

Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution

Royalist Indians and slaves in the northern Andes engaged with the ideas of the Age of Revolution (1780–1825), such as citizenship and freedom. Although generally ignored in recent revolution-centered versions of the Latin American independence processes, their story is an essential part of the history of the period.

In *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution*, Marcela Echeverri draws a picture of the royalist region of Popayán (modern-day Colombia) that reveals deep chronological layers and multiple social and spatial textures. She uses royalism as a lens to rethink the temporal, spatial, and conceptual boundaries that conventionally structure historical narratives about the Age of Revolution. Looking at royalism and liberal reform in the northern Andes, she suggests that profound changes took place within the royalist territories. These emerged as a result of the negotiation of the rights of local people, Indians, and slaves, with the changing monarchical regime.

Marcela Echeverri is Assistant Professor of Latin American History and MacMillan Research Fellow at Yale University.

Cambridge Latin American Studies

General Editor

Herbert S. Klein
 Gouverneur Morris Emeritus Professor of History, Columbia University and
 Hoover Research Fellow, Stanford University

Other Books in the Series

1. *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808–1833*, Simon Collier
2. *Church Wealth in Mexico: A Study of the 'Juzgado de Capellanias' in the Archdiocese of Mexico 1800–1856*, Michael P. Costeloe
3. *The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1914: The Diplomacy of Anglo-American Conflict*, P. A. R. Calvert
4. *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850–1914*, Richard Graham
5. *Parties and Political Change in Bolivia, 1880–1952*, Herbert S. Klein
6. *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807–1869*, Leslie Bethell
7. *Regional Economic Development: The River Basin Approach in Mexico*, David Barkin and Timothy King
8. *Economic Development of Latin America: Historical Background and Contemporary Problems*, Celso Furtado and Suzette Macedo
9. *An Economic History of Colombia, 1845–1930*, W. P. McGreevey
10. *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810*, D. A. Brading
11. *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856–1875*, Jan Bazant
12. *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico, 1750–1821*, Brian R. Hamnett
13. *Bolivia: Land, Location and Politics Since 1825*, J. Valerie Fifer, Malcolm Deas, Clifford Smith, and John Street
14. *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, Peter Gerhard
15. *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700*, P. J. Bakewell
16. *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750–1808*, Kenneth Maxwell
17. *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society*, Verena Stolcke
18. *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period*, Tulio Halperin Donghi
19. *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism*, David Rock
20. *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America*, Mario Góngora
21. *Chilean Rural Society from the Spanish Conquest to 1930*, Arnold J. Bauer
22. *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies: Sixteenth Century*, James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, eds.
23. *The African Experience in Spanish America, 1502 to the Present Day*, Leslie B. Rout Jr.
24. *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People Between Church and State, 1926–1929*, Jean A. Meyer
25. *Allende's Chile: The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of the Unidad Popular*, Stefan de Vylder

26. *Land and Labour in Latin America: Essays on the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Kenneth Duncan and Ian Rutledge, eds.
27. *A History of the Bolivian Labour Movement, 1848–1971*, Guillermo Lora
28. *Coronelismo: The Municipality and Representative Government in Brazil*, Victor Nunes Leal
29. *Drought and Irrigation in North-east Brazil*, Anthony L. Hall
30. *The Merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810: Family and Commerce*, Susan Migden Socolow
31. *Foreign Immigrants in Early Bourbon Mexico, 1700–1760*, Charles F. Nunn
32. *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío, León, 1700–1860*, D. A. Brading
33. *Modernization in a Mexican ejido: A Study in Economic Adaptation*, Billie R. DeWalt
34. *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti*, David Nicholls
35. *A Socioeconomic History of Argentina, 1776–1860*, Jonathan C. Brown
36. *Coffee in Colombia, 1850–1970: An Economic, Social and Political History*, Marco Palacios
37. *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade*, David Murray
38. *Caudillo and Peasant in the Mexican Revolution*, D. A. Brading, ed.
39. *The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day*, J. Foweraker
40. *Oil and Politics in Latin America: Nationalist Movements and State Companies*, George Philip
41. *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620*, Noble David Cook
42. *Revolution from Without: Yucatán, Mexico, and the United States, 1880–1924*, Gilbert M. Joseph
43. *Juan Vicente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908–1935*, B. S. McBeth
44. *Law and Politics in Aztec Texcoco*, Jerome A. Offner
45. *Brazil's State-Owned Enterprises: A Case Study of the State as Entrepreneur*, Thomas J. Trebat
46. *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil*, James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz
47. *Capitalist Development and the Peasant Economy in Peru*, Adolfo Figueroa
48. *Miners, Peasants and Entrepreneurs: Regional Development in the Central Highlands of Peru*, Norman Long and Bryan Roberts
49. *Unions and Politics in Mexico: The Case of the Automobile Industry*, Ian Roxborough
50. *Housing, the State, and the Poor: Policy and Practice in Three Latin American Cities*, Alan Gilbert and Peter M. Ward
51. *Tobacco on the Periphery: A Case Study in Cuban Labour History, 1860–1958*, Jean Stubbs
52. *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835*, Stuart B. Schwartz
53. *The Province of Buenos Aires and Argentine Politics, 1912–1943*, Richard J. Walter
54. *The Mexican Revolution, Volume 1: Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants*, Alan Knight

55. *The Mexican Revolution, Volume 2: Counter-Revolution and Reconstruction*, Alan Knight
56. *Pre-Revolutionary Caracas: Politics, Economy, and Society 1777–1811*, P. Michael McKinley
57. *Catholic Colonialism: A Parish History of Guatemala, 1524–1821*, Adriaan C. van Oss
58. *The Agrarian Question and the Peasant Movement in Colombia: Struggles of the National Peasant Association, 1967–1981*, Leon Zamosc
59. *Roots of Insurgency: Mexican Regions, 1750–1824*, Brian R. Hamnett
60. *Latin America and the Comintern, 1919–1943*, Manuel Caballero
61. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570, Second Edition*, Inga Clendinnen
62. *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro*, Jeffrey D. Needell
63. *The Political Economy of Central America since 1920*, Victor Bulmer-Thomas
64. *Resistance and Integration: Peronism and the Argentine Working Class, 1946–1976*, Daniel James
65. *South America and the First World War: The Impact of the War on Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile*, Bill Albert
66. *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia*, Jonathan Hartlyn
67. *The Demography of Inequality in Brazil*, Charles H. Wood and José Alberto Magno de Carvalho
68. *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*, Sandra Lauderdale Graham
69. *Power and the Ruling Classes in Northeast Brazil, Juazeiro and Petrolina in Transition*, Ronald H. Chilcote
70. *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, Joanne Rappaport
71. *Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador*, Suzanne Austin Alchon
72. *Negotiating Democracy: Politicians and Generals in Uruguay*, Charles Guy Gillespie
73. *The Central Republic in Mexico, 1835–1846, ‘Hombres de Bien’ in the Age of Santa Anna*, Michael P. Costeloe
74. *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires, 1910–1942*, Richard J. Walter
75. *Colombia before Independence: Economy, Society and Politics under Bourbon Rule*, Anthony McFarlane
76. *Power and Violence in the Colonial City: Oruro from the Mining Renaissance to the Rebellion of Tupac Amaru (1740–1782)*, Oscar Cornblit
77. *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence, Second Edition*, Victor Bulmer-Thomas
78. *Business Interest Groups in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, Eugene Ridings
79. *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790–1880*, Laird W. Bergad, Fe Iglesias García, and María del Carmen Barcia
80. *The Kingdom of Quito, 1690–1830: The State and Regional Development*, Kenneth J. Andrien
81. *The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Latin America, 1900–1945*, Thomas F. O’Brien
82. *A History of Chile, 1808–2002, Second Edition*, Simon Collier and William F. Sater

83. *The Rise of Capitalism on the Pampas: The Estancias of Buenos Aires, 1785–1870*, Samuel Amaral
84. *The Independence of Spanish America*, Jaime E. Rodríguez
85. *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888*, Laird W. Bergad
86. *Between Revolution and the Ballot Box: The Origins of the Argentine Radical Party in the 1890s*, Paula Alonso
87. *Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, Ivan Jaksic
88. *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey: Workers, Paternalism, and Revolution in Mexico, 1890–1950*, Michael Snodgrass
89. *Chile: The Making of a Republic, 1830–1865: Politics and Ideas*, Simon Collier
90. *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750–1825*, David T. Garrett
91. *Bankruptcy of Empire: Mexican Silver and the Wars Between Spain, Britain, and France, 1760–1810*, Carlos Marichal
92. *The Political Economy of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*, Roberto Cortés Conde
93. *Politics, Markets, and Mexico's "London Debt," 1823–1887*, Richard J. Salvucci
94. *A History of the Khipu*, Galen Brokaw
95. *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798–1840*, Mark Harris
96. *Warfare and Shamanism in Amazonia*, Carlos Fausto
97. *The British Textile Trade in South America in the Nineteenth Century*, Manuel Llorca-Jaña
98. *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence, Third Edition*, Victor Bulmer-Thomas
99. *Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres*, Celia Cussen
100. *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, Tatiana Seijas
101. *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico, 1500–1800*, Peter Vilella
102. *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780–1825*

Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution

*Reform, Revolution, and Royalism
in the Northern Andes, 1780–1825*

MARCELA ECHEVERRI

Yale University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107084148

© Marcela Echeverri 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Names: Echeverri, Marcela, 1974–

Title: Indian and slave royalists in the Age of Revolution : reform, revolution, and royalism in the northern Andes, 1780–1825 / Marcela Echeverri (Yale University).

Description: New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Series: Cambridge Latin American studies ; 102 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015045746 | ISBN 9781107084148 (Hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: Indians of South America—Colombia—Popayán Region—Politics and government—18th century. | Indians of South America—Colombia—Popayán Region—Politics and government—18th century. | Slaves—Political activity—Colombia—Popayán Region—History. | Royalists—Colombia—Popayán Region—History. | Social change—Colombia—Popayán Region—History. | Revolutions—Colombia—Popayán Region—History. | Popayán Region (Colombia)—Politics and government. | Pasto Region (Colombia)—Politics and government. | Andes Region—Politics and government. | Colombia—Politics and government—To 1810

Classification: LCC F2269.1.P66 E25 2016 | DDC 323.1198/0861—dc23 LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015045746>

ISBN 978-1-107-08414-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
Introduction: law, empire, and politics in the revolutionary age	1
1 Reform, revolution, and royalism in the northern Andes: New Granada and Popayán (1780–1825)	19
2 Indian politics and Spanish justice in eighteenth-century Pasto	62
3 The laws of slavery and the politics of freedom in late-colonial Popayán	92
4 Negotiating loyalty: royalism and liberalism among Pasto Indian communities (1809–1819)	123
5 Slaves in the defense of Popayán: war, royalism, and freedom (1809–1819)	157
6 “The yoke of the greatest of all tyrannical intruders, Bolívar”: the royalist rebels in Colombia’s southwest (1820–1825)	191
Conclusion: the law and social transformation in the early republic	224
<i>Bibliography</i>	239
<i>Index</i>	265

Figures

I.1	Province of Popayán	<i>page</i> 4
1.1	District of Pasto and province of Los Pastos with selected Indian towns	24
1.2	Territorial aspirations of the Junta Suprema de Quito, 1809	42
1.3	New Granada and Peru	45
5.1	<i>Lista de negros de la mina de San Juan por quienes solicita la libertad el síndico procurador general</i> (List of <i>negros</i> from the San Juan mine for whom the state attorney requests freedom)	181
6.1	Pasto and Pacific lowlands, 1822–25	213

Table

1.1	Population of New Granada (1778) and Popayán, Pasto, and Pacific Lowlands (1797)	26
-----	--	----

Acknowledgments

This book began as my dissertation project at New York University. From the days of research and dissertating until today I have enjoyed being part of a wonderful network of colleagues who contributed to making this a truly exciting project and a deeply formative experience.

For their inspiration and immeasurable support in every step of this project I am always thankful to Ada Ferrer, Margarita Garrido, Greg Grandin, Joanne Rappaport, Sinclair Thomson, and Barbara Weinstein.

For reading different versions of the entire manuscript and providing invaluable feedback, I thank Nicolas Ronderos, Sinclair Thomson, Peter Guardino, Ken Andrien, Joanne Rappaport, Herman Bennett, Sherwin Bryant, Rachel O'Toole, Tamara Walker, Cristina Soriano, Michelle Chase, Yuko Miki, Sarah Sarzynski, Gil Joseph, Stuart Schwartz, Laurent Dubois, Alejandro de la Fuente, and Alejandra Dubcovsky.

I also benefited greatly and learned from the advice and insights of the following scholars who read one or more chapters of the book: Lyman Johnson, Alejandro Cañeque, Chuck Walker, Brian Owensby, Jane Landers, Yanna Yannakakis, Kristen Block, Ernesto Bassi, Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, Renzo Honores, Anne Eller, Ed Rugemer, Kathryn Burns, Ben Vinson, Allan Kuethe, Matt Childs, Victor Uribe-Urán, Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, Alcira Dueñas, Chris Schmidt-Nowara, Alejandra Irigoin, Zara Anishanslin, Scarlett O'Phelan, Georges Lomné, Jaime Rodríguez, Amy Chazkel, Gabriel DiMeglio, Julie Gibbings, and Edgardo Pérez Morales.

I thank the participants at the workshops in which I presented my research, who engaged my work with interest: NYU's Atlantic World Workshop; Harvard's Atlantic History Seminar; CUNY's Center for the

Humanities “Freedom” Seminar; the Javeriana University History Department’s faculty workshop; the Johns Hopkins History Department Seminar; the Omohundro Institute WMQ-EMSI Workshop “The Age of Revolutions”; U. Penn’s McNeil Center for Early American Studies Atlantic Seminar; and the Newberry Library’s 2014–15 Symposium on Comparative Early Modern Legal History, “Meanings of Justice in New World Empires: Settler and Indigenous Law as Counterpoints.”

As I developed this project I received important guidance and encouragement, for which I am very grateful, from Lyman Johnson, Alejandro Cañeque, Kris Lane, Chris Schmidt-Nowara, Lauren Benton, Karen Kupperman, Fred Cooper and Jane Burbank, Jim Sidbury, Peter Blanchard, and James Sanders.

In New York, Providence, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, and Spain, and all the places this project has taken me for research and conferences, I was lucky to meet and personally and intellectually learn from Andreas Kalyvas, Pablo Kalmanovitz, Valeria Coronel and José Antonio Figueroa, Natasha Lightfoot, Antonio Feros, Marta Irurozqui and Víctor Peralta, José Carlos de la Puente Luna, Emily Berquist, Joshua Rosenthal, Lina del Castillo, Ernesto Capello, Marta Herrera, Paula Ronderos, Daniel Gutiérrez, Cristóbal Gnecco, Santiago Muñoz, Mauricio Nieto, Claudia Leal, Carl Langebaek, Jairo Gutiérrez, Antonio Barrera, Geneviève Verdo, Clément Thibaud, Cecilia Méndez, Gabriela Ramos, Jordana Dym, Alex Borucki, Marixa Lasso, Reuben Zahler, Scott Eastman, Mark Thurner, Eric Van Young, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, T.J. Desch-Obi, Jessica Krug, Elena Schneider, Celso Castilho, Olga Gonzalez Silén, Guillermo Bustos, David Geggus, Manuel Barcia, Neil Safier and Iris Montero, Jeremy Mumford, Roque Ferreira, Sibylle Fischer, Bianca Premo, Erick Langer, Norah Andrews, Manuel Lucena Giraldo, Gabriel Paquette, Katherine Bonil, Yesenia Barragan, Camillia Cowling, David Wheat, Caitlin Fitz, Jason McGraw, David Sartorius, Oscar de la Torre, Zach Morgan, Gabriela Lupiáñez, Nuria Sala i Vila, José de la Puente Brunke, Karin Roseblatt, Camilla Townsend, Renée Soulodre-La France, and Fabricio Prado.

At the College of Staten Island Zara Anishanslin, Ismael García Colón, Samira Haj, Marc Lewis, John Dixon, John Wing, Ben Mercer, Sarah Pollack, Oswaldo Zavala, Felipe Martínez, and Rafael de la Dehesa were wonderful colleagues. Special thanks to Francisco Soto, Jonathan Sassi, and Eric Ivison for their consistent support to my research. At CUNY I also enjoyed many conversations with Herman Bennett, Amy Chazkel, Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, and Namita Manohar.

Acknowledgments

xv

At Yale and in New Haven I have had the mentorship and friendship of my colleagues Ned Blackhawk, Alejandra Dubcovsky, Rosie Bsheer, Rohit De, Ed Rugemer, Jen VanVleck, Alan Mikhail, Julie Stephens, Greta LaFleur, Vanessa Agard-Jones, Leslie Harkema, Dixie Ramirez, Albert Laguna, Laura Barraclough, Maria Jordan, David Blight, Carlos Eire, Paul Freedman, Glenda Gilmore, George Chauncey, Francesca Trivellato, Mary Lui, Naomi Lamoreaux, Anne Eller, Gil Joseph, and Stuart Schwartz. The students in my seminars at Yale in the past two years also deserve recognition for passionately engaging with this work and giving it a refreshing new life.

Yale's staff welcomed me warmly and it has been a pleasure to work with them. In the History Department I especially thank Denise Scott, Liza Joyner, and Dana Lee. Warm thanks to Jean Silk at the Council on Latin American and Iberian Studies and to David Spatz in the Gilder Lehrman Center.

The research and writing of this book was supported by New York University; the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia; Fundación Carolina; Harvard University; and the City University of New York. The book has been published with the assistance of the Frederick W. Hilles Publication Fund of Yale University.

I want to acknowledge the staff at the archival collections where I did research between 2001 and 2011, whose attention and generosity have made this book possible. In particular, Mauricio Tovar at the Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá was always extremely supportive. Two wonderful archivists at the Archivo Central del Cauca, Yolanda Polo and Harold Puerto, deserve enormous recognition. At the Archivo Nacional del Ecuador I am grateful to Margarita Tufiño, Verónica Salazar, Piedad Mesías de Rubio, and Maria Teresa Carranco. At Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango I thank Margarita Garrido and Juan Ignacio Arboleda. Many thanks to the staff at the John Carter Brown Library, especially Michael Hammerly, Richard Ring, Valerie Andrews, and Ken Ward.

In the most recent phase of preparing the manuscript for publication, I am very grateful to Herb Klein and Debbie Gershenowitz from Cambridge University Press for their editorial advice and support in the process of writing this book. Thanks also to the three anonymous readers for their recommendations and encouragement.

Special thanks to Santiago Muñoz for his excellent and caring work on the maps in this book, to Marta Herrera and Daniel Gutiérrez for graciously allowing me to use maps from their books, and to Marsha Ostroff for patiently working through various versions of the manuscript and making adjustments to the language.

An earlier version of Chapter 3 was published in *Slavery and Abolition* 30:3 (2009), and parts of Chapters 4 and 5 appeared in an article with the *Hispanic American Historical Review* 91:2 (2011).

Last but not least, I want to acknowledge my friends and family who have nourished me with their love and affection, who have been and are there for me always. First, my closest kin: my parents Diego and Claudia, the sweetest people in the world; my little brothers Juan Pablo and Felipe; my sister-in-law Catalina Delgado and my niece and nephew Rebeca and Benjamín; *mi abuelita* Lolita (I love you); *mis tíos* Constanza Echeverri, Catalina Muñoz, and Sergio Camacho; Leonardo Ronderos, Maria Teresa Gaitan, and Nicolas Ronderos – to Nicolas I dedicate this book in appreciation for his inspiration, company, and support during the years when I developed the project, and in celebration of the time we lived together. My wonderful friends: Yuhayna Mahmud, Adriana Arjona, Camila and Maria Gamboa, Pedro and Miguel Salazar, Maria Fernanda Buritica, Carolina Echeverri, Ana Paula Iglesias, Santiago Monge, Sandra Frieri, Diego Herrera, Renata Segura and Adam Lupel, Domingo Ledezma and Giovanna Roz, Eva Salcedo, Martha Lobo, Liliana Ujueta and Pablo Abitbol, Mariscal (Isho) Pérez, Michelle Standley, Carlos Granés, Camilo Martínez, Zara Anishanslin, Jack Lawson, Julieta Lemaitre, and Maria del Rosario Ferro.