Introduction: War and Reform in Spain and Its Atlantic Empire

THE CONTESTED BOURBON INHERITANCE

War and reform developed a symbiotic relationship in the Spanish Atlantic world during the eighteenth century. The series of eighteenth-century military conflicts began with the War of the Spanish Succession, fought between 1702 and 1713 over disputed claims to the Spanish throne. When the childless king of Spain, Charles II, lay on his deathbed, he bequeathed his throne to the French Bourbon claimant Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV of France. The British, Dutch, and later Portuguese allied to support the rival claim of the Hapsburg, Archduke Charles of Austria, fearing the prospect of a powerful Bourbon family dynasty ruling over both France and Spain.[1] Hostilities began in 1702 with an unsuccessful allied attack on Cádiz; but Philip, with a bankrupt treasury and his armed forces in shambles, relied largely on French troops and money to defend his inheritance. The anti-Bourbon alliance attacked next in the Mediterranean theater, seizing Gibraltar in 1704, with Barcelona, Valencia, and Zaragosa falling to the allies in 1706. Once in possession of the whole of the Kingdom of Aragon, Archduke Charles established his court in Barcelona. The next year, an allied force invading from Portugal captured Madrid, but a Bourbon victory at Almansa in 1707 rescued Philip's cause. The war continued badly for Philip in Iberia, and French defeats in Italy and the Netherlands led Louis XIV to remove his troops from Spain in 1709 as a prelude to opening peace negotiations with the allies.

Philip continued the fight with his inadequate Spanish forces, but when diplomatic efforts at peace failed, an emboldened Louis XIV reintroduced

[1] When it became apparent that Charles II was gravely ill, the major European powers made a pact to partition the Spanish monarchy, with the throne of Spain passing to the Duke of Bavaria, Joseph Ferdinand, while France would receive some strategic Spanish possessions in Italy and the empire would take over Milan. The treaty was signed in October 1698. See Henry Kamen, *Philip V of Spain: The King who Reigned Twice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 2.

French troops into Spain in 1710, commanded this time by a grizzled veteran general, the Duke of Vendôme. The duke's Franco-Spanish army defeated first the English army at Brihuega and then forced the Austrians to abandon Zaragosa after their losses in the Battle of Villaviciosa. These setbacks apparently convinced Archduke Charles and his allies that they could not win a clear military victory. As a result, when the Austrian Emperor Joseph died in 1711 and his throne passed to Charles, it raised the possibility of uniting the Austrian and Spanish thrones under Habsburg rule – re-creating the empire of Charles V. This prospect particularly worried the British, weakening support for Charles within the anti-Bourbon alliance, and both sides agreed to seek peace. The resulting Treaties of Utrecht in 1713 ended the wider European conflict, but the Catalans still resisted the Bourbon inheritance until 1715, when Philip's forces recaptured Barcelona, uniting all of Spain under the new Bourbon dynasty.

The Treaties of Utrecht confirmed Philip's right to rule Spain and its overseas possessions, but he renounced any claim to the French throne. He also yielded the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) and his possessions in Italy. Belgium, Naples, Milan, and Sardinia went to Austria, Sicily to the Duke of Savoy, and Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to Great Britain. Spain also recognized Portugal's right to the Colônia do Sacramento in the Río de la Plata, providing a valuable entrepôt for contraband trading to Spanish South America. Finally, the Utrecht settlement conceded to the British the *asiento* (monopoly contract) to market slaves in the Spanish colonies and the additional right to send one 500-ton ship annually to the trade fairs held at Veracruz and Portobelo. Nonetheless, with the exception of Gibraltar, Spain remained intact, and most importantly, the new Bourbon king retained his rich American empire.

When Philip V surveyed his exhausted patrimony at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, however, the pressing need for the reform and renovation of Spain and her empire seemed obvious.[2] Parts of the Iberian Peninsula had suffered the depredations of war, the armada had practically disappeared, and commerce had declined as contrabandists plied trade routes in the Caribbean, the South Atlantic, and the Pacific with impunity. To keep his dominions supplied during the war, King Philip had made trade concessions to the French in the Pacific, allowing them to enter colonial ports, and they continued this commerce illegally after the cessation of hostilities. Moreover, the Dutch and the British (along with exploiting the concessions of the Utrecht Treaties) aggressively expanded their inroads into the

[2] Philip abdicated the throne in 1724 in favor of his eldest son, Louis, who died later that year from smallpox; Philip then resumed the throne until his death in 1746. See Kamen, *Philip V of Spain*. According to Kamen, the Iberian peninsula did not experience as much economic dislocation as other historians have averred. Henry Kamen, *The War of the Succession in Spain, 1700–1715* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), passim.

Caribbean, marketing contraband goods in undersupplied Spanish colonies. As a result of this adversity, royal revenues declined alarmingly just as the crown faced the prospect of repaying heavy debts accumulated during its years at war. To deal with these disturbing trends, the crown looked to the resources of the Indies to resuscitate the beleaguered metropolis.

THE BOURBON REFORMS

Under Philip and his son and successor Ferdinand VI (1746–1759), Spanish reformers attempted to curb smuggling, curtail the power of the Church, modernize state finances, establish firmer political control within the empire, end the sale of bureaucratic appointments, and fill the depleted royal coffers. Behind many of these crown initiatives was the drive to reverse the damaging effect of trade concessions awarded to Great Britain at Utrecht and to limit both contraband and the influence of foreign merchants supplying goods for the legal trade through Seville and, later, Cádiz. Elsewhere, Madrid modernized its system for garrisoning its far-flung colonial defenses on land and registered important gains in rebuilding its armada. At the same time, however, attempts by Philip V to advance his family's dynastic claims to lands in Italy embroiled Spain in complicated entanglements and in additional wars, which heightened the debt and too often distracted the crown from its reformist objectives. Moreover, the ill health of both King Philip V and – toward the end of his reign – King Ferdinand VI further inhibited creative initiatives.

The first reforms began under Abad (later Cardinal) Julio Alberoni, Philip's influential court favorite. Alberoni attempted to undo trade concessions made to other European powers both at Utrecht and before, particularly those regarding the Indies trade, and he asserted control over key Spanish seaports to curtail foreign penetration. His reformist initiatives for the Indies included the transfer of the *Casa de la Contratación* (Board of Trade) and the *Consulado de Cargadores* (merchant guild) from Seville to Cádiz, the creation of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, the establishment of a tobacco monopoly in Cuba to supply the royal factory in Seville, and the reorganization of Havana's fixed garrison into a modern battalion. This agenda, although implemented piecemeal, addressed key areas of what would become the Bourbon reformist program for the secular realm. Much of it depended upon the vision and audacity of one man, however, and it would stall without him.

Alberoni fell from power in 1719 after his attempts to challenge foreign domination of the commercial system, as well as to seize Italian possessions for the king's children, provoked the disastrous War of the Quadruple Alliance with Great Britain, France, Austria, and Savoy. Reform began anew in 1726 with the rise to power of the cardinal's protégé, José Patiño (1726–1736). As virtual prime minister, Patiño, who controlled the Ministry

of Marine and the Indies directly, redoubled efforts to curtail contraband trade and to rebuild the armada. Moreover, he effectively resurrected the cardinal's reform initiatives, which conservative politicians had suppressed after his downfall. Nonetheless, the crown's dynastic ambitions in Europe again complicated and at times impeded ongoing efforts to modernize the colonial commercial system and to undo the concessions granted to foreign powers.

The second wave of reform began in 1737, just two years before the War of Jenkins' Ear, as the crown subordinated the powerful, arrogant *Consulado* of Cádiz by breaking the grip of the self-recruiting *sevillano* elite, finally completing the transfer to Cádiz begun in 1717. Associated with the ideas of Spain's most influential eighteenth-century political thinker, José de Campillo y Cossío, this critical breakthrough advanced piecemeal, but it accelerated greatly in the later 1740s. It also marked the real beginning of commercial reform, and it laid the foundation upon which subsequent magistrates could build. On another level, wartime exigencies provoked an expansion of the Cuban system of fixed battalions across the Caribbean. Over the years, the resuscitated armed forces were destined to consume the lion's share of royal finance and to pose an increasingly worrisome challenge to the Royal Treasury.

The advances of the second phase's early years were extended substantially by the successful commercial and ecclesiastical initiatives coming under the aegis of King Ferdinand VI's two chief ministers, the Marqués de la Ensenada and José de Carvajal y Lancaster. After the conclusion of the War of Jenkins' Ear (which began in 1739 and then merged into the War of the Austrian Succession lasting from 1740 to 1748), the regime turned its full attention to reform within the empire. As one prominent historian of Bourbon Spain, John Lynch, has noted: "The new regime accepted that Spain's interest resided not in European battlefields but in the Atlantic and beyond."[3] Thus, while the two ministers sustained an ambitious domestic program, they also innovated meaningfully in the Indies. Building upon the work of their predecessors, they promoted the use of licensed register ships in the American trade, replacing the increasingly cumbersome and obsolete Portobelo fairs. They also ended the systematic sale of colonial bureaucratic appointments by 1750.[4] A further success was the Concordat of 1753, which dramatically increased the king's patronage power over church appointments throughout the empire. Perhaps the most significant clerical reform in the Indies, however, was the decision made between 1749 and 1753 to divest the religious orders of their rural indigenous parishes (*doctrinas de indios*), greatly curtailing their wealth and

[3] John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700–1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 156.
[4] Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687–1808* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977), p. 89.

power. In the end, however, this creative period ended prematurely after Carvajal's death in 1754, when the reactionary elite at court and their powerful foreign allies – aided by King Ferdinand's wife, Queen Barbara of Braganza – combined to topple Ensenada from power and thereby dull the reforming impulse. With the death of his wife in 1758, King Ferdinand slowly lapsed into depression and then madness, before his own passing the following year. In the period between the fall of Ensenada and the monarch's death, reform in the Spanish Atlantic stalled once again.

During the reign of Ferdinand's half-brother and successor, Charles III (1759–1788), the reformist agenda regained momentum, and entered into its third and most ambitious phase. Impelled in part by the shocking loss of Havana to English invaders in 1762, King Charles and his advisors in Madrid strengthened defenses in the Indies and, in the politics at court, opened the door to the resumption of Ensenada's reformist program. The expenses incurred via higher military outlays prompted the crown to tighten administrative controls and raise taxes throughout the empire. It also required a more systematic effort to curtail contraband commerce and the penetration of foreign merchants into the legal trade and, more fundamentally, to advance the cause of commercial reform. Moreover, Charles continued to reign in the influence of the religious orders when he expelled the wealthy and powerful Society of Jesus from Spain and the empire, gaining control of the Jesuits' lucrative assets. In short, the crown sponsored a major effort to rethink the nexus of political, fiscal, economic, social, and religious relationships within the Spanish Atlantic system and to initiate policies aimed at enhancing Madrid's authority and its capacity to wage war effectively.

Charles III and his ministers highlighted the third and most aggressive phase of the reform process by dispatching royal inspectors (*visitadores*) to various parts of the Indies to gain information and to initiate administrative, fiscal, military, and commercial changes. After ending the sale of appointments to high-ranking colonial offices by 1750, the crown had begun replacing creole officeholders with younger, well-trained, peninsular-born bureaucrats theoretically more loyal to the crown, and this process quickened under Charles. Crown officials in Madrid also created new, high-powered administrative units in formerly peripheral regions of South America, which had evolved into centers of contraband trade. Madrid had already reestablished the Viceroyalty of New Granada (present-day Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela) during the reign of Philip V, and in 1776 the government of Charles III created the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata (present-day Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay) followed the next year by the Captaincy General of Caracas (roughly equivalent to modern-day Venezuela). The crown also sent out a series of intendants, who were responsible for provincial administration, including finance, justice, and defense. The intendants linked regional authority with audiencias in the major provincial capitals. Overall, these initiatives enlarged the local bureaucracy,

which worked to decrease the inflow of contraband goods and the illicit outflow of silver through the Caribbean and South Atlantic.

The defeat at Havana in 1762 led Charles to elevate military imperatives to the top of his reformist agenda for America. Madrid enhanced local defenses by strengthening the regular army and, in strategic localities, by forming a disciplined militia comprised largely of local subjects. At the same time, it expanded the fleet aggressively. To fund these costly undertakings, royal officials raised new taxes, collected existing levies more effectively, and created royal monopolies for the sale and distribution of coveted commodities such as tobacco. These fiscal policies led to a dramatic increase in royal revenues from colonial treasuries, particularly in New Spain, where modernized mining techniques also contributed to the surge. It was a time of sweeping imperial innovations, which persisted even after Spain's triumph in the War of the American Revolution, as Charles's military ambitions grew. This reformist momentum would survive his death and continue under Charles IV (1788–1808). In possession of a well-armed, highly productive empire and the second largest navy in the world, Spain appeared a power of the first order as it entered the 1790s. War and reform had evolved into the central themes in the eighteenth-century Spanish Atlantic world.

Within this context, critical innovations in commercial policy responded to military imperatives. Madrid justified the first regulation of "free trade," for the Caribbean islands in 1765, as an attempt to develop Cuba's economy and thus bolster Caribbean defenses, while the sweeping liberalization capped by the Regulation of 1778 came on the eve of Spain's intervention in the War of the American Revolution. In addition, the extension of that deregulation to include Mexico and Caracas in 1789 occurred against the backdrop of Madrid's frantic naval buildup and the Royal Treasury's consequent, ever pressing need for increased revenues. Finally, the last wave of commercial reform, a radical multiplication of American merchant guilds during the mid-1790s, clearly expressed the crown's ongoing commitment to developing the empire's militarily exposed peripheries.

Yet Spain's military status was surprisingly fragile because too much depended on commerce and the reliable remissions of American revenues. War with Great Britain in 1796 led to a blockade that first interrupted and then cut commercial ties between Spain and the Indies. Predictably, the crown yielded to the fiscal imperatives needed to wage this bitter and ultimately unsuccessful conflict, which consumed the lion's share of New World resources husbanded by a century of reform, but they were not enough to stave off defeat.

ENLIGHTENED REFORM IN THE SPANISH ATLANTIC WORLD

The eighteenth-century Bourbon reforms were strongly influenced by intellectual currents in Europe associated with the Enlightenment, which began in

Northern Europe and spread throughout the Euro-Atlantic world. The fundamental ideas of the era stressed reason and observation, a greater sense of tolerance and justice, and the need to compile empirical information to solve the scientific, political, economic, and social issues of the day, rather than looking to tradition and faith. Enlightened ideas led to crown-sponsored scientific expeditions to catalog the flora and fauna of the Indies in an effort to understand the natural world and reform education, incorporating new subjects at all levels of the curriculum. Moreover, in Spain and the Indies, the Enlightenment spread out from the universities through the creation of new magazines and pamphlets, and the visits of educated foreign travelers to the empire added to the mix.[5] When renovating the Spanish Atlantic system, reformers attempted to use "enlightened," scientific, rationalist thought to devise specific proposals for the empire and to promote progress.

Influenced by enlightened ideas, the Spanish crown gradually took a more active role in championing "public happiness" (*felicidad pública*), which involved expanding the powers of the state to secure political centralization and to advance economic growth.[6] Before the Bourbon accession, Spain and its overseas empire had formed a "composite monarchy," comprised of distinct provinces or kingdoms united only by a common monarch.[7] Composite monarchies held together because of a compact between the monarch and the ruling classes of the different provinces, most often in partnership with the powerful Roman Catholic Church. By the eighteenth century, reformist ministers of the Bourbon monarchs (known as regalists) sought to accrue political power in a strong centralized state, to curtail the powers of the church, and to promote economic growth as a means of attaining the full realization of public well-being and national strength.[8] Bourbon regalists were not explicitly anticlerical, but they did seek to limit the power of the papacy over the church in Spain, and to curtail the church's control over national resources, which they believed impeded economic development and national prosperity. Reformers also viewed promoting commerce with the Indies as a principal vehicle to stimulate economic and

[5] John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940); Dorothy Tank Estrada, *La Educación Illustrada, (1776–1836)* (México: El Colegio de México, 1977).

[6] Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808* (Surry: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2008), pp. 57–67.

[7] This view of the political organization of early modern European monarchies is presented in two path-breaking articles: J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present*, 137 (November, 1992), pp. 48–71; and H. G. Koenigsberger, "Dominium Regale or Dominium Politicum et Regale," in H. G. Koenigsberger, ed., *Politicians and Virtuosi: Essays in Early Modern History* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 1–25.

[8] Paquette argues that regalism's "core principal was the state's pre-eminence and supremacy in relation to the Church, accompanied by its protection and support of the Church." Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance and Reform*, p. 6.

demographic growth in Spain. In this way, the Bourbon reforms can profitably be understood from an Atlantic vantage point: Commerce and revenues from the Indies would be important vehicles for attaining renovation in the metropolis and the military strength to resist Spain's competitors. Reform, public happiness, and the political and economic subordination of the Indies were thus all integrally interconnected in the minds of Bourbon regalists. These reformers wanted to replace the composite monarchy of the Habsburgs with a more centralized, efficient, and militarily powerful state, capable of revitalizing Spain and its Atlantic empire. Thus, military, commercial, administrative, clerical, and revenue reforms formed core objectives of the crown's eighteenth-century regalist ministers.

Attempts to reform the Spanish Atlantic empire led to a heightened demand for information and the means to compile, summarize, and analyze it before making appropriate political decisions.[9] Crown officials throughout the empire began to create information systems to organize and manage the data needed to conduct the king's affairs and to promote public happiness. This involved drawing reliable maps of different regions, compiling more accurate enumerations of the population (not just notoriously inaccurate lists of taxpayers), writing reports on economic activities – such as business conditions, prices, trade data, or local national resources – and collecting information needed by the military to conduct the defense of the crown's far-flung possessions. This not only involved collecting data more systematically, but also devising appropriate ways to manage and to summarize it. Indeed, the various provincial and colonial capitals of the Spanish Atlantic became regional clearing houses for information sent to the king's ministers in Madrid.

Even Enlightenment science could serve concrete political ends. When the Spanish crown authorized a French scientific expedition – accompanied by two young Spanish naval officers, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa – to measure a degree of latitude on the equator, it was not just to settle a theoretical scientific debate about whether the earth bulged at the equator or flattened at the poles. Such information was needed to make accurate measurements of meridians of longitude, crucial to drawing precise, accurate maps.[10] When Jean-Baptiste Colbert commissioned the Academy of Sciences to complete an accurate map of France, for example, the final calculations in 1682 demonstrated that the west coast was farther east and the Mediterranean coast was farther north than previously thought, meaning that the territory of France was actually several hundred square miles smaller

[9] For a discussion of the general move toward gathering and using information in Europe, see Daniel R. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[10] For a discussion of the Condamine expedition, see Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science in South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

than previous maps had shown. Such data had profound fiscal, political, and military implications.[11]

In another even more directly relevant example, the Count-Duke of Olivares's assessment to the Catalans for their share of the Unión de Armas in the 1630s – an effort to have each kingdom pay for the maintenance of a common army for Spain – seriously overestimated the population and resources of the principality. Anger over such a dramatic new tax hike was a major cause of the principality's revolt in 1640.[12] Moreover, while involved in the French expedition, Juan and Ulloa made a series of scientific observations about the geography, resources, and fauna and flora of the king's Andean provinces.[13] At the behest of the Marqués de la Ensenada, however, they also subsequently compiled a secret report on the political ills of the kingdom, notoriously known as the *Noticias secretas de América*, which pointed to widespread political and clerical corruption and bad government throughout the region.[14]

Over the course of the eighteenth century, colonial officials also collected, summarized, and communicated large amounts of fiscal data more effectively than ever before. Although crown treasury officials had compiled detailed accounts of income and expenditures throughout the Indies from the sixteenth century, such accounts were assembled more consistently and became more detailed over the course of the eighteenth century, particularly with the application of double-entry bookkeeping in the 1780s.[15] Reorganization of the fiscal bureaucracy in the Spanish Atlantic also allowed the crown to understand and process fiscal data accumulated from the royal kingdoms more efficiently, leading to major increases in royal revenues. In the later eighteenth century, royal reports also began summarizing large quantities of fiscal data in tables, which allowed royal officials to make sense out of the masses of financial information that previously might have been overlooked or lost.

The crown established an effective royal mail service, which greatly improved and regularized communication throughout the Spanish Atlantic empire. Regalists recognized that state power depended on reliable systems of

[11] Headrick, *When Information Came of Age*, p. 99.

[12] J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 257–58.

[13] José P. Merino Navarro and Miguel M. Rodríguez Vicente eds., *Relación histórica del viaje al América meridional de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, [1748] 1978).

[14] The best historical study and critical edition of this memorial is Luis J. Ramos Gómez, *Las Noticias secretas de América de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa (1735–1745)*, 2 Vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985).

[15] On the history of double-entry bookkeeping, see Edward Peragallo, *Origin and Evolution of Double Entry Bookkeeping: A Study of Italian Practice from the Fourteenth Century* (New York: American Institute of Publishing Company, 1938).

communication, and merchants required up-to-date information about markets in the Indies to ply their trade successfully. The *Consulado* of Cádiz had operated the mail system through its packet ships (*navíos de aviso*), but the failure of this system was manifest with the loss of Havana and the British capture of the official mail outside of Cádiz in 1762.[16] The crown established a modernized royal mail system by royal decree on August 24, 1764.[17] Small ships would leave La Coruña for Havana each month and fan out across the empire to deliver and collect the mail. To defray the costs of the voyage, the mail ships could carry European goods for sale in the Indies and on the return trip bring colonial products to Spain. All such innovations allowed crown ministers to make more informed decisions and more effectively monitor the activities of the thousands of crown servants throughout the Spanish Atlantic world.

Another important, more traditional source of information for crown ministers came from memorials (*memoriales*) and petitions from citizens and corporate groups. Every subject in the empire had the right to petition the crown to voice opinions, state grievances, and call for specific policy changes. These petitions, and the usually more detailed memorials, could represent a window into public opinion in the crown's far-flung provinces. It was also a privilege that exempted the writers from secrecy norms, which often prohibited or at least discouraged public discussion of many political issues.[18] The *Noticias secretas* of Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa is only one of many such documents that circulated in governing circles in Madrid. At the same time, creoles, crown bureaucrats, Spanish travelers to America, and elite indigenous intellectuals all developed their own proposals for changing the Spanish Atlantic system.[19] During the eighteenth century, Madrid was a cosmopolitan capital city, where ideas from Europe and the Indies continuously intersected. In 1749, for example, a mestizo member of the Franciscan order, Fray Calixto de San José Túpac Inka, wrote a famous memorial to the king complaining about abuses of the colonial government in Peru.[20] As remedies, he called for the end of forced labor drafts (*mita*), demanded that

[16] We would like to thank G. Douglas Inglis for providing this information.

[17] *Reglamento provisional que manda S. M. observar para el establecimiento del Nuevo Correo mensual que ha salir de España a las Indias Occidentales*, San Ildefonso, August 24, 1764, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter AGI), Correos, leg. 484.

[18] For a study of how petitions and memorials influenced the creation of a public sphere in early modern England, see David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[19] For a detailed discussion of the principal *memoriales* from the Andes by indigenous authors, see Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the 'Lettered City:' Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010).

[20] Impatient to give his manuscript to the king and lacking the proper recommendation from the Council of the Indies needed to deliver it, Fray Calixto and his Franciscan traveling companion, Fray Isidoro de Cala y Ortega, waited for the royal carriage to return from the king's hunting trip and thrust the document through the window. Fray Calixto de San José