Introduction

This book focuses on the peoples of Hispaniola and their deep, intimate, and persistent embrace of smuggling, and situates their story at the crossroads of the fields of colonial Latin American, Caribbean, and Atlantic history. Hispaniola residents traded extra-legally in order to circumvent the increasingly marginal space the island occupied within the Spanish colonial system, one which left them on the fringes of lawful commercial connections. During the long seventeenth century (which I define as the years between the 1580s and 1690s), the Atlantic world was a growing network of interconnected port towns and cities and their hinterlands that developed simultaneously to the integration of those port cities into their own imperial systems. With this twin dynamic in mind, I argue that the inhabitants of the Spanish colony of Hispaniola overcame their peripheral status within the Spanish empire by embracing the possibilities that the people, networks, and goods of the nascent new Atlantic world provided. Elites wove themselves into the fabric of the trade and dominated it as they could; other residents also made their lives through the trade. By carefully navigating around Spanish imperial monopolistic expectations – or simply ignoring them – Hispaniola’s residents turned the island into an Atlantic center in its own right. They pursued their short-term and intermediate social and economic goals, while also embracing cross-imperial contraband as an economically viable and morally acceptable livelihood for their own personal prosperity. In the process, steeped in the contraband networks that ruled the colony, Hispaniola residents transformed the
political dynamics that ruled their relationship with the Spanish mon-
archy, giving themselves great control over the decision-making pro-
gress of the island as well as a good part of the Spanish Caribbean
region.

This book offers a ground-up reconstruction of transimperial and
interregional illicit trade, politics, and institutional history. Hispaniola
residents instantiated what Jesse Cromwell, inspired by E. P. Thompson,
identifies as a moral economy of smuggling.¹ In Hispaniola, just as in
costal Venezuela, this social ethos also cut across race and class, unifying
the great majority of society into a communal pact that normalized their
practice of and benefits from contraband trade, while maintaining
a deeply hierarchical society in which enslaved and free people of color,
either willingly or forcibly, participated in the trade often as cogs within
a smuggling machinery controlled by white elites. This process appeared
in Hispaniola in the second half of the sixteenth century, over a century
earlier than in Venezuela, and shows the deep roots of smuggling in
coastal Caribbean communities. *Islanders and Empire* details efforts of
local residents at every social level: those enslaved on plantations and in
towns, free town residents, and especially the social and political machi-
nations of the elite, who manipulated and benefitted most from the trade.
It considers actions of the Spanish state — often ineffectual, sometimes
brutal — the considerations of the Catholic Church, the dynamics of local
rivalry, and the impact of non-Spanish networks and residents on the
island, a factor that only continued to grow.

Next, and equally as important as the social and economic relation-
ships related to illicit commerce, this study of the social ethos of smuggling
in Hispaniola also reveals a progressive institutionalization of smuggling
at the highest levels of colonial governance, which led to intimate and
mutually beneficial interactions between colonial bureaucrats and some
(but certainly not all) local inhabitants. Throughout the seventeenth
century, Hispaniola elites’ accumulated influence as smugglers permitted
them to exert increasingly tight control over the reins of all local institu-
tions. This local control not only allowed them to practice their illicit
dealings without being prosecuted or punished for their actions, but gave
them an outsized influence in the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo. Local
leverage over the machinery of power within the *Audiencia* allowed them

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¹ Jesse Cromwell, *The Smugglers’ World: Illicit Trade and Atlantic Communities in
Eighteenth-Century Venezuela* (Williamsburg, Omohundro Institute of Early American
History and Culture; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 15–16.
in turn to establish mutually beneficial connections with other renowned Caribbean smuggling regions such as Venezuela and New Granada. They did this with almost complete impunity, while using the royal treasury to finance their actions.

Local control over the Audiencia also had an important geostrategic dimension both for the island as part of the Spanish empire and for the region as a whole. During the late seventeenth century, the Caribbean became a heavily contested imperial frontier among European empires that were fighting to realize their own imperial ambitions while imposing commercial supremacy over the region. The ability of Hispaniola residents to steer the Audiencia of Santo Domingo and royal officials on the island to protect and expand their ability to conduct extralegal commerce had a significant impact on the implementation of Spanish imperial policy across a large part of the Caribbean, rendering most efforts from Madrid secondary to the interests of Hispaniola’s power networks. At times, the Spanish crown managed to squash local efforts to cultivate multinational and transimperial contraband networks. In the depopulations of 1604–6, for example, the crown destroyed the smuggling villages of the north and west of the island: Puerto Plata, Montecristi, Bayahá, la Yaguana, and San Juan. The king’s men destroyed all local resistance and caused considerable loss of life and property. Their actions resulted in great dislocation to both enslaved and free local inhabitants, who in the eyes of the crown were not only breaking the commercial laws, but were also dangerously confraternizing with proselytizing Lutherans. Despite the crown’s punctual successes after 1606 in stifling unsanctioned commerce, Hispaniola – and the majority of the Spanish Caribbean possessions during the seventeenth century – established an early and increasingly fierce independence from Madrid’s mandates. The marginal space that Hispaniola occupied in the mind of Spanish bureaucrats gave local peoples great latitude to mold imperial rule to their own ends, embracing what was useful for their own socioeconomic prosperity, absorbing institutional power, and disregarding some of the most onerous aspects of colonial governance.

This book opens with a chapter on the history of Hispaniola or Ayiti, as the indigenous Arawak people called it, from Cristóbal Colón’s arrival to the second half of the sixteenth century.\(^2\) The main narrative, however, begins in the 1580s when plantation agriculture had been in decline for at

\(^2\) I have chosen to use Christopher Columbus’ Spanish name instead of its anglicized version. I will do the same with the names of kings and queens like Isabel and Fernando, Carlos, Felipe, etc.
least thirty years and contraband had increased as an alternative economic activity. *Islanders and Empire* ends with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, with Spanish recognition of French dominion over Hispaniola’s western lands. The treaty divided the island into the two polities of French Saint-Domingue and Spanish Santo Domingo, and despite the tensions over land and plunder, people from both sides had enjoyed a thriving contraband activity for more than a decade by this point. This illicit trade became one of the defining features in the relationship between the two colonies in the next century and beyond.

Although *Islanders and Empire* reflects the participation in contraband trade of all residents of Hispaniola, it highlights the paths of the members of the local Hispaniola-born elites. They dominated the overt smuggling on the island, even as many other actors participated. Portuguese and other foreigners, enslaved and free peoples of African descent, and Spanish officials also engaged in the consumption and trade of contraband goods, which included the purchase of African captives. In the beginning of this prosperous contraband trade in the second half of the sixteenth century, people of all ranks and backgrounds actively participated in exchanges with foreign traders along the sparsely populated shores and bays of Hispaniola. The depopulations of 1604–6 marked a watershed moment in the ability of a great part of the population to participate in the extralegal trade: access to smuggled goods became limited to a small group of individuals who took advantage of their location and/or their rank within the island’s political and military structure to restrict access to these goods, thus becoming gatekeepers. This position allowed them to benefit economically from their access, while at the same time creating important patronage networks that allowed their members to obtain these goods, as well as African captives, and the wealth associated with these exchanges. By the end of the seventeenth century, the unequal access to smuggled goods created a social and political hierarchy on the island. Both crown officials and local municipal leaders in towns like Santo Domingo and Santiago de los Caballeros became direct providers of smuggled goods and centers of powerful (and often competing) contraband networks. This overt local economic defiance of imperial rules established a pattern that would continue until the end of the Spanish colonial period.

*Islanders and Empire* brings to bear important implications for the wider understanding of Spanish colonialism beyond the island. Despite the best attempts of the Spanish monarchy to curb contraband trade and reassert control of Santo Domingo’s commerce and institutions, its efforts were ultimately thwarted by local interests bent on pursuing the path that
suited their social and economic ambitions. The study of a colonial periphery such as Hispaniola in the seventeenth century demonstrates how local peoples actively negotiated and transformed the meaning and reach of imperial bureaucracies and institutions for their own benefit. In Santo Domingo, local actors managed to undermine and co-opt the powers of imperial bureaucracies, either by absorbing them into their own patronage networks or by confronting them with the strength that their colonial isolation granted them. Smuggling became a common activity in which all sectors of society directly or indirectly participated, including those who, at least theoretically, represented the crown’s interests.

Additionally, *Islanders and Empire* demonstrates that improvisation and resistance to the mandates of Madrid occurred even in seats of empire as embattled and contradictory as the early colonial Caribbean. Besieged by Spanish enemies, the crown needed to control this region to ensure its transatlantic communication with the bullion-rich mainland of Mexico and Peru. Yet during most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from a colonial standpoint, the Caribbean remained largely unprofitable and very far down on the list of priorities of the Spanish crown. During this long seventeenth century, Spain formally retained control of Hispaniola, but in practice, it was the alliance of colonial administrators and local groups that controlled the destiny of the island, even as they performed their loyalty to the king in letters and treatises to Madrid. Local groups accommodated Spanish rule not just because of historical inertia (doing what their parents did before them) or abject loyalty – they did so because Madrid rarely interfered with local designs. When it did, local dominance of imperial institutions rendered most of those attempts unsuccessful. Even when the crown managed to impose its will, local peoples rendered these triumphs moot and short-lived. Hispaniola thus provides a model to study most Spanish imperial peripheries during this period, which is to say, most of the Spanish empire.

By co-opting the governing and judicial powers of local and imperial institutions on the island and prioritizing their own short- and medium-term goals (including wealth acquisition, social recognition, and privileges), the residents of Hispaniola were able to take advantage of and even dominate the contraband trade that reached the island’s shores. In doing so, they altered the course of European interimperial struggles in the Caribbean by limiting, redirecting, or suppressing the Spanish crown’s policies, while seeking to advance their own social and economic interests. Hispaniola’s decline in state-sanctioned commercial importance and the demise of its plantation agriculture ruined the social, political, and
economic backbone of the island’s economy. Smuggling represented a viable livelihood and even an opportunity for a certain level of prosperity and conspicuous consumption for Hispaniola residents. It often involved the co-optation of institutions and individuals with the power to punish contraband as an illicit activity. Thinking about the history of Hispaniola in this way allows for an examination of the pursuits of individual actors with in the otherwise abstract process of imperial and economic decline. The island’s seventeenth-century past also elucidates the meaning and impact of that so-called decline, as well as its effects in colonial governance, from an on-the-ground peripheral perspective.

NARRATIVE EXCLUSIONS

The Spanish Caribbean islands in general, and Hispaniola in particular, have often been sidelined from the main historical narratives of the Caribbean and Atlantic world during the seventeenth century. This omission has multiple explanations. One is that the history of the Caribbean during this period has traditionally been told with an emphasis on those aspects that scholars identified as defining features of the region in later periods, such as the importance of sugar and the rise of plantation societies. As a result, the study of the seventeenth-century Caribbean has often been filtered by scholarly interest in the plantation societies that flourished, at horrible human costs, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In United States academia in particular, this has led to an expansive historiographical production concerning plantation societies in the Caribbean and Atlantic world and their connection to the rise of Western (mostly English, French or Dutch) capitalism. Unfortunately, such an approach has also led to completely ignoring entire regions of the Caribbean that did not fit into this teleological narrative.3 Ironically, Hispaniola was home to the first plantation society in the Americas, but this first plantation cycle failed to be

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included with what historians have identified as the definitive rise of plantations in the Caribbean by the end of the seventeenth century, no doubt contributing to the island’s historiographical obscurity. Academic interest in the study of the island after 1550 has been even more scarce, possibly due to the decline of the sugar plantations. Many African and indigenous enslaved captives escaped the Spanish farms and formed maroon communities, while many of those who stayed in bondage found a form of freedom associated with subsistence agriculture and cattle ranching instead of plantation work. In most general histories of the region, the people living in the Spanish islands of the Caribbean are only described as active participants in the earliest stages of colonization. As soon as the English, French, and Dutch settlers arrive, Spanish settlers recede to the background, where they appear to remain exclusively as victims of pirates and other forms of North European aggression. Pirate narratives celebrate north-coast smugglers only obliquely. In this telling, the European nations and their Atlantic extensions were the real protagonists in the rise of the Caribbean to preeminence as one of the central nodes of the early modern Atlantic world.


5 This is something that Raymundo González has observed for the eighteenth century, but it was certainly happening since the late sixteenth century. Raymundo González, De esclavos a campesinos: vida rural en Santo Domingo colonial (Santo Domingo: Archivo General de la Nación, 2011).

Focusing more narrowly on the historiography of the Spanish colonial world, scholars interested in Hispaniola have spent most of their energies on the first fifty years of European colonization of the Americas. Known sometimes as the Caribbean phase of Spanish colonial expansion, this period has attracted the attention of academics interested in the origins of European colonization of the New World, as well as its earlier protagonists. The European exploration and colonization of the Caribbean basin, the exploitation and enslavement of indigenous peoples, and the introduction of African enslaved men and women continue to be some of the most active areas of research of the early colonial period of the region. In these studies, Hispaniola society (with Santo Domingo as its most important urban center) has featured prominently as the center of this expanding Spanish early colonial world in the Americas.


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Just as Madrid focused most of its energies and resources in the exploitation and development of their expanding mainland vicerealties of Mexico and Peru, most historians seem to have abandoned the Spanish Caribbean for those new Spanish lands and their inhabitants. Santo Domingo, Hispaniola, and most of the first cities that were so important in the initial Spanish expansion through the Caribbean became marginalized in histories of the region. Starting in the late sixteenth century, Spanish Caribbean ports cities were described as a chain of poorly administered, supplied, and defended garrison towns besieged by corsairs and pirates. This view is not necessarily erroneous, but its focus solely on Spanish imperial needs ignores the internal processes of these colonial societies, the lives of their inhabitants, and how, beyond their defensive needs, the peoples of these locales had an impact upon Spanish imperial plans in the hemisphere. Even Dominican and Spanish scholars seem to have taken this view of seventeenth century decline as a reason to sideline the study of this period. When forced to provide an analysis of Hispaniola society during this century, they merely join the chorus of voices that decry the poverty of the period with little insightful analysis of local society beyond these tropes.

This is evident in almost every collection of primary sources and general histories of the Dominican Republic that tries to tackle the seventeenth century, making them very limited in their ability to provide an extensive portrait of Hispaniola society during this period.

Other scholars have focused on the history of Hispaniola in the eighteenth century, studying the configuration of island society, economy, the role of smuggling, the lives and struggles of African enslaved labor, its status as an imperial frontier with the French colony of Saint Domingue.


10 One of the few exceptions to this rule is Juana Gil-Bermejo García, La Española. Anotaciones históricas (1600–1650), (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1983).

Santo Domingo: Imperial Periphery, Imperial Frontier

The existing historiography of the Spanish Caribbean in the seventeenth century is scarce, with most of the existing work focusing on Havana and/or Cartagena. Both of those cities have been at the center of an extraordinary historiographical renaissance in recent years that reflect their status as central nodes of the Spanish monarchy.¹³ That these recent
