Charcas led the natives to fear for their safety. The representation resembled those of the colonial period: it alluded to what was público y notorio in the behaviour of the men in question. Don Matías Coronado, a Spaniard who held the post of alcabalero, had often abused his position and had justified himself by saying that he did what he wanted, because Oidor Juan de Alba was his protector (his taita). Don José Primo González had declared, during a meeting at his home with his relatives and the priest of Guatavita, that he was in alliance with the Oidor Trillos; his daughter gave utterance to provocative expressions, such as that creoles were villanous. It was also said that another Spaniard, Don Francisco Moros, has referred to the new creole rulers as "cuatro ruanetas" (four men wearing peasants ponchos) who afterwards would have to pay for all this. Don Lorenzo Arellano, a Spanish official in the salt mines of Rute, had not only defrauded the exchequer and mistreated the Indians but had also appointed his relatives to high posts in the business. The claimants further asked for the appointment of loyal creoles to those offices and declared that everything they had done was done for the sake of religion, the King and the patria. Since the corregidor did not pay any attention to their demands, they took Don Matías Coronado and Don Lázaro Fernández to jail, from where they were released by the corregidor who, in turn removed José Primo González from his post and threatened those who took part in the revolts with jail and repression. In his report he affirmed that the claimants were ignorant, disolute men who, motivated by rancour, had led the people to infamous actions against honest men. He wondered:

Habria procedido yo con justicia obrando segun los votos de un pueblo barbaro que lo veia conducirse por las sendas que le abria la intriga, las preocupaciones y la ignorancia?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN., Historia Anexo, tomo 11, fo. 82-87.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Historia Anexo, tomo 11, fo. 87 v.

As in the first days of Independence in the main cities, what is striking here is the collision between the popular feeling of distrust and resentment towards Spanish officials, the desire to punish them, and the more tolerant and gracious attitude of the corregidor. One cannot discount an opportunist appetite for jobs as an element here. Notwithstanding this, other attitudes, such as the readiness to denounce and condemn misappropriation of public funds and abuses, as well as the transcendental meaning invested in personal insults and a sort of xenophobia, are recognizable.

Very soon the gathering together of the people came to be a double-edged weapon. The creoles needed the people to legitimize their deposition of the Spanish Government and their taking of political power. Yet from their point of view, the people soon appeared cruel, extremist, excessive, irreverent, at times inexorable in their judgements and uneducated in their behaviour; at others thoughtless and changeable. The creoles had first united the people by pointing to the 'tyrants' as the common enemy. Later the people had enlarged the list of enemies, including local ones and had attacked them in ways which resulted shocking to the creole mentality. Thus, when judging the common people the creole patriot leaders came to agree with the royalist estimations in the reports of Spanish officials, in which the people were referred to as 'plebs', 'the mob', described as ignorant and insolent, accused of expressing themselves out of turn in public places, of being too eager to defend their leaders.<sup>1</sup>

Later, in 1813, one of the outstanding educated creoles, Jorge Tadeo Lozano, made a distinction between the earliest emotional summonses and the fundamental principles which ought to be emphasized:

...hasta ahora todos (a lo menos quantos he visto) nos han querido vindicar, fundandose en las injusticias individuales de los funcionarios que nos oprimian;... No asi lo que yo propongo porque separandome de toda personalidad me fundo en la misma esencia de

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<sup>1</sup> In Santa Fe in July 1810 the Viceroy was told by one of his advisers: "Conceda V. E. cuanto pide el pueblo si quiere salvar su vida y sus intereses". S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, p.172.

nuestra union con España , para demostrar con hechos historicos, y fundamentos legales, y politicos que no solo se ha roto el vinculo con aquella parte de Europa, pero que ni aun esta en nuestras manos el volverlo a atar.<sup>1</sup>

Lozano continued with a dissertation on the so called 'titles of Conquest', and 'rights of possession'. The original emotional appeal which moved people to anger against the 'tyrants' should be displaced by a set of principles, a more rational and personal approach.

However, the distance between these two attitudes was no accident. Each one was related to different experiences. One reflected the ordinary people's practice of denouncing the abuses of local rulers and the other the educated creoles' practice of debate among teachers and students at school, among lawyers at the Real Audiencia and among members of the cabildo.

The distance did not mean simply that but also inequality. Although the creoles had taken power on behalf of the people, it was they who effectively held it while the people did not. The creole attitude is ambivalent. They felt bound to respect popular desires in some fashion, but feared that they would lead to excesses.

We can assert that there existed both political interest for heading off possible conflict and excusing popular enthusiasm, and an early, strong creole awareness of their position as the new rulers, the enlightened authorities who had to act on behalf of the people and simultaneously control them. In most cases creoles acted according to enlightened political rationality, as has recently been pointed out by Jesús Martín-Barbero, "with the people against tyranny, with reason against the people":

La racionalidad que inaugura el pensamiento ilustrado se condensa entera en este circuito y en la contradicción que cubre: está contra la tiranía en nombre de la

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<sup>1</sup> J. T. Lozano, "Discurso que ha de pronunciar en la apertura del Serenísimo Colegio Electoral de Cundinamarca el C. Jorge Tadeo Lozano, Brigadier de Ejército y Representante del Distrito de Chocontá, Año de 1813", Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, Miscelanea 170 (6).

voluntad popular pero está contra el pueblo en nombre de la razón.<sup>1</sup>

While reason was of primary importance in creoles' comprehension of reality, feelings and emotions appeared as key elements in shaping popular views.

The notion of a broad-based democracy was completely out of question. Camilo Torres clearly expressed the view that the representative function of the cabildos had to be subordinated to political circumstances; they had to play merely a formal role:

No importa que los cabildos no sean unos verdaderos cuerpos municipales con tal que los pueblos los consideren, por ahora, como depositarios de sus derechos y como el único órgano donde pueden expresar su voluntad.<sup>2</sup>

Not a single project of radical democracy appeared in New Granada, nothing similar to Morelos's or Artigas's plans in Mexico and Uruguay. Perhaps the only debate directly about democracy, as far as this author knows, was one which took place in Mompox. José María Gutiérrez thought that in so far as the cabildo had acted in the name of the people, this was a deceit. Instead, they had to accept that they were in anarchy, in a 'holy anarchy', and consequently they should gather the people together, teach them about their rights and ask them to name their representatives. Since links binding them to the monarchy had been broken, the people had to constitute a new pact and entrust a new government with the care of their sovereignty and liberty. Gutiérrez also pointed out that any other position would imply an affront to the people and at some day in the future the same people would take their revenge: "Ah!, yo tiemblo al ver mi nombre lleno de execraciones justas, yo tiemblo a la vista de la posteridad que ha de juzgarme como hombre público..."<sup>3</sup> Gutiérrez's proposal was not

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<sup>1</sup> J. Martín-Barbero, De los medios a las mediaciones. Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía, Barcelona, 1987, p.15.

<sup>2</sup> Caldas's letter quoted by E. Alvarez Bonilla, "Los tres Torres", in BHA, 3, 1904, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> M. E. Corrales, Documentos para la historia de la provincia de Cartagena, p.194.

accepted. Prudence and fear of popular disorder were pleaded as justification.

In Antioquia, the Dictator Juan del Corral was the author of the most advanced early proposal in social terms, the progressive abolition of slavery. He argued the necessity of removing even the shadow of this institution for the true establishment of liberty on New Granadan soil: a process of the levelling of classes had to be started. Doctor José Félix de Restrepo supported his proposal with a philosophical dissertation.<sup>1</sup> Quite soon after Independence, Ignacio de Herrera asserted that a policy of disdain and disregard for popular feeling made the people apathetic:

La apatía o insensibilidad que se advierte en el Pueblo, resulta de las Providencias del Gobierno. Hoy no hallamos ese ardimiento con que se manifestó el 13 de agosto en que pidió el arresto del Virrey: insensiblemente se les hizo olvidar su energía calificando de motines lo que no era más que un ardiente zelo por su libertad<sup>2</sup>

The people was summoned in order to legitimize the taking over of Government, and were included in the proclamations as an abstract notion: 'popular sovereignty' or the 'sovereign people'. However, as soon as they appeared with their expectations of justice, feelings of ardour or resentment, their own behaviour and manners, they were excluded, disavowed, seen as the ignorant people, the irreverent plebs. Creoles invoked the 'people' but feared the 'plebs'.

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<sup>1</sup> "Relación que dirigió a la Cámara de Representantes el Presidente Dictador de la República de Antioquia ciudadano Juan Bautista del Corral al concluirse los últimos cuatro meses de su autoridad dictatorial", Santa Fé de Bogotá, 28 February 1814, Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, No. 78(4).

<sup>2</sup> I. Herrera y Vergara, "Manifiesto sobre la conducta del Congreso", Imprenta Real, 1811, p. 14. 9. Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Quijano, 151(3).

#### 4.2 Indians and Independence: other meanings of freedom

##### Rousing pity and feeling abandonment:

Hitherto, the tone of the Indian complaints was usually that of pleas for mercy rather than assertion of just claims. Indians did not allude to rights as vecinos did, they entreated protection. Nevertheless, changes in this attitude can be noticed with the coming of Independence.

In May-July 1810, eight Indians from Ubaque complained about their corregidor Pedro Callejas. It seems that Callejas lived in the town, having no teniente. The Indians accompanied by others from Guatequí, had gone to Santa Fe to make their representación before the fiscal protector de naturales. They declared that Pedro Callejas made them work his lands; if they did not, he would throw them into prison, make violent and cruel threats, even put them in the stocks. Felipe Angel, an Indian notable, declared:

... hallandonos en la actualidad con los otros Indios que nos hemos venido a presentar y por todos los demas del pueblo le suplicamos a Vuestra excelencia nos quite de Corregidor al referido Don Pedro Callejas pues todos a una vez se lo suplicamos por Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, su madre Santisima, y en merito de Justicia pues de ningun modo queremos a dicho Corregidor y omitimos en esta nuestra queja por no ser molestos a V.E. tantas injusticias e impiedades que solo dejamos a la alta consideracion de V.E. y le suplicamos nos mire con caridad y nos mande en justicia como le suplicamos a mas que estamos en esta ciudad sin con que mantenernos y sin poder ir a nuestro pueblo porque si nos vamos nuestro Corregidor nos manda castigar y poner presos.<sup>1</sup>

Several days before this eleven Indians from Fόμεque (including a lieutenant and Indian mayors) had also complained about Callejas.<sup>2</sup> They repeated that Callejas treated them as if they were slaves and called them mulattoes and zambos. He had also ordered the vecinos

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 23, fo.388-391.

<sup>2</sup> Pedro Callejas had been a receiver of the Real Audiencia in 1802, notary of the same Court in 1803, mayor and corregidor of Cáqueza in 1809. AHN, EPC, tomo 14, fo. 404-454; tomo 19, fo. 825-829; tomo 35, fo. 381-383.

to build houses in the grid pattern pretending Fômeque was not a pueblo de indios but a parish. Finally they asked:

...nos deje libremente trabajar para tener con que pagar el tributo y mantenernos con nuestras familias. Y para verificar el que nos quite el dicho Corregidor V.E., si menester es, bendremos todos los indios y nos postraremos a sus piadosas plantas... Asi lo esperamos de su piadoso corazon y caridad para con estos infelices indios... <sup>1</sup>

This was typical of the tone of Indian complaints before Independence. In August 1810 the Indians of Fômeque and Ubaque drafted a common representación to the newly established authorities, addressed precisely to the síndico procurador general. It seems that after the early events of Independence the situation had changed for the worse for the Indians. According to their declaration, Pedro Callejas had received money from the rich vecinos. They also claimed they wanted Don José María Maldonado to be appointed as their corregidor instead of Callejas.

The opening words of the document maintained the humble position of those who were helpless and even contain implicit regret at the loss of their king.

...venimos los indios del pueblo de Fomeque y Ubaque a acogernos a su patrocinio pues en el dia no tenemos despues de Dios nuestro Padre quien nos ampare y mire con lastima sino es su merced...

Afterwards, the new tone and an advanced opinion about the Viceregal government appeared:

Hace tres meses y medio que nos volvimos a presentar al Virrey diciendo que nos quitara dicho Corregidor y solo se nos dio a los indios de Fomeque y a los de Ubaque un papel para que no se nos castigare y mando el Virrey que nos entregare nuestras tierras y sacase su hacienda del pueblo, lo que inmediatamente verifíco, y se mando de Juez comisionado para aquellos los pueblos al señor Don Joaquin Ortiz el que fue y habia ya entregado las declaraciones que dieron los vecinos al cabildo, pero nosotros no lo queremos mas de Corregidor, pues viendo que del Virrey no sacamos fruto ninguno y que tampoco nos tenia piedad, ahora si esperamos del corazon y tierno amor de su merced el que nos ha de amparar y mirar con lastima y se ha de interponer con todo su respeto y valimiento a la D. Suprema Junta para que se nos quite de Corregidor al mencionado Callejas y se nos

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 23, FO.392-393.

ponga a Don Jose Maria Maldonado. Esperamos este favor y caridad que Dios Todopoderoso y su santísima Madre le pagaran de gloria tan grande caridad y justicia.<sup>1</sup>

The new approach to the problem pictures the situation as an uncompromising confrontation between the Indians and Callejas who probably relied on the vecinos' support. The Indian suggestion of a name to be appointed, lawyer Maldonado, may perhaps mean a further step in the political participation of the Indians. Maldonado was the same lawyer who had defended the dwellers of Remedios in 1794 and he had also undertaken the case of the members of the cabildo of Pamplona against the Spanish corregidor Bastus y Falla in 1808.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the position of the Indians was rather ambiguous. While on one hand they tried to arouse pity and compassion as they had usually done before, on the other hand they sought to take advantage of the situation by demanding, as citizens might, to choose who ought to hold the authority to govern them.

Independence and the coming of the Republic stirred up the stratified colonial society and fresh problems of identity arose. Indians were affected. But what is striking in the case of Fômeque and Ubaque is that the Indians actually showed a surprising awareness and readiness to accept the new situation and adapt, at least formally, their attitudes within a month. One can deduce that these hispanicized Indians were at times concerned and informed about wider matters of public life. Indeed the pueblos of Fômeque and Ubaque had a decreasingly Indian population. The vecinos examined declared there were 1000 heads of families, 125 Indians and of these only thirty-six were liable to pay tribute. The vecinos accepted they were seeking the conversion of the pueblo into a parish.<sup>3</sup> In September 1810

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 23, fo. 395.

<sup>2</sup> See sections 2.1.1, pp. 133-140 and 2.1.3, pp.159-162 in this thesis. As far as the author knows, there were Indian petitions for the dismissal of an official and occasionally for keeping one in post, but no petition for the appointment of a specific person.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 23, fo. 397.  
It seems that Callejas was removed from the job until the period known as the Reconquest, 1815-1819, when the Spanish authorities restored him to office. Then, the Indian

the lawsuit was passed to the Justice section but no more records appear.

In August 1810 the Indian teniente of the town of Sogamoso, Antonio Peralta, acting on behalf of his community, accused various Spanish vecinos of occupying the best Indian lands and causing the abject poverty of the community. He declared that this same complaint had been addressed to the Viceroy three years before. Now,

no puedo menos sino hacerlo presente a la Piedad de este superior tribunal para que en meritos de justicia se sirva librame la providencia necesaria para que se haga saber a aquellos Europeos desocupen nuestras tierras y nos pongan en posesion de ellas para trabajarlas y que sese tanta miseria en que nos hallamos, cometida su ejecucion a uno de los alcaldes blancos que asi es justicia que mediante a Ud. suplico humildemente se sirban prover y mandar como pido.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1811 the fiscal gave a favourable opinion of the Indian claim. However, the lawsuit followed its tortuous course on to 1812 and no solution is recorded. It appeared that the Indians had rented the lands to successive corregidores. The Indian population of Sogamoso had decreased to such an extent that it was generally considered a settlement of freemen.

In this case the alusion to an ineffective previous complaint to the Viceroy, the designation of the offenders as Europeos, Spaniards, and the preference for a white mayor were elements which were emphasized by the Indian teniente in order to update the claim.

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communities of Cáqueza (including the towns of Chipaque, Mongue and Ubatoque) complained about his collecting of arrears and other abuses. The Indians José Calzetero and Carlos Chipategua, questioned the Spanish authorities about Callejas' right to do so. However the testimonies of other Indians denied the grievances as well as the representative nature of the complainants. It seems that Callejas was able to rebuild his connections with the Spanish authorities, which had proved to be quite effective.

<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Justicia, tomo 8, fo. 403.

In Chocontá there was an Indian motín in January 1812. The whites and Indians, the priests and the notary were summoned to the central square to witness the swearing-in of the newly appointed local authorities. As Casimiro Pachote, an Indian, thought that meeting was for the conversion of Chocontá into a Villa, he went to the Indians and explained that they would lose their lands and that conversion into a villa meant selling the town; it would be better to pay the tribute. He went out to look for somebody to send to Santa Fe with a representación. When he came back, the Indians were stoning the notary's house and it was imposible to stop them. A violent riot took place and more than 600 Indians resulted injured, 300 women among them.<sup>1</sup>

Other Indian communities felt their new situation still uncertain. They continued to be threatened by greed of the vecinos for their lands. In the case of Tocancipá, neither the orders of the corregidor nor the efforts of the priest were enough to prevent Juan Ignacio Baracaldo from threatening Indians with death. The Indians wanted him and the other non-Indian vecinos to leave the town, unless they paid rent for Indian land, which was becoming increasingly insufficient for the community. The representación of these Indians reveals a clear political awareness:

Los indios del pueblo de Tocancipa ante V.E. con el debido respeto, y como mejor haya lugar en derecho decimos que si solo para nosotros que siempre hemos sido los mas infimos esclavos, dura hasta ahora la esclavitud? y aun con mas daño porque antes eramos protexidos y aora no hay quien nos ampare; el Señor Dios autor de la naturaleza nos dono la tierra en que nacimos: y aora nos vemos reducidos a un corto distrito el que no gozamos ni aun en su pequeñez; tenemos enemigos que nos lo disputan, y que nos amenasan con la muerte porque cuidamos de lo que es nuestro.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Justicia, tomo 10, fo 634-672.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 518-519. My underlining.

It is interesting to note that the Indians pointed out that the miserable situation they had suffered for a long time was worsened by the loss of the King. In spite of the fact that the King's protection seems often to have been ineffective, his existence still had its importance in the Indian view of the world.

There was coincidence in this feeling of abandonment among several Indian communities, though some had supported the royalists and others the patriots. Even for those Indians who had been involved in the patriot party, the iconoclastic discourse of Independence failed to destroy the image of the Crown which had been venerated for three centuries.

However, these attempts at arousal of pity and compassion were not the sole way of reacting to the new political order.

#### 4.2.2 Indians: citizenship and drunkenness:

Shortly after Independence the Junta Suprema of Santa Fe decreed the abolition of Indian tribute and the promotion of the Indians to the status of freemen, subject to the same law as whites. Indian land was to be divided up among the Indians, although the new owners could not sell it until after a twenty-year period had elapsed in which it was presumed that they would learn how to defend their rights.<sup>1</sup>

When this decree was read out to the communities there were unexpected reactions. In Chipaque, corregimiento of Ubaque, the priest Frei José de San Andrés Moya asserted:

... apenas se cercioraron del bando, quando han abusado de las gracias que les dispensa, entendiendo en lugar de libertad, el riguroso libertinaje, absteniendose de

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo.225-226.

asistir a Misa y Doctrina sin reconocer ninguna autoridad que los gobierne.<sup>1</sup>

In the evening of Sunday 28 October 1810, about one hundred and fifty men and women alerted by the shouts of drunken Indian women, gathered in the main square and made a tremendous disturbance. Then, an Indian, Domingo Herrero, went to the priest's house and said: "que a nadie temian, que ya no habia Rey, y que saliese el cura para ver que les hacia".<sup>2</sup> The priest Moya nonetheless decided to maintain the Indian judges in office, not to abolish these posts, although the Indians were now supposed to come under the jurisdiction of ordinary mayors. According to the priest, the Indians were very happy to be subjected to the whites' mayors, in spite of the hatred they felt towards whites, because in practice this meant that they were left without any effective superiors. Two days later, thirteen Indian men and women sent a representación to the Junta Suprema complaining about the abuses of Frei Moya and Frei Juan de la Cruz who allegedly attempted to take over the Indian land, made profits from the money of the Cofradías, forced the Indians to work as cooks and as woodcutters, and involved them in the building of the Church. The priest also obliged them to provide him with Indian maids for domestic service. All these were unpaid jobs which were nevertheless sanctioned by the Indian judges who had been maintained in their posts despite the decree. The document began by contrasting the new political situation with the continuation of Indian oppression:

(13 names of men and women) oriundos del Pueblo de Chipaque y antes reputados por Indios de él con el acatamiento debido parecemos y decimos: que a pesar de las sabias disposiciones de V.E. y de que en su virtud todo hombre experimenta en el día los efectos de nuestra conquistada libertad, parece que esta se halla aun en la opresion respecto de nosotros.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 399-405; the quotation is from fo. 411.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 411.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 399. My underlining.

It ended by asking the Junta for the removal of the Indian judges, the transfer of the priest Moya to somewhere else, the restitution of their lands and the exemption of the demoras (a tribute): "... y en una palabra se nos ponga a cubierto de todas las extorsiones que sufrimos".

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Although some Indians were summoned by the priest and declared they had nothing to complain about, news of groups of Indians leaving the town due to the priest's behaviour reached the Junta. The priest Moya's acquittal on the charges is revealing. It seems that his abuses had been exaggerated by the plaintiff, though it is clear that he was an exacting priest who had an unfavourable view of the Indians. The uncomfortable relationship between the Chipaque Indians and the priest had precedents with previous priests. There had been similar disputes in 1758 and in 1804 priest Moya declared:

Los indios (...) simulan la sencillez de la paloma y la inocencia de la oveja, siendo en verdad el prototipo de la malicia y la mentira: así no es extraño que en estos tiempos en que es general el desorden hayan acudido los de Chipaque con queja.

The previous priest, Don Juan Martínez Malo, had claimed:

... son demastadamente barbaros e ignorantes... Rara vez se les haya en estado de poder tratar con ellos porque continuamente estan ebrios. Nunca profieren cosa a que se les pueda dar credito, pues siempre mienten y jamas proceden de buena fe y legalidad, sino con engaños y capciosidades. Todos los curas han experimentado los efectos del caracter inquieto, caviloso y revoltoso de aquellos Indios. <sup>2</sup>

The enquiry showed that the Indian revolt had been preceded by a drinking spree in a shop owned by the Indian Cathalina Huérfano. A report from the tax-collector in Chipaque, confirmed

los desordenes y graves exesos que se cometen por los indios de aquel pueblo

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 403.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 410 and 109.

ocasionados en el todo o en la mayor parte de hallarse entregados a la Bebida de la Chicha y aun del Aguardiente que vende en su Bodega la India Cathalina Huerfano...<sup>1</sup>

The fiscal ordered the shop and all similar ones to be destroyed. Furthermore, he instructed that the Indian judges were to be kept on, though he did advise the priest not to demand services from the Indians. Threatening the rebel Indians with exile to Tosca was permitted.<sup>2</sup>

Chicha shops (chicherías) played a unique role as places of popular social meeting. During colonial times, the authorities had regarded them as centres of concupiscence and immorality. At the end of the eighteenth century the diezmero Fernando Pavon complained about Indian drunkenness:

la continuada embriaguez y holgazaneria en que viven motivado todo esto en las innumerables bodegas de chicha que tienen los mestizos y blancos y aun los mismos dentro de los pueblos y resguardos que estan llenos de arrendatarios blancos, sin mas destino que fabricar este maldito licor para buscar la vida con entera destruccion y perjuicio espiritual y temporal de los infelices indios.<sup>3</sup>

Successive attempts to put an end to this vice by the civic and ecclesiastical authorities (Bishop Urbina in 1693 and Archbishop Araus in 1748) were unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup> There are some indications of the use of these places for hatching conspiracy plans before Independence. In June 1781 María de los Reyes Gil was imprisoned because her shop had been the place where conversations referring to the expulsion of the chapetones (Spaniards) had taken place; the authorities wanted to know what information had been spread from there.<sup>5</sup> Chicherías

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo. 186.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 415.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by J. Bejarano, La derrota de un vicio. origen e historia de la chicha, Bogotá, 1950, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil, Bogotá, 1869, Tomo I, 325.

<sup>5</sup> AHN, Juicios Criminales, tomo 205, fo. 220. I owe this datum to J. Vargas.

and bodegas de chicha were often the starting-points of riots. The shopowners were usually women, who also played an important role in the gossiping as well as in the disturbances. However, these two activities were not always related to each other, although the authorities' reports insisted, almost without exception, on the drunkenness of the rebels and rioters.

In the Indian town of Une in 1812, also included in the corregimiento of Ubaque, the priest Doctor Benedicto Salgar, complained about the Indians in familiar terms. He had been accused of abuses. Five Indian brothers, the Medinas, were the leaders of a mutiny against him. The mayor, Juan Tobar, and another official, Doctor Tomas Barriga, supported them. The judges found him guilty. When the priest Salgar went to the town to fetch his belongings the Indians prevented it and warned him not to enter the town again. The mayor Tobar for his part obstructed the priest's attempts to collect debts. The priest Salgar denounced these actions as sedition caused by the degree of licentiousness in which the Indians were living, since nobody punished them: <sup>1</sup>

Esta es una anarquia verdadera, esta es la ley del mas fuerte, y con yguales biolencias y atentados, ningun hombre tiene seguridad y qualquiera esta expuesto a precipitarse y repeler la biolencia con la fuerza. <sup>2</sup>

He also wondered about the utility of a Constitution which upheld individual rights if it was continually broken and disregarded:

Asi es que los Indios de este, y otros mas Pueblos estan alsados, que no pagan limosnas, derechos , y que todo va corrompiendose e imbirtliendose el buen orden. <sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 13, fo. 561-563.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 13, fo. 561.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 13, fo. 562.

In June 1811, the priest of Cocuy, Don Josef Santiago Crispín, also pointed out the

... perversa inteligencia que han dado aquellos Indios al Vando que se publico de orden de esta capital sobre igualacion con los Blancos. Como los Indios son hombres de primera impresion y no es capaz nadie de desimpre- sionarlos de lo que llegaron a entender, se hace preciso que de la misma capital dimanare la exposicion legitima del mandato porque conozcan que no puede servirles de apoyo...<sup>1</sup>

For the priest it was clear that the Indians lent credibility and legitimacy to the decrees, rather than to his explanation.

As has been seen in several Indians towns, Independence and the decree of equality were interpreted by the Indians in ways which surprised the officials, the priests and Indian authorities, and amazed the members of the Junta who had hardly foreseen such developments. Most of the cases analyzed above belonged to the corregimiento of Ubaque. They nonetheless serve to illustrate different reactions, and in the case of Chipaque both peaceful protest and violent revolt. The particular relationship with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, local grievances and the cultural customs of each community determined those differences. Thus, the new authorities' judgements of the Indians oscillated between images of 'poor Indians' and 'mischievous Indians', pity and distrust.

H. König has studied the importance of the indiano in the symbology of Independence: the creoles revived native names such as Cundinamarca for Santa Fe province and Calamar for Cartagena province; Indian women with feather crowns appeared in pictures and on coins as a symbol of liberty; the leaders declared themselves defenders and avengers of the humiliated Indians and equalized them as citizens; the formula of 'three hundred years of oppression' was coined in which the history of both, creoles and Indians appeared unified.

However, the evidence which has been cited above shows that there existed not only

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 12, fo. 542.

distance but also contradiction between this political rhetoric and real politics. In the long run, Indians were again to be excluded rather than included in the new political framework. By 1819 the crowned Indian women had been replaced by a Roman bust.<sup>1</sup> The past, present and future of creoles and Indians were again separated as had been the case traditionally.

Riots arising out of drunken affrays did not only occur in Indian towns, but also among freemen. Nevertheless, those cases were not explained by alluding to ethnic characteristics, but to general immorality.

In the town of Sabanitalarga in the Llanos province, in November 1810, a month after he had been popularly elected mayor, Don José Manuel Peralta was confronted by a mob of drunken women during his night watch. They were protesting against his prohibition of the selling of aguardiente after the curfew. The shopowner claimed that he would sell it at any time and at any price and that he would not obey any judge whatsoever. Women supported by men went to the mayor's house and threw his furniture out into the street. Frei José Antonio Pedraza, the parish priest, certified mayor Peralta's declarations and explained that the previous judge had been very tolerant and that the people had become used to this.<sup>2</sup> This incident was different from the unrest in the Indian towns where the drinking sprees were usually followed by a protest against tributes and abuses of the priests and Indian judges. In this case, however, popular protest was directed against the mayor's attempt to control the consumption of aguardiente.

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<sup>1</sup> H. J. König, "Símbolos nacionales y retórica política en la Independencia: el caso de la Nueva Granada", in P. D. Buillon (ed.), Problemas de la formación del estado y la nación en Hispanoamérica, Bonn, 1984, pp. 389-405.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo. 253-264.

What is important to keep in mind is that, despite the diverse expressions of Indian claims and protests at the coming of Independence, the traditional Indian grievances continued to be the same as those that had motivated their complaints and occasional uprisings during the colonial period. Then as now, they denounced the pressure on their lands and the abuses of some officials and priests in regard to stipends and punishments; and sought compromise in the election of corregidores and tenientes. The resistance to the control over their drinking of chicha was also not a new attitude. A new tone in their representaciones and the appeal for liberty were introduced to meet the demands of the new situation. Their basic sense of justice was perhaps as uneasy with the new order as it had been with the old.

#### 4.3 Autonomies, alignments and parties: the dismantling of the establishment

Soon after the first declarations of Independence, the patriot party divided into two factions, traditionally known as centralist and federalist. Alignments became more complex. This new division also had a geographical basis although local interest and loyalties meant further inner rivalries among factions. Traditional historiography has attempted to explain this in terms of ideological options. More recent works have focused on local characteristics and circumstances, although there does not exist a sufficient body of worthwhile research to attempt a balance yet.

Nine days after 20 July 1810, the Suprema Junta of Santa Fe invited all the provinces to send deputies to form a Congress. The representatives would constitute a government while a general Cortes was assembled. The Junta of Cartagena initially accepted this, but before long made a counter-proposal which put as a priority the acknowledgement of the Spanish 'Regency', in spite of the fact that Santa Fe had voted against acknowledgement on 26 July. Cartagena also proposed the election of deputies according to population, not a given number for each province; the moving of the site of the Congress to Medellín and the establishment

of a federalist system to reduce the 'tyranny of Santa Fe' within a centralist system.

The complex process of contact, conflict and adjustment between Cartagena and Santa Fe is seen as beginning with this first contradiction, and as having a continuous history from that time onwards.

The Junta of Mompox, aware of the loyalty of Cartagena to the Regency, decided not to follow suit but instead declared itself an autonomous province and requested recognition from the Suprema Junta of Santa Fe.

The town of Sogamoso, representing twenty-one smaller towns of some thirty thousand inhabitants named its own representative to the Congress, separately from the province of Tunja, to which the towns concerned had belonged during the colonial regime. Debate about the right to elect representatives from the areas which had not formerly been provinces constituted a deep division within the parties in the Congress when it met in December 1810. Camilo Torres, a deputy from Pamplona, strongly opposed the admission of the deputy from Sogamoso, Emidgio Benítez, another creole notable. The other five members, namely the deputies from Santa Fe, Socorro, Neiva, Mariquita and Nóvita, supported the deputy from Sogamoso.

The Junta Suprema of Santa Fe at first supported the Sogamoso request but afterwards changed its line. It not only pledged its support for Tunja but also blamed the Congress for encouraging divisions and local autonomies throughout the country. As a result of this conflict, the Junta assembled the Colegio Constituyente de Cundinamarca and through its president Jorge Tadeo Lozano proposed the establishment of a federalist system of government, setting up four main departments, namely, Cundinamarca, Cartagena, Popayán and Quito. Antonio Nariño in his weekly paper La Bagatela, reacted against this plan and gained support for a centralist counter-proposal among the members of the Colegio. The

second Congress, which met in November 1811 under the leadership of Camilo Torres, constituted the Federación de las Provincias Unidas de Nueva Granada, of federalist tendency. Antioquia, Cartagena, Neiva, Pamplona and Tunja signed this pact. Each province drafted its own Constitution as an independent republic.

Cundinamarca, for its part, opted out of the system altogether. Dr. Lozano was ousted from the presidency. Nariño was elected and he devoted himself to the expansion of the territory of the State of Cundinamarca and its jurisdiction, based on centralist ideas. It was as part of this strategy that Chiquinquirá, Villa de Leiva, Muzo and Sogamoso separated from Tunja; Girón and Vélez from Socorro; Timaná, Garzón and Purificación from Neiva: all attached themselves to Cundinamarca. Honda, Ambalema and Mariquita, which had once declared themselves autonomous, had ended up by signing a treaty of annexation to Cundinamarca in April 1811, as a result of the military and political expedition sent by the Junta. These towns, villas and cities were pledged to support Cundinamarca in its conflict with the federation the Provincias Unidas, which degenerated into a civil war from December 1812 to December 1813, with a short interval of peace. Bolívar, under the order of the Congress, besieged Santa Fe in December 1813. The State of Cundinamarca acknowledged the government of the Provincias Unidas, which was the sole patriot authority thereafter.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, Santa Marta and Pasto continued to be royalist strongholds. Popayán had been besieged by Spanish troops from July 1813 to January 1814. In Spain, the French forces had been expelled at the beginning of 1814 and Ferdinand VII restored to his throne. He then occupied himself with the preparation of the reconquest of America. With their time and attention consumed by domestic conflicts, the patriot rulers had ceased to guard against the real enemy. This perception of the past is the reason for calling the period between 1810-1815, the "Patria Boba". Traditional historiography dwells at length on the various

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<sup>1</sup> J. Ocampo López, El proceso ideológico de la emancipación en Colombia, Bogotá, 1983.

disputes involved: first, that between the Junta Suprema and the Congress; second, that between the State of Cundinamarca and the Federación de las Provincias Unidas de la Nueva Granada; third, the differences between Antonio Nariño and Camilo Torres. The interpretation of two parties fighting for two different forms of government has led to a conventional and oversimplistic view of the conflicts. The aspirations and actions of the different social groups at times converged and other times did not. Loyalties, allegiances and alignments changed. Both collision and collusion between them occurred. This thesis attempts to formulate new questions and review some of the evidence to contribute a better understanding of the meanings of processes, although a complete study is outside its brief.

#### 4.3.1 The autonomy of the new provinces:

This section focuses attention on the struggle for provincial autonomy and the reshaping of allegiances.

A stubborn debate took place among the educated creoles about the right of a district to seek conversion into a province and to appoint deputies to Congress. The defenders of the creation of new provinces insisted that according to natural law there was no reason for supporting the power of former provincial capitals against the wishes of numerous other towns. This would be in opposition to the right of the people. If the capital, Santa Fe, had no right to subordinate the provinces, provincial capitals should have no such right regarding the towns under their jurisdiction. With the fall of Ferdinand VII, links with the monarchy had vanished; sovereignty reverted to the people, who were not obliged to maintain any bonds inherited from the former regime.<sup>1</sup> Opponents of the constitution of new provinces found their best argument in the prediction of ensuing chaos. Camilo Torres was the first to pronounce on this matter. On 23 December 1810, he proposed to the Congress:

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<sup>1</sup> "Los Representantes de la Provincia de Mompox al Congreso General del Reyno", Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Quijano, No. 151 (2).

... no reconocer a la de Sogamoso, ni otras provincias que las antiguas; que en esta virtud, protestando la responsabilidad de los males y perjuicios que iban a resultar al Reino con un paso de esta naturaleza pues no habría pueblo que no se creyera con igual derecho a Sogamoso, y de aquí la desorganización general.<sup>1</sup>

It was also said that Sogamoso was nothing more than an Indian town. Torres argued for the maintenance of order, rules and equal treatment for similar problems. In 1811 Ignacio de Herrera, one of those who received the Sogamoso deputy in December 1810, attacked minor sovereignties as the result of the federalist system adopted by the Junta Suprema under the Lozano government. (Herrera supported Narino's candidacy). Lozano's proposal of division into four large departments was aimed at the avoidance of dissolution into minor autonomies. Herrera wrote:

Las provincias comienzan entonces a erigir pequeñas soberanías: algunos pueblos se les separan, quedan acéfalos; y de aquí la disolución de partidos, la anarquía, y los daños todos que son consequentes a un sistema tan perjudicial.<sup>2</sup>

Beyond the political division of Junta and Congress, the general perception of the period was one of chaos produced by the segmentation of the government. This has been wrongly attributed to the federalist party. In 1824, Santiago Arroyo, accounting for the actions of the Junta, affirmed:

... la Junta Suprema puso el germen de la división y produjo la desorganización general de la Nueva Granada, subdividida en pequeñas y monstruosas Juntas gubernativas, como la de Santa Fe. Así se declararon soberanas hasta las parroquias; y las ciudades del Valle del Cauca, correspondientes a la Provincia de Popayán, desatendiendo las fraternales invitaciones de la capital, rehusaron enviar diputados que deliberaran reunidos, franca y liberalmente, dando así pretextos y medios al Gobernador para dividir a los ciudadanos y hacer odiar a la Junta de seguridad.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Sobre la admisión en el Congreso del representante de Sogamoso", Santa Fé, 1811, Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Quijano, No. 154 (2).

<sup>2</sup> I. de Herrera y Vergara, "Manifiesto sobre la conducta del Congreso", Santa Fé, 1811, Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Quijano, No. 151 (3), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> S. Arroyo y Valencia, "Apuntes históricos sobre la revolución de la Independencia en Popayán", p. 267.

Las Provincias, desconfiadas unas; envilecidas otras, aquellas orgullosas de su libertad, pero sin ilustración; estas, vergonzosamente abatidas e interesadas; todas o casi todas ingratas y sin política, han formado del Nuevo Reino de Granada un teatro oscuro donde se ven en contradicción todas las virtudes y todas las pasiones: la verdad, el error y sus funestas consecuencias...<sup>1</sup>

The reasons given by cities to support their claims for conversion into provinces strongly resemble those used in the petitions for promotion in the hierarchy of settlements during the colonial period. Merchants from Mompox had striven for their autonomy and had been granted it by the king for a year (1776-1777). With the coming of Independence, traditional rivalry was rekindled. Mompox was a major centre of contraband; its rivalry with Cartagena was easily expressed in political terms and autonomy appeared as essential to growing future prosperity. According to the representatives José María Salazar and José María Gutiérrez,

Mompox tiene poder y luces para figurar por si solo en el teatro político y su felicidad es incompatible con la dependencia de otra provincia.<sup>2</sup>

They also drew attention to the city's geographical position on the banks of the Magdalena and Cauca rivers, which were the main channels of communication and trade in the country, its jurisdiction over thirty towns with forty thousand inhabitants skilled in river navigation, fishing and agriculture; its beautiful buildings - convents, hospitals, churches, and a college; its noble and enlightened people who lived from their work which produced a great amount of revenue. They claimed that it was unjust to condemn all this to the wastage of Cartagena. Its earlier one-year autonomy was a positive precedent. They argued that a general rule of the right to become a province and to send a representative to Congress had to be established. Three elements should be taken into account: population, territory and resources.

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<sup>1</sup> F. J. Gutiérrez's speech addressed to Junta Suprema in 1810, quoted by M. A. Pombo, J. J. Guerra, Constituciones de Colombia, vol. 1, 4th ed. Bogotá, 1986, p.287.

<sup>2</sup> "Los representantes de la provincia de Mompox al Congreso general del Reyno", pp. 8-10.

Mompox had all of these.

Sogamoso was another case in point. Emidgio Benítez, its deputy, defended its autonomy from Tunja in similar terms: twenty-one towns, which amounted to forty thousand inhabitants, a privileged geographical position for trade from Socorro to the Llanos, a vast territory with a suitable climate for agriculture and cattle raising which provided products for neighbouring provinces and pasture for the young cattle coming from the Llanos. Sogamoso also based its request on previous status although this seems rather vague:

... unidos veinte y un pueblos, libres, y numerosos, en su capital Sogamoso, se proclamaron, o mejor diré, se restituyeron a la clase de Provincia separada, e independiente, como las demás de cuya prerogativa muy debida, y conveniente, gozaron pacíficamente por tiempo que no cabe en la memoria de los hombres; y solo pudieron despojarlos de ella las miras ambiciosas, y depotismo del antiguo Gobierno, que no respetaron, ni el imperio de las mas vigorosas reclamaciones, ni una posesión legítima y prolongada, ni la expresa decisión soberana, ni el mismo recurso al trono...<sup>1</sup>

Benítez denigrated the deposed rulers' actions in order to legitimate a change of policy.

Finally, one can take a look at the reasons Socorro gave for its elevation to a Bishopric in 1811. These on a larger scale, are like those expressed by viceparishes when they desired to become parishes. The inhabitants of Socorro alluded to the deterioration of their spiritual life because they were seldom visited by the Bishop of Santa Fe, who was miles away. Their old people died without the sacraments and the abandoned flock tended to go astray. Furthermore, the church revenues of the region went to Santa Fe where they benefitted the poor of that area instead of the local people.

This petition had also a precedent in the colonial era. They remembered this and affirmed the extraordinary view that the right of Patronato was attached and inherent to each province

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<sup>1</sup> "Sobre la admisión en el Congreso del representante de Sogamoso", pp.52-54.

where the Church was founded.<sup>1</sup>

Colonial law and custom, either real or imagined, furnished excellent arguments for desired autonomy. The notions of freedom and independence, interpreted with all the shortsightedness of local interests, served well. Pre-political attitudes such as rivalry and competition, aspirations such as autonomy and feelings of localism as well as experiences and memories of the old times past, became political and were placed under the label of 'liberty'. On the other hand, notions such as distinction and dignity, usually related to individuals, were translated in the code of Independence to mean sovereignty. The notion of despotism, which in the past had been applied to the rule of unjust mayors, corregidores or cliques, came to be used pejoratively for Spanish rulers or for the authorities of the provincial capitals.

Feelings of superiority on the part of Santa Fe towards the provinces, from the provincial capitals towards the smaller cities and from these towards the towns, were not to be stemmed by Independence. In Santa Fe the provincial deputies were the butt of lampoons and anonymous writings.<sup>2</sup> In Cartagena the complaints of the deputies of Mompox were disregarded; they were put on a level with the deputies of the quarters of that city, and the battalions of Mompox volunteers were disbanded.<sup>3</sup> Agents of the Junta of Tunja ridiculed the 'directors' from Chiquinquirá, referring to them as "Franquines" and "Wascintones", and to Francisco Vanegas, one of their leaders, as a "Bonaparte".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Apología de la provincia del Socorro sobre el crimen de cismática que se la imputa por la erección de Obispado", Santa Fé, 1811, Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Quijano 161 (18).

<sup>2</sup> I. Herrera y Vergara, "Manifiesto sobre la conducta del Congreso", p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> "Los representantes de la provincia de Mompox al Congreso general del Reino", p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 12. fo. 565. (Reference to Franklin and Washington).

The Junta of Socorro assumed the responsibility of warning people against ridiculing the representatives of San Gil, Vélez and Charalá when they came to the city.<sup>1</sup> In turn, when the city of Socorro and the town of Sogamoso opposed the policies of Santa Fe and Tunja, they were threatened by allusions to what had followed the participation of their towns in the Comunero movement:

Que si en el año 81 no les castigaron sus tropelias suficientemente, ahora lo haran para que les sirva de escarmiento en los sucesivo.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Local autonomy and 'the right to name one's own judges':

During the period from July 1810 to December 1811, loyalty to the Junta Suprema of Santa Fe, as well as the links of towns to cities and provincial capitals, were matters of concern for settlements of all sizes. Almost every provincial capital formed a Junta and went out to secure the loyalty of the hamlets, villas, and cities of its jurisdiction. The mechanisms used varied and in many cases were of dubious legitimacy. It was no different in 1812 when Cundinamarca strove to gain the loyalty of many towns and cities, nor in 1813 when the civil war broke out openly. The hamlets and villas expressed their loyalty to either the provincial capital, to another city or to Santa Fe.

In 1810 commissioners from the Junta of Socorro reported that they had confirmed the loyalties of Santa Ana, Pare and Suaita. In the two first towns the elected representative had pledged loyalty to Santa Fe but the desire of the people was to maintain links with Socorro. The agents had agreed with the mayor of Santa Ana and the priest of Pare respectively that they should get powers of attorney to change the towns back to their original allegiances. In

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<sup>1</sup> Decrees published in H. Rodríguez Plata, La antigua provincia del Socorro y la Independencia, p.141.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 12, f. 565.

Suaita, the people had endorsed powers for various representatives to pledge allegiance to any city; the agents authorized a power of attorney to a sole representative who sided with the Junta of Socorro. However, since Moniquirá had openly opted for Santa Fe, the agents went to subdue it. They also refused to go to Puente Real of Vélez as the town was completely corrupted in its ideas.<sup>1</sup> This declaration may refer to the fact that by that time Vélez and San Gil were striving to form autonomous governments, which afterwards attached themselves to Santa Fe.

In the same year of 1810 about thirty towns containing some 30.000 inhabitants in the province of Tunja established by common agreement a independent Junta in Sogamoso and elected Domingo José Benítez as its president. They alleged grievances against the Tunja authorities and tyranny from Santa Fe. However, some of the former supporters of this new province, unsuccessful in their bids for offices, then campaigned to reunite Sogamoso with its capital. Both cities, Tunja and Sogamoso, signed a new agreement, without consulting President Benítez, and accused him in March 1811 of being an instigator of separation, and of planning a war against Tunja and Santa Fe.<sup>2</sup>

In July 1811, once Tunja had received the support of the Junta Suprema of Santa Fe, several commissions were formed to regain the loyalties of the Villas of Leyva and Chiquinquirá by separating them from their recent attachment to Sogamoso.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in the midst of this conflict between the first Congress and the Junta Suprema of Santa Fe, the villa of Socorro and the town of Ubaté were accused of trying to attack the capital. Military campaigns were launched against them, as well as against smaller places such as Suta, Tensa and Guateque,

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<sup>1</sup> Document edited by H. Rodríguez Plata in La antigua provincia del Socorro, p.106-107.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo. 521-524.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 12, fo. 561-568.

in August 1811.<sup>1</sup>

It is hard to find additional descriptions of local politics to compare with the commissioners' reports. There must have been many representaciones which have unfortunately gone astray. Ignacio de Herrera's testimony suggests this:

El personero que era el órgano por donde corrían sus pretensiones (del pueblo) se vió obligado a callar: la Junta de Santa Fe que antes había publicado bando para que toda solicitud se hiciera por su conducto, le dice después que no hable, y dá al desprecio muchas representaciones, que contenían (objetos) harto interesantes a la felicidad pública.<sup>2</sup>

Few of them, however, reveal the tone. The neighbours of Sobachoque did not let the year of 1810 finish before they attempted to profit from the new situation. They denounced mayor José Antonio de la Torre, who had been appointed and confirmed by the former government, as being unworthy and vicious.<sup>3</sup> In Umbita, a parish of the town of Turmequé, about thirty inhabitants denounced the reelection of the mayor Ignacio Rubiano, which he had pushed through by means of a rigged meeting which acclaimed him in January 1812. They demanded popular election of the mayor: 'Once the time of our freedom has come, we have the right to appoint our judges'. This expression was a very common one during those first years of Independence.<sup>4</sup>

A representación from the vecinos of Saboyá illustrates the process of local politics to which the agents' reports corresponded. From the town of Saboyá, near Puente Real of Vélez, the

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 12, fo.567.

<sup>2</sup> I. de Herrera y Vergara, "Manifiesto sobre la conducta del Congreso", p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 2, fo. 302 and ss.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 2, fo. 499-562.

neighbours complained in October 1810 about their mayor, Diego V. Cortez, who wanted to separate the town from the jurisdiction of the city of Vélez and to attach it to Chiquinquirá. The representation declared Saboyá's loyalty to Santa Fe through its belonging to Vélez. They accused the mayor of being in alliance with the priest and neighbours of Chiquinquirá where he was born, and of having sent one of his opponents to jail in that villa. Furthermore, Cortez had been appointed to the position by the former authorities as well as by the officials of Chiquinquirá. What he was doing was attempting to keep the neighbourhood of Saboyá under the 'oppression' and 'servitude' which had existed for so long, attempting to convert them into 'feudal vassals' of Chiquinquirá.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note the reasons behind the alignment. In the case of Saboya, it seems to me that either opposition to mayor Cortez or autonomy from Chiquinquirá may quite probably have been more important than allegiance to Vélez. However, one cannot disregard the role played by an idea introduced by Independence, the popular right to define these loyalties. Indeed, accusing officials of belonging to cliques, of alliances with priests or outsiders, of abuses of authority and of being agents of oppression was nothing new. It was the coming of Independence that made it possible to legitimize these complaints in political terms.

In the province of Socorro various reactions took place during 1811 and 1812, the period in which the city, led by Lorenzo Plata, opposed the Santa Fe government. The inhabitants of the villa of San Gil hated Plata -they called him a 'tyrant'- and did not want to be under the jurisdiction of Socorro. Consequently they attached themselves to the Junta Suprema. The vecinos of Riachuelo rejected the idea of being attached to Socorro and separated from San Gil. They also expressed their hatred for Socorro and their allegiance to Santa Fe. Similar expressions are recorded for Valle, Mogotes and Varaflorida.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 394-398. They said vasallos feudales.

In 1812 the disagreement between the government of Socorro, leaded by Lorenzo Plata, and the Junta of Santa Fe ceased for a while. Joaquín Ricaurte was the agent of the Junta commissioned to secure the loyalties of the towns. The mayor of Varaflorida zealously denounced the pretension of Joaquín Ricaurte towards the town. The terms used were telling:

Derrivo V.E. gloriosamente el arbol de la tiranía y despotismo que se habia levantado en esta provincia pero el señor comandante Don Joaquin Ricaurte embiado de vuestra excelencia para este fin lo ha cultivado en terminos que en el día lo bemos cuando no mas frondoso que antes.<sup>1</sup>

In the remote parish of San Pedro Apostol de Sabanitalarga, province of Llanos of Casanare, the neighbours got together with the consent of their priest and deliberated about their current political situation. Although they belonged to the jurisdiction of Santiago de las Atalayas, they considered that the neglectful attitude of that cabildo, which had not pronounced in favour of the Junta Suprema, might result in an advantage for the enemy. The judges appointed by the former government had not been reelected by the people, who now had the right to do so. The area around San Pedro Apostol unanimously decided to side with the Junta Suprema and elected José Manuel Peralta as the new mayor for the parish. He was sworn in. The priest, on behalf of the people, gave him a baton as a sign of authority. The people acclaimed him and the bells rang for a Te Deum. The document dated 29 September 1810 was signed by fifty three men.<sup>2</sup>

Here neither remoteness nor lowly status discouraged a community from sitting in judgement on its provincial capital nor from proclaiming its autonomous decision. In a way an announcement of allegiance to the capital, Santa Fe, circumventing the cabildo of the provincial capital, could mean, in a sense, promotion.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 13, 401-402. My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo. 253-260.

Old and new elements were involved in the procedure. First, the representación with claims and motives, as it used to be carried out under the colonial regime. Then an innovation: the election on the part of the people as has been recorded. Thus, now they match the complaint with the appropriate solution. The representación becomes a report of achievements, rather than a complaint. Secondly, the priest acted on behalf of the people and handed the baton to the mayor as a sign of authority. Under the colonial government, the priests were entrusted by civil authorities to gain popular consent. In the past, the outgoing mayor had handed the baton to the newly appointed. Now, it was the people, through their priest, who gave the power to the mayor, since he had been elected by popular consent. The priest was entrusted by the people to do so. Thirdly, ringing the bells and the celebration of a Te Deum, although this was not unusual in local elections during the colonial period, seemed to have a new sense now as a means of legitimizing what people were doing. In all these areas, old forms such as the representación, the handing over of the baton, the intervention of the priest, and the religious celebration, had their meanings partially changed.

Priestly influence on the people's opinion was an important element, acknowledged by both authorities and people. One type of intervention had to do with the alignments of the towns to one or another city. In April 1811, the priests of Tegua, Don José Antonio Borques; of Macanal, Don Martín Barrero; of Guateque, Don Ramón García; and of Sutatenza, Don Miguel de Acevedo, were accused of having induced their respective towns to separate from the former capital, Tunja. Although the president of the Tunja Junta was also a priest, Dr. Don Juan Agustín de la Rocha, the priests listed had declared that the government was insolent, infamous, false and reckless. The Vicepresident, Juan Nepomuceno Niño, for his part qualified the priests' move as a subversive machination; they ought to lead the people to respect the legitimate authorities instead of denigrating them.<sup>1</sup> In the case in point, the unity of a priest and his town could originate either from opinion shared by parishioners and

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 462-468.

priests, from popular backing for a priest's proposal, or through rougher clerical manipulation. While the joint involvement of four priests from neighbouring towns suggests a certain level of coordination, the accusation of seduction points to clerical initiative followed by popular backing. References to carelessness or heedlessness towards local aspirations served as a basis for an appeal for autonomy.

In the Cauca Valley many towns petitioned for the title of villa in this period. They were told that the decrease of their vecinos' patrimonies because of the contributions for Independence would not prejudice their petitions. In this way a commitment to Independence and hopes of gaining in status could run together.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth noting the continuity of this struggle for local autonomy. Sites, hamlets, towns founded throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had requested autonomy, which was to be derived from promotion in the hierarchical order of settlements. There existed a deep conviction about the relationship between the category of the people and that of the place where they were vecinos. It has been shown how rivalries with their peers, desire for autonomy from the immediately superior town or city and misunderstandings between their rulers often led to petitions, complaints and lawsuits. When Independence came, local autonomy and sovereignty was one of the most common meanings of liberty.<sup>2</sup> Direct election of their own mayors, without ternas, and election of deputies for Juntas were a concrete way of expressing the change. Figuring in the political arena was a sign of respectability. Profound expectations were concealed under the label of liberty. Non-political and pre-political

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<sup>1</sup> News about Popayán province in 1814, in "El Anteojo de Larga Vista", Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, Miscelanea 170.

<sup>2</sup> The attitude of defending local autonomy could be similar to what E. Hobsbawm has described as 'municipal patriotism' for the urban mob. E. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels: studies in archaic forms of social movement in the 19th and 20th centuries, New York, 1965, p. 112.

attitudes developed into political ones. A new picture of allegiances was drawn up. As links between every settlement ended up either as support for the Congress or for the Junta Suprema, the basic loyalties had a political party use. Both desire for autonomy from the immediate superior-rank city and competition with peers were such basic feelings common to the towns that they apparently endured in all circumstances. Bolívar, after the battle of Boyacá when Independence had been secured, had to warn the towns:

Yo espero de la honradez y virtudes de los ciudadanos que la compongan (la municipalidad) que no sea este establecimiento un origen de inobediencias para con la cabeza del Cantón, ni de rivalidad para con las municipalidades limítrofes, ni un obstáculo que embarace las operaciones del gobierno, sino un apoyo y agente de sus providencias.<sup>1</sup>

The collision between the enlightened and broader notion of "patria" and the traditional idea had been rightly expressed by Frutos J. Gutiérrez much earlier:

Yo no llamo Patria el lugar de mi nacimiento, ni el Departamento o Provincia a que este pertenece. Acaso en este solo punto consiste el estado parálitico en que nos hallamos y del que ya es tiempo de salir si queremos librarnos de los males terribles que nos amenazan...<sup>2</sup>

What for enlightened creole rulers meant chaos or 'paralysis', for vecinos of small cities, villas and parishes meant the achievement of a longed-for autonomy.

However, during this puzzling time of the first period of Independence, collusions between neighbouring rival areas also occurred at times. Pamplona and Cúcuta, leaving aside previous frictions, came to an agreement in November 1811 and both pledged their

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<sup>1</sup> Bolívar's speech in Barichara on 9 October 1819, published in H. Rodríguez PLata, La antigua provincia del Socorro en la Independencia, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> F. J. Gutiérrez' speech addressed to the Junta Suprema, quoted in M. A. Pombo and J. J. Guerra, Constituciones de Colombia, Bogotá, 1986, vol. 1, pp. 286-287.

allegiances to the newly created government of Socorro and sent deputies.<sup>1</sup>

Available studies prove B. Hammett's general assertion correct:

Participation, even for a limited time, in a broader- ranging independence movement - or, indeed, in the Royalist counter-revolution - may have been seen as a means of social improvement in community terms or upward mobility in individual terms. Social tensions and frustrations of this type antedated the independence movement and undoubtedly superseded it as well.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.3.3 Individual loyalties and recruiting:

During these first few years of Independence recruiting had quite distinct characteristics from those of the period of the liberation campaign, 1817-1819, which included the forced levy of peasants and slaves on a larger scale. The 'fixed batallions' were inherited from the era of Spanish rule. The organization of militias led to a rather hesitant recruiting campaign, since it was for some time not clear if it was necessary at all. Most of those recruited were probably inhabitants from the rural towns near Santa Fe. At the beginning some were volunteers. They usually recognized one sole chief, a captain to whom they were loyal and who could call them out at any time. During July, August and September of 1810 they were given sabres, although they remained in their towns. Research on this point has focused on recruiting during a later stage of the Independence wars and it has been based on military records, orders and reports of levy. These give accounts of numbers needed and obtained, and of the quotas of different places. It is much more difficult to hear the voices of those recruited and to get evidence for their sense of what was happening. The document analyzed in the following paragraphs throws some light on this point.

In January 1811 there was a call to the milicianos of Boza, Soacha and Fontibón to gather

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 13, fo. 209-215.

<sup>2</sup> B. Hammett, "Popular insurrection and royalist reaction: Colombian regions, 1810-23", University of Strathclyde, mimeographed paper, 1986, p.2.

in Santa Fe. According to their later declarations some of them were told that the Vicepresident of the Junta Suprema, Doctor Miguel Pey, had been threatened by a revolt of regentistas. Another version alluded to groups of armed chapetones who were planning to come to the capital with the same aim. Finally, a third testimony declared that they had come to Santa Fe to defend the Congress and its president, Doctor Manuel de Alvarez, since news had been spread that the Congress would be disbanded. It seems that the militiamen were mobilized by either captains of different parties or a conspiratory association, whose motives were not clear to the common people. In any case the rivalry between the Junta Suprema and the Congress was behind these obscure declarations. That same day the Junta Suprema had been threatened: if they did not reach an agreement with the Congress, people from neighbouring rural areas and militiamen would be summoned. Vicepresident Pey ordered an enquiry, which indicated that the priests Juan Nepomuceno Azuero and Gómez Restrepo, both spokesmen in the Junta, were involved in some indirect way.<sup>1</sup> The rumour had been rife in the chicherías of Doña Josefa Ardila in Soacha and that of Manuel Saenz in Santa Fe.

Shops such as these have already figured in documents in this thesis as places where disturbances had originated. Their function in colonial social life has been recently studied in the case of Santa Fe by J. Vargas.<sup>2</sup> They were also important for political purposes, for informal communication, gossip and agitation. In a society of such a low level of literacy and with scant written communication, they were the common scene of political interaction and the place where city and countryside met. The different rumours in circulation in the chicherías referring to the call up of milicianos in January 1811 are a good instance. Priests participated in this informal network which, it must be said, was not extensive. In the case in point, the testimonies alluded to the involvement of about twenty-five people.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, f. 329-352.

<sup>2</sup> J. Vargas Lesmes, "Zahurdas de Pluton: Chicherías en Santa Fé", mimeo, 1988. See also section 4.2.2, p.333 of this thesis.

In spite of their different versions, a kind of emotional commitment to the maintenance of new 'order' emerged from the testimonies:

Lo que le pareció al declarante era que se desvarataba el Congreso que había oído decir era tan útil y ventajoso.<sup>1</sup>

It is also striking how easily people were brought to readiness for immediate active service. When they were questioned, some rural milicianos showed themselves ready to action. One of them pointed out:

(tenían) espadas de las de aquellas que les daban a la gente de los campos en el tiempo de los alborotos del mes de Julio, Agosto y Septiembre del año próximo pasado.<sup>2</sup>

The priest of Boza reported that when he was told about the revolt of regentistas against Vicepresident Pey, he summoned the people by ringing the church bells in the same way he had acted on 20 July 1810.<sup>3</sup> There was no way for such a town to remain isolated from the political events of the neighbouring capital; priests and mayors felt that they had to do something; the old forms of summoning people were effective enough, and were used to political ends more often than before. People may have had only a vague idea of the detail of political events and alignments. At this first stage the milicianos were summoned through their personal relationship with their chiefs, thorough rumours which vaguely alluded to parties but always represented the situation as a dispute between 'friends' and 'enemies'.

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo. 332.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo.332.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, T. 11, fo.351.

#### 4.3.4 Old local cliques and new parties:

If in Santa Fe, the centre of the creole network, the factions had separated one from the other, it did not take long for dissensions between family cliques to emerge in other provinces. In Cartagena, the government of García Toledo and Castillo y Rada was confronted by Gutiérrez de Piñeres from Mompoix, who was considered a demagogue and finally expelled from the city.<sup>1</sup> In smaller provincial cities the old cliques reappeared in new positions and with new slogans.

The Upper Magdalena river valley was a region of intense conflicts in the period after 1810. The competition for jurisdiction and authority resembled old antagonisms between different groups rather than any new debate or division of political opinion. In February 1812 two groups confronted each other in the villa of La Mesa. Mayors Arenas and Bonilla were insulted and threatened with sabres by Don Josef Antonio Olaya, militia captain and his son, who were backed by fifty milicianos summoned by the drums. They demanded the release of Polo Saenz, a miliciano prosecuted and jailed by mayor Arenas. They allegedly invoked the fuero for militiamen according to the "Reglamento de Cuba". The notary Francisco Javier Gómez, Don Constantino Guarnizo and sergeant Andres Quijano supported the Olayas. All these men had been rejected for local posts by mayor Arenas. José Antonio Olaya had protested against the election of mayor Arenas carried out in May 1812 and formed a clique with Guarnizo, who used to be the notary of Tocaima, Francisco Javier Gómez and Pedro de Rojas.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Restrepo, Historia de la Revolución, t. 2, pp. 190-193.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 13, fo. 356-366; 569-589. José Antonio Olaya had been mayor of the villa several times.

This last had been acting as alcalde pedaneo of Anapoima in 1809 in a close relationship with the priest Azuero and lawyer Benítez to manipulate of elections.<sup>1</sup> This local group had links with lawyers from Santa Fe, based probably either on college acquaintanceship or the fact of being fellow countrymen. The lawyers, Emidgio Benítez, Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez and José María Salazar, and the priests Javier Serrano Gómez and Juan Nepomuceno Azuero were all involved.<sup>2</sup> Connections with Anapoima, Mariquita, Tocaima and Honda introduced provincial representation to this group, whose actions have already been discussed above in this thesis and Guarnizo has been taken as a prototype of tinterillo.<sup>3</sup> In the years before Independence local members of the clique had instigated a lawsuit against José Gregorio Caicedo (1808-1809); Olaya had been involved in a case in 1792 and prosecuted; in the same year, Caicedo had been accused of the homicide of Juan José Zárate.<sup>4</sup>

Although the connection between Caicedo and the mayors Arenas and Bonilla in 1812 is not yet clear, that year Caicedo, as the mayor of Tocaima, also complained about the actions of Olaya as a militia captain.<sup>5</sup>

In Ibagué, we have another case in point. The year of 1810 saw a series of complaints from the people of Ibagué and from several nearby parishes, such as San Luis and Valle de San

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, f. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence of some ten letters between them existed in AHN, EPC, tomo 1, fo. 977-995 (see a sample in section 1.4, pp.64-65 of this thesis). A serious accusation of robbery was made by Doctor Lorenzo Plata against priest Francisco Javier Serrano in 26 October 1810. (AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 320-327).

<sup>3</sup> See sections 1.4, pp. 64-65, 1.6, p. 100 and 2.1.2, p. 160 of the thesis.

<sup>4</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 4, fo. 876-881; tomo 3, fo. 472-483.

<sup>5</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo. 504-510.

Juan, all them against Don Pedro Santos and Don Antonio Blanco. These men, and Don José María Lee were attempting to separate Ibagué and its parishes from the jurisdiction of Santa Fe, and join it to the villas of Honda and Mariquita, which together with Pamplona had seceded and declared its autonomy. The representaciones explained that what those men wanted were public offices, the mail administration and the tithes. Interests led them to seduce the inhabitants by abolishing the alcabala (sales tax). Furthermore they had overawed people with the threat of troops from Honda.

Twenty-seven vecinos of Ibagué, forty-five from the parish of San Luis and fifteen from Valle de San Juan, signed three respective representaciones against the return of Blanco and Santos.<sup>1</sup>

The neighbours of Ibagué qualified Blanco and Santos as restless and cavilosos, men attempting to become powerful through the formation of local parties within our "happy revolution". For Blanco the Ibaguereños were cowardly and faint-hearted because they bore the yoke of four vecinos, the two mayors, the notary and Buenaventura. The lawsuit resulted in conviction, and Blanco and Santos were taken to Santa Fe. According to several testimonies, when the imprisonment of Santos became known, people were pleased - "lo tirano que ha sido con los pobres".<sup>2</sup>

In April 1812 Blanco and Santos returned and tried again to win over opinion and get themselves appointed to public posts. The cabildo took them to court on charges similar to those of a year and a half before.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 11, fo. 323-329.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Justicia, tomo 8, fo. 476.

<sup>3</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 13, fo. 569-573.

Evidence of previous conflicts exists. The signatories of the 1810 representation in Ibagué were headed by Nicolás María Buenaventura, a relative of Ignacio Buenaventura, the father-in-law of Pedro Santos. Being mayor of Ibagué during the late colonial years, Santos had put his father-in-law in the stocks and then had been prosecuted for this action. Blanco for his part had been "Familiar del Santo Oficio", mail administrator, mayor and corregidor. In 1807-1809 he had been involved in mutual accusations with mayor Ventura Alvarez and notary Manuel Domínguez.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Santos and Blanco had figured in the politics of Mariquita, Honda and Guaduas where they also had friends and enemies. In 1809 on the occasion of the taking of the oath of Ferdinand VII, Blanco as corregidor of Guaduas was faced by the opposition of about eight priests from the surrounding parishes. Blanco imputed their resistance to the influence of Don Ventura Alvarez, Don Manuel Domínguez and the priest Rudesindo Abreu. Tomas Rubio, mayor of Guaduas, proposed to pay the cost of the ceremony and fiesta if he were appointed Alferez Real. Blanco denounced personal interest behind Rubio's offer: he and his faction had held suspicious Juntas and intended to ridicule both judges and corregidor. In Blanco's terms Rubio's party was caviloso and restless and had the villa divided into factions, abanderizada.<sup>2</sup>

In the parish of Quebradanegra near Anolaima, the priest and the vecinos, "using for the first time their natural right of defense against tyranny", complained about Antonio Luna "in these times when it is licit to breathe":

Estamos quexosos de nuestro combecino Antonio Luna por la antigua predominacion que ha ejercido sobre este vecindario protexido por el gobierno tirano que aun no se ha destruido en este infeliz partido. Es el el hombre mas feroz que se pueda pintar y aunque no creemos que se desatienda el pedimento sencillo de todo un vecindario en tiempo que es licito respirar, en nuestro apoyo damos un limitado diseño de la conducta

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, EPC, tomo 18, fo.18-31 and 107-137.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, f.107.

criminal de este aborto inhumano...<sup>1</sup>

In the representación the neighbours complained about Luna's use of vulgar words and his vulgar behaviour and petitioned for his expulsion. Luna went into voluntary exile in Guaduas where the cabildo protected him.

In both cases, that of La Mesa and that of Ibagué, local politics during Independence were determined by old factions, loyalties and rivalries, although now justice, liberty and the popular right to election of rulers served as new grounds for old ambitions and passions. The local factions in these cases did not think of each other as centralist or federalist, neither as parties supporting the Junta or the Congress. They tried to present their positions as matters of honesty, fairness, purity of motives. In the case of Quebradanegra, it seems that the vecinos had decided to break their silence with the coming of Independence and complained about an old grievance.

In San Juan de Rioseco, near Vituima, the vecinos headed by José María Rubio drafted a complaint against a new contribution which had been imposed by the priest, Doctor Don Agustín Nieto. People came out in the streets and proclaimed that 'nobody ruled but the people'.

In Mariquita an outburst had as its target the teniente corregidor Salvador Rodríguez del Lago in September 1810. It was said that he was despotic, unjust and haughty; people had been unjustly beaten, jailed and slandered. Labourers were obliged to work unpaid. In August Rodríguez del Lago fled the town.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Justicia, tomo 9, fo. 138-165. My underlining.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Justicia, tomo 8, fo. 443-441.

But it was not very different in the royalist towns. We know that the city of Valencia de Jesús during the late colonial period suffered a decrease of population due to Chimila Indian invasions and was confronted as well by a scarcity of men suitable to fill official posts. During the period of the Reconquest it had royalist rulers. In 1816 Esteban Pupo drafted a representación to the Spanish authorities in Santa Marta about the cunning procedures of the cabildo. It was constituted by an ordinary mayor, a regidor and a procurator, the first two being cousins and the latter the brother of the pedaneo, and these two were brothers-in-law of the regidor. Furthermore, some of them had embezzled public rents, collaborated with the rebels and one of them lived in concubinage. None of these faults had been punished because they were in complicity together. They had fiddled the voting year after year from 1795. Once during the colonial period, some inhabitants of Valencia de Jesús had explained the impossibility of electing non relatives to public posts. Similar local disputes for power occurred in the royalist towns of Magangué and Riohacha, both undergoing a lot of suffering because of the war.<sup>1</sup>

Reviewing the attitudes and motives of educated creoles, ordinary people and Indians during the first period of Independence, we can state that many are connected with pre-Independence practices and expectations. Spanish distrust toward them and their difference from the castas below were the two extremes of the creole elite position. The abuses of the rulers, the election of judges, local cliques, and autonomy and jurisdiction were frequent concerns of vecinos. The Indian efforts to maintain the community and Resguardo lands, and to defend themselves from abuses of local authorities or outsiders characterized their relationships during the colonial time.

It is easy to see the continuity between the Colonial and the Independence period in these aspects. However, most of them were somehow affected by the events. The traditional beliefs

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 2, fo.347-353; tomo 12, fo. 465-487; fo. 623-625. For Valencia de Jesús see section 2.1.1, pp.149-151.

and expectations took many new forms; loyalties and allegiances were transmuted into political parties which divided people into friends and enemies; new words appeared and others had subtly changed their meanings; rituals and celebrations were changed too; the purpose of the militia changed radically.

#### 4.4 Opinion: language and rituals

##### 4.4.1 Language:

Public language was the form which experienced more changes and more varied influences during the first period of Independence.

From the beginning public language tended to a grandiloquence which would permanently characterize it. Liberty, Justice, Rights, Virtue, the Favour of Providence, permeated speeches. The most usual literary resource was the contrast between the period of Independence and the Colonial time: new light contrasting with obscurity; reason against fanaticism and superstition; liberty against despotism, tyranny, slavery and servitude. This was the usual stuff of declarations, memorials, minutes, speeches and sermons. The creole leaders of the movement now pointed out the great importance of language: the time for speaking aloud had come; the existence of two different 'dictionaries', one for Spain and one for America, had to be unmasked; the counter-tyrant doctrine applied to Napoleon in Spain had to be used against the Spanish rulers...

Señores: estamos en el tiempo de expresar las cosas con las palabras que las significan. Ya no somos esclavos, somos libres, algo mas que libres y por lo mismo nadie debera extrañar el lenguaje de claridad con que me enuncio.<sup>1</sup>

Ya se acabó ese tiempo de silencio y de misterios y se rompieron las cadenas que han aprisionado a la razón y al ingenio, desaparecieron para siempre esa reserva injuriosa

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Gutiérrez's speech on 14 August 1810, Mompox. In M. E. Corrales, Documentos para la Historia de la provincia de Cartagena, vol.1, p.191.

a nuestra fidelidad, y ese secreto, el baluarte mas firme de la tiranía.<sup>1</sup>

Ya no somos colonos: pero no podemos pronunciar la palabra libertad, sin ser insurgentes. Advertid que hay un Diccionario para la España Europea, y otro para la España Americana: en aquella las palabras libertad, independencia son virtud; en ésta insurrección y crimen: en aquella la conquista es el mayor atentado de Bonaparte, en ésta la gloria de Fernando y de Isabel: en aquella la libertad de comercio es un derecho de la Nación; en ésta una ingratitud contra quatro comerciantes de Cádiz.<sup>2</sup>

It seems clear that the issue of the Diario Político de Santa Fe shortly after the events of 20 July 1810, expressing the way these had occurred and 'fixing' their sense, was a necessary step for the new creole rulers. Its authors, Camilo Torres and Jorge Tadeo Lozano, considered themselves members of an 'intelligentsia' who had the right and the duty of leading the people and obtaining their confidence and subordination.

Most of the members of the Juntas were letrados (either lawyers or priests) who, like the intellectuals, would normally not commit themselves to any political change without offering an interpretation which they attempted to frame within grand theories and vital truths, which would then confer legitimacy on it. Besides, those creoles, aware of their belonging to a thin layer of educated people, felt that they had to speak for 'the others', to prescribe norms for them and provide proper statements which expressed the sense of the movement and illuminated people's minds. They thought their statements were also made on behalf of 'the others'. The words of these young men seemed to bear more authority than they themselves. The printed language was supposed to create a field of communication and most of all it attempted to unify and enlarge it. The new rulers spoke and wrote using a language of power. During the period of Independence there were many more discourses, declarations, poems, speeches, sermons, reports, and stories printed than ever before.

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<sup>1</sup> C. Torres and J. T. Lozano, Diario político de Santa Fé, issue of 27 August 1810. in S. E. Ortiz, J. Martínez Silva, El periodismo en la Nueva Granada, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> A. Nariño, La Bagatela, Suplemento al No. 5, August 1810, facsimilar edition, Bogotá, 1966.

It would at first seem that printed writings could only have a narrow circulation in an illiterate society. Yet colonial Hispanic America had a 'notarial' tradition thanks to which written records had overwhelming weight in the management of public affairs.<sup>1</sup> These two characteristics rather point in opposite directions when one comes to ponder the importance of the new written word of Independence. However, there has been evidence to show that leaders of the Independence movement strove to obtain printing presses with almost the same insistence as guns.<sup>2</sup> So many papers were printed that one can state that the space for public debate, so narrow during the colonial time, was vastly enlarged with the coming of Independence. The intention of shaping opinion for the patriot cause first, and then for both of the two parties, was at the base of all these efforts. Sometimes the authors knew that a particular writing was directed at educated people rather than at the general public. García Rovira, a socorrano, wrote to Miguel de Pombo in January 1813:

Trabajen proclamas, manifiestos, refutaciones, etc., sobre las iniquidades e imposturas de Nariño, para que circulando, aunque sea manuscritas, mientras tenemos imprenta, paralicemos al menos la seducción de los aristócratas<sup>3</sup>

However, speeches, sermons, pasquinades and lampoons stuck on the walls had never been disregarded as means of influencing popular opinion.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Rama, La ciudad letrada, Hannover, 1984.

<sup>2</sup> See J. M. Restrepo, Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia en la América Meridional, vol. I, p.120; vol. II, pp. 119-120.

<sup>3</sup> "Cartas del Archivo del Doctor Miguel de Pombo (1811-1814)", published in S. E. Ortiz, Colección de Documentos, (tercera serie), p.199.

<sup>4</sup> One is reminded by the so called "Conspiración de los pasquines" in 1794 and the pasquinade of 1809 which have been taken into account in the first section of this thesis.

What did the new writings appeal to? At first sight it seems to feelings and beliefs, rather than to ideas: hatred of tyrants, love of liberty, faith, valour and glory.

Hatred of tyrants and love of Liberty:

Napoleon was first called tyrant by the Spanish authorities. Later, Spanish authorities such as Viceroy Amar y Borbon, several Oidores of Santa Fe and governors such as Montes and Tacón, were referred to as tyrants by the creole leaders, although in many cases it was the people who so labelled their enemies with the acquiescence of the new rulers. Still later, some newly appointed creole authorities were called tyrants: we have seen the case of Lorenzo Plata, chief of Socorro, and Joaquín Ricaurte, the agent of the Santa Fe government, both referred to as "growers of the Tyranny tree" by the inhabitants of smaller towns. Finally, Antonio Nariño was called 'the Tyrant'. Although the word has had various different meanings (the French invader, the Spanish local authorities and the leader and agents of the opposite party) it retained its power of appeal. In any case it was not a new word in the vocabulary of political protest: not only the vecinos but also the Indians had called rulers tyrants and despots whenever they condemned arbitrariness and abuses of authority.

Within the framework of the main opposition, Patriot- Royalist, as well as during the civil war led by the Junta and the Congress respectively, opposing parties insulted each other and engaged in a dialectic of friends and enemies. Some few excerpts well illustrate this.

President Pey describes in 1814 some Spaniards living in Honda, opponents of Independence,

Ellos pervierten con descaro la opinión, ellos no perdonan tiro para transtornar la República y ponerla en movimiento, ellos esparcen noticias seductoras, y las mas perniciosas para deslumbrar la multitud y ponerla en su favor.(...)El Reino todo está en combustión, todo el arde en guerra! Mientras la bayoneta y el cañón no aseguren para siempre nuestra libertad, ni el fiero Español la reconocerá jamás; ni dejará de ser entre nosotros nunca un deber castigar de muerte a todo el que conspire, y se oponga a nuestra redención. <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Sentencia pronunciada por el benemérito ciudadano José Miguel Pey contra los enemigos de nuestra causa residentes en la Villa de Honda", Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, No.170 (7).

Within the civil conflict, the labelling of tyrants was also used to engage the towns in war. In 1812, García Rovira gave a precise synopsis of the kind of words and statements which would induce the people to commit themselves to the campaign against Santa Fe, which was the base of Nariño's government: "their implacable hatred of tyrants" and the memory of their ancestors' valour and glory:

Por lo que hace a mis socorreños, estoy seguro que si Usted, Acevedo, y el mismo Presidente les hacen una pequeña arenga ensalzándoles el valor de sus mayores, la victoria de Palo Blanco, y su odio implacable a los tiranos, marcharan hechos un fuego. Le hablo con experiencia.<sup>1</sup>

Lampoons and pasquinades were another time-honoured means for those who lacked other resources, or of those who wanted to be anonymous. There were a quick method of spreading news, criticism and satire, which some creoles did not underestimate in their attempt to shape party opinion. Those of Santa Fe of 26 November 1811 are good examples of what they were like:

En este día pareció puesto un pasquín que decía: "Muera el Presidente, el comandante de armas y el capitán de artillería". Y a la tarde pusieron otro diciendo: "Viva la regencia y muera el gobierno". Se contestó con otro que decía: "Muera la Regencia y vivirá el gobierno, y morirán todos los realistas así criollos como chapetones que están en lista". Lo cierto es que la gente se está insolentando de tal suerte que ya se han quitado la máscara al partido que siguen.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from C. García Rovira to Miguel de Pombo, 11 November 1812, in "Cartas del Archivo del Doctor Miguel de Pombo (1811-1814)", S. E. Ortiz, Colección de Documentos (tercera serie), p.198.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Caballero, Diario de la Independencia, p.95-96.

Again in Santa Fe notices appeared written on the wall on 13 Abril 1812 against the government of Nariño.<sup>1</sup> Ignacio de Herrera and Manuel Santiago Vallecilla, both supporters of Nariño's government in Popayán province, spread representaciones and pasquinades in its favour in Cali that same year.<sup>2</sup>

Hatred of tyrants was usually accompanied by praise of freedom. What strikes the reader is that the idea of liberty does excite fervour: it is a gift of God, a newly conquered state.

Ah! locura desatinada, que 70 u 80 hombres tales, intentasen arrancar a un pueblo de 35, a 40.000 habitantes, la libertad que todos ellos tienen arraigada en el corazón; libertad que el mismo Dios les ha proporcionado con visibles disposiciones de su providencia; libertad que conquistaron arrostrando toda la autoridad de un sátrapa imperioso, rodeado de ministros auxiliadores, y de una fuerza temible.<sup>3</sup>

Earlier, in a Bagatela of 1811, Antonio Nariño had defined liberty and contrasted it with the despotism of the rulers of Congress:

Americanos dignos de este nombre, postergaos conmigo ante la imagen augusta de la Libertad, para expiar nuestras culpas! Invoquemos los manes de esos ilustres varones que tan fielmente la sirvieron. Sombras respetables de Bruto, de Caton, de Aristides, de Cincinato, de Marco Aurelio, y de Franklin, venid en nuestro socorro! (...) Nosotros la hemos adornado con las insignias del despotismo: nosotros hemos manchado su hermoso rostro con los sucios colores del Libertinaje: nosotros hemos confundido sus dones con la codicia y la ambición.(...) Libertad Santa ! libertad amable, vuelve a nosotros tus benignos ojos! <sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from J. M. del Castillo y Rada to Miguel de Pombo, 12 Abril 1812, "Cartas del Archivo del Doctor Miguel de Pombo, 1811-1814" in S. E. Ortiz, Colección de Documentos, (Tercera Serie), pp.217-218.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Camilo Torres to Miguel de Pombo, May 25 1812, "Cartas del Archivo del Doctor Miguel de Pombo, 1811-1814", in S. E. Ortiz, Colección de Documentos, (Tercera serie), p.222.

<sup>3</sup> "Dictamen del Doctor Ignacio Losada sobre la proclama que existe recogida", pp.12-12, Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, Miscelanea 12 (92).

<sup>4</sup> A. Nariño, La Bagatela, suplement to n. 7, 25 August 1811.

Once Napoleon had been overthrown and Ferdinand VII restored to the throne, the Spanish expedition of reconquest was sent to the newly independent colonies. Domestic conflicts had to be set aside and the organization of a unified defence had to be given priority. With the immediate prospect of Spanish retaliation the confrontation was expressed as a war to the death.

So the local civil war now appeared as fratricide. This change of emphasis had also to be explained and justified. This was the moment in which the representation of the period 1810-1814 as a Patria Boba appeared. Fables and stories now proved to be the most suitable literary form to explain the uselessness of civil war.

Cock-fighting was a good metaphor for alluding to the peasants who, led by their masters, gave up their lives in a fight of whose causes they were ignorant:

Por que gane un tirano se matan dos hermanos? Que saca Vm. de que su amo se divierta y gane? Por dar gusto y enriquecer a un enemigo de otra especie expone Vm. su vida, la de sus gallinas, y la suerte de sus pollos, y de todo el gallinero? Si Vm. hubiera peleado por defender su corral, su familia y sus semejantes y parientes, buena y santa era su riña; pero por que se enriquezca otro extraño, me parece que ha sido gran locura.

Here again the image of the tyrant as the main enemy who had to be legitimately overthrown reappears as in the earliest days of the Declaration of Independence.

There were also some rabbits that were trapped by the dogs while discussing whether those who came were hares or hounds. And then the warning:

Conejos Federales? Conejos Centrales? Conejos Pateadores? Conejos Montalbanes? Conejos Nariñistas? Conejos Camilistas? Cuidado, Cuydado, CUYDADO, que ya llegan los galgos y podencos Rejentistas, y os encuentran en el mayor desorden; y en la mas espantosa desorganizacion, despues de sinco años de muerte y debastacion no habeis

dado un solo paso acertado por salbaros...<sup>1</sup>

Other appeals for union and defense focused on fear. "No se puede esperar sino la muerte si tornamos al yugo español" declared Juan Miramón, a commissioner of the government of the Provincias Unidas for Cartagena in 1815. In the same sense many other papers, such as the "Espejo Claro Americano para los Ignorantes y Montunos Campestres", were published in which a future of horror was pictured if people did not recognize the necessity of leaving aside petty disputes to organize their defense.<sup>2</sup>

Although the threat of the Reconquest had been one of the bases for the centralist party's appeal for unification of resources and forces, the efforts at reorganization came too late. It has been said that the cruel repression of the Reconquest was the definitive element which led to the union of elite and masses. It produced heroes and martyrs, and a lot of burned books. At first sight the argument seems to be correct, but a more detailed study of that period is beyond this thesis.

God and 'patria' against fanaticism:

Reason and 'light' were not enough justification for the educated, and even less so for ordinary people. The Church's word appeared as necessary to legitimize the revolution. From classic sacred oratory to fanaticism and fetichism, all kinds of uses were made of religion.

At the beginning the royalists continually tried to demonstrate that the patriot cause was heresy. According to contemporary witnesses they gained the support of many people on these grounds. Manuel José Castrillón pointed to the fanatic preaching of the Franciscans to

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<sup>1</sup> Both tales "Fábula Los Dos Conejos" and "La Gallera", Santafé, 1814, are in the collection of ephimera of Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, No. 256. None of these printed versions has an author.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 18, fo. 176-177.

explain the royalism of the towns of the province of Pasto.<sup>1</sup> José María Cabal in Popayán province corroborated this:

Es increíble todo el mal que han hecho los frailes en la opinión (...) Soy el primero en proponer el perdón de estos infelices, en quienes ha obrado mas el fanatismo frailuno, que su corazón.<sup>2</sup>

The patriots strove to dispel 'fanaticism' and to dismantle the pretended theological basis of Spanish rights over their colonies.

Fanatismo. Esta voz comprende a todos los fanaticos. En el día entendemos por fanatico al hombre, que tiene la imaginacion dañada, y piensa que recibe del Espiritu Santo una particular ilustracion, para entender las verdades reveladas. Vive tan pagado de sus imaginadas inspiraciones, que sufrira todos los suplicios y la muerte, por sostenerla. (...) Un Catolico ilustrado que oye desbarrar con tanta apariencia de sabio y de maestro a un fanatico de estos, sale de sí, y asegura que los fanaticos solo son buenos para infundir en los corazones de los hombres horror a la Religion. La experiencia hace ver que tambien son buenos para estorbar el la organizacion del Gobierno Político. Con el exterior de su zelo piadoso engañan a los simples...

(...) Los fanaticos son un fermento de la iniquidad, son el primer movil, y el resorte principal de las vexaciones y atentados, que los Regentistas cometen contra los Patriotas.<sup>3</sup>

The author also states that the fanatics thought that public law was anti-religious; that the persecution of the patriots by the Regentistas was a calumny; and that those who refused the Spanish government were in mortal sin; without the Regency there was no salvation.

Catechisms of Independence also appeared in New Granada. Usually written by priests, these explained the grounds of Independence through a format of questions and answers and

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<sup>1</sup> M. J. Castrillón, Apuntamientos Históricos Curiosos, pp.38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of J. M. Cabal to Miguel de Pombo, 4 August 1811, "Cartas del Archivo del Doctor Miguel de Pombo", in S. E. Ortiz, Colección de Documentos, (tercera serie), p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> "Dictamen del Dr. Ignacio Losada sobre la proclama que existe recogida", pp.3-4.

refuted the so called 'rights of Conquest', the arbitration of the Pope in the Intercaetera Bull, and demonstrated that all the alleged Spanish rights of domination were unfounded.<sup>1</sup>

However, religion was also used for gathering people together and legitimizing their respective causes by both parties during the civil war.

Jesús Nazareno was appointed 'Generalísimo' of Nariño's army in the defense of Santa Fe in January 1813; citizens, clerics, soldiers and even canons wore cockades with the name of Jesús; the nine day prayer (novenas) and rogations were observed. Hereafter, Jesús Nazareno became the distinctive mark of the government of Cundinamarca, even when the reconquest troops arrived in Santa Fe. Army chaplains encouraged soldiers who even 'saw' the Virgen Mary in the midst of the battle.<sup>2</sup>

There were cases in which people suffered punishment because of their priest's party affiliation. A Cajicá lawsuit is a case in point. On the evening of 13 December 1810, the mayors and some vecinos of Cajicá and Chía entered the Indians' huts and took out their women, some of whom were dragged along the ground tied to horses' tails; others were injured, and some men were tied up and put under lock and key. While punishing the Indians the vecinos threatened to abolish the resguardos.

Another group of twenty-four vecinos denounced these excesses. The offenders tried to justify the actions by saying that the priest was a chapelón who was in league with his parishioners in a plan to burn down the mayors's house. Afterwards the mayor of Cajicá repented, confessed everything and promised to pay for the damage. In his repentance he emphatically

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<sup>1</sup> J. Ocampo López, Los Catecismos políticos en la Independencia de Hispanoamérica. De la monarquía a la república, Tunja, 1988, pp. 28-52.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Caballero, Diario de la Independencia, pp. 111-115, 142.

declared that the priest was a man of virtue and good behaviour, and explained that he had been induced by other men to attack the town for the sake of self defence.<sup>1</sup>

Here again vecinos and Indians were trapped in the dialectic of 'friends and enemies' which coloured relationships at that time. The identification between a priest and his town was neither gratuitous nor novel. In the same days of July 1810 people from towns near Santa Fe such as Cáqueza, Ubaté, Choachí and Fómeque, came to the capital headed by their priests to offer themselves in the patriot cause.<sup>2</sup>

Moral judgements as well as harsh offences served to stigmatize the people who had chosen the 'other' party during the civil wars of the Patria Boba. Impiety, corruption and heresy were attributed to the 'others' by those who were allegedly pure, moral and catholic.

In an exhortation to soldiers in Zipaquirá to defend the government of Cundinamarca from its opponents, the creoles who belonged to the Congress party, Frei Máximo Hernández used moral and religious arguments. Those who were on the side of Cundinamarca were supposed to be 'the good ones', and if they proved to be so, they would defeat the enemy thanks to the Virgen Mary's protection:

(La Virgen María) ... hara buenos Generales, buenos soldados, buenos ciudadanos, buenos criados, fieles maridos, castas esposas, piadosos sabios y celosos Ministros... Sí, Señora (...) quien podra vencernos si vos nos protegeis? Debajo pues de vuestro amparo nos acojemos, para no ser vencidos de nuestros propios compatriotas que nos amenazan, para asegurar una completa y feliz paz...<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Quejas, tomo 1, fo.369-378.

<sup>2</sup> L. Martínez Delgado, S. E. Ortiz, El periodismo en la Nueva Granada, p. 24, 208. See also section 4.3.2 , p. 356 of this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> "Exhortación hecha a los militares de la Villa de Zipaquirá por el R. P. Fr. Máximo Agustín Fernández, el día 15 de Noviembre de 1812", Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, 256 (10).

This type of dispute also arose among educated creoles. Miguel de Pombo complained about the priest Dr. Juan Agustín Estévez, who was a centralist and follower of Nariño. Pombo had published a paper defending federalism. Estévez had insulted him, attempting to arouse popular anger and referring to him as a heretic.<sup>1</sup>

It was common for political collisions and collusions to be expressed in a language which was half moral, half political. The stigmatization of the 'others' as enemies was more important than the definition of the grounds of convergence, of 'us'.

Citizen and soldier:

The Diario Político de Santa Fé, El Aviso al Público and La Bagatela set the keynote for the language. The Diario attempted to produce a record of everyday events according to the creole vision of what was happening.

Furthermore, its authors also tried to produce an image of the appropriate citizen for the new order. He was meant to be an obedient, upright man who respected his enlightened rulers in virtue of a new social contract, and one who was also able to be a valiant soldier of the 'patria'. El Aviso contains a code of behaviour for a Republican state. 'Patria' was defined in terms of the Greek concept, the mother for whom they lived and died. Respect, loyalty and honour were owed to her. The army ought to resemble that of ancient Sparta, highly disciplined, stoical and brave. The citizens were the children of the 'patria' and every able-bodied man had to be a soldier in her army.<sup>2</sup> These notions were drawn from old cultural ideals and applied to this new situation. In the same way they were successful in bringing

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Miguel de Pombo to Doctor Fernando Caicedo, Comisario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, 12 March 1811." Cartas del Archivo del Doctor Miguel de Pombo", in S. E. Ortiz Colección de Documentos (Tercera Serie), p.230.

<sup>2</sup> Aviso al público, No.12, December 1810. In S. E. Ortiz and L. Martínez Delgado, El periodismo en la Nueva Granada, p.445-448.

off the triumphal entrances given to the first 'heroes'.

As all the old and newly appointed capitans of the militias were notables of cities and villas, they could rely on the former loyalties of their poorer countrymen, although they spoke and acted in the name of God and "patria". In peace time the citizens were supposed to follow the 'lights', which really meant to support the enlightened. In war time they had to be good soldiers. The new dimension of 'patriotism' was related first to Hispanic America as opposed to France, secondly to America in contrast to Spain and then to local rulers and the party they belonged to.

Military exhortations contained allusions to bravery, courage, valour, glory and immortality. While religion was used to legitimize all the causes (the imperial, the Independent and the domestic parties), heroism was to appeal to the notion of dignity, so deeply rooted in the culture of each social layer of colonial society. Glory and immortality were the rewards to be enjoyed by those who willingly gave up their lives defending the idealized future community and order. Thus, nationalism was aligned both with the religious world-view, and against it, as an alternative way of earthly perpetuation.<sup>1</sup> The 'Patria' deserved every sacrifice: hunger, homelessness, cold and loneliness. (The march through the mountain of Berruecos, manhandling artillery was described as a pleasure).<sup>2</sup> But it was during the period of Reconquest and the final victorious war that valour and glory attain a variety of forms. In this extended war the defence of every town involved all the male citizens and even the women. Appeals in a hyperbolic tone to the valour of a town or city itself implied the commitment of all the people living there. However, for that cruel period, it was also said that "La victoria hizo la

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<sup>1</sup> For this last interpretation see B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, Reflexions on the Origen and Spread of Nationalism, London, 1983, p.17-40.

<sup>2</sup> M. Espinosa, Memorias de un abanderado, Recuerdos de la Patria Boba 1810-1819, Bogotá, 1942, p.176.

opinión y no la opinión la victoria".<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Rituals:

The first days of Independence saw innovations in rituals, gestures and places. The destruction of the Royal Coat of Arms, engraved on doors and painted on walls; the setting up of representations of liberty as a goddess (sometimes an Indian woman with a crown), or the planting a tree of liberty in central squares; cockades with the inscriptions "God and Independence", "Religion and Independence" or (for soldiers) "Independence or death". All these were supplemented by the more traditional ways of celebration, the ringing of the Church bells, the Te Deum, music, letting off fireworks and illuminating the streets.<sup>2</sup>

In the majority of the cities the meetings took place in the central square. This was the public space par excellence. Balconies where they existed were the places from which the speeches and harangues were delivered. The cabildo's rooms were reserved for the creoles, spaces the masses could reach only through their representatives.<sup>3</sup> It is worthwhile remembering that the Conspiracy of 20 July 1810 in Santa Fe was planned the day before, in the Observatory.

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<sup>1</sup> M. A. López, Recuerdos históricos del coronel Manuel Antonio López. Colombia i Perú 1819-1826, Bogotá, 1878, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Descriptions of the popular celebrations in Mompox in M. E. Corrales, Documentos para la historia de la provincia de Cartagena, vol.1, p.188 and 197. Cockades in the same documents, p.188 and 205, and for Medellín, AHN, Anexo, Historia, t.13, fo. 594. Destructions of Coats of Arms, in Mompox, M. E. Corrales, Documentos para la historia de la provincia de Cartagena, vol. 1, p.190; in the College of San Bartolomé, and other public buildings of Santa Fé, J. M. Caballero, Diario de la Independencia, Bogotá, 1974, p.140, 148.

<sup>3</sup> "El pueblo ocupaba toda la gran plaza no se hablaba sino de prisiones... entre tanto los diputados se presentan a la sala consistorial...", S. E. Ortiz, Génesis de la revolución del 20 de julio de 1810, p. 172.

The new authorities were celebrated or welcomed with music and bullfights in the towns they passed through. People's petitions for "música y toros" to the principal new authorities resembled the colonial relationship of 'reciprocity' expressed in the mayors' holding of fiestas for the popular acknowledgement for their standing. Decorations of the streets with garlands festooned from one side to the other, as used to happen in colonial fiestas, were accompanied with flower showers, and garlands for the victorious 'heroes' whenever they entered the towns. People saw it as of Greco-roman inspiration. ("A Baraya se le recibió como aquellos capitanes romanos").<sup>1</sup>

Viceroy's arrivals had normally been spectacularly celebrated. In Socorro in 1784 the fiestas for Viceroy Caballero y Góngora were celebrated with a military parade followed by a Minerva and Venus, accompanied by a young man representing Socorro. The whole celebration took fourteen days, on each of which there were masses, music, bullfights, fireworks, bellringing and comedies.<sup>2</sup> The fiestas to welcome Viceroy Amar y Borbón were considered the most showy of all.<sup>3</sup>

Some traditional customs which had been forbidden by the Bourbons were re-established immediately after Independence. This was the case of the "giants and whales" in the Corpus Christi celebrations.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Music, fireworks, poems and bullfights for A. Nariño on 24-25 December 1811, and for Baraya on 10-12 January 1812, in J. M. Caballero, Diario de la Independencia, p. 97 and 101-102.

<sup>2</sup> "Noticia de las fiestas hechas en el Socorro con motivo de las distinciones otorgadas por su Majestad a su Virrey de Santafé don Antonio Caballero y Góngora" (1784), AGI, Quito, No. 45, published in S. E. Ortiz, Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Colombia, (tercera serie), p.19.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Caballero, Diario de la Independencia, p.44.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Groot. Historia Eclesiástica y Civil, t.2, pp. 135, 145-147.

Oaths were an important part of the ritual. Traditionally colonial people had sworn loyalty to each new King whenever he was crowned. They had taken an oath to Ferdinand VII in 1809. During the first period of Independence the two rival parties strove to extract oaths from the towns. The Congress attempted to obtain oaths of loyalty in the towns which were on the route of the troops in their march to Santa Fe at the end of 1812.

The creole rulers thought this an important way of strengthening loyalties. During the government of Nariño in 1813, more oaths were taken, and there was an official order concerning the destruction of the Royal Coat of Arms.<sup>1</sup> During the year of 1814 oaths to the absolute liberty of each province were taken in every town. All the vecinos headed by the mayors and priests were listed, and swore to defend the province with their lives. Lists were checked and those priests who did not swear had to explain why they had not.<sup>2</sup>

Some new ceremonies and celebrations and new public official holidays marked patriot anniversaries and victories. On the eve of 20 July 1811, Santa Fe was illuminated, and a solemn High Mass and parade were celebrated the next day. Similarly Independence was commemorated on 20 July 1813 with bullfights and a comedy. An oath to absolute Independence was taken by the republican authorities.<sup>3</sup>

There was some innovation in the ritual for election of mayors in the towns, as has been noted above in this thesis in the case of San Pedro Apostol de Sabanitalarga, where old practices were altered and their meaning redefined.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 15, fo.17-33, 164-169 and fo. 123.

<sup>2</sup> AHN, Anexo, Historia, tomo 15, fo. 404-413; tomo 18, fo 19-33.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Caballero, Diario de la Independencia, pp. 90-91; 139-140.

<sup>4</sup> See above this thesis, section 4.3.2, p.353-355.

The 'Patria Boba' was the first version of the motherland. Many elements anticipated the nature of the first republican period. The ideas of God and 'patria' were intermingled with the multiple meanings of Independence; on the other hand, the forms, Congress, patriotic press, sermons and rituals, centralism and federalism, civil war and triumphal entrances, the importation of arms and press from abroad prefigured phenomena of the first century of the Republic.

## 5. FINAL COMMENTS

This thesis has studied the political culture of three strata of the colonial society of New Granada, and their ways of involvement in the first phase of Independence. The first part has analyzed conditions, beliefs, experiences and attitudes towards the authorities and the community for these three distinguishable strata of society: the creole elite, ordinary people (white and mestizo vecinos), and Indians. The second part focuses on the process of reacomodation of these same social groups within the new situation created by the coming of Independence.

The creole elite had built a threefold representation of their reality. First, they had a certain view of the defects of the authorities: New Granada had great natural resources and possibilities of attaining 'happiness'. Happiness would have been attained if there were good administration and wise policies instead of short-sighted local rulers and an increasingly greedy Crown. The creole elite highly resented Spanish distrust of, and discrimination against them.

Secondly, they held a view of themselves as an elite: the creole elite had distinct political rights derived from their being the antiguos de la tierra, American children of Spanish descent, whites and cristianos viejos. Those characteristics meant access to education and some positions in the civil and ecclesiastical administration. Their shared experiences in diverse circles -family, school, bureaucracy and business - led them to think of themselves as a 'community', which existed as a network of people, interests and language.

Thirdly, they regarded others as distinct. The creoles felt distinct from the Spanish rulers above them as well as from 'castas' below. Common people, Indians and blacks were the lower

orders, who were also burdened by the Spanish rulers. The people were honest, but lazy and ignorant. Paternalistic, tolerant and even indulgent attitudes were common. Indian miscegenation with whites ought to be fostered instead of avoided, in order to improve their race. Yet the military fuero and gracias al sacar granted to mestizos were Crown transgressions of the implicit colonial pact with the creoles. At the end of the colonial period educated creoles felt that "the others" were mainly the Spaniards, with whom they wanted equality.

Creole political perceptions underwent changes during late colonial times. Bourbon policies hurt their feeling of antiguos de la tierra from which they derived their privileges in society. Although reforming Viceroys opened the path to new knowledge and proposed a code of progress, intellectuals and bureaucrats were prevented from further advance; neither freedom of production nor free trade were granted; creole representativeness suffered a curtailment.

Thus, we have feelings newly injured; knowledge once encouraged and then repressed; and expectations of economic benefits, political equality and fine treatment which found no fulfilment at all. Instead, discrimination and distrust were the keynotes of the policies towards upper creoles. A new type of patriotism and the envisioning of a future community were fed by this combination of ideas and experiences.

Ordinary vecinos, whites and mestizo freemen, the inhabitants of parishes, hamlets, small villas and cities, also had a hierarchical sense of social order and consequently shared with the creoles many elements of their representation of society.

First, they too had their views about the authorities. Local rulers (judges and mayors, cabildo members, and notaries), had to be acceptable as white, honest, just, good parishioners, suitable for the jobs, well-to-do and without family links with electors. Priests should be honest, moral in their behaviour and assiduous in the religious offices. Their intervention in

local politics was controlled by vecinos. Thus, the rulers' 'intrusions', embezzlements, abuses, personal interests, immorality and injustice, illiteracy, cliquishness and 'monopoly' had to be denounced and rejected. There existed some sense of equality among the so-called vecinos of a settlement concerning the access to local positions of authority.

Secondly, they too had their identity. Each settlement had a place within the hierarchical order, from which its inhabitants derived their standing and dignity, at least partially. Such position determined the relationship with other settlements in jurisdictional terms, as well as the protocol and etiquette between respective officials. While the promotion of another peer settlement could imply disgrace, that of the nearest larger population centre usually meant provincial improvement. There existed vertical loyalty links and horizontal competitive relationships. The lavishness of local fiestas was a sign of the standing of both town and inhabitants. Geographically-based identity was extremely important because most of the population living in these settlements were mestizos who, in contrast to the creoles or the Indians, had no given status by birth; nor had the whites who were outside the creole elite due to poverty, low birth or illegitimacy, or education. The values of honour, dignity and precedence were defended not only for individuals but also for cabildos and settlements.

Thirdly, "the others" for ordinary vecinos could be either the Spaniards, the creole elite, the Indians, the blacks or all of these groups. However, in many cases the deeper sense of otherness was that felt towards the inhabitants of the neighbouring town or those of the provincial capital. The equilibrium within the local community as well as that among evenly-matched settlements of a given area was zealously maintained.

Whenever these time-honoured rules were broken by an individual or a group, vecinos could legally demand the restoration of the traditional order between rulers and ruled and between town and town. The claims were made en forma de derecho, and an attorney was appointed. Testimonies of what was público y notorio were collected, and popular opinion was taken into

account. Even illiterate inhabitants were allowed to give evidence. It was often almost impossible not to be involved in local politics.

The experiences, attitudes and ideas of the hispanicized Indian communities were different from those of the creole elite and the common vecinos.

First, as regards the authorities: after three centuries of occupation much hope was still vested in God and King and much importance placed on written law. Corregidores, their lieutenants and priests could be good (compassionate, merciful, sympathetic) or not (heartless, cruel, wicked). Compassion would be implored in the name of God and the King. Alliances of different types could be entered into in order to defend Indian rights, although individualist members of a community also appeared and tended to divide it.

Secondly, Indians were ethnically different and distinguishable from the rest of the population and were conscious of their distinct indianness. They had however only a vague realization of having been the original inhabitants and holders of the land. According to the official version of the past, the communities had been granted resguardo lands by the King. Belonging to the community was conditio sine qua non for access to the land. A desintegrated community would lose the right to the resguardo and could be moved and attached to another one. Maintaining unity and demographic stability were priorities. Despite the poverty, humility, ignorance, through respect for God, King and the law Indians asked for justice against abuses and maltreatment from local rulers and intruders.

Thirdly, for them the others were usually whites and mestizos attempting to take their lands, to overburden the community and to convert the town into a parish. These were intruders who had to be rejected and denounced before the colonial tribunals. Internal disputes might also be settled through Spanish law as a way of avoiding inner community division. However, sometimes some members of the community were so engaged with outsiders that it became

difficult to distinguish between community and individual interests. Fear of outsiders had deep roots.

Indian participation in politics has distinct characteristics. Most of their corregidores and tenientes were white or mestizo officials. With the exception of some alcaldes de Indios the rulers were not members of the ruled community. There were not complaints about discrimination, 'monopoly', embezzlement or family cliques, but about abuses, maltreatment, and alliances between officials and priests to pressure over the Indian land.

All the Indian complaints were about the agents of the Spanish system, regardless their ethnic features. Notwithstanding the complaints were addressed to the Audiencia, were based on the Leyes de Indias and expected a solution from the same establishment. Most of them were defensive.

All groups somehow shared a common sense of accommodation within a hierarchical, ethnically based, stratified society; none of them made a radical criticism of what was legitimate and ethical within this given configuration of power and society. As complaints rather attempted to restore the time-honoured equilibrium and "rules of the game", they were useful to the colonial establishment; they channelled protest, helped to avoid direct and violent confrontation and reproduced the hegemonical ethic, world vision and power configuration. However at the end of the eighteenth century the increase of protest and its acrimony suggests that the colonial accommodation was in crisis. The attitudes and practices of both the creole elite and common people reflected changes in the political climate and attempts of adjustment to late colonial pressures.

It has been understood that political life entered the towns with the coming of Independence. Evidence shown in this thesis points to the existence of a rich and complex political life at local level during colonial times. Cliques and factions, clientelism, clerical intervention and notaries' manipulation had visible colonial antecedents in the hispanicized areas of New

Granada.

The written word and the signature had an ambiguous value in a society with scant literacy. The notary was a sort of translator of the spoken word into juridical written forms, and he derived his power from this capacity. However, individuals experienced that testimonies, oaths and signatures were means of participation in local public life.

During the first stage of Independence, 1810-1815, two sets, of ideas and of attitudes appeared. They overlap each other. The paradigm of the discourse of Independence tended, at the beginning, to include everybody: liberty, justice and reason were proclaimed as the opposites of despotism, slavery and fanaticism. However the understanding of each of these notions varied from one social layer to another, from one circle to another and from one settlement to another. It had to do with previous experiences, beliefs and expectations about themselves, the authorities and the whole of society. Thus, the different understandings led to a set of dissenting attitudes and to the collision of groups: new rulers in posts were seen as mandones, popular petitions and manners were thought of as vulgar deviations, local expectations might lead to disorder and even to subversion. Differences were hardly tolerated, each group feared "the others" as dangerous people, the situation was perceived as a chaos, and the establishment of an order was desired.

The behaviour of Viceroys, oidores and governors after 1808 left no doubt about the separation between Spaniards and creoles. Educated creoles, who had started to foresee their own future

as a community ruled by themselves, prepared for the taking of power in various cities in the name of liberty and referred

local rulers as either the enemy, or the tyrants. "Us", the Americans, the neogranadinos included the people ("the sovereign one") and even evoked the Indian past for a while. Then, the ordinary people's expectations and manners provoked fear; the people had to be

controlled. Next, the creole network, so carefully built on common experiences and interests, was broken by local and provincial differences as well as by personal interests. Creoles found enemies among themselves and got involved in the civil war. Belatedly, fear of reconquest, fear again, led them to put aside internal conflicts and unite for defence against the first common enemy: the Spanish army.

When "the people" are called together in cities as well as in smaller settlements, ordinary vecinos exercise their right to accuse unjust Oidores and Governors, and to appoint judges and deputies. Vecinos were also ready to proclaim local autonomy, but the spirit in which this was done is often better interpreted as an attempt to maintain or defend an order rather than to destroy one. Such acts conceal the fear of losing identity within the new political framework, and the desire of avoiding such a fate. After proclaiming the guilt of local rulers and even of ordinary Spanish vecinos, they went on to define loyalties and allegiances towards the two parties, the Junta and the Congress. Consequently the other party appears as the enemy. The new situation could sometimes be explained by old rivalries and conflicts.

Hispanicized Indian communities might feel either abandoned because of the loss of the king's protection or released from oppression. Some see the new circumstances as an occasion for making new demands or reviving old ones, others fall into licentiousness. Later, they carry on denouncing the customary abuses of "the others", the outsiders, mestizo and white intruders, unjust mayors, corregidores and priests. Now as before community cohesion proved to be the most effective means for survival.

Yet both continuity and discontinuity existed. Colonial forms of political participations - representaciones, factions, cliques, 'clienteles'- shaped the ways of involvement of ordinary vecinos in the Patria Boba. The patriot official ritual took much from the religious and viceregal celebrations. Ethnic and religious prejudices were used again as epithets. Old desires for local autonomy and competition between cities determined alignments. The coverage of

creole networks did not surpass the Audiencia of Santa Fe as present day Colombia recalls it.

There was an increase of publications. The written word, from lampoons to formal dissertations, was a means of shaping opinion.

The experiences of the establishment of a Congress, of writing Constitutions, of so much responsibility, were all new. So was the military experience, the civil wars. But in more ways than historians have yet imagined the new republic was foreshadowed in the old colony.

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