

## THE PIZARRIST REBELLION

### THE BIRTH OF LATIN AMERICA

On the eve of Mexican independence one of the intellectual leaders of the movement, Dr. Servando Teresa José de Mier, whom the "new despotism" had incarcerated in the prison of San Juan de Ulúa, reflected on the *Idea of the Constitution Conferred upon America by the Kings of Spain before the Invasion of the Old Despotism*. He evoked with fervor the epoch—at the height of the reign of Charles V—when Fray Bartolome de Las Casas introduced the new laws protecting the Indians in the Council of the Indies (1542-1543), when he imposed upon the conquest the ideal of pacific evangelization formulated in his *De unico vocationis modo*, and in a memorable controversy finally triumphed over the "notorious Sepúlveda, advocate of war and slavery" (1550). "It was," Mier maintained, "the most significant epoch of American history, for it marked the termination of America's major misfortunes and laid the foundation of her fundamental laws or true constitution."

Translated by Nora McKeon.

This Mexican Creole ridiculed the constituents of Cadiz (1812), who had begrudged the Spaniards of America their citizenship. In dissent he elaborated with ingenuity and conviction the cultivated Creole's conception of the charter conferred long before upon Spanish America. To the Indians the new laws offered the perpetual guarantee that war would no longer be waged against them as an instrument of Christianization, that their "republics" would be respected, that the tributes exacted from them would be "moderate," that is, fixed at a supportable level—a simple tax collected by the King of Castille as Emperor of the Indies charged with the task of evangelization.

But the crown also concluded "new pacts," more just than those that had preceded them, with the Spaniards who had conquered the country at their own peril and their own expense, without benefit of royal subsidies. These took away the Spaniard's power to enslave the native population and reserved for Creoles, the sons of the conquistadores and Spaniards born in America, priority in the distribution of civil, military and ecclesiastic posts. The crown's failure to keep its contract with the Creoles in fact explains America's entry into the era of revolutions of independence.

Mier was not unaware of the discrepancy between the reality and his juridical schema of the rights accorded to the Indian and Spanish communities since the time of Charles V. He recalled the extremely bitter and ultimately indecisive struggle, from 1544 to 1556, occasioned by the will to translate these rights into fact. For the great novelty of the new laws, he would have us understand, was the rigor with which the authorities claimed to carry them out. Now, what was the reality?

In Peru the laws provoked an insurrection of settlers headed by Gonzalo Pizarro in connivance with the auditors of the new court of appeals (*Audiencia*), recently arrived in America along with the new Viceroy whom they should have supported. The latter, the "incorruptible" Blasco Núñez Vela, who intended to apply the laws, was sent back to Spain by the rebels. Having succeeded in landing in Northern Peru and in organizing a loyalist force against the rebellion, he died weapon in hand on the battlefield of Quito (1546). A patient reconquest of the situation by the Laureate Pedro de la Gasca, sent from Spain

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for this purpose, was necessary before Gonzalo Pizarro and his indomitable partisans could, in their turn, be defeated on the battlefield of Xaquixaguana near Cuzco (1548) and executed for high treason. Yet this event did not inaugurate a period of lasting peace between the combatants, for (says Mier, notoriously unjust toward Gasca), "they did not cease killing each other until 1554 or 1556, due to the cunning of the Laureate Gasca who, sent to pacify them, proceeded to divide them and to set them against one another like the good inquisitor that he was."

In Mexico the Royal Inspector Tello de Sandoval was more diplomatic than Blasco Núñez had been in Peru. He relayed the execution of the laws and authorized the colonists to send deputies to the court. The colonists were able to gain as their advocates the influential superiors of monastic missionary orders. Since 1545 Charles V had made important concessions; in particular, he revoked the law calling for the suppression throughout the Indies of the *encomiendas* or *repartimientos*, that is, the allotments of Indians granted to conquistadores or favorites of the court—and providing for the progressive transfer of all the Indians under the direct dependence of the crown, to which they would pay tribute directly. Not content, however, with retaining their Indians in *encomienda* and preserving their right to transmit them to their first descendents ("for one or two lives"), the *encomenderos* attempted to push their advantage. Those in Peru, in particular, offered a very large sum to the royal treasury in 1564-1565 to "feudalize all of America", as Mier expresses it; that is, to obtain the transformation of the *encomiendas* into hereditary fiefs in perpetuity.

As for the Indians, who had been transformed into slaves in defiance of the laws, Fray Bartolome de Las Casas, invested as Bishop of Chiapas, failed in the application of an ecclesiastic decree which would have obliged the colonists to give them back their freedom (which the first Dominicans of Santo Domingo had already tried unsuccessfully in the Islands thirty years earlier). It involved nothing less than the refusal of the sacraments by the confessors to all those who possessed slaves and refused to liberate them. This Las Casas did, but, under the hostile pressure of his clergy and his flock, he was forced to leave his bishopric. In company with the Bishop of Nicaragua,

Fray Antonio de Valdivieso, a Dominican like himself who had embarked upon the same perilous course, Las Casas demanded in vain the support of the new *Audiencia* "of the Confines" installed in Central America, which was, however, little disposed to take the side of the missionaries against the colonists. Las Casas returned to Spain after waging a rearguard battle in an assembly of evangelists of Mexico. Fray Antonio de Valdivieso remained in his bishopric of Nicaragua. But there he was later assassinated.

In short, if it is possible to maintain, with Mier, that these were crucial years in the formation of America, years that witnessed the configuration of a system of government that could have taken on the authority of a constitution, it is evident that the struggle of the missionaries and Creoles for and against the system sheds light upon the dramatic crisis. It is not surprising that certain writers of our time, wanting to bring to life again the significant episodes of this bitter struggle, have chosen this great turning point. Such is the case with the "scenes of the time of the conquistadores" that Reinhold Schneider romanticized for the German public under the title, *Las Casas vor Karl V* (1938: Insel Verlag 1949). The most celebrated writer of Guatemala, Miguel Angel Asturias, recently recreated for his compatriots the drama of *La Audiencia de los Confines*. Employing an original technique, he places the age-old life of the Indians in the perspective of the great debate among the Spaniards, of which they were the stake though experiencing it merely as spectators and victims. It is astonishing that the Pizarrist rebellion against the laws has not yet provided the theme for a novel, even though Salvador de Madariaga recently chose it as a background for his *Una gota de tiempo* (Buenos Aires, 1958). Analogous to his treatment of Mexico in *Heart of Jade*, he wanted to construct this Peruvian chronicle of the years 1544-1548 around the encounter of the Spaniard and the Indian as living beings, messengers of two humanities as foreign to one another as two planets. But the war itself which the Peruvian colonists waged, first against the Viceroy Blasco Núñez, then against the Laureate Gasca, presents a drama worthy of a novelist's attention, charged as it is with violence deep in meaning as well as ambiguity which precluded the victory of the colonists.

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It would be vain to speculate under what conditions the Peruvian rebels would have been able to conquer Spanish America; that is, to establish its independence nearly three centuries in advance. It would be equally vain to wonder if the new laws could have been imposed in their entirety. Power remained with the king, if not with the laws. In the final analysis, the majority of the rebel combatants, like the loyalists whose standards they rejoined in time, were more than partially victorious, inasmuch as the Indians, whose wellbeing was the goal of their struggle only in appearance, remained subjected to them without many more guarantees than before. Those who protest against the "black legend" to the effect that the Indians were destroyed by the conquistadores are justified, nevertheless, in pointing out that many Indians are left in Spanish America, while their suppression was more radical in other parts of the continent. Thus, did the Spanish-American world, which began to take shape between 1544 and 1551, comprise, according to a view dear to the Peruvian Apristas of our time, both the "Latin America" born at the beginning of the 19th century of revolutions and, at the same time, the future of the "Indoamerica" whose realization is the object of all their effort.

The purpose of this discussion is, precisely, to demonstrate that America at this epoch, shaken from one end to the other by the Pizarrist rebellion, became truly Spanish by assuming at last the values and the culture of Spain as a justification of the conquest and as an antidote to the anarchy of the conquistadores. And that simultaneously this colonial world became conscious of its solidarity from Mexico to Rio de la Plata and to the Straits of Magellan, at the same time that it experienced the strength of the umbilical cord formed by the *carrera de Indias*, the arrival and departure of the fleets of the Indies sailing between Seville and the Isthmus of Panama. The subject is so vast that we suggested to the First International Congress of Hispanists (Oxford, Sept. 1962) that it be attacked simultaneously on several fronts, in the various countries of whose history it is a part. The historiography of the Pizarrist rebellion itself is rich, possibly because many of the men who witnessed it themselves felt obliged to denounce it and because it inspired some of them, as the Peloponnesian War had Thucydides, with the sense of

living through a crisis pregnant with the future of their country. The documentation on its repercussions throughout the colonial world is more than abundant in the Archives of the Indies at Seville and in other collections.

Keeping to the main lines of the subject, it appears in the first place that the protest against the new laws, which the conquistadores rejected (as a repudiation of their acquired rights and a violation of agreements which they had concluded with the monarchy), is above all simply the juridical façade of the crisis. The struggle was not precisely one that set in opposition the king and the conquistadores, for or against the protective laws. A general confrontation of two systems of government and the exploitation of the Indians were, of course, involved: on the one hand was the *encomendero* order—or disorder—which the taxing of tributes that were paid by the Indians to their masters sought to regulate; on the other hand was a new state order, to be instituted by the progressive suppression of the *encomiendas* and the transformation of the Indians into vassals paying tribute directly to the king. The attachment to the existing order or disorder was the force that Charles V felt obliged to cope with almost immediately, so unanimous was the protest in the Indies against the attacks on and menace to the *encomienda* and so general was the sympathy aroused by the Pizarrist rebels from the far-off provinces of the colonial world to the region of Seville, which profited from the enrichment of the *encomenderos*, to the Council of the Indies itself.

Yet at the climax of the struggle, in Peru, the reason why the Viceroy did not remain isolated despite the general rancor of the colonists against the metropolitan authorities and the terrorist methods which the leaders of the uprisings directed against "traitors," was that a loyalist pronunciamento soon occurred in the mining region of the South (Charcas, Potosí). The demonstrations of loyalty were prompted partly by the fact that the king and his viceroy embodied lawfully constituted power and provided the pole of attraction for the Almagrists' desire for revenge; more generally, they expressed the hatred of the frustrated for the securely established. Already Vaca de Castro, charged by the king to quell the rebellion of Almagro the Young, was able in 1542 to count on the support of the

despoiled or menaced Pizarrists. The phenomenon was reversed in 1544-1545. The most inexpiable struggle was that which the conquistadores waged among themselves. The heritage of eight years of civil wars was not erased in 1544 by their solidarity against the common enemy. The Indians, whose labor force permitted the extraction of the mineral treasures, were certainly at stake in an already ancient competition between the conquistadores and the authorities. But they were first of all the objects of internal dispute among the Spaniards of Peru. The archives of Gonzalo Pizarro, conserved with those of the Laureate Gasca in the Henry Huntington Library at San Marino (Calif.), reveal that the lieutenants and soldiers of the rebel leader wrote to him continually asking him "to give them Indians," and they often specified which ones: those made available by the death or flight of one or another "traitor." Did they see in Gonzalo the sole master of the Peru of tomorrow? Not necessarily. They bowed to the far-off sovereignty of the king only to the extent that he ratified the favors granted by the "governor," with whom they had made an agreement. But it can be maintained, without oversimplifying the situation, that the most manifest result of the victory of the Laureate Gasca over Gonzalo Pizarro was to consecrate the prerogatives of the king of Castille as sole authority over the Indians to be given to the Spaniards in the countries already conquered and as the sole source of the concessions of lands to be conquered, no longer termed *conquista*, but *entradas* or *descubrimientos*.

The separatist tendencies of the Pizarrist rebellion are undeniable, even though they remained veiled in secrecy and ambiguity up to the time when Gasca, ostensibly offering in the name of the king only pardon not authority, the standard of the revolt was embellished with a crown capped with a P. The illusion of a new Pizarrist legitimacy retained throughout the rebellion a certain hesitant and derisory character, although sometimes marked with touching sincerity. Bachicao, chief pirate of the rebellion, manifested a faithful attachment to the little half-caste illegitimate son of Gonzalo, regarded as the prince by the unconditionally loyal. But Gonzalo himself, mediocre and pleasure-seeking despite the capacity for endurance that he had demonstrated in the *entrada* of the Cinnamon, had neither the

material nor the ambition of a king. If a pretender was necessary, he would have preferred to see his brother Hernando, unrelenting enemy of Almagro, fill the role. The activist trio which surrounded him was ambitious for him. Bachicao, the pirate, the "demon of the Andes" Francisco de Carvajal and the Auditor Cepeda, more than Gonzalo, were conscious of playing a match whose outcome would be total victory or total defeat. Bachicao, who was suspected more than listened to despite his exuberant demonstrations of fidelity and his naval efficacy, maintained that in order to keep a firm hold on Quito with the rich gold mines of the Cañares it was necessary to secure also the neighboring government entrusted to Belalcázar, that is, a part of present-day Columbia. Carvajal wrote to his master advising him that the government of Chile should be strictly subjected to that of Peru, for "if Valdivia should happen to die tomorrow all would remain in your hands, as it is now, under the authority of the captain who would lead your reinforcements. Thus we will keep the region of the Straits (of Magellan) and these worlds will be the domain of your Lordship." All were persuaded that it was expedient to take over the *entrada de Rojas*, present-day Upper Argentina, whose conquest Vaca de Castro had conceded to Diego de Rojas.

After his victory over the Viceroy Blasco Núñez, Gonzalo Pizarro felt himself virtually the master of South America. Claiming at the same time to govern in the name of the king, he negotiated with D. Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, almost as an equal. The jurist of the group, Cepeda, apparently professed to the Machiavellian doctrine that "tyranny" was the creator of sovereignty, and he considered that the usurpation of Gonzalo, once consolidated, could become the source of a new legitimacy, as history had witnessed more than once. But the Pizarrist separatism carefully avoided proclaiming the objectives for which it fought. In this it was motivated both by cunning and by a lack of revolutionary boldness capable of affirming values different from those upheld by the Spanish monarchy.

After Gasca had established himself in the Isthmus of Panama he was prompted by the rally of rebels to his cause, which augmented his strength, to write at length to Gonzalo Pizarro, predicting that he would become increasingly isolated and that,



if he persisted in his pretention to government without royal designation, his treason would transform him into a sort of heretic, condemned even by his followers and his confidants. He did not hesitate to remind Pizarro of the recent tregedy of Juan Diaz, the Spanish Lutheran killed at Ratisbon by an assassin armed by his own brother. The rebel leader responded to Charles V's envoy by inviting him to return immediately to Spain. But he did not discount the idea that treason was equated with heresy; he simply rejected the title of traitor. And he obliged sixty-three notables to sign a statement conceived in the same sense, in which they refused the royal pardon, claiming that they "had not failed, but had served His Majesty" and had acted within the limits of the vassal's recognized rights. They too invited Gasca to present to the king the only realistic solution, that is, theirs, and to avert the war's ending in "the destruction of the natives who still remain."

Less than six months later, however, the majority of the signatories, and in particular the most highly placed conquistadores of Peru, had rejoined the camp of the pacifier Gasco. What did this signify? Gasca had deftly exploited to the maximum the orthodox sentiment with which the monarchy was invested, as well as the deference paid to men of the cloth—he had chosen monks as his messengers. In addition, by the very pardon that he offered and by the revocation of the new laws concerning the *encomienda*, he made it quite clear that the acquired colonial privileges were not radically menaced by the king. At the same time the beneficiaries of these privileges began to rouse from the state of unawareness in which a hunger for conquest and riches had driven them to "destroy the natives who still remained." Gonzalo Pizarro reacted with alarm to this blind destruction and reminded his own followers that, without the Indians, "this country is nothing." An impartial witness could record at the end of the Pizarrist war that it had caused the disappearance in the *llanos* of "more than one half" of the population, probably "three-fifths."

The precarious pacification obtained by Gasca was thus the fruit of awakening reason. Progress was dearly paid for by the Indians. The victory won in 1548 in the name of the king marked the beginning of the end of the civil wars which de-

stroyed their own object. The "constitution," which, according to Mier, was consolidated at this point, even though its spirit was obscured by the Machiavellianism of Gasca, was an ideal institution of the kind that had been conceived in the past by the Creole conscience, somewhat as Aeschylus, writing from the perspective of a civilized Athenian, introduced a judicial ending into the drama of the Atridean chain of vengeance.

In order to grasp more firmly the historical reality of which Mier sought to present only a global and idealized picture, one fact, full of consequences for the future of Peru and Spanish America, must be emphasized. The first months of the Pizarrist revolt coincided with the discovery and the initial exploitation of the first veins of the Potosí silver mines. It was at this point that the colonial economy became specialized definitely as a mining economy. At the same time, a new method of exploiting the Indians, particularly in the mines, was gradually taking the place of the *encomiendas*. The new system was that of the *mitas* or forced labor. It was a heavy price to pay for the gradual elimination of the destructive practice of employing the Indians as means of transport. This practice, denounced by the rebel leader himself, was particularly murderous when it involved a long trip beginning in the cold lands of the *altiplano* and ending in the warm areas of the *llanos*. Gonzalo Pizarro's administrators were among the first to advise and put into practice transportation by mule train between the mining district of Charcas (La Plata and Potosí) and its outlet on the sea (Arequipa). Because they were becoming more and more rare and valuable, the Indians (even more in Peru than in Mexico) were no longer used as carriers. What use, then, did the Pizarrists envisage for the Indians that they were constantly requesting from their leader? Usually they did not demand an entire *encomienda* of several hundred or several thousand Indians with their chieftain, for that was a favor reserved for a privileged few. They were satisfied, rather, with a small number—the remainder of a broken-up Indian community, thirty or forty men, a few units—which they called *yanaconas*, Indians placed in the personal service of the Spaniards. Caught in the contagion of the mining rush, certain of his followers asked Pizarro for licenses to use their *yanaconas* (or Indians appropriated from the *encomiendas*) to

build enterprises with a double purpose. The natives would transport supplies into the mining region, where the population was rapidly becoming denser. Once there they were to work by contract, processing the metal according to their ancestral methods, in furnaces installed on perpetually windswept heights. Gasca, returning victorious from his mission, was obliged to respond with an indignant *no* to the very men who had helped him suppress the rebellion. The *encomenderos* of the Cuzco region claimed, in fact, to give forced labor a new institutional form by substituting tributes paid in work for those paid in kind. However, after completing the *repartimiento* of Guainarima, the first large-scale distribution by a representative of the king of royal rewards appropriated from the confiscated tributes, the President ordered that taxation be implemented according to the method which had already been in use in Mexico for fifteen years. On his way back to Spain he was justly indignant to learn of the movement in favor of payment of taxes by work. To transplant Indians from Cuzco 160 leagues to countries where they had no land to cultivate, where two-thirds of them would die, and the rest would never again see their villages was, he said, "la mayor exorbitancia" committed in Peru. There was no doubt, however, that the *mita*, whose sinister methods, so often denounced by the missionaries, were graphically described by the late Alfred Métraux (*Les Incas*), had taken root in spite of the quickly quelled resistance. This social scourge resulted in the loss, in the Province of Chucuito alone, "between 1628 and 1754, of two thirds of its population."

The middle of the 16th century saw the organization of the colonial empire, of which the Viceroyalty of Peru was the farthest removed and the most brilliant member. It was this territory that gave birth to the vindicating legend: a tremendous deposit of precious metals had been providentially hidden and then discovered in this area in order to pay the salaries of its evangelizers, to glorify the God of the Catholics through the splendor of the Church and to maintain the war chests of the Catholic kings of Spain in their struggles against heretics and infidels. At the same time the enormous amount of precious metals being shipped from the New World to the Old was beginning to seriously affect rising prices. Even though the King

of Spain was far from actually receiving the *quint* which was his due on all the gold and silver smelted in the Indies, the reports of the presiding officer Gasca evoke an impressive image of the drainage, loading and transportation operations which made possible the arrival in Seville of the most gigantic convoy of precious metals that had yet crossed the two oceans. It is true that it suffered some losses in shipping and in crossing the Isthmus of Panama. It even narrowly escaped being captured, along with the convoy officer Gasca himself, by Hernando de Contreras who called himself Prince of Cuzco and had recruited several activists deported from Peru after the defeat of Pizarrism. The rebels had from the beginning realized the strategic importance of the Isthmus. One of the first acts inspired by their instinctive geopolitics had been to seize the Isthmus along with at the same time numerous ships navigating the Pacific. Bachicao, having set out with a single small boat, returned to Lima with a fleet rounded up from all the ports on his route. The exploit at first excited the sympathizers of the movement of opposition against the laws all through Spanish America, whose core the Isthmus formed. But he had seriously alarmed the merchants who had already organized their trade from Nicaragua and Panama to Peru, a country whose conquistadores had all lived in Central America and had interests there. The Spaniards of Mexico were also trading with Peru, either directly or by means of the Isthmus. In order to reassure trade Gonzalo Pizarro assigned the control of this position, at Panama and Nombre de Dios, to caballeros who were more respectful of property and human lives than Bachicao had been. These well-bred gentlemen, however, were the first whom Gasca was able to persuade to rally to unconditional obedience to the king. It was from Panama that the Laureate carefully made his preparation for reconquest and drew the Viceroy of Mexico and several governors into his plans by asking them for reinforcements which, in the end, he did not need. For from this key position Gasca, bearer of pardon and the revocation of some of the hated laws, was able to swing to the side of unconditional loyalty all the empire which had supported Pizarrism in revolting against the laws two years before. Resassured that they would not be applied, the colonial world evidenced its solidarity in resigned obedience. While

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perfecting his plan of reconquest and turning away one after the other the emissaries sent from Lima to intimidate him, Gasca had the time to formulate some very definite ideas about the conditions of navigation in the Pacific and about the slowness of the Panama-Lima passage in contrast with the return trip to the Isthmus. It was then that, due to the exceptional qualities of this envoy, the governments and the Council of the Indies acquired a more complete and sure knowledge of the extensions in the "South Sea" and of the route from the West Indies.

Moreover, although a picture of the merchant trade can be only very partially reconstructed from the chronicles, this war does not seem to have isolated Peru economically; rather, it intensified its exchanges with the rest of Spanish America. The Isthmus of Panama particularly was the center of active trading conducted without currency. The ingots of precious metal coming from the Peruvian mines were received in payment for iron, tools, arms, Nicaraguan slaves or Negroes, mules and other merchandise from Mexico and Spain.

The compromise which solved the serious crisis of the new laws permitted the establishment in the middle of the century of a regime which one might characterize as the Middle Ages of Colonial America. The conquistadores and their heirs, who did not actually lose their Indians, resigned themselves to see the system of the "taxing of tribute" as perfected by the Viceroyalty of Mexico, imposed on the *encomiendas* from "New Spain" to the Straits of Magellan. The crown was satisfied with the recognition of its authority as the guarantor of order and as the distributor of social privileges, without permitting the creation of hereditary fiefs. The evangelizers accepted, in the name of the Indian population whose self-appointed defenders they were, the charter of taxation which at least permitted them to protest against the most flagrant extortions. They established themselves in the colonial regime whose birth had scandalized the more pure among them. Las Casas and a handful of disciples alone continued to challenge the right of the conquistadores to treat the Indians as vassals. They defended the Utopian idea of an apostolic protectorate which the King of Castille should have exercised, according to them, as "emperor above many kings."

They believed that the supreme leader of the evangelization ought to have ruled from afar, with a minimum of administrative and military apparatus, over the kings and native chieftains who would retain their traditional rights.

Did the variegated society formed by the Spanish in America and the Indians who had escaped destruction (along with the increasing numbers of Negro slaves) represent a cultural cross-breeding? The expression is fashionable. It would seem at first glance to be justified by the existence of an "Inca Garcilaso de la Vega", son of a Spanish captain and a princess of Inca blood. Let us say that, if what can be termed a biological mixture was very frequent, mixed marriages, hindered by the social prejudice of purity of blood, were very rare and were not contracted between Spanish and Indians of equal social status. The family of Garcilaso "the Inca," an isolated prodigy, did not escape this rule. Raised by his father as a legitimate child, the young half-breed saw his mother given in marriage by his father to an obscure Spaniard, while the captain married a Spanish woman of his own social rank. The future author of the *Comentarios reales*, transplanted to Spain at the age of twenty, became completely acclimated in Andalusia where he succeeded in overcoming the double social stigma of mixed blood and bastardy by adopting his two lines on a literary level. Toward the end of his life he became not only the historian of Peru of the Incas but also the apologist of the conquistadores who had remained loyal in 1544, as well as of those who had participated in the Pizarrist rebellion. (His father had shuttled between the two camps.) He also managed to win acceptance, yet did not attempt to marry into the class from which his father and his Andalusian uncles had issued. In America, however, the great majority of half-breeds, almost all illegitimate, were confronted with a tenacious prejudice even on the part of the missionary monks, certain of whom had dreamed of a fusion of the races in mutual respect. Indians and Spaniards constituted two juxtaposed worlds, communicating and mingling, but not forming alliances. While the great majority of half-breeds fell back into the servant mass of the Indians, the humblest Spaniard transplanted from Spain to the Indies considered himself a member of the privileged class with the right to use Indians as servants. One can cite as

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exceptions, however, the very occasional chieftains to whom the crown conceded privileges in recognition of services rendered to the conquest and to the evangelization. The Spaniards, so attached to their own *hidalguía*, derided the coat of arms given to these Indians and the *Don* which gilded their given name. As for the mass of pure Indians with whom the first Franciscan and Dominican missionaries had hoped to build a Christianity better than the old and closer to evangelic simplicity, they became increasingly enveloped, for the most part peacefully in the system of the *encomienda* and forced labor. One scarcely relied any more on the *encomenderos* to indoctrinate them. The crown undertook to send *doctrineros* and encouraged the expedition of new contingents of monks of the missionary orders. Despite the efforts of certain bishops foreign to these orders to establish a secular missionary clergy and the Auditor Tomas Lopez's proposition to teach Spanish to the Indians systematically in order to free the process of Christianization from the monks' monopoly it was, on the whole, in segregation that the greatest part of Christianization was accomplished. The printing press, imported to Mexico from Seville shortly before the outbreak of the crisis of the new laws, served by priority the missionaries, who employed it to print vocabularies, grammars and catechisms in different native tongues for the use of the evangelizers. In the end, however, the pure Indians, who pose problems for certain 20th-century Spanish American republics and constitute one of their distinctive characteristics, remained outside the spread of Spanish culture and were Christianized only on the surface.

Between 1540 and 1560, however, America began to be ornamented with an astonishing array of churches and monasteries, quite Spanish in character despite the peculiarities inherent in the colonial Middle Ages (fortified monasteries, churches flanked by "open chapels" intended for open-air celebration of the cult and preaching to the Indians), and despite the variations of form which the plateresque ornamentation sustained under the chisel of the Indian sculptor. At this epoch the typical towns of the Spanish American world were constructed or reconstructed and embellished, with their *cuadras* or regular rectangular blocks (models of the blocks of the United States), their vast Plaza Mayor after the Spanish style, dominated by a cathedral, a town

hall and, in the capitals, a palace of government. The royal victory of 1548-50, which established the sovereign as sole distributor of privileges, accentuated definitively the gradual transformation of the "towns of the conquistadores" as Parry has recently described them. The title of *regidor perpetuo* (municipal councillor for life), a favor already sought after by the founders, would become increasingly a source of revenue for the crown and would contribute to the disappearance of municipal spirit and, at the same time, to the establishment of a certain colonial aristocracy loyal to the monarchy.

The factors of Hispanization which tended to transform Spanish America into what could easily be called a "New Spain", generalizing the first official name given to Mexico, were, however, numerous. Fray Juan de Zumárraga, first bishop and the archbishop of this country, had been moved and reassured by the aspiration of the conquistadores to transform themselves from predators into founders, by their longing for the "fruits of Castille" which moved them to transplant the Old World trees and, little by little, to change the landscape of their new country. Another ambition which gradually manifested itself in Mexico and Peru resulted in the founding, in 1551, of the Universities of Mexico City and Lima. These institutions began with instruction in philosophy and theology intended to train educated priests and monks. As early as 1550 Tomas Lopez had suggested the establishment in Central America of a college comprising chairs of grammar, logic, holy scriptures, elementary theology reduced to "master of sentences", writ and decretals. He even envisaged offering a *repartimiento* of Indians to attract a competent doctor-surgeon capable of giving a small course in medicine. Thus, he thought, by educating the young in Mexico itself, it would be possible to make the Spaniards of America lose their nostalgia for Spain, in other words, to encourage whole families to take root in the New World. This was in essence, the direction of the historical turning point which the pacification of Gasca introduced into the colonial world. Spanish America tended to resemble the mother country in so many respects that she claimed to be able to do without her in many domains. This evolution diverged noticeably from that of Brazil, where the eventuality of creating a "New Portugal" was, for various reasons,



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never considered. But it was precisely because the Creoles were urged to educate their sons, to enroll them in the university at an early age in order to prepare them for places in the administration and prebends in the clergy of the colonial dioceses that they resented bitterly the fact that the central power sent its men to America, not only as viceroys and governors but also as corregidores, bishops and canons. This feeling of frustration was to play a decisive role in the Revolution of Independence.

The Creoles, who were to carry out this revolution and whose political ideology Mier claimed to formulate, would be the heirs of the easy conscience which their privileged ancestors had entertained during the colonial centuries from the moment when it had become possible to invoke laws, even poorly respected, in favor of the Indians. Mier blames "the despotism" for the failure of these laws to be enforced and their suffocation in a proliferation of contradictory legal texts. The forcefulness of his anti-racist attitude is astonishing. No less astonishing was the assurance with which this intellectual (a monk who had left the cloister) called upon "unions" of conquistadores with the women of the country to establish the Creoles' right to pose as legitimate representatives of the native population. "Our mothers," he said, "were all Indians." This simplistic ideology should not obscure the fact that the independence proclaimed at the beginning of the last century had neither for object nor for result the transformation of the social structure of the colonial centuries, and that this structure has been conserved in large part among the Spanish American peoples who have not experienced a radical revolution in the present century. It is only if one perceives what this America conserves of its colonial nature that one can understand the kinship of its problems with those of the underdeveloped nations of the world.