

LAND AND SOCIETY IN EARLY COLONIAL
SANTIAGO DE CHILE, 1540 - 1575

By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	iii
ABSTRACT.	v
Chapter	
I. The Indians	1
Chilean Indians (4)--Notes (27)	
II. The Spaniards	30
Valdivia and the Conquest (39)--Notes (54)	
III. The Division of Land and Indians.	56
Chilean System (67)--Notes (31)	
IV. Santiago.	84
Notes (106)	
V. Race Relations: General.	110
Notes (120)	
VI. Race Relations: Santiago	122
Mestizos in the Aristocracy (155)--Middle Class Mestizos (168)--Indians and Negroes (171)--Social Change in 1575 (174)--Notes (181)	
VII. Conclusion.	193
Notes (201)	
APPENDIX.	202
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	228
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	219

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The colonial development of Santiago de Chile from 1540 to 1575 is described in detail, particularly the peculiar love-hate relationship between the Indians and the Spaniards. This association, sometimes distinguished by outright hostility and cultural animosity and at other times by friendship and acculturation, had a great effect on the economic, political, and social development of the colony.

Chile was the frontier and Santiago was its most important outpost. The entire area was almost the last battleground between Spaniard and Indian, and perhaps, with the exception of northern Mexico, the last chance for the Indians to thwart Spanish aggression. They gave their best effort, but in the end succumbed to superior Spanish arms and organization. For the Spaniards, the hostile environment and poverty led initially to a fight

for survival and a concentration on subsistence farming. The continuous warfare prevented normal immigration patterns, and the colony primarily attracted a soldier-immigrant class that arrived in the colony without families and bent on adventure.

The natural temperament of these soldiers, their spirit, and their desire to make the best of a bad situation led to many liaisons with Indian women and the creation of extensive mestizaje. Because the rigid Spanish social structure initially did not exist in the colony, the mestizos flourished. There was a great amount of social mobility, and a man could achieve fame and status even if he had Indian blood in his veins. Females with mixed blood did even better than their male counterparts, and many were integrated into the highest aristocratic level of the colony. As a result of these experiences, Chile's social evolutionary process during the period of conquest subtly differed in many ways from that of its colonial neighbors.

CHAPTER I THE INDIANS

One of the great controversies in modern anthropology is over the population of the New World prior to its discovery by the Europeans. The most realistic estimate, as far as my own data base is concerned, appears to be approximately 90 million as suggested by Dr. Henry Dobyns in 1966. The study conducted by Dr. Dobyns considered projection methods, dead reckoning, social structure, reconstruction, additive methods, resource potential estimates, direct observation, and a disease depopulation scale. The conclusion as far as this study is concerned, is that there were approximately 30 million Indians living in the west coast area of Andean civilization, and about 3 to 4 million more in the rest of present day Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina. The original Araucanian population has been estimated as being nearly 1.5 million. This figure, therefore, in addition to the Andean Indians living north of the Biobio River and those living in the extreme south probably totals about 4.5 to 5 million in present day Chilean territory.¹

There has also been a protracted debate over the number of Indians living in the Mapocho Valley when Valdivia arrived on the scene. Many historians place the figure in the vicinity of 80,000, but others insist on numbers as high as two million. The famous Chilean historian, Benjamin

Vicuña Mackenna, however, does not believe that the area could agriculturally support more than 10,000 Indians. The priest Miguel de Olivares in his history of Chile agrees with this low figure to a certain extent claiming that not more than 8,000 were there. In any case, there does not seem to be any justifiable evidence for setting the indigenous population total at more than 10,000.²

Although there were great population and cultural differences among the various Indian tribes on the west coast of South America, their habits and techniques of everyday living were basically similar. Most of the tribes, with the exception of the urbanized Incas, were primarily food gatherers. Agriculture was secondary, and basic crops such as corn, manioc, and potatoes only augmented their food supply. These foods were supplemented -- depending on locale and conditions -- with sweet potatoes, beans, squash, as well as indigenous fruits such as the avocado and pineapple; whenever possible, fish and game were included.³

In general, Indian technology was rudimentary. Although architecturally advanced structures were constructed in Peru, such accomplishment required little more than a large and docile labor force. Tools and machines for complex construction were unknown; as were the wheel, and the true arch.

The political systems of the area varied from anarchism to the highly developed state of the Incas. Intercourse with other tribes, in general, was based on war as defense

of territory governed relations. In the simplest form, intertribal conflicts consisted of raiding enemy villages for sacrificial victims, slaves, and women. Sometimes the motive was the enslavement of an entire tribe. For the Incas, in fact, war was the imperialistic subjugation of people and the acquisition of land. In any case, in societies that put such a value on the conduct of war, personal valor offered the supreme test of manhood, and the bravest were rewarded with the highest social standing in the tribe.

The Indian did not have a money economy and most people had no sense of worldly gain or worth. The individual accumulation of capital had no meaning. Where gold and silver were available, they were used only in the arts and not for coinage. Barter, therefore, was the usual means of exchange, and open air markets in the towns were the most common places for trading commodities.⁴

The Indians of Chile fit into this general pattern, but there were several important differences. The most prominent is the fact that the Araucanian Indians in the southern part of the country were virtually uncivilized compared to the Peruvian Indians. Moreover, while the Spaniards made a great effort to use or initiate the Incas into a Hispano-Peruvian population, there was really no such opportunity in Chile. The Chilean Indians, living in proximity to the Spaniards, suffered tremendous population reduction in the first years after the Spanish conquest. In Peru, this

population loss could be replaced initially by docile Indians living in the countryside. The Araucarians, however, fought the Spanish for every foot of soil; thus forcing the conquerors of Chile to replace the Indian losses in conquered territory with mestizos or Indians captured and enslaved in the south.

Chilean Indians

This brings us to a discussion of the Indian population of Chile, which was destined to become a part of a new mestizo society, which evolved distinct from the Indian-Spanish societies in the other west coast countries. In order to understand the Indian's role in this undertaking, it is necessary to know something about the development of Chilean Indian society, its characteristics, and why the civilization would resist, but ultimately succumb to the technological advances brought to the New World by the Spaniards.

The distinct regions of present-day Chile included diverse races and groups of natives in prehispanic times. The major portion of the population, as now, was concentrated in the central valley area from the Chacabuco south of the Aconcagua River to the Gulf of Reloncaví.⁵ Before the Spanish invasion, this part of the country was a vast forest broken only by river bottom lands. The many tribes scattered throughout the area formed various groups and took their names from geographical localities. The most prominent were the Huilliches (people of the south) from Valdivia to

Reloncavi; and the Pehuenches (people of Pehuen) between the Biobío and the Copiapó. The remaining native groups were included in the common name of Mapuches, or Men of the soil. All these Indians lived on the glacier-fed river bottom lands from which they had easy access to fishing and hunting grounds as well as their limited croplands.⁶

In addition, to the central valley Indians, there were the Chonos, who lived on the Chono archipelago; the Patagonians, in Patagonia; and the Fuegians or Tierra del Fuego. The Changos and the Atacamians lived in the north along the coast or in desert oases. These northern tribes in all probability were related to the primitive people of Bolivia and northwest Argentina, and only in certain time periods had any contact with the tribes of the central region.⁷

The Araucanian Indians were the dominant tribe of the southern portion of the central valley area. Many Chilean histories depict these Indians as characteristic of Chile's pre-conquest Indians. This is misleading, as will be noted later. In any case, Spanish contact was maintained with the Araucanian civilization for the next 300 years, and gradually the Araucanian became accepted as the typical pre-conquest Indian, and not as a separate entity. The derivation of the name Araucanian, in fact, is probably from the Spanish colonists, and referred to all of the Indians living south of the Biobío. The word itself may

be derived from auca, a Peruvian word meaning free, or from ragco (clay water), an Indian word for the location of the first Spanish fort on the Arauco River.⁸

It is best at this point to concentrate on some description of the basic Indian type and life style in the Santiago area -- the purpose being to develop some comparison with the Spaniards who would eventually inhabit the region. In retrospect, in many ways the Indians and Spaniards were very similar. The most outstanding differences were in weaponry and social organization. The Araucanians, certainly among the most primitive tribes in the country, however, did demonstrate more adaptability than any other South American Indian, and were able to withstand capably the Spanish onslaught for many years.

The Araucanian, of course, is the Chilean Indian most studied by modern anthropologists. In physical appearance he was of short or medium stature and had well proportioned limbs; a well developed chest and body trunk region; a large head with a round face and narrow forehead; small usually dark eyes; a short, flat, but straight nose; a large mouth with thick lips and white teeth; pronounced cheek bones; medium sized ears; dark, thick and smooth hair usually worn in bangs over the forehead. Their complexion was brown, but did not have the yellow cast of the Peruvian Indians. The women were especially attractive. According to the Spaniards, their complexions were similar

to that of southern Europeans. Their undraped breasts were also noted by the early conquistadors. Completing the total picture was a grave sober manner that in both sexes showed resolution and commanded respect.⁹ Pedro Valdivia himself described the Araucanians as "tall . . . amiable, and white, with handsome faces, both men and women . . ." also as great husbandmen, and as great drinkers.¹⁰ Years later Alonso González de Nájera noted that the Indians were very similar in physical appearance to his fellow Spaniards.¹¹

All in all, these characteristics have been accepted as the national native type and probably represent a good approximation of the first Chilean natives contacted by the Spaniards. H.R.S. Pocock in his book Conquest of Chile, however, notes that there were physiological and personality differences between the Araucanians and the Indians originally located near Santiago.¹² The fact remains, however, that all of the Indians spoke the same language and, except for the difference in temperament and in fighting quality, seem to be basically the same people.

The central valley native dressed in light clothing made from various colored woolen rags and the skins of guanacos, foxes, and other animals. Others dressed in bark or woven straw. In all cases, however, the Indians' arms, legs below the knees, and feet were uncovered. His head was capped with some animal skin usually crowned with feathers, and his face was painted in red and black streaks.¹³

The Indians' principal garment, therefore, resembled the modern poncho and was shaped like a sleeveless shirt. It was made of two pieces, one in the front and one in the back. These were fastened together on the sides and on the shoulders with wool cords or strips of rawhide. It was generally blue in color and called a chamal. It was used by both men and women. Later, when woven textiles came into common use, the men joined the chamal between the legs and drew it in at the waist. This garment was called a chiripó. The women, on the other hand, tightened the chamal at the waist with a belt or girdle, thus forming an outer skirt, and wrapped a full scarf over their shoulders. They also adorned their heads, necks, and arms with necklaces or bracelets made of beads, stones, or shells. Some wore metal jewelry, but this practice seems to have varied from place to place. Children generally went naked, only wearing the "poncho" when the weather was very cold.¹⁴

Indian houses were very simple and were probably constructed to serve the temporary nature of the Indians' life as well as to protect him against earthquakes. These houses were located in sheltered places, frequently in ravines, on stream banks, or in the forests. They were constructed of a few forked poles or posts planted upright in the ground and joined at the top with cross beams, forming either a circle or a rectangle. The walls were generally made of stone or an adobe concoction. The roof was formed by laying

straw over the sticks of the ceiling framework. Finally, a wooden fence generally enclosed the compound which the Indians called a ruca.¹⁵ Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna believes that ruca may be the Indian word from which the Spaniards derived the term rancho as applied to small farms.¹⁶

This poorly built house was obviously the Indians' most important possession. Within it he ate, slept, bred, and protected himself from the elements. There was no furniture, and the bed was simply a heap of straw on the floor in the corner. The pillow was either a log or a tree trunk. A fire was kept burning in the center of the hut because re-lighting was a major operation. All eating and working was done at this fire because it provided the only warmth and light. The extended family -- including married children -- built new houses in the vicinity leading to the creation of a village.

Few foods were cooked by the primitive Indians, but ultimately it became customary to boil fish and meat. For cooking, clay pots and dishes came into use. Other utensils were simply made of hollowed out tree trunks. The meat and fish were put into the clay container with water and a few vegetables. Stones were then heated in a fire and when they became red hot, they were thrown into the pot and stirred with the other contents.¹⁷ The most common Indian foods were almost by necessity vegetables, roots, wild tubers, and beans. Some fruits were also eaten and an alcoholic beverage or sorts was concocted and drunk.¹⁸

The Indians used a wooden or bone fishhook for fishing. They were able to construct small boats out of bushes, weeds, and straw. Sometimes they hollowed a canoe out of a large tree. In general, however, fishing activities were confined to slow moving streams and the ocean shore because no complex, framework boats were ever developed.¹⁹

The bolcadoras and the arrow were the most important weapons used for hunting. The former -- similar to the Argentine bolas -- was composed of two or three stones tied to the ends of leather strips. The hunter took one of these stones in his hand, swung the others over his head, and threw it at the legs of his quarry. Arrows were fashioned from a twenty-inches long, slender shaft, and were shot from a wooden bow which was strung with a leather thong. The size of the bow seems to have varied from tribe to tribe, but the Araucanians generally preferred a short one.²⁰ The Indian also carried a lance and a short war club. The domesticated dog was a frequent and useful companion for flushing game. The origin of the domestic dog in the country is still a debatable question, however, and many historians insist that the dog was introduced by the Spanish.²¹

The social structure of the Indians, especially the Araucanians, was very rudimentary. It consisted of the patriarchal family and the tribe, although Francisco Encina insists that the Chindia-Atacama-Diaquita civilization contained a trace of matriarchy.²² Relationship was the foundation of the family and proximity contributed to

the regional life of the tribe. Initial contact began with a marriage in which the bride was purchased from her father -- the price being calculated in animals, fruits, or merchandise. Each individual man lived with as many women as he bought, and was considered married to them all. He could buy and sell these wives at will and could designate them in these transactions either as a beasts of burden or as instruments of pleasure. The object of these polygamous relationships was mostly economic, however, rather than sexual pleasure. Sons and daughters had to be produced in great numbers to assist in agricultural production and defense.²³

In general, the woman's lot in the Indian household was difficult. She prepared the food and made all of the clothing for the family. She followed her husband during his military campaigns and carried his weapons and provisions -- not unlike the camp followers associated with the Spanish armies.²⁴ In addition, she cultivated the soil, wove the cloth, and made the clay utensils. The husband, regardless of this service, generally treated her very badly, and, more often than not, regarded her as no better than a slave. This relationship was exacerbated by the outright appropriation of women during wars. In this case the captives were treated simply as concubines.²⁵

The family was obviously often neglected in this sort of situation, and children appear to have been tolerated

only as a byproduct of sexual relations. During a boy's infancy, for example, the father took no notice of him. Only when the lad reached the age of puberty was any interest taken in teaching the use of weapons. When the boy learned their use, he was considered to be an adult. Daughters were ignored altogether in infancy, but became an important source of income when they were of marriageable age.²⁶

Most of the Indians wanted their sons to develop into vigorous men. For this reason, they also taught them to play adult games after the use of weapons was mastered. The favorite games required agility such as in handball and hockey. In their field hockey, the sides were formed facing each other in an open area. The object of the game -- like modern ice hockey -- was to knock a wooden ball with a curved wooden stick through the opposing team and across a designated goal. In handball, again a wooden ball was used. The object was simply to throw it from one to another around a wide circle. In addition to the exercise brought about by the participation in the games, friendly and sporting comradeship was developed by friendly wagers.²⁷ Another byproduct of this vigorous activity was the fact that cleanliness was considered a function of athletic prowess, and the Indians thought that their daily bath would preserve strength and health.²⁸

Shifting to political development, the tribal organization of the central valley Indians, like their social

organization, was elementary. Many families resulting from some common ancestor, but related most strongly by the area in which they lived, made up a tribe. This small society, as noted before, most often occupied a valley, lived on the banks of a river, or in a forest. It was basically a free association, however, and recognized no distinct chief except in times of war. In more peaceful times, the father of the oldest family or the most respected and courageous man was usually expected to perform some leadership function. He was called the *gumen* or *cacique*. Later the richest person in the area generally occupied this position. In any case, it appears that the post was usually hereditary in times of peace, but was relinquished in war especially if a better or more courageous man were available.²⁹

Most tribes generally distrusted each other, but frequently allied together to face a common enemy. This was true during the period of the Inca invasions and was especially true when the Spaniards arrived. These federations united the Indians for a common cause and such alliances, of course, are a classic example of the basic social cohesiveness of all of the Indians.³⁰

In other aspects, the central valley Indians never constituted a nation with an organized government. Their only governmental institutions, in fact, were military alliances. The meetings called for war discussions always started with the *caciques* of each tribe summoning his tribe together.

If one chief decided on war, he sent an emissary to his neighbor. An arrow stained with the blood of a guanaco served as the messenger's emblem. It was then passed from tribe to tribe, and the act of proclaiming war was called "correr de flecha" (sending around the arrow). The next step, if the situation appeared to be serious enough, was the general assembly, which was commonly held in a large open area. After lengthy speeches from the leadership-contending chiefs, one man was chosen as supreme chief for the campaign. He was designated the toqui and was almost always the strongest, the most eloquent, or the bravest man available.³¹

None of the central valley Indians showed any great propensity for intense physical activity.³² The Araucanian especially, except for wartime, led a lazy, quiet life. In general, the Indian was only moved to a rigorous regimen in his religious life when confronted by his many superstitions and omens. His supreme god was Pillán, who was believed to be the controller of clouds and winds and the producer of thunder, tempest, lightning, and earthquakes.³³ The Indians believed in the existence of evil and good gods: evil brought about sickness and death; good made the fields produce a bountiful harvest, brought abundance of birds and fish, and presided over human joys.³⁴

They also believed in night-appearing ghosts, and a concept of life after death. They spoke of chorchones -- human headed animals with winglike ears. These apparitions

were vampires that sucked the blood of the sick. They also dreamed of pihuchenes or winged serpents. Their omens took the forms of cloud directions and formations, flights of birds, and peculiar animal behavior. Such occurrences were sufficient to make them suspend a campaign or feast, convinced that the happening portended disaster for them. With all of these disastrous possibilities, it is no wonder that a major portion of their physical activity was taken up with religion and war.³⁵

This mixture of superstitions and omens produced a priesthood. The ministers of the various cults served both as soothsayers and physicians. The dunguves and the nachís were the most important of this group.³⁶ The dunguve was the soothsayer who uncovered thieves and solved secret crimes. A witness, who was present at one such ceremony to search for a missing object, implied that the scene was a kind of extra sensory perception phenomenon coupled with some clever ventriloquism. In any case, the lost object was soon located. The nachí, on the other hand, was the healer. The Indian had no medical knowledge and believed that illness was punishment by an offended deity or injury caused by some unknown evil. The nachí, in effect, exorcized the illness or evil not unlike the undertakings by the Catholic Church in the 16th century and the current revival of interest in exorcism in psychiatry.³⁷

The cure for such an affliction consisted of a very showy ceremony called a nachítun. The relatives of the

sick person gathered together with him in a hut and placed him on the floor in the middle of a circle. The machí planted a cinnamon tree branch by his pillow. He had a guanaco brought in, quartered it, took out its heart, and sprinkled the branch with blood. Following this, he burned some herbs and filled the room with smoke. Then he went to the patient, pretended to search the part of the body where the suffering or wound was located, spit red, and at a given moment, showed those present a lizard, a spider, or some other object -- the source of the evil. During these ceremonies, the women sang in a mournful voice and accompanied their song with a rhythmic noise produced by rattling dried gourds containing small pebbles.³⁸

The Indian language or Mapuche was adapted to the harangues associated with tribal politicking and poetic verses associated with these religious functions because of its lyrical style. Thousands of Indian words are incorporated into the modern Chilean language including most of the country's geographical names. There is less to be said, however, of the Indians' artistic productions. He did not paint. His stone or wood carvings are too coarse to be called sculpture, and only a few utilitarian clay jars were produced. His music was sad and monotonous, probably because wood flutes and gourd tambourines were all that he had. One captured Spanish soldier was kept alive, in fact, simply because he could play the flute so well.³⁹

It is not too difficult to determine the outstanding characteristics of the southern central valley Indians, if one knows something of their lives, customs, and beliefs. Three admirable qualities were outstanding; they were brave, loyal, and vigorous. They also had three grave faults: they were cruel, superstitious, and drunken. They preferred war above all other occupations, but in everything else they were incurably lazy. Tribal war, in general, and Spanish oppression, in particular, made them into a cruel, vengeful people.⁴⁰

The native Chileans living north of the Bío-Bío belonged only in part to the same race as the Araucanians. The so-called Picunches or Mapuches extended to the Copiapó and were divided into numerous sub-groups. From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, they suffered first the invasion of the Diaguitas, coming from northwest Argentina, particularly the present-day provinces of Salta, Tucumán, and Santiago de Estero. This was followed by an invasion of the Chinchas from southern Peru; and, finally, that of the Quechuas, who at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, formed part of the Inca empire extending from Ecuador to Bolivia and Chile, with their capital in Cuzco. None of these invasions went farther south than the Maipo. From these Indians, however, came the culture of the Chilean natives who inhabited the north and north center of the country.⁴¹

Of the three invaders, the Chinchas were the most progressive. They imposed their material civilization and many of their beliefs and customs on Chile. They were shepherds, agriculturalists, miners, and small industrialists. Their most useful domestic animal, the llama, provided wool for their clothing. They cultivated potatoes, peas, and corn. They distributed water to these crops by using extensive irrigation canals. They exploited copper, silver, and gold. They manufactured all kinds of articles, and made utensils of wood, metal, and clay. They built cities containing temples and palaces. And, finally, they constructed roads and a system of hosteleries to maintain a postal service and carry on trade with the other sections of the country.⁴²

The Chinchas were conquered by the Quechuas, an aggressive dominating people who appropriated all elements of the Chinchas' culture and who, with the ruling Incas, formed the most extensive and prosperous state in America. Two of these Inca rulers -- Inca Pachacutí and his son Topa Inca Yupánqui -- led an expedition against Chile in 1460 and conquered the country as far south as the Maule.⁴³ In this territory, they did not find a completely barbarous population, but one already semi-civilized by the influence of the Chinchas, a condition that had prevailed for more than two hundred years.⁴⁴

For a long time it was thought that the level of material progress at which the Spaniards later found the

Chilcan natives on the northern zone was because of the beneficial influence of the Quechuas. According to Luis Galdames, however, archaeological discoveries some fifteen years ago have corrected this opinion, which did not account adequately for the native Chilean state of culture.⁴⁵ This is so because the Incan domination had lasted only until the date of the Almagro expedition in 1536, a little more than eighty years.

The Chilean natives continued to develop their culture under the rule of the Quechuas. The northern and the central zone of the country were crossed by roads -- certainly unpretentious in Chile and probably no more than stone marked trails. There was a postal system carried on by Indians on foot, with inns every fifteen or twenty miles. The curacas or governors were engaged in developing the prosperity of their hamlets and villages, where the natives earned their livelihood, and in encouraging productive activities.⁴⁶

For cultivating the fields, these natives dug irrigation canals. Among those constructed during the Indian epoch and still existing today is the Vitacura Canal, which descends from the hills of Salta in the vicinity of Santiago and irrigates the neighboring farms. From the time the canals were opened, the crops of squash, corn, beans, and potatoes, which were native to the country, became more abundant. Guanaco, vicuna, and llama wool production also

increased. Clay pot manufacturing, practiced for a long time by the natives, now received new impetus. Vases and clay pitchers became prime implements in the livelihood of the Indians.⁴⁷

The most important task, as far as the Incas were concerned, was the exploitation of gold, silver, and copper mines. They concentrated their attention principally on gold, however, because this metal made up the tribute that was sent to the emperor. Among the gold mining operations, the most important was *Marge-Marga*, near Quillota. Gold and silver pins and chains were painstakingly made in gypsum and clay molds and forwarded to the ruling Incas in Cuzco.⁴⁸

The influence of the Chinchas and Quechuas was felt also in the intellectual development of the Chilean Indian. Idolatry was introduced into his religion, and this factor made Christianity more acceptable at a later date, especially in regard to reverence for the idol of the Virgin Mary. In mathematics, the Indian learned to count to a thousand without confusing quantities. He also improved his vocabulary by adding more descriptive words from the Quechua language.⁴⁹

During the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth, the circumstances of the Chilean Indians improved considerably. In their towns, in which the population substantially increased, family and tribal ties became more closely drawn. The cultivation of new land, the development

of clay pottery, the exploitation of metals, and the use of wool clothing provided better living standards. The cooking of meat and vegetables became general; corn and potatoes served as the principal ingredient of cooked dishes; and, in time, the bear became the most common and nutritious food. Wool shirts, ponchos, belts, and hair ribbons -- with which the women braided their hair -- came into common usage. In addition, footwear in the form of leather sandals and hats called chupallas were adopted as the native dress.⁵⁰

The advance of Indian civilization, thus, was important in the 16th century. The transformation brought about during this period of Inca rule cost only the payment of an annual tribute to the sovereigns in large stamped blocks of gold; with the curacas serving as intermediaries. This was certainly a period of peace unknown before Inca rule.⁵¹

At the end of some eighty years of peaceful co-existence the Indians of the north and central Chile had virtually recovered their freedom. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, hardly any traces of Inca rule remained. Shortly thereafter the Inca, Huayna Capac, died and a civil war for the throne began in Peru between his two sons. Because of the war, the Inca garrisons in Chile were depleted and the local curacas and caciques became independent.⁵²

The civilization now native to this north-central portion of the country spread southward as a result of contacts between the various tribes. This southward progression continued until it made contact with the Araucanians where it

met resistance. In any case, despite the influence of the civilization over the southern tribes, there was no unification among them. In fact, there was a situation in this part of the country where the population was increasing and material progress was decreasing. Obviously these Indians still had not learned enough technology to support a city-oriented population.⁵³

The situation of the Araucanians to the south of the contact point is obviously of special interest to any serious student of Chilean history. One can make the initial assessment, nevertheless, that these Indians have not substantially contributed directly to the formation of the Chilean race, but their presence south of the Maule River had a profound influence on the political and social development of the colony.

The defiance demonstrated by the Araucanians against the European invaders for over three centuries stands in contrast with the almost immediate submission of the northern central valley Indians. Moreover, it appears that the Incan invasion late in the fifteenth century was opposed and beaten back solely by the Araucanians. Valdivia himself commented that he had no difficulty with any of the Indians until he crossed the Itata. Later, he said that "I have warred with men of many nations, but never have I seen such fighting tenacity as is displayed by these Indians."⁵⁴

The Araucanians were able to resist the Spaniards successfully because of an evolution of military tactics and weaponry. Araucanian weapons progressed from sticks, stones, and arrows to lances and horse garrotes in the first four years of the war. Later captured Spanish horses were utilized, and ultimately captured cannons and arquebuses were turned on the enemy. Of course, the most important element remained the Indians' basic, inherent courage.⁵⁵

The Araucanians, notwithstanding, it is fairly obvious that by the time of the conquest the Indians' social institutions had evolved into a fairly viable system. Valdivia, himself, noted the strong family ties of the people he encountered and commented on the importance of the family dwellings that apparently housed generations of the same household. The lowest unit of native society was still the main family and immediate relatives living together and grouped around a chief.⁵⁶

The title of cacique or chief was given at this time to every head of a household or to any man on whom women and children were dependent. The wife remained, as in earlier times, her husband's chattel. Women continued to be treated as an investment, and it was still their duty to bear children, cook, weave, and cultivate the land.

In agricultural development, the central valley, as mentioned before, was under extensive cultivation. The natives grew maize, potatoes, and madia -- an oil yielding

plant -- as well as capsicum, kidney beans, and chinchona. Cultivation was now undertaken by the households in conjunction with the other households in the district. This larger social unit was known as a cava. Apparently, cavas were united by blood ties and ranged in size from thirty to sixty men, women, and children. The Spaniards, however seemingly, did not think that the cava was large enough to designate as a town.⁵⁷

All of the Indians living in the cava had had collective rights on the land. Preliminary tillage and harvesting were collective enterprises, and each person in the cava had a particular task to perform for the larger community. It is certain that the harvest produce was divided among the various households. Landlordship, therefore, was hereditary from the cacique to his family as long as the collective rights of the cava or lebo were observed. Thus, the Spaniards after the conquest could inherit property by marrying into the cacique's family. This phenomenon made the implementation of the encomienda system an easier task.

The next larger unit to the cava (this system should not be misconstrued as being rigid in all cases because the disintegration of the Inca empire had mostly destroyed the governing institutions) was known as a regua. Five to seven cavas comprised a regua, which was also known as a lebo by the Spaniards. Each lebo or regua was presided over by a chief.⁵⁸

The unit above the regua was called an uttamapo which first appeared as a military organization to combat the Spaniards. The whole country was apparently divided into these uttamapos or vutamapus, which were made up of several reguas. Each had its own chief whose office was hereditary. He could be superceded, however, by an elected commander in times of dire emergency. In addition to these divisions, there were four more districts in the south called anapus. Each had a chief who spoke at the congresses the Spaniards later convened. These divisions were then called Butamapus.⁵⁹

The whole system was held together by the authority of the chiefs and the regular meetings of each group. Justice and administration as well as the distribution of food were undertaken at these gatherings. In addition, feasts and dances were held in conjunction with the festivities and were presided over by the religious leaders.

In a sense, therefore, the Indians were participating in a familiar ritual at the time of the Spanish take-over of the area around Santiago in 1541. In this case, they were clearly at a military disadvantage despite superior numbers, and Spanish domination appeared inevitable. Although resentment surely filled the hearts of many of the chiefs on this occasion, their later support for the new Spanish leadership, their adoption of Christianity, and their gift of marriageable daughters to the conquerors

marked the beginning of the end of the distinct Indian race and culture. Although years of war would ensue, the parallel Spanish and Indian societies were eventually welded -- as much as possible -- into one.

NOTES

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CHAPTER II THE SPANIARDS

The first Spanish expedition to Chile was led by Diego Almagro in 1535. Almagro was tired of the peaceful life he was leading in Peru and his second rank social status to the Pizarro family. His longterm dispute with the Pizarros, in fact, was settled only after an agreement was reached allowing the Pizarros to consolidate their holdings in Peru, while giving Almagro free reign in the south. Almagro agreed to the terms of this agreement primarily because he was enthused by tales of wealth in the land of "Chili."¹ Using all the money he could gather, he outfitted 500 Spaniards and several thousand auxillary Indians (yanacunas) for the expedition. The group met incredible hardship in the desert area of northern Chile, however, and was able to proceed only to the vicinity of present-day Aconcagua by 1536. In August of that year, the War of Arauco, which was destined to last for nearly 300 years, began when the Mapuche Indians attacked Almagro's band at Renoguelen.²

Following the fighting, any Indians contacted by Spaniards were treated severely. They were chained together, beaten, and given little water or food after capture. The growing hostility of the natives and the failure to uncover any great wealth soon convinced Almagro that Chile was not a land of plenty. Accordingly, the expedition returned to

Peru so that Almagro could press his claim for Cuzco.³ A war ensued between the aggrieved Almeyra faction and Pizarro with the upshot being the capture and execution of Almagro following his defeat at the battle of Salinas.⁴

Although the ideal Spanish character is eulogized in Miguel Olivares' description of Francisco de Villagra, "just in peace, valiant in war, religious with God, pious toward the needy, moderate in the use of personal fortune, and constant in the face of adversity."⁵ Almagro's character is probably more indicative of a typical Spanish conquistador. He was a low order noble and, in effect, demonstrated the Castilian temperament and mentality of his class. He was tenacious, brave, arrogant, greedy, and cruel. As in Araucanian society, the Spanish placed a premium on machismo and valor. The men of his band were also from basically the same class and had similar characteristics.

All of the Spaniards were a product of their homeland as it had developed to the 15th century, and of a Gothic-Celtic-Iberian-Roman culture that had been transformed to a certain extent by the introduction of Arab, Moorish, and Jewish ingredients.⁶ The incessant turmoil in which Spain developed, the warlike and aggressive habits of the Gothic element, and the difficulty in making a living on most of the Spanish people. Of course, their circumstances made them somewhat immune and accustomed to suffering, but at the same time added to their natural courage and gave them a special

spirit of adventure. The frequent plundering by marauding invaders accompanied by family uprooting stimulated this spirit. As a consequence, the search for adventure and wealth led to the discovery of the New World and became a major factor in the psyche of all of the Spanish conquerors.⁷ It should be noted here that most of these men came from the Castiles, where these aforementioned characteristics were emphasized more than in any other part of the country.⁸

Some reference must also be made at this point to the inherently "racist" theory developed by the Chilean historian Francisco Encina. In essence, he hypothesizes that the basic difference between other southern Europeans and Spaniards was the introduction, during the middle ages, of nordic blood into the peninsula by invading northern tribes, particularly the Goths. He continues that the percentage of Gothic blood, perhaps as high as 20 percent, was most heavily concentrated in the upper class, prince or knightly elements of Spanish society. As a consequence, the military-adventurers, who expelled the Moors, were probably ethnically and by nature and temperament part of this Gothic-Spanish element. It follows, therefore, that it was this group that was most likely to produce conquerors of the New World, following the peace established on the peninsula in 1492.⁹

This reasoning would tend to indicate that many of the conquerors in all areas of the New World were from this

Gothic-Spanish element. The settlers coming after the conquest, however, were not representative necessarily of this group, and more than likely were from the worker-farmer lower class element containing the least amount of Gothic blood.

In Chile, this process was altered by the continuous War of Arauco. The infusion of the Spanish-Gothic soldier element was a continuing process; and according to Encina, was not adulterated by essentially inferior blood lines. Proof of this superior ancestry was the spirit exhibited by the Spanish-Gothic-Chileans during the war against the Indians. Other evidence was the fact that the interneccine struggles, which occurred in the other Spanish colonies, did not take place after the founding of Santiago. Encina credits this to the Gothic regard for human life regardless of the consequences.¹⁰

Of course, Encina's thoughts are strictly theory and have no empirical basis, especially when viewed in the context of present-day attitudes toward racism. On the other hand, the basic differences in Chilean development when compared to the other colonies lends some credence to Encina's theories. There is no doubt, whether a non-Chilean believes it or not, that the Encina view has been turned through the years into a kind of Chilean racism that differentiated Chile, at least in the eyes of the Chileans, from the other Andean countries.

To continue the narrative of the distinctive features of the Spanish conquerors, however, there is no question that one of the most predominant characteristics was their loyalty and reverence for their kings. Because the king had led them to victory over their enemies and for their religion for so long, the people believed these rulers could exact the greatest sacrifice for them in return. The Crown, therefore, became sacred, in medieval view, a representative of God on earth.¹¹

Nothing better distinguished a Spaniard from most other Europeans, however, than his obsession with religion. He saw the hand of God everywhere, even intervening in his least important affairs. In his battles, he believed that he was being supported by the Apostle Saint James, the Patron of the army. He imagined James and other saints in shining visions, assisting him in battle, and destroying all enemies of Catholicism and his country. This religious exclusivity made the Spaniard intolerant and fanatical. His excessive preoccupation with divine intervention led him to believe in many superstitions. He presumed that sorcerers, spirits, and demons were responsible for his life.¹² Wars, pestilence, famine, hunger, and earthquakes, which frequently affected his life were compelling reasons for these feelings. In this regard, his culture had progressed little beyond that of the Indians he was about to conquer.

This religious view was fostered predominantly by ignorance. Even when Spain, like other European nations,

became what could be considered civilized, its culture was not general; only the higher classes of society -- the king, nobility, and high clergy -- possessed culture and education, and usually only in proportion to their resources. For example, of all of Valdivia's companions only Bartolomé Rodrigo González had attended college.¹³ The other members of the petty nobility were mostly "home-educated." The lower class representatives, farmers and villagers, lacked the most elementary sophistication and education. In general, this situation was probably reflected in the rest of Europe, but the Spanish temperament only exacerbated the condition.

According to Encina, however, it would be a gross error to describe the first comers to America merely as soldiers. They were certainly not members of the higher nobility; these only came later as governors. The lower nobility (hidalgos) also came at first only in small number, but as leaders and drivers of the various expeditions. The majority, therefore, were from the lower classes and were completely uneducated. The spirit of adventure was most developed in them, however, because of the hardships endured in the homeland and the lack of any outlet there for their considerable ambitions and spirit.¹⁴

In spite of all of the defects, the Spaniards' culture and technology were much more advanced than that of the Indians. Their physical appearance was also a significant

contrast to the natives. White skinned -- some with red hair and light eyes; some with dark hair and dark eyes; most with long beards -- they were usually rather stout and of vigorous muscular strength. They were also well schooled in horsemanship; well clothed, and well armed. The conquerors were necessarily and psychologically aware of their superiority to the unorganized Indian tribes they encountered.¹⁵

In retrospect, however, the Spanish colonial life style more closely resembled its Indian counterpart than many Spaniards would care to admit. These conquerors essentially lived by the sword and were primarily interested in territorial and personal aggrandizement. Basically, the Indian problem was to be solved by three possible methods: isolation, elimination, or integration. The Spaniards chose a combination of the latter two courses. The Indians were to be subdued and used as slaves if necessary. Women were to be exploited. In other words, the Spanish aim was basically the same as a warring Indian tribe. The Spaniards only rationale was that he was following this procedure for God and country, whereas the Indian was interested in individual and tribal enrichment.¹⁶

The following physical discription of the Spaniard is noted only to contrast him with the earlier picture of the Indian. It is indicative of a superior social and military organization and shows that these men were able, after solving

many problems, to adapt to the changing situations and environment of the New World. They were sustained by better technology than that which was available to the Indians. Regardless of this superiority, however, their life style in the early days of the colony was little better than that of the Indians they were conquering. In the end, organization was the deciding factor.

The clothing of the Spaniard was rather simple. It consisted only of short pantaloons reaching to the knees, where they were tied with a cord; a top coat belted at the waist; sandal shaped shoes with leather soles; and sometimes wool stockings covering the leg and joined at the knee to the pantaloons. Some, better clothed, used a kind of gaiter buttoned in front which was called a buskin, and on the calves of the legs jackets of leather, like leggings. The head was covered with a casque or steel helmet. It was padded on the inside and was fastened with a chin strap. Commanders and officers usually had an attached wire cover to protect their faces.¹⁷

Of greater significance than their different physical appearance, however, was the difference in their weaponry. The Spanish soldier used defensive and offensive types depending on the occasion. The defensive gear were the helmet, the mail coat, and the leather shield. The infantry's offensive weapons were the harquebus and the short sword. The cavalrman carried a short sword, a lance or pike, and

a steel covered club. The artillerymen were equipped with cannons.¹⁸

The superiority of the Spanish civilization over the Indian was thus shown principally in better and heavier offensive military equipment. Each Spaniard equaled at least 100 natives in battle, and that demonstrated superiority had consequences other than military as will be noted later. The Spaniards brought to the New World all of their ideas, their beliefs, their arts, their customs -- in a word, their civilization. This together with their military superiority triumphed over the natives. Then, their more advanced political organization and social discipline were imposed on the conquered with equal determination.

These thoughts aside for a moment, it is best to recall that the Spanish conquest and colonization of America was essentially an economic venture financed in part by the Crown and, in part, by private enterprise. Religious idealism and militarism certainly had a role in this endeavor, but basically these were subordinate to a primary quest for precious metals, raw materials, and captive markets. The Spanish succeeded in Mexico and Peru, however, did little to prepare them for the poverty and resistance they encountered initially in Chile, and this is precisely why Chilean colonial development is an interesting field of study.

Valdivia and the Conquest

The conqueror of Chile, Pedro Valdivia was born sometime around the year 1502 in the La Serena district of Spain. No one knows for certain what village he came from, but it appears quite probable that he was from a good family and received a home education well above the average of his day.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, according to Luís Galdames, Valdivia regarded the men in his company as well as Pizarro to be intellectual inferiors.²⁰ In any case, from the time of his 19th birthday, he followed a military career, leaving it in 1525 to marry Marina Ortíz de Gaete. For the next ten years presumably he led a quiet life of marital bliss in his old village.²¹

In 1535, he left his wife and family -- never to see them again -- to travel to the Indies. He spent the following year in the discovery and conquest of Venezuela. His friend and companion during this adventure was Jerónimo de Alderete who later became one of his principal followers in the expedition to Chile. The Venezuelan interlude, although certainly entertaining for Valdivia, gave him little opportunity for advancement of personal glory and he welcomed the opportunity to join Francisco Pizarro in Peru as quartermaster of the army. Following his successful performance

in that duty, he was given a silver mine in Porco and a valuable estate called "La Canela" for his services. This latter property alone produced an estimated income of about \$500,000 per year.²²

It was a complete surprise to Pizarro, therefore, when Valdivia applied for a commission to undertake an expedition to Chile. Valdivia was certainly a wealthy man at this time and was well aware of Almagro's utter failure in the south.²³ The point is that Valdivia, apparently unlike many of his contemporaries, was more interested in the prestige and fame of a successful expedition, than just enriching himself. Many historians believe that he had a driving ambition to found and build, but it appears that prestige played an important role in his decision. In any case, it is more likely that he came to Chile as a conqueror-colonizer than merely a despoiler.²⁴

Pizarro granted him the commission in April 1536, and Valdivia immediately began planning for the long trek. It proved to be very difficult to raise money for the project, however, as no one was interested in financing an expedition that appeared to follow its predecessor into failure. Even Pizarro was reluctant to risk any money from the Peruvian treasury. Valdivia's problems were solved, however, when a newly arrived Spanish merchant, Francisco Martínez, offered to pay half of the money needed on the condition that a partnership be formed.²⁵

Upon the scene at this time appeared Pero Sancho de Hoz, who had just returned to Lima after a four year absence. Sancho had squandered his money in the homeland and was looking for an opportunity to regain his fortunes. He was titled as Governor for the King, and with Pizarro's blessing over Valdivia's opposition, became another partner for the Chilean expedition.²⁶

In January 1540, Valdivia finally left Cuzco accompanied by seven Spaniards -- 17 others joined him at the outskirts of the city; others joined along the road a few days later. In addition, he had gathered about a thousand yanacunas to serve as porters and camp followers of one sort or another. These Indians were regarded as hardly better than animals at the beginning of the journey and were usually referred to as "pieces of service."²⁷ Valdivia was also accompanied by his mistress, Inés de Suárez, who was the only Spanish woman in the train.²⁸

The route followed by the band of adventurers was that traced by Almagro during his retreat. They progressed from Cuzco to Tarapaca by way of Arequipa, Moquegua, and Pacna. There were very few incidents with the Indians, but the usual problems of fatigue, cold, and hunger inhibited rapid advance. Francisco Martínez was injured in one incident with some marauding Indians and another Spaniard was killed. Valdivia then decided that Martínez needed medical attention in Cuzco, and dispatched two other Spaniards to return

with him to Peru. Thus, of the original 24 men, Valdivia arrived in Tarapaca with only twenty.²⁹

The situation changed for the better there, however, when Rodrigo de Araya rode into camp with sixteen other Spaniards bringing the total complement of thirty-six. Not long afterward, about seventy-five more arrived with Francisco de Villagra -- the expedition now suddenly increasing to 111 men. Once again the group set out, this time facing the tractless wastes of the Atacama desert.³⁰

Impossible as it may seem with a group already facing a great ordeal from hostile terrain and natives, Sancho de Hoz began plotting against Valdivia to take over the expedition for himself. During Valdivia's absence from camp one night, Sancho and his followers began discussing rebellion among the other troops. Valdivia arrived back the next morning, however, accompanied by Francisco de Aguirre and twenty-five Spaniards. This force and Valdivia's pointed effort to ignore the incident ended the intrigue for the present. The camp now included 137 Spaniards.³¹

The group next arrived in the Copiapo Valley and was immediately set upon by the Indians. The natives of the district were following a "scorched earth" policy and destroyed all of their food stores before the Spaniards could capture them. They also inflicted a terrible death and injury toll on the yanaconas who unlike the Spaniards were not protected by armor. This was finally the area that Valdivia's

commission empowered him subjugate, and it was here that the ceremonies took place claiming the land in the name of the King.³²

The expedition now increased in size to 150 men with the arrival of Gonzalo de los Ríos and his group. (Including two knights, twenty-five lesser nobles, 122 soldiers, one Negro, and one woman) After remaining in the Copiapó Valley for two months, the group pressed southward. The Indians fought them all the way -- especially Chief Michimalongo of the Aconcagua district. The vastly superior Spanish armaments proved decisive, however, and in early December, the group arrived at the banks of the Mapocho River. The conquerors pitched camp at the base of a hill they named Santa Lucía and Valdivia named the place Santiago de Nueva Estreñadura.³³

The site of the new city was chosen for strategic purposes. Santa Lucía hill is 635 feet high and offers protection as well as serving as an observation post. Moreover, the two branches of the Mapocho River form a peninsula with the hill in the center, protecting the promontory. Of course, the Spaniards could only use the hill as their final refuge in battle because their most effective weapon against the Indians was the mounted cavalry -- a totally ineffective force on a hillside. Thus, Santa Lucía served primarily as a focal point for the valley where horsemen could fight effectively.³⁴ Once the decision was made by Valdivia to make

the site a permanent settlement, messages were sent to the Indians requesting a meeting.³⁵

The Indian attitude toward all of this activity was sullen at best. They had been fighting the Spaniards ever since Valdivia had arrived in their valley. They had been beaten, however, and fearing the loss of their unharvested crops, agreed to meet with the invaders. Valdivia told them that he had been sent by his King to build a city and requested their help. The Indians, hiding their real feelings, agreed to assist in the project. Thus, Santiago was begun as a permanent settlement on February 12, 1541.³⁶

In September, the Indians having completed much of the construction in the city and patiently waiting for the harvest to be completed, finally rebelled. On the 11th, they stormed the city and fought the Spaniards tooth and nail all day. The most conservative accounts estimate that the attacking force consisted of between eight and ten thousand warriors. Regardless of the estimates, the force was so great that the Spaniards, who expected the onslaught, were forced to withdraw from their defensive lines to the Plaza de Armas. As they retreated, the Indians fired the town and scattered the domestic animals. In the end, only two Spaniards were killed, but most of the rest suffered some kind of injury. Inés de Suárez is credited with saving the day by ordering several Indian chief captives to be executed, and their heads thrown out of the strongpoint and into the

Indian melee. The Indians were panic stricken by the sight of their dead leaders and fled.³⁷

Vaidivia, who was reconnoitering the area near the present seaport town of Concón, arrived back in the city four days later to view the still smoking ruins. All of the Spaniards' possessions except their arms, horses, and clothes had been destroyed. Inés de Suárez had managed, however, to salvage three pigs, a cock and hen, and two handfuls of grain. In effect, the Indians had come within a hair-breadth of destroying the colony by direct attack and appeared ready to finish the job as soon as possible.³⁸

Despite the severe Spanish losses, the Indians were in no position to follow up their advantage, and decided to withdraw from the immediate area. Villagra and Quiroga were dispatched to the Quillota area west of Santiago and were able to break up Indian concentrations and prevent an immediate attack.

Meanwhile, the city was reconstructed; this time with an adobe wall -- eight feet high and five feet thick -- surrounding the interior nine blocks. The Indians, meanwhile, adopted a guerrilla warfare plan and waited in ambush for any Spaniard who wandered too far from the settlement. The town's inhabitants were thus reduced to eating herbs and bugs while waiting for the cavalry to return with game. Most of them also adopted the native dress as there was nothing European to replace their worn-out clothes. Soon,

It became very difficult to tell the Indians and Spaniards in the city apart by their outward appearance.³⁹ This sort of existence continued throughout 1542 and lasted until December 1543 when Monroy arrived with a force of 70 men. The second Spanish woman to arrive in the colony may have been on Monroy's ship. The first record of a Spanish woman's arrival, however, does not occur until 1544 when a Spanish woman named Balcazar arrived. It is safe to assume, therefore, that most of the children reported to be in Santiago from 1541 to 1544 were either Indians or mestizos.⁴⁰

With the arrival of the 70 men detachment, the Spaniards were able to take the initiative and the Indians were forced to withdraw to the south. Valdivia attacked them at the Maipo, destroyed their fortifications, and forced a general retreat of more than 150 miles to the southern banks of the Maule River. In the north, meanwhile, Chief Michinalongo was routed in a pitched battle in the Limari Valley and Santiago was reasonably secured.

With the easing of the Indian threat, Valdivia's attention was again returned to the colonial organization. A cabildo had been set up as early as March 1541. Despite the fact that the little band of Spaniards functioned on a war footing with military directions from Valdivia, the governor felt that the delegation of responsibilities would eliminate claims of preferential treatment. He decided that he could avoid a great deal of ill will and trouble if all

disputes were settled by the cabildo rather than himself. Thus, he appointed *alcaldes ordinarios*, Juan Juárez and Francisco Aguirre; councilors, Juan Ferrández de Alderete, Juan Bohn, Francisco de Villagra, Don Martín de Solier, Gaspar de Villarreal, and Jerónimo de Alderete; majordomo, Antonio Zapata; and the *procurador*, Antonio de Pastrana. Valdivia maintained his title as Lieutenant Governor and Captain General.⁴¹ Despite the legalistic nature of these assignments, none of the appointees had attended college and none were accredited lawyers. Later in the colonial era, the Crown licensed lawyers and office holders requiring a law degree. It was not necessary to have completed a college education, however.⁴²

The most important development from a political, economic, and social standpoint at this time was the establishment of the cabildo. Basically, this organization was nothing more than the transfer of the ancient Spanish municipal tradition to the New World. Each organization varied from country to country, however, and, in essence, mostly reflected the structural interpretation of the governor or expedition leader.⁴³ Cabildo meetings in Santiago, in fact, were held in Valdivia's house until the regular meeting house was constructed. One example of Valdivia's structural interpretation was the fact, that from 1556 until 1557, there were three *regidores perpetuos* in the city instead of the usual five by virtue of a prior agreement and arrangement.

with Valdivia -- Diego García de Cáceres, Rodrigo de Quiroga, and Juan Gómez.⁴⁴ The erosion of the strong position of the governor vis-a-vis the cabildo can also be seen following Valdivia's death and the institutionalization of the cabildo.

In order to become a cabildo member in Santiago, the candidate had to be a citizen of the city. The age requirements were a minimum of 26 for an alcalde ordinario; 18, for a regidor; and 25, for an escribano. Criminals, illegitimate sons, members of religious orders, debtors, and recent Christian converts were excluded from office.⁴⁵

Cabildo sessions were of three types: ordinary, extraordinary, and open. Ordinary sessions took place on fixed dates. Extraordinary sessions occurred on special occasions, and open meetings were scheduled when the collaboration of the citizenry of the whole town was needed to pass important legislation, or for discussion of very important matters. Elections occurred during the last days of December or the first of January. Salaries were paid according to the city's ability and according to the job or position.⁴⁶

In the initial stages of its development in Santiago, the open cabildo included all free men. This was later modified, however, to include only Spaniards or Hispanicized criollos. The distinction was enacted to exclude Indianized mestizos and Indians who were not considered to be of equal status.⁴⁷

The Santiago cabildo evolved into a structure of two alcaldes, who were charged with administering justice, and

six regidores who wrote the municipal regulations. There were also several other important functionaries including the procurador of the city, who represented the people; the mayordomo or treasurer, who took meeting notes; the alguacil mayor, who was the chief jailer and administered punishment; and the alfrerez real whose position was mainly symbolic, but, generally in Chile, he was in charge of fiestas and other ceremonies. The fiscal ejecutor supervised prices and trade guilds and the alarife directed public works.⁴⁸

The Santiago cabildo documents during this early period reveal a preoccupation with licensing medical doctors and approving their work; concern over the building and location of a hospital, decisions regarding fiestas and religious holidays, and settlements of land disputes involving the farms in the Santiago area.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, returning to political developments, Pizarro was assassinated in June 1541. When the news of his death reached Santiago, the cabildo was in a quandary. Pizarro's death meant that Valdivia's governing powers had ceased to exist because his commission had been issued by the Peruvian conqueror. On the other hand, no one in the colony had a better claim for a royal appointment than Valdivia and the cabildo drew up a petition asking that Valdivia be elected governor. At first, Valdivia refused because he was still uncertain of Pizarro's fate. The will of the open cabildo finally prevailed, however, and Valdivia accepted the post

of Governor of the Colony. Alonso de Nonroy was appointed Lieutenant Governor, Jerónimo de Alderete was named treasurer, Francisco de Arteaga was controller, Juan Fernández de Alderete was overseer, and Francisco de Aguirre was named commissioner.⁵⁰

As noted earlier, this political structure was virtually meaningless in a colony with no visible means of support and under siege by marauding Indians. Valdivia was in charge of virtually every order of business, however, and following his military successes, he turned his attention to the colony's economy. Indian laborers were put to work in the mines and a ship was constructed at Concón to enable Santiago to maintain communications with Lima. The overland route between the two cities was secured with the construction of a fort at La Serena.

At the same time, Valdivia was interrupted in his economic program by the continuation of the anti-Pizarro insurrection in Peru. He journeyed there in 1547 and joined with the King's envoy, Pedro de la Gasca, to defeat his former sponsor's brother in the Battle of Jaquijahuana. In gratitude, the King officially proclaimed him governor of Chile in 1548.⁵¹

With Peru pacified, Valdivia was able to secure more men and supplies for his colony. Another company of 100 men was sent to Santiago and the conqueror himself returned in 1549 along with some women and families.⁵² La Serena,

which had again been destroyed by the Indians, was rebuilt and communications with Peru were secured again. At this point, approximately 500 Spaniards populated the colony, and the total population of Santiago proper including Spaniards, mestizos, and Indians was probably about 1,000.⁵³ The vast majority of Spaniards were employed against the growing Araucanian threat in the south. By 1553, the total number of Spaniards had risen to 1,000 -- this number being partially made up of men from the detachment of Don Martín de Avendano and Gaspar de Villarroel which arrived from Peru in November of 1552.⁵⁴

It should always be recognized that the majority of Spaniards were engaged in the war effort, but some were mining for gold or were engaged in raising livestock. At this time, Valdivia could look with some satisfaction on his accomplishments of conquering the Indians in the Santiago area and dividing their labor force among his men. He had led successful expeditions into Araucanian territory and had founded the towns of Imperial, Valdivia, and Villarica. There were also forts at Arauco, Tucapel, and Puren. Thus, the conquest of all of the country seemed assured.

This victory was delayed, however, and later postponed indefinitely by renewed Araucanian resistance. In December 1553, a band of these Indians under the leadership of Lautaro, Valdivia's former groom, destroyed the fort at Tucapel. Valdivia marched south to join in the battle, but he was

ambushed, captured, and killed by the Indians. The uprising, which had not appeared possible earlier in the year, continued and three towns including Concepción fell to the advancing Indians. The War of Arauco was intensified.⁵⁵

Francisco de Villagra, who had become Commander-in-Chief in the south, after the news of Valdivia's death reached Santiago on 11 January 1554,⁵⁶ finally managed to capture and kill his chief adversary near Santiago three years later. Lautero's head was exhibited on a pike in the plaza for many days, but it was a symbolic gesture because his place was soon taken by bolder and more capable Indian generals. The southern part of the country was reconquered, for the most part, during the next several years through the efforts of Don García Hurtado de Mendoza and Captain Alonso de Reinoso, who fought against the great Indian Chief Caupolicán.⁵⁷

Thus, the Araucanian War, which varied in intensity through the years, became a real and present factor in Chilean colonial life. Towns were destroyed and were rebuilt. Immigrants arrived and lives were lost. In general, however, the Spaniards were able to maintain enough pressure on their Indian adversaries for the next forty years to keep them off balance. The Spanish action essentially became a defensive, holding action.

It should be mentioned at this point that the War of Arauco was not necessarily fought by Spaniards solely against Indians. In reality, by this time, the battle lines were

drawn between Spaniards and their allies -- mestizos and Indian friends -- fighting against the Araucanians and their allies -- some mestizos, renegade Indians, and Spanish deserters.⁵⁸

The presence of a strong enemy in the south had a tremendous effect on colonial life and attitudes, however. The most important psychological factor was the sense of mutual identity that was created among the Spaniards and their mestizo half brothers. Social stability was necessary to fight the common enemy and this factor, more than anything, led to a mutual feeling of incipient nationhood.⁵⁹ In addition, the war absorbed a good portion of the colony's early energy and forced the Crown to send naturally aggressive military men instead of traditional colonizers with their families. This soldier class immigration led to a vigorous pursuit of economic and territorial expansion to support the war effort, changed traditional social patterns, and ultimately brought about a social evolution involving some mestizos in all facets of society.⁶⁰

NOTES

¹Medina, Los aborígenes de Chile, p. 7. Chile is the Quechua word meaning "better than something."

²Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, Historia de Chile desde el descubrimiento hasta el año 1575 (Santiago, 1862), pp. 30-37. See also Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 408.

³Vernon, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴Frias, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

⁵Miguel de Olivares, Historia militar, civil y sagrada de Chile (Santiago, 1864), p. 213.

⁶Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 385.

⁷Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 23-27.

⁸Maguire Ibar, op. cit., p. 7.

⁹Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 3, p. 523.

¹⁰Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 23-34.

¹¹Eberhardt, op. cit., pp. 42-44.

¹²Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 388. Valdivia himself spoke of religious and saintly assistance.

¹³Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandon, Historia del desarrollo intelectual de Chile, 1541-1810 (Santiago, 1903), pp. 375-376. See also James Lockhart, Men of Cajamarca (Austin, 1972), p. 112. Twenty percent of the conquerors of Chile were functioning literates. The rest could sign their names. Only nine percent were illiterate.

¹⁴Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, pp. 386-387.

¹⁵Galdames, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

¹⁶Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 392.

¹⁷Galdames, op. cit., p. 35.

- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 176. Vernon, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
- 20 Galdames, op. cit., p. 37.
- 21 Góngora Marmolejo, op. cit., pp. 36-40.
- 22 Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile: Pedro de Valdivia (Santiago, 1911-1912), Vol. 1, p. 4.
- 23 Diego Barros Arana, Orígenes de Chile (Santiago, 1934), Vol. 1, p. 209.
- 24 Alvaro Jara, Guerra y sociedad en Chile: La transformación de la guerra de Arauco y la esclavitud de los indios (Santiago, 1971), p. 20. See also Eugene E. Korth, Spanish Policy in Colonial Chile: the Struggle for Social Justice (Stanford, 1968), p. 24.
- 25 Vernon, op. cit., p. 43.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 44-45.
- 27 Declaración de Pedro de Miranda in Jose T. Medina, Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile desde el viaje de Magallanes hasta la batalla de Maipo, 1518-1818 (Santiago, 1888-1902), Vol. 16, p. 212.
- 28 Vernon, op. cit., pp. 26-27. There is ample evidence that Valdivia's marriage to Doña Marina was unhappy. He had, at this time, been married to her for ten years and there were no children. Doña Marina has been characterized as being quite colorless; so there is reason to believe that Valdivia became infatuated with Doña Inés, perhaps in Venezuela. Doña Inés did not meet Valdivia in Peru until her husband died.
- 29 Ibid., 52-54.
- 30 Errázuriz, Historia de Chile: Pedro de Valdivia, Vol. 1, p. 69.
- 31 Vernon, op. cit., pp. 56-64.
- 32 Errázuriz, Historia de Chile: Pedro de Valdivia, Vol. 1, p. 139.
- 33 Ibid., p. 147.

- ³⁴Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 112.
- ³⁵Góngoro Marnolejo, op. cit., p. 43.
- ³⁶Vernon, op. cit., pp. 76-79.
- ³⁷Vernon, op. cit., pp. 56-57.
- ³⁸Frias, op. cit., pp. 63-65.
- ³⁹Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 74.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 119.
- ⁴¹Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 197.
- ⁴²Fuenzalida Grandón, Historia del desarrollo intelectual de Chile, 1541-1810, pp. 375-420.
- ⁴³Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 115.
- ⁴⁴Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, pp. 266-267.
- ⁴⁵Julio Alemparte, El cabildo en Chile colonial (Santiago, 1960), pp. 67-71.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 72-86.
- ⁴⁷Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, p. 267.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 267-268.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 269-272. See also the Libro Becerro de cabildo de Santiago, Actas de 1541 a 1557. In the Biblioteca Nacional.
- ⁵⁰Alemparte, op. cit., pp. 52-61. See also Medina, Documentos inéditos, Vol. 3, pp. 69-70.
- ⁵¹Frias, op. cit., pp. 67-68.
- ⁵²Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 113.
- ⁵³Ibid., p. 111.
- ⁵⁴Tomás Thayer Ojeda, Los conquistadores de Chile (Santiago 1908-1910), Vol. 2, p. 36. See also figures in Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 117.
- ⁵⁵Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile sin gobernador, 1554-1557 (Santiago, 1912), pp. 406-426.

⁵⁶Zberhardt, op. cit., p. 146.

⁵⁷Frias, op. cit., p. 71 and 219.

⁵⁸Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, p. 189.

⁵⁹Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 411.

⁶⁰Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 191.

CHAPTER III
THE DIVISION OF LAND AND INDIANS

James Lockhart contends that the Spanish colonial period's contribution to pre-Columbian America can be described briefly as the contents of two complementary master institutions, the Spanish city and the great estate.¹ While neither city structure nor the evolution of the great estate have been explored in great detail, more is known about the city because of its continuity of location, property and governmental records, and function.

European civilization, in fact, manifested itself most apparently in the towns where the Spanish population was concentrated. Santiago, by far the largest urban center in Chile, had a European population that fluctuated between the original 150 in 1541 to about 500 by the turn of the century. This group theoretically was divided into three categories from 1541 on -- *encomenderos*, *moradores*, and *transients*. In fact, however, there were not enough Spaniards in the early years to develop this stratification to any great extent. The first two categories were always called vecinos or citizens. The transient group of soldiers simply did not settle in one location long enough to qualify for citizenship.²

The right of citizenship in a locale following the conquest was, nevertheless, easy to obtain. If a man

demonstrated good habits and had a proper occupation, he could apply for a lot (solar) which following authorization, he had to enclose and build a house within a fixed time period. After these provisions were complied with, he also had the use of the commons or dehesa. He was then eligible for elected office and was subject to the town's ordinances.

Valdivia apparently overlooked the fact that many people did not petition for residency and in 1552, denied a petition from the procurador of Santiago that cited the unlawful residence of several people in the city. The governor was probably motivated to do this because of his constant fear that rumors of Chile's poverty would lead to a mass exodus and inhibit immigration. In fact, at first he refused to allow any Spaniard to leave the country for any reason.³

The towns, therefore, became the strong points of the Chilean colonial system. In each, the vecinos comprised a local guard or garrison for the city's protection. They also had the responsibility of defending neighboring friendly Indians and safeguarding territory that had theoretically been fully liberated. In order to facilitate this responsibility, they maintained rural fortifications which served as strong-points during skirmishes with the Indians.

In Santiago, the little city garden plots of the vecinos soon proved to be insufficient for raising adequate

crops. Two sets of new lands were then laid out: one having a frontage on the south side of the Canada, as one of the main channels of the Mapocho River; the other across the main channel of the Mapocho on the north side. These chacras or farms ran back from the rivers in long strips with the rearward extension largely undefined. Eventually, the haphazard nature of the border definitions of these holdings led to many disputes that had to be arbitrated by the cabildo office.

Initially, these chacras provided enough food for the town. As the population increased, however, more food and goods were needed not only for sustenance, but also to provide some means of exchange at the city market. More land had to be put into production, therefore, and the acquisition of land to produce food and goods became increasingly important. Because mining production was of relatively little value in the country, ownership of land or control of a labor force became the means for individuals to increase their fortunes and status in the colony.

The division of territory and the Indian work force beyond the limits of the city of Santiago then became of primary importance. Valdivia drew up the first partitions in January 1544. The land from Aconcaqua to the Biobío River was divided into sixty portions. Valdivia's own section was located between Valparaíso and Quillota and contained the mines of Marga-Marga. In July 1544, these

concessions were modified and the number of allotments were reduced to thirty-two. The reason for this was that the number of Indians living in the granted areas in 1541 had diminished during the following three years because of disease and flight to the Indian-controlled south.⁴

Valdivia, according to his Governor's commission of 1548 and his earlier predilection and assumed authority, made two types of grants to his compatriots. The first, as noted before, were sites for houses and farms in or near the cities. The second was the distribution of *encomiendas* -- essentially Indians -- in the larger territorial area that was being pacified.⁵ The distribution of these *encomiendas*, however, was impeded initially by the fighting in the Santiago area and the fact that the local Indians were already serving as Indian allies or as cargo carriers against the enemy Indians.

Under his *encomienda* distribution authority, Valdivia had the right to "commend" (*encomendar*) to the conquerors the Indians located in vaguely defined areas. The governor was very careful in his apportionment, however, to make the Spanish grants align closely with the Indians' own tribal jurisdictions. The whole process, therefore, essentially the institutionalization of Spanish *señorialism* in Chile and many of the Indians henceforth became vassals to the *encomenderos*.⁶

At best described by Francisco Encina, no historian can look at the legislative acts pertaining to the

encomienda system and really understand what it was all about.⁷ The system evolved differently from colony to colony and, in reality, was what the local encomenderos wanted it to be. According to the original terms, however, all of the encomenderos had certain public obligations. Among these were the keeping of a horse and arms in preparation for military service. Sometimes this duty was specific such as the maintenance of a distinct fort. This became a particular arduous duty for the citizenry in Santiago because of the incessant warfare. On more than one occasion, vecinos protested against their liability to serve in the army and fight against the Indians in the south. Eventually, their protests were alleviated by the recruitment of professional Spanish and mestizo soldiers to conduct the war.⁸

It should be noted that wealthy encomenderos, particularly those possessing gold mines, could buy their way out of their military obligation.⁹ Most encomenderos, although certainly interested in their own welfare, genuinely felt that their duty was to complete their military contract with the King. Alvaro Jara, in fact, describes the major difference between the Indian and Spanish armies as the fact that the latter was created by a contract between the individual and the Crown. The Indian, on the other hand, had no such vassalage agreement with a centralized higher authority. His position was as a result of his relationship with his

local chief, and the fact that he and his tribe were "accidentally" in the path of the aggressors.¹⁰

Each encomendero in Chile was also obliged to maintain roads and bridges within the limits of his encomienda. This function appears to make the territorial demarcation of the encomienda there more meaningful and somewhat different from the primarily labor division typical of encomiendas in other colonies.

Another duty related to the missionary side of colonization. Every encomendero was obligated to teach religion to his charges. In the Chilean case, the natives were distributed into religious territories called doctrinas which were presided over by a priest. Although this situation evolved slowly in Chile, by 1585, there were twenty-four doctrinas in the Santiago district.¹¹

The final condition of the grants was the established method of colonization. It stipulated that the principal Indian caciques should maintain their wives and children as well as the other Indians that served them. This, in effect, was the Spaniards' attempt to adopt the native system of control described earlier into their own system. The chiefs were to be apportioned to the encomenderos, and, thus, the fealty of these Indians would be transferred from the Indians to the Spanish overlords. An elaborate ceremony usually accompanied the loyalty oath and sometimes it was sealed by the marriage of the encomendero to the principal

chief's daughter. Thus, the kinship group often became the common unit in the distribution of the Chilean natives among the Spaniards.¹²

The encomendero maintained his residence primarily in the city. He made periodic visits to the area of his encomienda, however, where he either temporarily occupied the village chieftain's house or had a country house constructed for his own use. Typically, several of the encomendero's lieutenants or most trusted workers lived full time with the Indians as foremen or stock workers. Later, this class of Spaniards or mestizos evolved into the estanciero class associated with the great landed estates or estancias.¹³

For the Indians' part, they were bound to render certain services to the Spanish lords. They were obliged to plant and care for a certain amount of crops, provide firewood, tend cattle, and perform personal duties for their masters. The Indians, however, did retain the right to unmolested occupation of their lands. In fact, tribal leadership and membership were maintained by the Spaniards by distributing Indian foodstuffs only through the office of the tribal chief. The chief, therefore, functioned as the Spaniards' Indian agent.¹⁴ Other duties performed for the Spaniards by the Indians were, at first, so undefined that many abuses occurred within the system. In 1537, however, a set of regulations was authorized which conditioned Indian labor, especially work in the mines. These

regulations were modified from time to time, but generally stated that yearly work in the mines began on February 1 and ended on September 30. They also said that only residents of a specific area were allowed to work the mines and set the work day as beginning a half an hour before sunup and ending a half an hour after sunset. Religious instruction was to be regulated and controlled by the resident priest.¹⁵

Despite the protective legal tone of these regulations and others, the Indians were still subjected to strict treatment. For instance, following rumors of an Indian rebellion in May 1549, Alcalde Juan Gómez of Santiago ordered the encomenderos in the district to torture or burn any Indian suspected of being involved in dissident activity.¹⁶ As of 1553, any Indian mine worker caught concealing gold nuggets was to be whipped and have his nose and ears cut off.¹⁷ The most agonizing torture for the poor Indian was the practice of "disjointing," which consisted of cutting the foot a little bit above the toe joint to prevent flight.¹⁸ The basic inequality of colonial law is graphically shown in the various punishments for blasphemy -- for the accused Spaniard, 30 days in jail and a 40 peso fine; for the Indian, 50 lashes in the public square.¹⁹

Although the system was clearly designed to harness the native work force, by any means possible, to benefit

the encomendero, the Indian did receive some advantages in Chile. One example is the fact that in 1567, there were about 150,000 sheep in the vicinity of Santiago, and encomienda Indians had personal ownership of 50,000 of them. Encomienda Indians in other parts of the country also owned livestock and could sell them for their own benefit at fair market value.²⁰

There is no doubt, however, that overall the encomienda system -- especially forced work in the mines -- was a tremendous burden on the Indians. Hernando de Santillán, in studying the abuses of the system in 1557, noted that many Indian women preferred to have their children die rather than see them seized later for service in the mines.²¹ Santillán was directed by the Crown to go to Chile and get a first hand view of the situation, because the King always feared that the destruction of the native work force would ultimately destroy the colonial system. In 1559, therefore, Santillán formulated some new regulations designed to reduce the amount of work done by the encomienda Indians and protect them from the abuses of the system. Among other things, these regulations authorized payment for services rendered.²² This measure was opposed by the encomenderos, however, and was only half-heartedly enforced. The major problem with reform was the fact that a long and difficult war was going on in the south against the Indians. The Spaniards, who had lost sons or friends

in the fighting, were opposed to assistance of any kind to the native population. Ironically, had the Indians succumbed after a brief fight, reform measures may have been more popular. Thus, this measure merely became the first of many attempts during the colonial era to correct the abuses of the encomienda system.²³

Some apologists for the encomienda system insist that its implementation was the salvation of the Indians. One Indian detractor said, for instance, that without some orderly system, the Indians would simply eat their work animals and not produce food. There was some historical basis for this phenomenon, because it apparently occurred when the Chilean Indians were freed from Incan bondage and returned to their old food gathering methods. Thus, the encomendero was merely providing a civilized service by teaching the Indians animal husbandry and agricultural techniques.²⁴

Chilean System

Valdivia's Chilean encomienda distribution plan certainly showed more foresight than many other colonial governors and enabled his colony to escape the civil war episode endured in Peru. Of the original 150 members of his expedition, he named 132 as encomenderos. Of the other 18, merely 12 percent of the total force, two left the country, and the others either were killed by the Indians or died soon after their arrival.²⁵ Thus, the number of potential

dissidents was very low, and there was little plotting against Valdivia's leadership. Moreover, all of the original band had started the invasion on almost the same economic and social footing and, with only a few exceptions, there appears to have been little social antagonism among the group. The later reduction of the original sixty encomienda grants in the Santiago area to thirty-two, however, did cause somewhat of a problem for the governor. The promise of new lands and Indians in the south dissipated the hostility enough to prevent any long lived antagonism directed against the governor.²⁶

The change from Indian to Spanish control through the encomienda system was facilitated by the fact that the Indians under Inca domination were already held in a type of vassalage. The Mapocho Valley Indians, who were cultivating the land in the Santiago area, were known as mitataes or vassals of the Inca.²⁷ In fact, the Peruvian yanacunas differentiated themselves from the Chilean Indians by referring to them as mitataes in derogatory fashion. Thus, the Indians, in effect, were simply exchanging one lord for another with the arrival of the Spaniards.²⁸

In most cases, the Spanish encomienda grants were similar in Chile to their antecedents in Mexico and Peru. While the encomienda that provided the Indian's service was the most common type, there are clearly documented instances in which the encomienda was a territorial grant and was

specifically denoted as "consisting of the Indians and their land." This situation was possible only when there were clusters or permanently located Indians in a specific area. Inés de Suárez occupied one such encomienda as did Juan Bautista de Pastene, Francisco Martínez, Gonzalo de los Ríos, and Francisco Hernández Gallego. In each case, Valdivia defined the particular Indian settlement and its boundaries as the encomienda.²⁹ For instance, one such directive defines as the grant "la mitad de los valles de la Lígua i del Papudo, con todos sus caciques."³⁰ Another example is "y mas el cacique llamado Apoquindo, con todos sus principales e indios sujetos, que tienen su asiento en este valle de Mapocho y deseos su tierra e indios, para que os sirvais de todos ellos."³¹ Such encomiendas formed large estates of rural property and obviously were much sought after rewards for personal service to the Governor and King. Many soldiers and others not necessarily qualified to receive encomiendas under the original rules were recompensed for their service with these estates. In any case, the granting of Indian labor in a predominantly agricultural environment was not worth much more than the land they inhabited. Agricultural labor without land and crops would be an impossible situation.

All land grants were eventually distributed by the local cabildo, and encomiendas were generally authorized only by the Governor. Thus, in theory, the distribution of

land and Indians bureaucratically rested with two different agencies. Following Valdivia's death, however, the cabildo did authorize the grant of several encomiendas. The cabildo record -- the Libro Becerro -- following the cabildo's legitimate authority divided property into the categories of vacio lots, chacras, and estancias and these grants were distributed as the cabildo saw fit.³²

There has been a long drawn out controversy among Latin American scholars over the link between the encomienda and landholding. Silvio Zavala has shown in his study of the encomienda system that the original encomienda of the Antilles was a grant of the right to use labor, with no link to royal tribute in fact or theory. Tribute was later extended to labor use following a long legislative and administrative campaign by the Crown which also restricted the encomendero's rights to tribute alone.³³

According to Lockhart, there are two strands of institutional development involved in the evolution of the encomienda. The first was the "encomienda" created by high officials which basically was a concession to collect and enjoy the king's tribute. The other was a locally inspired "repartimiento" which was essentially concerned with dividing the Indians into labor groups. The latter arrangement and the term "repartimiento" became the official usage to designate the actual area of the grant. What was assigned to the encomendero, however, was Indians and not tribute.³⁴

There is no question that many of the encomenderos acted like property owners and took advantage of their status as justification for receiving grants of land in the area of their encomienda. Mario Góngora in his study of the evolution of property in the Valley of Puangue shows how the Chilean encomenderos used their position to receive land grants (mercedes) within the limits of their encomiendas and prevented concessions to others in the area. In fact, the families of the greatest encomendero in a particular area usually built a hacienda near the center of the encomienda grant and maintained the best land as their property.³⁵

Lockhart takes this example further by explaining how the living styles of the encomenderos and hacendados were similar. Moreover, both possessed in practice some jurisdiction over their Indians which was exercised paternalistically. He concludes that the two institutions -- encomienda and hacienda -- served the aristocracy in similar fashion by essentially perpetuating its control over the lower classes.³⁶

Robert Keith takes the institutional relationship forward by describing their structural continuities. For Keith the institution of the encomienda is not just a group of Indians, but the encomendero with his dependents as well as the property belonging to both the Indians and the Spaniard. In addition, it is the complex set of

relationships tying these people together and connecting them to the larger society outside of the *encomienda*.³⁷

The most important part of the *encomienda* relationship to external society was its evolution from the early system to the creation of landed estates. Keith argues that the Crown's intervention in the institutional aspects of the system on the side of the natives prevented the disappearance of Indian society. By taking advantage of the weakness of the *encomendero* class, the Crown was able to reform the *encomienda*, separating the traditional from the capitalistic elements, and insuring the dominance of the traditional in a remodeled institution, the *corregimiento*. As a result, the Indian communities were able to reorganize and survive, while the Spaniards were free to organize their own estates as capitalistic institutions largely independent of Indian society.³⁸

In Chile, however, this situation evolved somewhat differently because Indian society was virtually eliminated in the Santiago area as a result of the wars, rapid Indian depopulation, and the creation of *mestizaje* which filled the population void. The new *mestizo* class had an easier time being accepted into Spanish society and the capitalistic environment of the *hacienda*. Thus, the original political and institutional strength of the *encomendero* class in Chile; their early realization that land was wealth; and the destruction of pure Indian society facilitated the

evolution of the encomienda system to the landed estates so prominent in later colonial history.

The estancias or large farm estates became the backbone of Chilean agriculture by the beginning of the 17th century. The origin of this rural property as separate entities was more likely the result of a land concession than an encomienda grant.³⁹ Conversely, some of the encomienda grants, as noted before, were maintained from generation to generation as rural property. In fact, almost all of the best land in the colony was included in the limits of the original large encomienda divisions, and there was very little rural property available for newly arrived Spaniards to occupy. Thus, the land distribution system either as concessions or encomiendas led to a largely agricultural colony in which most of the large parcels of land were devoted to stock raising.

These large estates were maintained during the balance of the colonial period by the system of mayorazgos or entailed estates. Many of the leading families, desiring primarily to maintain their social rank, had their property entailed by order of the Crown. In this way, the large holdings were kept intact from generation to generation. Although formal limitation of the property to a specific line of heirs did not begin until the close of the 17th century, land was held in virtual occupational entailment by the first families until that time.⁴⁰

According to Helen Douglas-Irvine in her study of the encomienda system in Chile, hereditary rights to the encomiendas were most often maintained by one means or another. These possessions were originally granted for two lifetimes in America. In 1537, Charles V, however, ruled that when an encomendero died, his rights to the encomienda Indians passed on to his legitimate sons, in order of age, failing them to his daughters similarly, and failing any legitimate children, to his widow.⁴¹

These provisions seem to have been followed in Chile on most occasions. In several examples, the Governor petitioned that the vecinos might hold their encomiendas in perpetuity. No matter what the Crown's decision was in these cases, time and Chile's isolation from the political mainstream strengthened the hereditary nature of the encomiendas. In practice, most of the encomiendas remained in one family until the system was abolished near the end of the 18th century. Moreover, by an interesting custom that was adopted by the family-conscious Chileans, the son who received his father's encomienda was bound to feed his mother, brothers, and sisters, thus maintaining the basic family unit.⁴²

Obviously, the Spanish settlers faced a difficult task in Chile because of their small numbers. Douglas-Irvine computes that by 1558, only 1,100 Spanish men were in the country.⁴³ Thus, this small number could not place an

iron-clad European social and legal structures over the country, and the encomienda system was adapted to the conquerors needs and the natives' ability to participate. The conquerors were basically opposed to manual labor, and consequently needed a large labor force to till the soil, tend the animals, and so on. Since they had not found El Dorado in Chile, they could not afford large numbers of Negro slaves. Thus, in the end, they were forced to rely on the Indians to provide manual labor particularly in mining and agricultural pursuits. This was a severe hardship for the Indians because they were not accustomed to hard work either, but their labor fulfilled the most important necessity for the conquerors.

A further consideration, of course, was the missionary aspect of colonization, which basically meant that the Indians had to be preserved, if they were to be converted. The Spanish religious ideal, therefore, was not to drive the Indians out of the country, but to govern them within it. The native institutions were not to be eradicated, but were to be absorbed into the Spanish system.

This enterprise, although laudatory, was faulty. The Spaniards apparently never fully understood the Chilean Indians' complex social system and consequently many abuses were built into the system from the beginning. Agreements made with specific Indian chiefs were sometimes given to the wrong individual. This practice, obviously, confounded

Indian society, and led to serious morale problems among the various sub-groups. In addition, readjustments in Spanish society -- such as changes in encomienda proprietorship -- caused confusion among the Indians as to who really was their lord and master. Additional disorder was caused by moving the Indians from place to place creating a consequent loss of identity. Finally, confusion was caused among the encomenderos and the Indians by the court fights over the encomiendas that were left vacant by the proprietor's death or his departure for Spain.⁴⁵

Some Indians, living near town, never fully participated in the encomienda system, but were granted illegally to the Spaniards as personal servants. These Indians adopted useful handicrafts such as carpentry, shoemaking, and masonry. They were also used as porters carrying goods from Santiago to Valparaíso, and as builders. Of course, this idea of personal service and seizure was really against the law, but the abuse was never checked. In fact, the extraction of personal service prevented the mass assimilation of the Chilean Indians by the colony because the social stigma of personal service assured the fact that pure-blooded Indians would always be considered the lower class.⁴⁶

By disease, bad treatment, flights to the free south, the Indian settlements around Santiago were emptied. A report dated 1610, indicates that encomiendas that had

once included two or three thousand Indians, now only had a hundred, and most only forty, fifty, or sixty. There were at that time not over 2,099 encomienda Indians in the entire Santiago district. In all of Chile, there were no more than 5,000 Indians still serving in encomiendas. One particular encomienda of 1,500 Indians, that had been granted to Ines de Suarez in 1546, contained only 800 in 1579.⁴⁷

These Indians no longer were plentiful enough for agricultural work and gradually a new "pay for labor" class was formed to take the place of the encomienda. It was comprised of the Indians involved in personal service, mestizos, who followed the cultural patterns of their Indian mothers, and enslaved Araucanian Indians who were captured in the fighting in the south. This new class was known as the Inquilinos who are still cultivating the central valley to this day.

These people were distinguished from the encomienda Indians because they lived on their master's estancias. They had certain rights including 200 days per year for their own personal labor plus a special piece of land for their own crops. In addition, they were paid for their work on the Lord's estancia, and one out of every four was appointed as overseer. This system proved superior to the encomienda, which degenerated, lost its Indian population, and finally was abolished near the end of the 18th century.⁴⁸

Despite the development of the *encomienda* system in Chile and the creation of large landed estates originally utilizing forced labor, the essential capitalistic nature of the Chilean colonial economy has long been ignored. After all, even the *encomienda* system was nothing more than a measure designed to harness cheap labor for sustanment and ultimately the world capitalist market. The passing of the *encomienda* system occurred primarily because it was uneconomical.⁴⁹

Moreover, as Jay Kinsbruner points out in his Chile: A Historical Interpretation, the capitalistic system in Chile was spurred during the colonial period -- especially during the end of the 16th and during the 17th centuries -- because land was continually being subdivided and ownership increased. For example, the original five estates bounded by the Perquiagua, Loncomilla, and the Maule Rivers and the Andes had been joined by 40 additional estates by the end of the 17th century. Of these 40, only 13 contained more than 4,000 acres. Additionally, these estates were made up of more arable land than the original five, so this was not even a consideration of the sub-division process.⁵⁰

One further consideration about the control of economic activity was the fact that the *mayorazgos* living in the country never exerted much influence or political pressure on Santiago during the early colonial period, simply because most of the economic activity was in Santiago and its environs and not on the large estates.

Accordingly, the urban-dwelling *encomiendero-hacendado*, bourgeoisie-merchants, miners, small manufacturers, some government bureaucrats, and professional people, were the persons most interested in stable government and rule by law. These men, in fact, became the backbone of the Chilean economy after the military had secured the area. They were also instrumental in Chile for creating an urban social middle class based more on economics than on birth. During the period of 1540-1565 in Santiago, they also appear to be more racially tolerant than their counterparts in Mexico and Peru. Perhaps, this situation was caused by necessity, however, rather than mentality.

In any case, the bourgeoisie played a significant role in the development of the colony from the very beginning. First, there was Martínez's partnership with Valdivia. Then, there was the rapid establishment of the central market in Santiago. As Kinsbruner relates, moreover, as early as 1543, the first ship to arrive in the colony from Peru contained not only military hardware for Valdivia, but also a consignment of civilian goods destined for the Santiago market. The second ship carried only goods for sale.⁵¹

There were many notable entrepreneurs among the original settlers. Some will be discussed at length in a later chapter. Suffice it to say here, however, that it is worth mentioning Antonio Núñez de Fonseca, who founded

the shipbuilding and fishing industry in the colony, and Juan Jufre, who owned a flour mill and cloth factory in Santiago.

These men exercised influence far beyond their logical means and structured social status because they were able to exert their influence on the commerce between Santiago and Lima. Because Santiago was the collection and distribution point for goods to be exported and goods to be distributed among the first settlers, obviously the men controlling this commerce would be dominant in political life. This was especially true in the Santiago area where the encomiendas were dispersed and the Crown exerted little political control. These men or their families later augmented their influence and control through a kinship network (compadrazgo) which will be discussed later.⁵²

NOTES

¹James Lockhart, "Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies," Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 49 (August 1969), p. 411.

²Galdames, op. cit., p. 79.

³Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 144.

⁴Eugene H. Korth, Spanish Policy in Colonial Chile: The Struggle for Social Justice, 1535-1700 (Stanford, 1968), p. 24.

⁵Manuel Salvat Monguillot, "El regimen de encomiendas en los primeros tiempos de la conquista," Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, No. 132, 1964, p. 57.

⁶Pedro Marino de Lobera, Crónica del Reino de Chile, Colección de Historiadores de Chile, Vol. 6 (Santiago, 1865), p. 72.

⁷Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 395.

⁸Alvaro Jara, Guerra y sociedad en Chile, p. 25.

⁹Crocente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Don García de Mendoza, 1557-1561 (Santiago, 1914), 56. See also J. Solorzano Pereira, Política Indiana (Madrid, 1930), Vol. 3, p. 135.

¹⁰Alvaro Jara, Guerra y sociedad en Chile, p. 25.

¹¹Douglas-Irvine, op. cit., p. 474.

¹²McBride, op. cit., p. 71.

¹³Lockhart, "Encomienda and Hacienda," p. 420.

¹⁴Crocente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Don García de Mendoza, 1557-1561, pp. 443-444.

¹⁵Crocente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Francisco de Villagra, 1561-1563 (Santiago, 1914), pp. 88-89.

- 16 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 248.
- 17 Korth, op. cit., p. 30.
- 18 Galdames, op. cit., p. 83.
- 19 Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Francisco de Villagra, 1561-1563, p. 91.
- 20 Jay Kinsbruner, Chile: A Historical Interpretation (New York, 1973), p. 9.
- 21 Korth, op. cit., p. 32.
- 22 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 398; Vol. 3, p. 71.
- 23 Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Don García de Mendoza, 1557-1561, pp. 874-878; Historia de Chile. Francisco de Villagra, 1561-1563, pp. 70-83.
- 24 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 402.
- 25 Alvaro Jara, Guerra y sociedad en Chile, p. 22.
- 26 Korth, op. cit., p. 25.
- 27 Domingo Amunátegui Solar, Formación de la nacionalidad chilena, (Santiago, 1943) p. 12. Amunátegui describes the Mitamaes as small colonies of Inca Indians who had replaced the local leadership during the 16th Century Inca invasion. By the time the Spaniards had arrived in the country, however, intermarriage with the local inhabitants had occurred.
- 28 Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, pp. 18-19.
- 29 George M. McBride, Chile: Land and Society (New York, 1971), pp. 72-74.
- 30 Domingo Amunátegui Solar, Las encomiendas de indígenas en Chile (Santiago, 1910), Vol. 2, p. 73.
- 31 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 8.
- 32 McBride, op. cit., pp. 90-95.
- 33 Lockhart, "Encomienda and Hacienda," p. 414.
- 34 Ibid., p. 415.

- 35 Ibid., p. 416.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 420-421.
- 37 Robert Keith, "Encomienda, Hacienda and Corregimiento in Spanish America: A Structural Analysis," Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 51 (Aug. 1971), p. 432.
- 38 Ibid., p. 446.
- 39 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, pp. 396-397.
- 40 McBride, op. cit., p. 110.
- 41 Douglas-Irvine, op. cit., p. 480.
- 42 Ibid., p. 481.
- 43 Ibid., p. 484.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 McBride, op. cit., p. 75.
- 46 Korth, op. cit., pp. 25-26.
- 47 Douglas-Irvine, op. cit., p. 492.
- 48 Korth, op. cit., p. 113.
- 49 Alvaro Jara, Guerra y sociedad en Chile, p. 18.
- 50 Kinsbruner, op. cit., p. 15.
- 51 Ibid., p. 18. See also Vernon, op. cit., pp. 108-109.
- 52 Alvaro Jara, Guerra y sociedad en Chile, p. 18.

CHAPTER IV
SANTIAGO

Anyone who has flown over or traveled overland from northern Chile to the Central Valley is certainly aware of the rugged terrain and geographical inconsistency of the land. The small fertile valleys, for instance, quickly give way to barren, arid, hills, and the lush vegetation is transformed into scrub growth. Only in the vicinity of Santiago does the great panorama open to a wide fertile valley dominated by the hills of Santa Lucía and San Cristóbal. With the towering Andes in the background, it makes a fantastic setting. This surely was the scene that enraptured Valdivia when he arrived at Muelen in 1541. He commented, "This land is such that one can live and prosper. There is no better place in the world. ..." Of course, it must be remembered that most of the conquerors were from the Castilian meseta where according to an old French expression, "there are eight months of winter and four of hell."¹

The only problem for the Spaniards was that the Mapocho Valley was already inhabited by approximately 10,000 Indians who were not anxious to be displaced by the newcomers. In fact, according to the old historian, Alonso Góngora Marmolejo, approximately four thousand warriors actually fought against the Spaniards in the Santiago

area -- a number indicating nearly complete manpower mobilization.² In any case, the total number of people under the jurisdiction of the new Spanish city of Santiago in 1541 was probably less than 20,000, and included 136 Spaniards, approximately 6,000 Peruvian yanacunas and the rest native Chileans.

These natives, as explained earlier, spoke mostly Quechua, were engaged mostly in agricultural pursuits and food gathering, and lived in their primitive rucas along stream banks. There was a small settlement in the area named Huelen after the hill that dominated the region. Valdivia stated in one letter to the King that he had been entertained by these natives in a large house containing many doors. The existence of such a building cannot be denied, but it must have been a central meeting place because all of the other buildings were of poor quality. The principal Indian chiefs of the area were Colima, Lampa, Batacura, Apoquindo, Cerrillos de Apochama, Tsalagante, Melipilla, Milacura, and Huara-Huara.³

The importance of the Santa Lucía hill to the Spaniards can easily be seen by any visitor to Santiago. Located at that time between two branches of the Mapocho River, it formed a natural refuge against Indian attacks. (The size and area of the hill has been markedly reduced through the years. The rocks and stones were used to build houses and streets in the city when there was no longer a need for protection.)⁴

In addition to this strategic consideration, Valdivia was merely following the Spanish government's interest in city planning and Charles V's 1523 law prescribing the conditions for laying out new cities. First, the new towns were to be located near water, building materials, pasture lands, and firewood. Second, cities were to be located in moderate altitudes. Places subject to fog or located near swamps were to be avoided. In addition, the area was expected to have clean air and, as a precaution, "all dirty and smelly businesses" were to be located on the outskirts of town.⁵

Once the site had been chosen, the most suitable place for the central plaza was picked. The street plan was then laid out from the plaza in a checker-board pattern devised by Pedro de Gamboa, the city's first surveyor. The plaza was located several hundred yards in front of Santa Lucía between the Mapocho and Canada Rivers. (The Canada has since dried up and has been covered by the boulevard Alameda.) Originally, eight streets ran north to south between the rivers; and ten ran from east to west along the slope of Santa Lucía. Each block measured exactly 138 yards in each direction, and was subdivided into four lots; thus allowing all of Valdivia's soldiers to have a lot or solar on which he could build a house. It appears from the original plot that the most important citizens were to occupy the streets running north to south because these

received the night breezes and had a better distribution of sun and shade. Of course, a home located near the plaza was the most desirable.

The rapid and constant flow of both rivers, along with the primitive aqueduct system, formed a fairly efficient supply of drinking and irrigation water, as well as a relatively workable waste removal system. Vicuna Mackenna comments that the disposal system of old Santiago would have been the envy of any city in Europe. It remained as such until population pressures forced people to move upstream from Santa Lucia and consequently fouled the water.⁶

For the most part, the original street names of the city have been forgotten because they were only identifiable as the home of the first great men of the city. General practice in all Spanish colonial cities initially was to identify the solar or street lots by the inhabitants name. It is known, however, that present day Estado Street was always known as Rei Street before the war for independence. After the first citizens of the city had died, many streets were named after the more illustrious conquistadores such as Valdivia and Ahumada, saints, principle buildings, and metals such as Gold Street, Silver Street, etc.⁷

The first homes were constructed of logs and straw. Following the Indian attack in 1542, however, a kind of adobe-like material was concocted and used to prevent widespread destruction by fire. Valdivia also increased the

city's protection by constructing an adobe wall around the interior nine blocks surrounding the central plaza. All traces of this wall have disappeared with time, however, and there is still some question regarding its exact location. All that is known for certain is that it was located in the vicinity of the present Plaza de Armas.⁸

Regardless of the exact location, we do know that Valdivia emplaced the church stone that he had carried with him from Cuzco in the junction of two of the walls. The first church was, thus, located facing the plaza and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Valdivia's own house -- the first permanent home in the city -- was built in May 1542 up against the fort's opposite wall facing the church.⁹ Apparently, subsequent buildings housing Captain Generals and Presidents of the Republic were built on the same spot after the original structure was destroyed. The other solares that faced the plaza were distributed among the principal pobladores such as Juan Jufre, whose two-story building became one of the better known in the city, and that belonging to Antonio de Pastrana which was later given to the Church as the Archbishop's residence. These houses were still essentially rude dwellings. In fact, it is reported that Francisco de Villagra's house originally did not have any doors.¹⁰

The rest of the blocks were divided into eight solares -- four on each side of the streets that ran east

to west. The houses of the early aristocracy were grouped in this area and were surrounded by the shacks of their servant yanaconas. Soldiers and men of lesser rank were forced to live farther away from the plaza in camps near the dehesa or common ground.¹¹

No matter what his social status was, however, the individual Spaniard was virtually king within his solar. All of his slaves, concubines, and yanaconas lived within the enclosure. These people were by necessity dedicated to the success of their master -- after all their livelihood was dependent on him. Within the solar they tended his animals and took care of all of his needs.¹² On the other hand, urbanization of this kind had its drawbacks because the servants could no longer live off the land as they had during the trek from Cuzco, and the master was hard pressed to provide for so many eager mouths. Eventually, the situation got so bad in the city, in fact, that the the population concentration began to cause health problems. An ordinance was passed by the cabildo as early as 1550 directing the citizens to get rid of at least half of their servants and keep the rest away from the front of the houses. In 1554, a charge of two pesos for each infraction was levied to put teeth onto the law.¹³

Other city problems are easily discernible from the cabildo records. For instance, the population concentration of Indians, Negroes, and mestizos in the city led to

the law restricting water rights to the Spaniards -- all others could be whipped for violating the law. The safe-keeping of horses was also of primary importance in the city and laws were passed to ensure their protection. In 1549, it was decreed that any Indian who shot a breeding mare with a bow and arrow was to be beheaded.¹⁴

Although these early laws were directed against the Indians and Negroes, life in Santiago was not especially pleasant for anyone. Food prices, although regulated very early by the cabildo, were very high. The people lived primarily on some form of corn, and not until 1555 were vegetables and wine available in large quantities. The cabildo authorized the establishment of butcher shops in town in 1549, but all failed because the farms, for the most part, consumed their own meat and could not provide any for market for many years. Wood cutting was regulated, and after July 1549, no one was allowed to chop down a tree without permission from the Governor.¹⁵

During the first days of the colony, manual labor -- artisan type work -- was done by the soldiers. Santiago had, among its military ranks, men who were capable of shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry. The town blacksmith was particularly indispensable because he was always needed to repair military equipment, shoe horses, and construct agricultural and mining tools. Prices for this work were set by the cabildo and initially were very high. Subsequently,

prices were reduced as the number of capable artisans increased from immigration. For example, in 1553 for tailoring a cloak, the cost was two and a half pesos, for a jacket, two pesos, for a robe, eight, shoes were five pesos, etc.¹⁶ The number of skilled workers was augmented later by mestizo trainees. In fact, industrial work in the colony almost passed completely to mestizos and Indians.¹⁷ By 1556, the number of artisans was such that the guild system that was prevalent in Europe was fully established in Santiago.¹⁸

In 1549, when Valdivia began his southern campaign, the citizens of Santiago requested that some blacksmiths remain in town. Valdivia ordered three to remain -- two in town and one at the mines of Marga-Marga. In 1553, however, only one smith resided permanently in Santiago and he, wanting to leave town, was ordered by the cabildo to remain. Obviously, most of the blacksmiths enjoyed the action and furor of Indian battles to the every day activity of shoeing horses in Santiago.¹⁹

In July 1552, a public market was established in the town plaza. Apparently, the idea was resisted by the Indians who were accustomed to unregulated barter, but the cabildo ordered goods to be sold at the market. Transactions, moreover, were to be conducted in gold that had been authorized and minted as official currency in 1549. The Indians, therefore, were faced with two problems:

they had very little gold at their disposal, and they were not allowed to sell a Spanish manufactured product. They ended up by selling foodstuffs and artifacts for low prices. The Spanish view of the market was that it restored tradition, was beneficial to the economy, and was useful for public administration and commerce.²⁰

The Indians resisted the Santiago market days also at first because it was so alien to their culture. Their necessities had always been at a minimum, and they were able to live without any innovations the market offered. As a consequence, the cabildo frequently renewed the orders directing the vecinos to send two Indians to the market to sell goods. The Indian resistance, in the end, succumbed to this town ordinance because the market place became the meeting place and cultural center.²¹

Justice in the city was administered by the various alcaldes, who were at first designated by Governor Valdivia and later appointed by the cabildo. In 1549, Valdivia named a high court judge for the whole province of Chile who served as a reviewing officer for all sentences administered by the various alcaldes. Later, the Governor came into conflict with this judge and had him removed from office. The administration of justice in most cases, thus, reverted to the local officials with no option for review.²² Important legal questions, however, could be reviewed by the Governor and by the Audiencia in Lima.

The offices of the cabildo were permanently housed in 1552, and the first public jail was erected in the same year. A stone column was constructed in the plaza and served as a symbol of the cabildo's jurisdiction. Heads of executed criminals were exhibited on this column and public whippings were conducted under its shadow. According to the cabildo documents, Indians and Negroes were punished nearly every day. The laws were particularly strict on Indian conduct. The natives were not allowed to gather for meetings and drunkenness was prohibited within the city limits. The cabildo was particularly obsessed with trying to eliminate the use of alcoholic beverages. Many deaths and crimes were attributed to this "social curse," and special constables were appointed to police fiestas and arrest offenders. These "criminals" were publicly whipped.²³

Nobody knows for sure if the Indians predisposition for alcoholic beverages occurred before or after the arrival of the Spaniards. Intoxicants were always available to the Indians, but there is no record of their use. It is known, however, that Indian military victories over the Spaniards were marked by several days of revelry in which everyone drank a beer-like concoction to excess and committed atrocities on the captives.²⁴ The situation was so bad by 1551 that the Santiago cabildo established a curfew and prohibited any Spanish-speaking Indian or Negro

or any other Indians or Negroes from being on the streets after dark. Those violating the curfew were sentenced to receive 100 lashes in the public square.²⁵

In addition to the administration of justice, the cabildo took action to regulate transportation within the colony and to Peru. It was always of primary importance to maintain communication lines with Lima, but the haphazard comings and goings of yanacunas and their masters proved to be inefficient. In 1554, the first organized postal service was instituted. The cabildo also announced that the mail was inviolate and that offenders would have their right hand chopped off.²⁶

In general, these harsh laws reflected the Spaniards' view of the Indians as being untrustworthy and animals incapable of correction. Government leaders' statements and cabildo documents reflect this spirit. Indian traditions, which were offensive to the Spaniards -- particularly the old religions, were vigorously opposed and persecuted. The old priests and sorcerers were jailed or killed.²⁷ Indians were beaten for minor law infractions, or were beheaded for petty theft. They were forced to carry cargo from Santiago to Lima as beasts of burden. They were uprooted and relocated on the various encomiendas as agricultural workers, or in the mines as laborers. The hard work they were subjected to brought about rapid depopulation. In fact, their demise was so quick that both Spaniards and Indians thought

that the numerous deaths were caused by evil spirits. An acuerdo of the cabildo in January 1552 made an official inquiry into the possible murder of large numbers of Indians by an evil force.²⁸

There was a small number of Negroes in the country from the very beginning. Laws, initially at least, dealt more harshly with them than with the Indians. Negroes were not allowed on the street after they were the target of a curfew in 1549 under penalty of whipping or having a hand cut off. They were also prohibited from carrying arms or serving as servants to the Indians. In general, however, the Negroes adapted more readily to the Spanish system, and, because of their small numbers, were more easily assimilated. Negroes, more often than not, did not work in the fields, but were destined for domestic service for the Spanish families. On some occasions they went to war as armor bearers or as aides to their masters. They also became street vendors (criers), executioners, and lesser officials of the public administration. Negro slaves continued to suffer indignities, however, and by 1577, the penal code for Negroes as applied to runaways, slaves bearing unauthorized arms, drunkenness, and robbery, included whipping, cutting off a foot, and, or death.²⁹

During Valdivia's term as governor, more than 1,000 immigrants passed through or settled in Chile. In the first years of Santiago, however, the permanent Spanish

citizenry comprised seventy Captains and soldiers, three priests, two monks, and one Spanish woman. Valdivia, in fact, was always afraid of a mass Spanish exodus from the colony, and consequently, overlooked the fact that many Spaniards never petitioned for residency or citizenship. As previously mentioned, Valdivia in 1552, denied a petition from the procurador of Santiago that cited the unlawful residence of several people in the city. He wrote to the cabildo his obstinate refusal to allow any Spaniard, regardless of the citizenship question, to leave the colony without his personal permission.³⁰ Moreover, in order to make future immigration more attractive, he began to issue solar concessions to artisans and other workers. These new citizens were called *moradores*.³¹

The daily life of the colony was rather grim in the early years and certainly any attraction was necessary to increase immigration. There were few children in the town. The women, mostly Indians, did not participate in meaningful social entertainment, and family life was practically nonexistent. The day was spent in looking for and preparing food. At night there was a church service in the parish house, but afterward the streets were deserted except for the alcaide and his night watch patrol.³² It was said, in fact, that Juan Pizel committed suicide in 1549 -- the first in Santiago -- because he was bored with life.³³

The city's greatest problem in the beginning was its extreme poverty. Despite the introduction of the marketplace, there was still not enough money in circulation to make the venture worthwhile. Fines for committing lesser crimes were worked off through labor rather than in a cash payment. For example, in 1552, two carpenters, who were charged with cutting wood without a permit, were ordered to install some doors, a window, and build some benches for the cabildo office as their penalty.³⁴ It is probable that this penal labor was utilized to construct the first bridge over the Mapocho River in 1556.³⁵

Despite this poverty, however, the political scene was mostly calm under Valdivia's leadership. One plot by the infamous Sancho de Hoz was ended with the culprits' execution. After that, Valdivia was never seriously challenged. Following the Governor's death in 1553, however, an end to strong one-man rule occurred. Immediately, a dispute erupted among Francisco de Aguirre, Rodrigo de Quiroga, and Francisco de Villagra over who would succeed to the governor's office. Aguirre was the best military man in the colony. He had been active in the discovery and settlement of Tucuman, and was presently living in La Serena on the coast. Quiroga was elected, at least as temporary governor, by the Santiago cabildo primarily because he was in residence. He was, however, one of the most popular men in the colony. Villagra, the most blood-thirsty of the lot,

was engaged in military operations in the south against the Araucanians. Ultimately, he would be victorious over the other pretenders.³⁶

When he heard the news of Valdivia's death, Villagra, who had the official title of Captain General and Justicia Mayor of Concepción, Contines, and Valdivia, rode to Santiago with his men.³⁷ The city, because it was loyal to Quiroga, was prepared to resist the southern intruders. The citizens followed Quiroga's wishes, however, and greeted Villagra warmly and without trouble. The Captain apparently assisted his cause by campaigning among the soldiers camped in the city and paid them off with money and favors.³⁸ In the end, Quiroga's patience was successful. Villagra, realizing that his property and Indians were in the south anyway, did not press any demands on the city other than requesting assistance for the war.³⁹

Scarcely had the Quiroga-Villagra confrontation been settled peacefully, however, when Aguirre sent his son Hernando and sixteen soldiers as emissaries to the city. Hernando attempted to post his soldiers at the parish house, but Villagra and his 200 veterans were too much for the little band which was disarmed. Francisco Aguirre was angered by this turn of events and rode to Santiago to confront Villagra. The old priest Gonzalez Marmolejo intervened at this point, however, and the disputants were obliged to have their argument arbitrated by the Real Audiencia of Lima.⁴⁰

As a consequence of the settlement, the two rivals returned to their respective camps -- Aguirre to La Serena and Villagra to the southern war zone. Finally, the Crown acted by ignoring the local competition and named Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, only twenty years old, as Valdivia's successor. Villagra graciously accepted the decision in public, but according to his letters, bitterly resented his humiliation in private.⁴¹

Villagra had more important things to do, however, than to fight for the leadership of the colony. Lautaro and his band had attacked Penco, killed several Spaniards, and were now threatening Santiago itself. In April, Villagra and his 106 Spanish soldiers and 400 Indian friends located Lautaro's camp near Mataquito. Losses on both sides were enormous during the ensuing battle, but Lautaro's death ended the immediate threat to Santiago.⁴²

Don García (1557-1561), the son of the Peruvian Viceroy, meanwhile, took over the reins of government. He journeyed from Lima to Santiago, but stayed there for only a few days. In fact, much to the displeasure of the Santiago citizenry, Don García did not return to the old capital during the first three years of his government.⁴³ Santiago, thus, was the capital of the colony in name only. In reality, the real power resided with the army in the south. Don García, in any case, preferred to stay with his soldiers rather than remain encamped in comfort.

As a consequence of this life-style, Concepción became the real seat of government.⁴⁴ Santiago was the capital from 1541 until 1565, when King Philip II decided to install an audiencia in Concepcion. It was formerly located there in 1567, but only remained until 1575. From that time until 1609, the Audiencia of Santiago was preeminent.⁴⁵

When Don García finally returned to Santiago, he met his constituents in the parish house -- still the only stone building in the city. Spanish troops moving to the front in the south also quartered in the city from time to time, but that is as close to political and military action that Santiago came. Pedro Cortes Monroí, in his letters, noted that his detachment of 500 soldiers arrived in Santiago at about the same time as the new governor.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it is quite apparent that from the time of Don García until the end of the century, the problems of Santiago were secondary to the war.⁴⁹

Following Don García's recall in 1561, Francisco de Villagra was able to gain the governorship. He held the post only briefly, however, as he died in Concepcion in 1563.⁴⁸ During his tenure in office, Santiago continued to decline in political importance. In 1563, however, the Santiago citizenry were almost back in the thick of fighting when an Indian advance threatened areas near the city. The danger finally passed, and life in the city returned to normal.⁴⁹ In the meantime, Pedro de Villagra

succeeded to his father's position, and continued to press the offensive in the south until 1565 when he was recalled by the Peruvian Viceroy.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, back in Santiago, Rodrigo de Quiroga (1565-1567) also learned the virtue of patience as he too was given the opportunity to be governor. The popular Quiroga should be considered as the true civil founder of the city as he did much to end the military encampment lifestyle.⁵¹ Vicuña Mackenna comments that Quiroga's stamp was on everything pertinent to the life of the city including the economic and social activities. During Quiroga's brief leadership of the colony, the extent of his belief in democratic participation in local government can be seen in the fact that the cabildo met 75 times, whereas under Valdivia's twelve-year tenure, it met 156 times.⁵² Quiroga was recalled to Lima in 1567, and the Real Audiencia of Concepción was created with Don Melchor Bravo de Saravia as the President of the Tribunal from 1568 until 1575. The tribunal was ultimately succeeded by another Quiroga administration, but that development is beyond the limits of this study.⁵³

Meanwhile, to return to non-political developments in the Santiago area, a gold discovery was made north of the city at Chospa in 1557. With the unveiling of these riches, the colony experienced a mini-economic boon and was able to make some significant economic improvements. Most

of the money was used to increase the domestic cattle herds in the Santiago area. In fact, it was estimated that 2,000 cows were imported in 1558 alone. By 1556, a great number of cattle buyers were already located in the city because production was greater than the colony's need and some supplies could be exported. Despite the increased supply of meat, however, there was still no official meat market in the city until 1567, and even then fresh meat was only available twice a week.⁵⁴

At the same time as meat production was increasing, wheat and other grains were produced in greater quantities also. By 1575, in fact, wheat was being exported to Peru. All of the farms in the Santiago area had increased production, and Chile's fame as a fertile agricultural land was spreading.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, other services in the city were either being improved or were increasing. The first pharmacy was opened by Francisco Bilbao in 1557, and the cabildo promptly passed a law prohibiting doctors from owning pharmacies. The law was enacted because there were so many medical charlatans coming into the colony.⁵⁶ A doctor named Castro is acknowledged as being the first physician in the colony in 1551. He was reportedly hired to staff the city hospital founded by Governor Valdivia.⁵⁷ In reality, there was no permanent doctor in the city to staff it until 1566. The great local scandal during

these early years, thus, proved to be the many medical quacks that tried to pass themselves off as doctors.⁵⁸

The Spanish were very much concerned with educating their children -- whether mestizo or pure Spanish. Again, the colony's poverty at first prohibited local subsidation of mass education. Children were tutored in the Spanish language, however, and girls received instruction in cooking and sewing while their brothers learned weaponry.⁵⁹

The first attempt to organize higher education occurred in 1567, when the Church petitioned the Crown to establish a seminary in Imperial. The idea was rejected, however, because the Crown felt that Imperial was too close to the fighting against the Indians. The first school in Santiago, meanwhile, was organized by the mestizo parish priest, Juan Blas, who located his grammar school within the cathedral.⁶⁰

Spanish women began to arrive in the colony in the 50s to join the illustrious Inés de Suárez. Dona Inés had already been presiding over the social life of the city and had instructed many Indian and mestiza maidens in the finer things in life. These girls had already been integrated into Spanish society. Among the new arrivals was Marina de Gaete, Pedro Valdivia's widow, and her sister Doña Catalina. These women were very active in Church affairs, and were probably instrumental in originating the cult of the Virgin de la Soledad in the city.⁶¹

Overall, life in Santiago could best be described as simple -- almost primitive with few happy diversions. The Spaniards arrived in the country with their culture, but the war and the problems involved in day to day living did not allow for culture refinements. There were diversions such as fiesta days, however, and, of course, no one worked on Sunday. On these occasions, the women of the city dressed in their best clothes, particularly different colored velvets. Furniture was also improved and the few rude pieces of the early days were replaced to hand crafted productions. Music was also brought from Spain and Peru and was quickly adopted and modified by the mestizo majority. Indian music or an adaptation was revived and also used for entertainment.⁶²

Despite these overall improvements, however, the best estimate is that even at the end of the century, there were only 170 houses in the city. The population estimate is that there were not more than 500 Spaniards and more than 2,000 mestizos and Indians.⁶³ In 1575, the Spanish population was obviously less, although about 2,500 Spaniards had presumably passed through the city on the way to the front.⁶⁴ In any case, Santiago was still classified as a poor city even at the close of the century. Materially, it was reported to be inferior to the little city of Melipilla.⁶⁵ Even Alonso González de Nájera complained in 1607 that, although Santiago had

many beautiful houses, it still resembled a military camp with all of the soldiers stationed there.⁶⁶

Thus, as the first thirty years of the city's existence drew to a close, there was no longer any doubt in the minds of the citizenry that the city would survive. The death of Quiroga in 1580 was considered to be a calamity by many of the old timers, but civil law and order had been firmly established and the process of development could not be reversed. Social problems were the next consideration, and these will be discussed in the next chapter.

NOTES

- ¹Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 404.
- ²Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y critica de Santiago, p. 16.
- ³Valdivia to Carlos V, September 25, 1551, reprinted in Vicuña Mackenna, Ibid., pp. 20-22.
- ⁴Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 55.
- ⁵William L. Schurz, This New World: The Civilization of Latin America (New York, 1964), p. 343.
- ⁶Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y critica de Santiago, p. 27.
- ⁷Ibid., p. 28.
- ⁸Ibid., p. 29.
- ⁹Tomas Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI, constitucion de la propiedad urbana y noticias biograficas de sus primeros pobladores, Anales de la Universidad de Chile, No. 116 (Santiago, 1905), p. 26.
- ¹⁰Ibid., p. 27.
- ¹¹McBride, op. cit., p. 63.
- ¹²Ibid., p. 74.
- ¹³Ibid., p. 72.
- ¹⁴Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 121.
- ¹⁵Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 121-122.
- ¹⁶Julio Alemarte, La regulacion economica en Chile durante la colonia (Santiago, 1937), p. 7.
- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 29.
- ¹⁸Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 124.
- ¹⁹Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 125.

- 20 Alemparte, La regulación económica, p. 40.
- 21 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 129.
- 22 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 139.
- 23 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, pp. 242-243.
- 24 Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Francisco de Villagra, 1561-1563, p. 300.
- 25 Barros Arana, op. cit., p. 140.
- 26 Alejandro Fuensalida Grandón, La evolución social de Chile, 1541-1810 (Santiago, 1906), p. 363.
- 27 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, p. 244.
- 28 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 145.
- 29 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 248-249.
- 30 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 144.
- 31 Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 73.
- 32 Ibid., p. 74.
- 33 Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 112.
- 34 Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 75.
- 35 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 122-123.
- 36 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, p. 258.
- 37 Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile sin gobernador, 1554-1557, pp. 9-11.
- 38 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Descubrimiento y conquista de Chile (Santiago, 1862), pp. 353-356.
- 39 Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile sin gobernador, 1554-1557, pp. 107-110.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 211-223; 327-347.
- 41 Amunátegui, Descubrimiento y conquista de Chile, pp. 357-363.

- ⁴² Pedro de Córdoba y Figueroa, Historia de Chile, Colección de Historiadores de Chile, Vol. 2 (Santiago, 1862), pp. 90-95.
- ⁴³ Crescente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Don García de Mendoza, 1557-1561, p. 452.
- ⁴⁴ Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, Historia de Chile desde el descubrimiento hasta el año 1575 (Colección de Historiadores de Chile, Vol. 2) (Santiago, 1862), pp. 66-73.
- ⁴⁵ C.H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (New York, 1947), p. 88.
- ⁴⁶ Domingo Amunátegui Solar, Un soldado de la conquista de Chile (Santiago, 1898), p. 5.
- ⁴⁷ Frias, op. cit., pp. 73-80.
- ⁴⁸ Crescente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Francisco de Villagra, 1561-1563, pp. 1-37.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 455.
- ⁵⁰ Frias, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
- ⁵¹ Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, p. 184.
- ⁵² Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 94.
- ⁵³ Frias, op. cit., p. 81. See also Góngora Marmolejo, Historia de Chile, pp. 166-171. Saravia followed his predecessors by basing his government in Concepcion.
- ⁵⁴ Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 123.
- ⁵⁵ Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 97.
- ⁵⁶ Barros Arana, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 141-142.
- ⁵⁷ Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandón, Historia del desarrollo intelectual de Chile, 1541, 1810 (Santiago, 1903), p. 423.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 421-428. See also Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 97.
- ⁵⁹ Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, p. 278.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 277.

⁶¹Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 104.

⁶²Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 2, pp. 252-257.

⁶³Ibid., p. 247.

⁶⁴Domingo Amunátegui Solar, Formación de la nacionalidad chilena (Santiago, 1943), p. 11.

⁶⁵Domingo Amunátegui Solar, La sociedad de Santiago en el siglo diez y siete (Santiago, 1937), p. 53.

⁶⁶González de Nájera, op. cit., p. 12.

CHAPTER V
RACE RELATIONS: GENERAL

Although politics and economics certainly have a place in Chilean colonial history, the greatest single factor affecting the development of the country was the interaction of people -- particularly the creation of a mestizo society from the original Spanish and Indian base. As an introduction to this phenomenon, certain definitions have to be derived so that a useful discussion can be conducted.

Magnus Mörner's Race Mixture in the History of Latin America is the classic study in the field of race relations and his terminology is an excellent introduction for this chapter. According to Mörner, the most important definition is that of the word race. Properly speaking, he says, the word race should be reserved to designate one of the great divisions of mankind sharing well-defined characteristics, or populations characterized by the frequency in which certain genes appear. Since the physical appearance may partly reflect the environment, the hereditary composition of the genotype is what matters.¹ We have already seen the differentiation of the racial characteristics of Spaniards and Indians in earlier chapters.

Mörner continues that miscegenation or race mixture in itself is really of limited interest. Its only importance lies in its intimate relationship with two social

processes: acculturation, the mixture of cultural elements, and assimilation, or the absorption of one people into another's culture. Miscegenation, therefore, could occur rather easily. What is really important, however, is the degree of acculturation and assimilation that occurred between the races. This factor would lead to either a predominantly mestizo culture in some areas, or one that was separately Spanish and Indian in others.²

The adjustment of the "mixed blood - mestizo" to the environment and the acceptance of him by the ruling class became another factor. In this case, one measuring stick of mestizo acceptance or the degree of discrimination against him is the scale of vertical social mobility. One would expect, therefore, to find less social discrimination in a social climate that accepted mestizos according to their class of origin -- their birthright.³ This was certainly true in Chile for the period 1540 to 1575, and was probably also a fact at least in the beginning of most of the other colonies.

These definitions and thoughts aside, let us turn to the conquest of the New World itself -- in general racial terminology, the conquest of indigenous women. From the very beginning of this process, Spanish and Portuguese chroniclers described the beauty of Indian maidens. In Chile, according to Encina, the same thoughts prevailed especially in regard to the southern central valley Indians,

who were described as being lighter in skin color than the Peruvian Indians.⁴ Other descriptions of west coast Indians, however, were equally enthusiastic particularly that of the Coyas or Inca nobility.⁵

The securing of women was accomplished through marriage, concubinage, or rape. Encina credits the encomienda system as a factor in the creation of mestizaje because of the proximity that occurred between the conquerors and the conquered.⁶ The institution of Indian slavery was a factor in Mexico and Peru in the early days, but it was prohibited by the New Laws of 1542 and gradually disappeared in most places except Chile where it was reintroduced in 1608 as a control tool directed against the Araucanians.

The rape and concubinage factors could possibly be overdone because many of the Indians were simply unaware in many cases of the relationship between intercourse and reproduction. In addition, there is good reason to believe that the women complied with the desires of the conquistadores because it was the natural sequence of life as patterned in the past by one tribe conquering another. Moreover, the Spaniards may have appeared physically different and attractive to the women, especially if their treatment by the Spaniards was better than that offered by their tyrannical Indian husbands. The tremendous male-female Indian population imbalance may have been a factor here.

The Indian men had been killed or exiled to the mines. Thus, the women had no other sexual outlet except the Spaniards.⁷ Finally, the Spaniards often obtained women as gifts or tokens of friendship from the various Indian chiefs. The Indians viewed this process as a means of allying themselves with the Spaniards, and the progeny created by the union brought about an extended family relationship not unlike the Spaniards own godfather kinsmanship.⁸

Regardless of the process, the Spanish conqueror lived his life surrounded by women. The Chilean conquerors, for example, had their yanaconas -- including women -- carrying baggage and supplies from Peru. Also included in the retinue were free servants, camp followers, and any native woman that caught his eye during the trek from Cuzco. Francisco Aguirre, who officially recognized at least fifty mestizo sons, best stated the Spanish attitude toward sex with the Indians when he declared, "the service rendered to God in producing mestizos is greater than the sin committed in the same act."⁹

During the combat in the south, following the founding of Santiago, many of the new Spanish military recruits suffered the same fears and trepidations of generations of successive soldiers over their future. In this hostile environment, pleasure was a rare commodity and satisfaction was most often accomplished in the arms of a native woman.

Indiscriminate sexual relationships, therefore, became a way of life.¹⁰

Intermarriage was also a contributing factor to race mixture and was specifically endorsed by the Crown in 1501. In this case, the Crown stated that Indian women should not be held against their wishes, and that marriage should be voluntary on both sides.¹¹ The Spaniards viewed marriage simply as a means to legitimize their offspring in many cases, but there is no doubt that many Indian wives performed capably as partners, lovers, and companions particularly in frontier settlements. In the Chilean situation, with its homestead and agricultural emphasis, Indian women -- either as wives or concubines -- were a necessary fixture of the home. The legal bases for their marriage relationship was the Crown's 1516 order for conquerors to marry the daughters of Indian chiefs, and the other was the 1539 directive that encomenderos should marry natives within three years or send to Spain for their wives. Obviously, the latter path was improbable in Chile where female hardiness was a necessity.¹²

The result of miscegenation -- the mestizo -- in general, fared well throughout the New World in the first generation, particularly if he was a product of a marriage relationship or had been legitimized by his father. The mestizos of this group also identified with their paternal background and were able to inherit their fathers' property,

even an encomienda grant. In Chile, many of the first generation mestizos were active in the army fighting against the Araucanians in the south. As late as 1583 -- certainly the second generation of Chilean mestizaje -- in a letter from the Governor of the colony to the Crown, the Governor acknowledged the receipt of a Royal Decree restricting the rights of mestizos. The Governor referred to the fact that there were 150 mestizos in the army, most of them sons of conquistadores. Without them, Chile would have been lost, he exclaimed: "I should pray to God that there were as many good people among those sent to us from Spain as there are among those mestizos."¹³

So far in this discussion, the role of the Negro has been mostly omitted. This is not an oversight. There were Negroes in Chile, but their numbers were few, and they never constituted a significant racial factor. (This does not mean that individual Negroes did not contribute to Chilean colonial history. For example, Captain Juan Baltra -- a Negro settler -- became a legendary figure during his one-man war against the Araucanians.¹⁴) In many cases, Negroes were a social factor, however, and some discussion of their legal status would be useful at this point.

The original unofficial pattern simply broke society down into two categories: Spaniards and Indians. The Spanish group included Peninsular Spaniards (gauchupines

in Chile), criollos or American-born Spaniards, and legitimate mestizos. The Indians were subjects of the Crown and classified as free vassals. The chiefs were granted the noble rank of hidalgo, but more often than not, they were included in the free vassal category. Theoretically, therefore, Indian society was put on a par with the Spaniards. In actuality, the Indians' legal status was governed not only by his own leaders and customs, but also by his Spanish superiors of whatever rank. Thus, his liberties and obligations were designated specifically and freedom of movement in general was restricted.¹⁵

The other group considered to have special status was that of the Negro slaves. These people had already earned certain rights because of the long-term practice of slavery on the Peninsula. Moreover, the laws and regulations regarding their treatment and their own well being had long been spelled out. Finally, in addition to these certain and specific rights, they could be manumitted under certain conditions. Obviously, because of the preferential treatment accorded to the Negroes in most cases, the Spaniards did their best to keep them apart from the Indians. The Spaniards claimed that the Negroes either bullied or were a corrupting influence on the natives, and laws were passed to restrict Negro-Indian racial contact.¹⁶

As far as the mestizos were concerned, the first legal restriction of their rights was decreed in 1549, "no

Mulatto nor mestizo or person who is born out of wedlock may be allowed to have encomienda Indians." According to Möerner, therefore, the words "mestizo" and "illegitimate" had become synonymous.¹⁷ Of course, this situation did not prevail in Chile which was still in the early stage of conquest and colonization. As described in the earlier chapter on land distribution, mestizos were still an important factor in the development of the country. In most of the colonies, however, the mestizos' relative position in society was beginning to become more and more restricted. They were excluded from their positions of Protector of Indians, Notary Public, and Chief of the Tribe. In 1568, they were denied ordainment, but this law was later rescinded and "legitimate" mestizos could serve in the priesthood.¹⁸

Mestizo vagrancy also became a problem in the early days of the various colonies because many of the mixed breeds became victims of acculturation, and as outcasts could not participate in either Spanish or Indian society. They essentially became 16th century street people, homeless and ignored. This situation brought about restrictions prohibiting mestizo vagrants from living among the Indians as recorded in the laws of 1536 and 1563. In addition, as cited earlier, Negro overseers at first (1541), overseers in general, but particularly mestizos (1550), and finally encomenderos themselves (1563) were banned from living with

their Indians.¹⁹ Of course, the reason for all of this was the general reduction of the Indian population, and the increasing rural disorders resulting from vagrancy. In general, the Indians and most mestizos within the Indian society were happy to be left alone, but the laws more or less forced all mestizos to live within Spanish society where in many cases they were uncomfortable.²⁰

Finally, no general discussion of race relations would be complete without a reference to social stratification and the correspondence of ethnic terms to defined strata within the social structure. According to Mörner, the legal condition and the social status of the "castas" was as follows:

A. Legal Condition	B. Social Status
1. Spaniards	1. Peninsular Spaniards
2. Indians	2. Criollos
3. Mestizos	3. Mestizos
4. Free Negroes, Mulattos, Zamboes	4. Mulattoes, Zamboes, Free Negroes
5. Slaves	5. Slaves
	6. Indians

Obviously, the socioethnic groups fulfilled different socioeconomic and occupational functions. In general, Peninsular Spaniards performed the role of government bureaucrats and merchants; the criollos were large land owners; mestizos were artisans, shopkeepers, and tenants;

Mulattoes were urban manual workers; and Indians were rural workers within their own society or unskilled hands for the Spaniards.²² There were variations to this picture, but, in general, it is correct.

Eventually, the different "castas" were separated by other means such as segregated public rooms, churches, public schools, and seating arrangements at public functions. In addition, guilds, cofradias, consulados, universities, etc., practiced their own kind of discrimination. All of these separations occurred more or less after the 16th century, however, and are not pertinent to this study. The basic model of social stratification should be kept in mind and compared to the Chilean example.

NOTES

¹Magnus Möerner, Race Mixture in the History of Latin America (Boston, 1967), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, pp. 83-84.

⁵Pedro Pizarro, Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru (New York, 1921), Vol. 2, p. 406.

⁶Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 402.

⁷Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 39-40.

⁸Möerner, op. cit., p. 23.

⁹José T. Medina, Historia del Tribunal de Santa Oficio de la Inquisición en Chile (Santiago, 1952), p. 85.

¹⁰Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Don García de Mendoza, 1557-1561, pp. 140-144.

¹¹Moerner, op. cit., p. 37.

¹²Ibid.

¹³José T. Medina, Colección de documentos inéditos de Chile, Vol. 3, pp. 268-269.

¹⁴Schurz, op. cit., p. 177.

¹⁵Möerner, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 44. See also Tomas Thayer Ojeda, "Resena histórico-biográfica de los eclesiásticos en el descubrimiento y conquista de Chile," Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, Nos. 37 and 38, 1920-1921.

¹⁹Möerner, op. cit., p. 46.

²⁰Ibid., p. 47.

²¹Ibid., p. 60.

²²Ibid., p. 61.

CHAPTER VI
RACE RELATIONS: SANTIAGO

My own search for additional material in the Chilean National Library to be used in constructing a social model for the colonial period was relatively unsuccessful. Fortunately, Luis de Rou y Ursua in his El reino de Chile, 1535 - 1810, J.T. Medina in his Diccionario biográfico colonial de Chile, and Tomas Thayer Ojeda in his Formación de la sociedad chilena y censo de la población de Santiago en los años 1540 a 1565, have provided colonial historians with an excellent collection of raw data. All collections were compiled from material located in the Archivo de la Real Audiencia de Santiago, the Archivo Antiguo de la Biblioteca Nacional, the Archivos de Indias de Sevilla, the Archivo Nacional de Chile, the Archivo del Arzobispado de Santiago, the Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, and the Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile. This information could be analyzed by using computer techniques, and family relationships and marriage relationships for several generations could be determined.

There are many problems involved in using this raw data, however. The first is that many of the Spaniards listed never lived in Santiago. Many others lived in the

city only a short time, then moved to the south, settled in Tucuman, or migrated to a coastal area in the north. Finally, there is a confusion of names in colonial society. As Vicuña Mackenna comments, "the genealogical study of Chile is a virtual tower of Babel."¹ The greatest problem, however, is that there were so many mestizo children produced by the conquerors -- legitimate and illegitimate -- that many decided to make up their own names after rivers, mountains, etc., or claimed kinship with one of the conquerors.²

The fifty legitimate sons of Francisco Aguirre are a case in point. One other example is the situation of Juan Rodufo Lisperguer who was married three times and produced twenty children. From his first wife, Maria de la Torre y Machado, there were four children -- Pedro Lisperguer Betembergue, Fermín de Lisperguer y Machado, Aquedo Flores Lisperguer, and Maria Clara de Velasco. From the second wife, Catalina de Irarrazabal y Andia, he had nine children -- seven sons and two girls. Almost all of them carried the family name Andia except the oldest girl who was named Antonia de Velasco y Estrada. His third wife was Inés de Aguirre y Cortes, and his children from her added more family names. At the end of the 17th century, therefore, the descendants of Juan Lisperguer had ten different family names including Lisperguer, Flores, Velasco, Betembergue, Machado, Estrada, Irarrazabal, and Andia.³

Adding to the family name problem is the fact that the conquerors of Chile had outstanding longevity and consequently outlived several wives. In fact, of the men who journeyed to Chile with Valdivia, one lived more than 100 years, six from eighty and ninety, nineteen from seventy and eighty, and twenty-three from sixty and seventy. A most unusual record for those perilous times.⁴

The problems of tracing a genealogical chart aside, some sort of social model has to be constructed as clearly resembling the Santiago situation as possible. Basically, their pre-Santiago status notwithstanding, one would suppose that the original conquerors would constitute the colonial aristocracy as long as they held encomiendas and had a solar in the city. Of the original 150 men and one woman in Valdivia's band, more than half were either killed by Indians, executed for crimes, died another type of violent death or left the country. The remainder -- as cited before -- lived out their lives in the colony in one capacity or another and they are the primary interest for the social model.⁵

The Spanish regional background for all of these conquerors was as follows:

Audalusians-----	26 percent
New Castilians-----	16 percent
Extremadurans-----	14 percent
Leons-----	13 percent

Old Castilians-----	11 percent
Galicians, Valencians, Catalans, Navarros, Aragonese, Asturians, and Canary Islanders-----	12 percent
Foreigners-----	8 percent

According to an analysis of the Chilean situation by Francisco Frias, the Audalusians, old Castilians, and the Extremadurens (56%) formed the first Santiago aristocracy. The old Castilians and the Leons (24%) gravitated to the provinces where they formed the well to do class.⁷

In any case, if these men, in one degree or another, formed the aristocracy of the country, where did the other inhabitants fit in? According to Thayer, these original Spaniards sired a total of 226 "legitimato" mestizo children. Thayer calculates that each Spaniard was responsible for an average of one mestizo child per year. This rate would have led to the production of more than 20,000 mestizos by the year 1565, by which time only 1,500 Spaniards had settled in the whole colony, and probably not more than 500 lived in Santiago. In addition by 1565, the mestizo sons and daughters of the conquerors were of child-producing age themselves and began to contribute to the population mixture.⁸

All of the figures mentioned, in fact, may be too low. According to Encina, who quotes Ovalle's calculations of 1642, fertile Araucanian women usually produced an average of four sons in their lifetime. Probably, an equal number of daughters were born indicating that each Indian woman

may have had as many as 10 children in her lifetime.⁹ Of course, the high rate of infant mortality reduced this total considerably. Encina then estimates that approximately 40,000 mestizos were born between 1542 and 1598.¹⁰ This figure is contrasted with the number of Spanish male arrivals in the colony between 1540 and 1598 -- 1,600.¹¹ The situation, by any estimate, was one in which the number of mestizos was increasing rapidly, the number of pure Indians was decreasing at a fast rate because of a typhus epidemic and the natural depopulation associated with overwork. The mestizo became the cement holding the population together.

The problem of creating a population cross section for Santiago, therefore, is very complex. What I have done, in effect, is to develop an index biography of the original 150 Spaniards and their descendants in order to catalog the mestizo progeny of the original group by profession, legal office attained, property owned, or notoriety. This whole process essentially is an analysis determining the status position of the various individuals. The system is a variation of that developed by Stephanie Blank in her study of 17th century Caracas. Basically, her method measures individuals by various economic, political, and social factors such as possession of land grants or *encomienda* Indians, formal political power, and social prominence.¹² In Chile, the system has to be extended to include military rank.

My exercise, therefore, fundamentally consists of deciding if the mestizo son or daughter of the original conqueror and their descendants either maintained his or her father's position in society, declined in status, or rose above the founding father in prominence. This supposes that all mestizos had an equal opportunity to achieve importance -- a condition that is simply not true. Many were endowed with more intelligence than others. Some had greater fighting ability. And some had greater luck or a more famous or well-to-do father. In any case, the following selected biographic sketches and genealogical development of those conquerors having mestizo children illustrate the place of mestizo aristocratic progeny in Santiago society. All sketches do not have to be perused, and this section can be treated more or less as an annex. It is important, however, to note the relative position of the mestizos vis-a-vis their fathers and their Spanish brothers and sisters. Another theme can be developed by noting the location of family houses during the generations. As a general rule, the more prominent a man became in colonial society, the closer he moved his family to the central plaza. A convenient locater map is provided as an annex to test this theory.

Sketches

Francisco de Aguirre - Aguirre was born in Spain in 1508, and was a noted caballero by the time he arrived in

Chile with Valdivia. He was named alcalde ordinario of the first Santiago cabildo, and served in this position again in 1545 and 1549. He was named regidor in 1542, 1544, 1546, 1547, and factor real 1541-1543. In 1544, he became Governor of Tucuman. He was married in Talavera de la Reina in 1527 to Maria de Torres y Meneses. Their children were General Hernando de Aguirre, who arrived in Chile in 1553 and initially settled in La Serena; the Maestre de Campo, Valeriano de Aguirre; Constanza de Meneses, the wife of the conqueror Juan Jufre; and Isabel de Aguirre, the wife of the conqueror Francisco de Godoy.¹³

Aguirre acknowledged, in addition to these children, more than 50 legitimate mestizo descendants. The most important was Captain Marco Antonio Aguirre who lived in Santiago in 1558. His father named him vecino encomendero of Santiago de Estero. Later, he moved his family to La Serena and Copiapó where he was awarded the title Captain and given a vineyard as a reward for his service in the southern war.¹⁴ His importance is in the fact that, although he was a mestizo, he could receive an encomienda and could aspire roughly to the same social level as his father's legitimate Spanish children. Don Francisco and his family, Spanish and mestizo, lived in block two on the Plaza Mayor in Santiago.¹⁵

Francisco de Arteaga - Arteaga was the hidalgo son of Juan de Aluna and originated from Legorreta in Guipuzcoa.

He assisted in the founding of Santiago and was regidor of the city in 1542. He maintained his encomienda when Valdivia reduced the number in the Santiago area. He died in the city in 1545. His mestizo son, Melchor de Arteaga, lived in the city and became a monk at the church of San Francisco.¹⁶

Juan Bohón - Bohón was a hidalgo of German origin who arrived in Peru in 1534. He was with Valdivia during the trek to the south, and served as Regidor of Santiago's first cabildo in 1541. Later, he assisted in the founding of La Serena, and was killed near there in the Copiapó Valley in 1548. His mestizo son Juan was named alcalde mayor of mines in the Santiago and La Serena areas in 1579. Juan also served in the army in the southern war before dying in 1591.¹⁷ His residence in the city was block 66, solar two.¹⁸

Juan de Cabrera - Cabrera was born in 1478 and served under Pizarro in Peru. He joined Valdivia later in the conquest of Chile. In 1553, he moved to Concepción and became an encomendero vecino of that city. He was killed, however, two years later during an Indian uprising. His mestizo son Hernando was born in 1539 in Peru. Hernando was one of the first military men to return to Concepción after the disaster of 1555 and buried his father. He became an encomendero of Osorno in 1562, and later of Santiago. He was named Captain and corregidor of Concepción

in 1590, and died in 1612.¹⁹ Juan Cabrera's mestiza daughter, Ana, in 1566, married Francisco Sanchez de Merlo, a noted ecclesiastic, who had come to Santiago in 1553.²⁰

Alonso Caro - Caro was a member of Aguirre's original troop from Peru. He was a resident of Santiago until 1549 when he was killed by Indians near the city. His mestizo son Juan was born between 1539 and 1541 and served as a soldier in the southern war. He lived in Santiago in 1564, but later moved to Concepción where he had an encomienda.²¹ He married Luisa de Cardenas, the daughter of Alonso and Leonor Galiano. (Leonor was a freed Moorish slave.) Luisa herself had been secretly married to Pedro Guerra who died in 1563. She married Domingo de Onate in 1561 while still married to Guerra.²² Pedro de Villagra was later accused of affirming this marriage of his friend Onate despite the fact that Luisa was already married.²³ In any case, although there is no record, Luisa must have been a beautiful woman because there were always suitors after her charms.

Luis de Cartagena - Cartagena was born in Granada in 1513. He arrived in Lima in 1537, and left Cuzco with Valdivia in 1540. He served in the expedition as writer and secretary. In 1557, he moved from Santiago to La Serena where he was given an encomienda of Indians. He then married the mestiza, Isabel de Zurbano, possibly the daughter of the conqueror Juan de Zurbano. Their son

Andrés de Cartagena was a soldier and occupied a chacra in the Santiago area. One of his sons, Captain Juan de Cartagena, had a large estancia near San Antonio in the next generation.²⁴ Luis de Cartagena's daughter Ana married Juan Paez, one of Aguirre's companions in Tucuman. Paez later lived in La Serena where he was regidor and alcalde ordinario. The Paez children later married into the famous García de Cáceres and Godoy families.²⁵

Alonso de Cordoba - Cordoba was born in 1508. He was one of the founders of Santiago and one of the city's first vecino encomenderos. In 1550, he returned to Spain where he was named a member of the nobility by the King. He arrived back in Santiago in 1555 and served the city as regidor in 1556, 1559, 1561, 1563, 1564, 1568, 1572, 1573, and 1580. He was also alcalde ordinario in 1559, 1562, and 1581, and procurador in 1537. He was married to Olalla de Merlo de Valdepenas and had two children: Captain Alonso de Córdoba and Luisa de Cordoba. He also had three other children including Captain Juan de Córdoba, a mestizo born between 1544 and 1546. Captain Juan married Dona Jerónima de Ahumada, the mestiza daughter of Governor Agustín de Ahumada.²⁶ The family lived in block four, solar three by the year 1600.²⁷ The Ahumada's daughter, Teresa, married Captain Martínez de Vergara, a descendant of the conquistador of the same name.²⁸ Alonso's daughter, Catalina, married Pedro Lopez, a mestizo tailor living in Santiago.

Alonso was also the father of another mestiza and the mulatto Pedro de Córdoba, neither of which apparently were significant in Santiago society.²⁹

Juan Crespo - Crespo was the mestizo son of Miguel Crespo de Mazariegos and participated in Balboa's search for the Pacific Ocean in Panama. He accompanied Valdivia to Santiago in 1541. Apparently, he had a liaison with a mestiza because his son, Juan Crespo, is characterized as being either mestizo or part Indian. In any case, Governor Valdivia in 1545 allowed him to keep his father's chacra in Santiago.³⁰ He lived in block eight, solar four in the city until 1566.³¹

Gabriel de la Cruz - Cruz was born in Toledo in 1516 and accompanied Pizarro to Peru. He was with Aguirre's band during the Atacama campaign, and was rewarded for his exploits by being granted an encomienda near Santiago in 1541. He also had a chacra near the school in the location of the agricultural school today. He was named regidor of the city in 1545. Later, he was involved in Valdivia's trial as one of the Governor's accusers. As a result of this mistake in judgment, he lost his property in Santiago.³² There is no record of him having a Spanish wife, but he did have mestizo children. Among them are Beatriz de la Cruz who married Francisco Gómez de las Montañas. Francisco Gómez was the mestizo son of the conqueror Pedro Gómez. Francisco was the actuary of Cañete

in 1569, and the procurador de causas in Santiago for more than thirty years. Later, he was corregidor of the Indian towns of Aconcagua, Curimón, Putaendo, and Colima. One of his sons became a priest at the end of the century.³³

Gabriel's other daughter, Maria, married Captain Juan Alvarez de Luna, a wealthy Spaniard who arrived with twenty soldiers and their families in his own ship in 1555.

Alvarez was named maestre de campo in 1581. His son was apparently wealthy enough to donate several large estancias to the Convent of San Agustín.³⁴

Diego Delgado - Delgado is one of the interesting exceptions among the original conquerors. He arrived in Chile in 1540, and had a background as a miner rather than a soldier. He was one of the founders of Imperial, however, and a regidor of that city in 1558. He resided in Santiago in 1565. His mestizo son, Pedro, was a soldier, apparently of lower rank, and lived in Canete in 1569 and Imperial in 1601.³⁵

García Díaz de Castro - Díaz was born in 1508, and was with Almagro during the first expedition to Chile. Later, he joined with Valdivia. He was a vecino encomendero of La Serena, and held several official positions in that cabildo at various times including regidor, alcalde ordinario, and tesorero real. He was married to Doña Bartola Díaz de la Coya, the niece of the Inca of Peru and the cousin of Doña Beatriz Clara Coya, the wife of Governor Onéz de Loyola.

Their children included: Captain Ruy de Castro, who was Governor Quiroga's valet as a young man and later a vicino encomendero of La Serena. One of Díaz's other children was Catalina Díaz de Castro, who was married to Governor Gaspar de Medina.³⁶ One of the sons of this union was Garcia de Medina whose family ultimately was associated with the famous Chilean family of Martínez de Prado.³⁷ Garcia's other daughter was Dona Mayor Díaz de Castro, who was married to Juan González and two others in her lifetime.³⁸

Mateo Díez - In a case similar to that of Diego Delgado, Díez was an artisan or tradesman -- in this case a blacksmith. He was alcalde of the mines at Malga-Malga in 1550, and later an encomendero in Valdivia in 1560.³⁹ His mestizo son, Juan, was unable to duplicate his father's prominence and was a carpenter in Villerica.⁴⁰

Pero Estéban - Estéban was born in 1516 and arrived in Chile with Valdivia in 1540. He was a vecino founder of La Serena and regidor of the cabildo there in 1547. Later, he was alcalde ordinario of Concepcion (1550) and an encomendero in Imperial in 1556. He was killed by Indians in 1560.⁴¹ His mestizo son, Andres, married Magdalena de Mesa, the mestiza daughter of Juan Mesa, a citizen of Santiago.⁴²

Juan Fernández de Alderete - Alderete was born in 1503 and came to the New World in an expedition to the island of Cubagua in 1534. He joined in the expedition to Chile in

the company of Bohón and Villagra, and joined with Valdivia at Tarapaca. He was one of the original members of the Santiago cabildo and served as alcalde ordinario nine times. He was also one of the original encomenderos of Santiago and maintained his position after the 1545 reduction. In 1546, he had a chacra in Tobalaba.⁴³ In 1553, he donated his town house, which was located near Santa Lucía (block two), to the Franciscans.⁴⁴ His mistress was a Peruvian Indian, Juana Xicana. Their daughter, Inés de Alderete, was later married to Captain Juan de Barros, who had arrived in Chile in 1557, and received from his father-in-law the encomiendas of Tango, Malloco, Tobalaba, and Liqueimo. He was regidor of Santiago in 1567 and 1573, and alcalde ordinario in 1576.⁴⁵ The family lived in block twenty-six, solar three in 1607; block forty-nine, solar four in 1585; block fifty-six, solar three in 1566; and block fifty-seven, solar three in 1563.⁴⁶ One of the Barros children, Captain Juan de Barros Alderete, who lived in block sixteen, solar three in 1596, inherited all of the encomiendas and passed them on to his son Captain Juan de Barros Araya who died in 1625.⁴⁷ Juan de Barros Alderete was married to Doña María de Araya, the daughter of Captain Marcos Veas Duran and Inés de Araya. His daughter was married to another Captain.⁴⁸ The Alderete family, therefore, is certainly an example of Indian blood being diluted by subsequent marriages with Spaniards until all traces of native ancestry have been removed.

Bartolomé Flores - Flores was born in Nurenberg, Germany, in 1506 the son of Juan Bluxen and Agueda Jubert. He arrived in Lima in 1537, and journeyed to Santiago with Valdivia in 1541. He was procurador of the city in 1541, 1545, and 1547. He was also mayordomo in 1548. Flores was a carpenter by profession, and built many benches, carts, and other objects for the city government. He also owned the first mill in the Santiago area which was located north of Santa Lucía. He died in 1586.⁴⁹ His mestiza daughter, Bartola, married successively Francisco Hernández Gallego, Pedro Bonal, and Francisco de Urbina -- the first two were original conquerors.⁵⁰ Hernández was a miner at Malga-Malga where he had an encomienda. Bonal was a vecino founder of Concepción where he also had an encomienda. He was killed in the destruction of that city in 1555.⁵¹ Urbina was a caballero hidalgo who arrived in Chile in 1556. He later became a vecino encomendero of Mendoza.⁵² Flores' other daughter, Agueda de Flores, resulted from his liaison with Elvira, the daughter of Chief Talagante. Agueda married Captain Pedro Lisperguer, a caballero notorio of German background. The couple lived in block two in 1575 and Doña Agueda owned this property and block forty-seven, solar four outright by 1611.⁵³ Lisperguer had arrived in Chile in 1564, and was elected regidor of Santiago in 1566, alcalde ordinario in 1572, and regidor again in 1574 and 1576. His marriage

with Agueda de Flores is noted as the beginning of one of the most important families in colonial Chile. Among their many children were Captain Juan Rodulfo, Captain Pedro Lisperguer, Doña Maria Flores, the wife of General Juan de Cardenas y Anasco; Doña Catalina Flores (the infamous La Quintrala, who lived in block forty-seven in 1604)⁵⁴ who was married to General Gonzálo de los Rios -- their daughter, Catalina, was married to Don Alonso de Campofrío; this family lived in block forty-nine solar three in 1593 and block ninety-three in 1590;⁵⁵ and Magdalena Flores, who was married to General Pedro Ordóñez Delgadillo,⁵⁶ This family lived in block sixteen, solar one in 1590.⁵⁷ Obviously, the original Indian blood had no effect on the destination of this famous family.

Francisco Galdames - Galdames was born in 1508, and probably arrived in the New World in 1534. He accompanied Valdivia to Chile in 1548, and became a vecino fundador and encomendero of Imperial in 1558. One of his sons, apparently born of an unknown Spanish wife, was Francisco Galdames de la Vega. He was a Captain and vecino encomendero of Imperial in 1589, and maestre de campo general of the Army in 1610. His other son, Diego Galdames, married Lorenza González. Their children included Captain Juan Galdames de la Vega who married into the famous Villalobos family. Why the appellation Vega reappeared in this family is unknown, but it could indicate that Francisco Jr. was a mestizo.⁵⁸

Juan Gallegos de Rubias - Gallegos was born in 1510, and came to Santiago with Valdivia in 1540. He was a vecino encomendero of Imperial and procurador of that city as well as its regidor in 1554 and 1564, and alcalde ordinario in 1559 and 1563. He lived in block eight, solar four in Santiago in 1561.⁵⁹ His mistress was a Peruvian Indian named Juana.⁶⁰ Their children included, Juan de Rubias, an evangelical clergyman who married Dona Mencía de Acuna, the daughter of Captain Luis Barba and Dona Mencía de Torres. This particular marriage was the most notable case of a mestizo marrying a Spanish woman in Chile.⁶¹

Pedro de Gamboa - Gamboa joined Valdivia's expedition at Tarapaca and accompanied the Governor to Santiago in 1540. He apparently was one of the older members of the expedition and died in 1552.⁶² One of his mestiza daughters, Isabel de Bamboa, married Francisco de Ortega a blacksmith and shopkeeper in Santiago.⁶³ One of their children was Captain Francisco de Gamboa y Ortega, who married Doña Catalina de Artaza -- the daughter of Juanes de Artaza a regidor of Tucuman.⁶⁴ Pedro Gamboa's other daughter was married to Luis Perez de Canseco, a merchant in La Serena. One of their children later became a priest in Santiago.⁶⁵

Giraldó Gil - Gil arrived in the Indies in 1534, and came to Santiago with Valdivia in 1540. He was a tailor by profession. He married a Moorish slave, Juana de Lezcano,

who had the characteristic slave brands on her face. Gil later became a citizen of Concepción and had an encomiende of Indians in Itata. He was killed in the destruction of Concepción in 1555. His son, Giraldo, inherited his encomienda, but was himself subsequently killed in combat in 1564.⁶⁶ Gil's daughter, Barbola Gil, married Marcos Griego Seriche a carpenter in Santiago.⁶⁷ The family lived in block thirty-six, solar one from 1586 to 1607.⁶⁸ Their children included Jose Seriche, Melchor Seriche, Inés Marcela, the wife of Miguel de Utrera; Catalina Gil, and Mariana de La Rosa, who married Gonzalo Alvarez and moved into the old family homestead in 1586.⁶⁹ Gil's other daughter maintained the working class relationship of the family by marrying Vicente Jimenez, a Santiago lathe maker.⁷⁰

Juan Godínez - Godínez was born in Ubeda, Jaen, in 1517. He came to the Indies in 1532, and became a part of the Almagro expedition. Later, he joined Valdivia and took part in the founding of Santiago in 1541. He was a vecino encomendero of the city and served as regidor, procurador, and alcalde ordinario. He lived in block thirty-four, solar four in 1554, and passed the property on to his son Juan Godínez de Benavides.⁷¹ He also lived in block forty-three, solar two in 1556.⁷² He married Doña Catalina de Monsalve de la Cueva. Among their children were Captain Juan Godínez de Benavides, who inherited his father's encomienda, and

Doña Ana Mejia, the wife of General Don Alvaro de Villagra,⁷³ Godínez' mestiza daughter, Leonor Godínez, married the actuary, Juan Hurtado. Symbolic, perhaps, of this family's good standing is the fact that Doña Leonor donated block thirty-three, solar two to the Company of Jesus in 1604.⁷⁴ Hurtado served as Actuary for the city from 1561 until his death in 1595. He was also a merchant in the city and was elected regidor of the cabildo in 1581, 1587, 1592, and alcalde ordinario in 1592. The marriages of their children are probably the most illustrative of the inbreeding of Santiago society by the turn of the century. Captain Juan Hurtado married in 1597 with Doña Jerónima Justiniano and lived in block thirty-four.⁷⁵ Doña Beatriz de Hurtado married Captain Juan Perez de Cáceres. Doña Catalina de Hurtado married in 1580 with vecino encomendero, Captain Juan de Ahumada. This family lived in block four, solar three in 1635, block thirty-nine, solar one from 1588 until 1605, and block eighty-three outright until 1590.⁷⁶ Their daughter married Pedro de Contreras Aranda Valdivia and lived in bloc sixty-three in 1609. Their descendants were Don Tomas de Contreras Aranda Valdivia, Don Raimundo Contreras, and Doña Catalina de Ahumada.⁷⁷ Returning to Leonor Godínez' final daughter, Doña Angela de Hurtado, she married initially with Juan de Torres and later with Captain Andrés Hernandez de la Serna.⁷⁸ In every case, another aristocratic Santiago family was added to the Godínez-Hurtado family tree.

Juan Gómez de Almagro - Gómez was born in 1517, and came to Peru where he was a vacino encomendero of Lima. He made the trek to Chile with Valdivia, however, and became the first alguacil mayor Santiago. He was named regidor perpetuo of the cabildo in 1550, and had encomiendas of Indians at Topocalma, Palloquier, and Gualauquen. He later moved to Imperial where he became alcalde ordinario in 1554. Later, he returned to Santiago and finally traveled all the way back to Spain in 1564. He was immortalized in the poem "La Araucana." He was married to Doña Francesca de Escobedo in 1561 and had one son, Captain Juan de Rivadeneira.⁷⁹ He also had one mestizo son as a result of his liaison with a Peruvian Indian, Cecilia Palla.⁸⁰ The son, named Alvaro Gómez, became a priest in Santiago and lived in La Chimba.⁸¹

Pedro Gómez de las Montañas - Gómez was a noble, who went to the Indies before 1530, and served Alonso de Alvarado in the discovery of the Chachapoyas. In 1541, he was with Valdivia in Santiago and was wounded in a battle with the Indians. He had an encomienda at Quinei near Concepción. He was a regidor of that city and was killed in the battle of 1555. He was married to Doña Leonor de Rueda and had two children.⁸² One was Captain Alonso Gómez de Montañas, and the other was Jerónima who was married to Captain Francisco Ramírez de la Cueva. He also had a mestizo son named Francisco Gómez de las Montañas. This

mestizo was procurador de las causas in Santiago for more than thirty years and was corregidor of the Indian towns of Aconcagua, Curimon, Putaendo, and Colima. He was married to Beatriz de la Cruz, the daughter of the conqueror Gabriel de la Cruz.⁸³ The family lived in block two A, solar one in 1601; block seven, solar three from 1585 to 1605; block eighty-one, solars one and two in 1599, block 117 in 1586, and also had a solar donated to them by the cabildo in 1578.⁸⁴ Their children included Dona Micaela de Ruisenada, the wife of Gonzálo Lopez; Francisco Gómez de Ruisenada, presbiter, Diego Gómez de las Montañas; Jerónimo Gómez, and Juan Antonio de la Cruz.⁸⁵

Juan Gómez de Yévenes - Gómez was born in 1508, and came to Chile with Valdivia in 1540. He was a vecino of Imperial in 1552, Santiago 1558-1559, and a vecino encomendero of San Juan 1562-1574.⁸⁶ His mestiza daughter, Juana, was married to Juan de Contreras, who arrived in Chile in 1560. Later the family moved to Mendoza where he was named regidor in 1574 and again in 1583.⁸⁷

Juan Gonzáles - Gonzáles was born in 1518, and arrived in Chile with Valdivia in 1540. He became an alcalde ordinario of La Serena in 1554, and regidor in 1555 and 1563. He later was a vecino of Tucuman. His mestizo son, Juan, was an army lieutenant in La Serena and married a Spanish girl, Isadora de Cáceres of the influential Cáceres family.⁸⁸

Pedro González de Utrera - González arrived in Peru in 1537, and accompanied Valdivia to Santiago in 1540. He was given a chacra by the cabildo in 1546, and had an encomienda in the Santiago area. He had three mestizo children: Pedro González, Rodrigo de Utrera, both relatively unknown.⁸⁹ His daughter, Beatriz, however, was married to Bartolomé de Medina, one of the conquerors of Tucuman.⁹⁰ One of their children was Alonso González de Medina, a second lieutenant in the army.⁹¹

García Hernández - Hernández was born in 1510, and arrived in Santiago in 1540. He lived in block twenty-one, solar one in 1556, block twenty-eight, solar two in 1556, and block forty-two, solars one and three in the same year.⁹² He was mayordomo of the city in 1554, procurador in 1556, regidor in 1555, 1558, 1566, and 1568. He was married in 1560 to Isabel García, the mestiza daughter of Captain Diego García de Cáceres.⁹³ García was one of the first vecino encomenderos of Santiago and was regidor perpetuo of the city from 1550 to 1553. He held numerous other offices in the cabildo from 1553 until 1583.⁹⁴ Among García and Isabel's more important children were Captain Juan Perez de Cáceres, a corregidor of Quillota in 1602, 1607, and 1638. Perez married Beatriz Hurtado, the daughter of the contador, Juan Hurtado, and the mestiza, Leonor Godínez.⁹⁵ Another child was Doña Mariana de Cáceres, the wife of Captain Andres Hernández de la Serna, a vecino

encomendero of San Juan de la Frontera.⁹⁶ This family lived in block twelve, solar three from 1568 to 1595, and owned block thirty-one, solar two in 1616 as well as a vineyard near Santa Lucia from 1586.⁹⁷ The children from the marriage included García Hernández de Cáceres, Doña Isabel de Carvajal, an Augustinian nun, and Jerónimo Hernández, a Franciscan. Other Perez children included Juana de Cáceres, who was married to Melchor Hernández de la Serna. This family lived in block thirteen, solar one in 1610, and block forty-one, solar four in 1595.⁹⁷ Another Perez was Leonor de Cáceres, who married Diego de Cisternas, the son of Pedro Cisternas -- a vecino fundador of Concepción.⁹⁸

Francisco Hernández Gallego - Hernández was born in 1511, and arrived in Santiago in 1540. He was a minor at Malga-Malga in 1548. In 1552, he married Bartola Flores, the mestiza daughter of Bartolomé Flores. He died in 1554 with no children.⁹⁹

Pedro de Herrera - Herrera was born between 1505 and 1512. He was the mayordomo of Captain Diego de Rojas in 1533, and came to Chile with Aguirre. He held an office in the Santiago cabildo in 1545, moving later to La Serena where he was regidor for several years and alcaide ordinario in 1558. He died in 1589. He had a mestizo son, Pedro, who remained in La Serena and married the criolla, Isabel de Narvaez.¹⁰⁰ Pedro's daughter, Juana, married Juan de Gifon, a declared traitor who was exiled from Peru to Chile in

1548. Juan had a solar in La Serena in 1549, and became a regidor in the city in 1570. One of the sons of this marriage became a priest.¹⁰¹ A daughter, Juana, married Gonzalo de Toledo, a regidor of Santiago in 1593 and 1601.¹⁰²

Antón Hidalgo - Hidalgo was born between 1512 and 1515. In 1539, he was with the Diego de Rojas expedition to Tarija, and later joined Valdivia at Tarapaca. He moved from Santiago to Valdivia in 1559, and later to Imperial. He was married to Jarónima Cortes, the mestiza daughter of Leonardo Cortes, who had arrived in Chile in 1548.¹⁰³ Cortes was a navy captain, who had been directed by the Crown to search for and destroy Sir Francis Drake.¹⁰⁴ Antón Hidalgo's other children also included Captain Francisco Hidalgo Cortes, and Juan Hidalgo, who served as an interpreter with the army.¹⁰⁵

Juan Jufre - Jufre was a hidalgo from Medina de Rioseco. He was born in 1516, the legitimate son of Francisco Jufre and Candida de Montesa, the aunt of Governor Villagra's wife. He arrived in Peru in 1537, and joined Valdivia at Tarapaca for the journey to Santiago. He was elected regidor of the city in 1551, 1556, 1557, and 1560. In 1561, he was designated as Teniente Governor of Cuyo. He was corregidor of Santiago in 1561 and 1562, later becoming Teniente and Captain of the City. In addition to his military prowess and honors,

Jufre is noted for his wealth which he gained because of his entrepreneurial talents. His various business ventures included ownership of a flour mill on the Mapocho River and a bakery. In addition to several important Spanish children born from his marriage in 1555 to Constanza de Meneses, the daughter of Francisco Aguirre and Maria de Torres, he had several mestizo children.¹⁰⁶ These include Captain Rodrigo Jufre, who served more than twenty years in the army, and married Maria de Aguirre, yet another daughter of Francisco Aguirre in 1583.¹⁰⁷ The family lived in block sixteen, solar one in 1590; block fifty-four, solar four in 1615, block eighty-three, solar four in 1574, and block 113, in 1585.¹⁰⁸ Their daughter, Maria de Aguirre, married Jorge Delgadillo Barba and later Francisco Venegas de Sotomayer.¹⁰⁹

Francisco de Leon - Leon was born in 1513, and came to the Indies in 1535. He joined Valdivia in 1540, and became an encomendero in Santiago at first and later in Concepción. He was married during a subsequent trip to Spain to Maria Lopez de Ahumada and returned to Santiago in 1563 taking a job as a grave digger at the church of San Francisco.¹¹⁰ He lived in block thirty-five, solars three and four from 1556 to 1559 and in block fifty-eight, solar four until 1591.¹¹¹ His mestiza daughter, Juana Diaz de Leon, married Tomas Gallegos, a seaman of the navy of Pedro de Malta. Their children were not out of their adolescence until after 1600.¹¹²

Pedro Martín Parras - Martín was born in Extremadura in 1515. He arrived in Santiago with Valdivia and became the first concierge of the city; later the alguacil alarife, and the juez de aguas. He married Elvira Nuñez, the mestiza daughter of the conqueror, Diego Nuñez de Castro. Their daughter, Elvira Parras, was married to the surgeon Francisco García.¹¹³ Other children included Pedro Parras, who was married to Maria de Lara, Diego Nuñez, Lucia Nuñez, who was married to Diego Lopez, and Mari Nuñez, who was married to Blas Pereira.¹¹⁴ The Martín family received all of block fifty-one from the cabildo in 1562, and owned solar one outright until 1601. The family moved to block twenty-seven, solar one in 1576 and remained there until 1601. Later, block 108 was purchased.¹¹⁵

Pedro de Miranda - Miranda was a hidalgo from Navarra and was born in 1517. He served with Pizarro in Peru, and arrived in Santiago with Valdivia. He was a vecino encomendero of the city, regidor in 1550, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1558, 1563, alcalde ordinario in 1556, 1559, 1561, 1566, procurador 1549, fiel ejecutor 1550, mayordomo 1552, and alférez real in 1558 and 1568. He was married to Esperanza de Rueda and had eight children. Among them was Captain Don Pedro de Miranda, Dona Juana de Miranda, who was married to Captain Bernadino de Quiroga, and Doña Ana de Rueda, who was married to Captain Pedro Cisternas de la Serna.¹¹⁶ Miranda also had two mestizo children; Jerónimo tutored his

Spanish brother and sisters. He was married to Ana de Dos Hermanos and lived in block 107 in 1586;¹¹⁷ and Catalina de Miranda, who was married to Alonso Sánchez, one of the original conquerors of Chile who died in the destruction of Concepción in 1555. Catalina was named encomendero after her husband's death.¹¹⁸ She married Bernabe Mejía later and died with him in 1573.¹¹⁹

Alonso de Monroy - Monroy was a hidalgo from Salamanca and arrived in Peru in 1537, then making the trek to Santiago with Valdivia. He was named Teniente General of the Santiago cabildo in 1541, and served as Valdivia's emissary to Peru on several occasions. His mestizo son was named encomendero of Imperial in 1564.¹²⁰

Diego Nuñez de Castro - Nuñez came to Chile with Valdivia in 1540, and later lived in Concepción.¹²¹ He was married to an Indian named Catalina.¹²² Their mestiza daughter married the conqueror Pedro Martín Parras.¹²³

Juan Nuñez de Castro - Nuñez was a participant in the conquest of Chile. He owned a chacra in the Santiago area in 1546, and had a small encomienda. His son, Juan, was the concierge of Santiago in 1585.¹²⁴

Diego de Oro - Oro arrived in Santiago with Valdivia, and became one of the Governor's trusted companions during the journey. Later, he became the first corregidor of Concepción, and regidor perpetuo of the city until he was killed by Indians in 1553.¹²⁵ His mestiza daughter, Isabel,

married Alonso Lopez de la Arraigada, a much decorated soldier who fought in the Concepcion area after the 1555 disaster.¹²⁶ The family lived in Santiago in block forty-nine, solar one from 1565 to 1592.¹²⁷ One of the children, Jerónimo Lopez de la Arraigada, became a clergyman, and another, Doña Inés de la Arraigada married Captain Juan de Larrate and later, Captain Nicolas Perez.

Rodrigo de Quiroga - Quiroga was a hidalgo and was born in San Juan de Boime in 1512. In 1535, he arrived in Peru and later joined Aguirre's band for the trek to Santiago. He was alcalde ordinario of the city in 1548, 1558, 1560; regidor 1549, corregidor 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1558; and governor of the cabildo after Tucapel. He was interim governor of the colony from 1565 to 1567 and governor from 1575 to 1580. He married Valdivia's mistress, Inés de Suárez, in 1549.¹²⁸ They lived in block sixteen, solar three from 1556 to 1566. They also owned block forty-eight, solars three and four in 1565 and block eighty-four, which was donated to the city in 1575.¹²⁹ Quiroga's mestiza daughter, Isabel de Quiroga, married Don Pedro de Avendano, who came to Chile with Villagra's transandean expedition of 1551. He was a Captain and vecino encomendero of Canete. He was killed by Indians in 1561.¹³⁰ Isabel was then married to Martín Ruiz de Garboa, a vecino encomendero of Los Confines.¹³¹ They lived in block forty-eight, solars three and four from 1565 to 1590.¹³² Their daughter, Inés

de Gamboa de Quiroga, was married to Antonio de Quiroga, a caballero of Santiago.¹³³ One of their sons, Rodrigo, became a Dominican and lived in block forty-eight, solares three and four in 1593.¹³⁴

Gonzalo de los Ríos - Ríos was born in Naveda in 1516. He originally was involved with Pedro Sancho de Moz in the plot against Valdivia. Later, he was named vecino encomendero of Santiago, however, and maintained his encomienco when the number was reduced in 1546. He was mayordomo of the city in 1551 and 1553, procurado in 1559, regidor in 1557, 1572, 1574, 1577, and alcalde ordinario in 1579. He married Catalina, the mulatta maid of Inés de Suárez.¹³⁴ Later, this marriage was nullified and he married Maria de Encio Sarmiento of Bayona in Galicia. His son by this marriage, General Gonzalo de los Ríos, took part in the founding of Chillan and later became a vecino encomendero of Santiago.¹³⁶ He married Doña Catalina Flores Lisperguer, the daughter of Pedro Lisperguer and the niece of Chief Talagante. Their daughter married Alonso Campofrio Carvaja.¹³⁷ The family lived in block nine, solar one in 1609, and block thirty, solar one in 1603.¹³⁸

Gabriel de Salazar - Not much is known of Salazar's life except that he arrived with Valdivia in 1541. Two of his mestizo sons, Andres and Bernardo, were soldiers and the other, Juan, was a merchant in Santiago. Juan was married to Beatriz de Arriola and their son was a priest in

Santiago in 1522.¹³⁹ Their daughter married Juan Guerra, and one of their sons became the first Chilean born doctor.¹⁴⁰

Alonso Sanchez - Sanchez apparently accompanied Almagro on the first expedition to Chile. He returned with Valdivia in 1540. Later, he was a vecino fundador of Concepcion and died in the destruction of the city in 1555.¹⁴¹ He was married to Catalina de Miranda, the mestizo daughter of the conqueror Pedro de Miranda. After her husband's death, Catalina was named encomendera of Concepcion and married the conqueror Bernabe Mejia.¹⁴²

Diego Sanchez de Morales - Sanchez was born in Soria in 1514. He arrived in Peru in 1534, and was instrumental in the founding of Cuzco. He joined Valdivia's expedition to Chile in 1540, and was at the founding of Santiago in 1541. He had an encomienda of Indians in the Huasco area and was regidor of La Serena in 1549, 1550, 1552, and 1559. He was also alcalde ordinario in 1553 and 1561. He married Dona Ines de Leon de Carvajal in 1563. Their children included Captain Diego de Morales, Isabel de Morales, the wife of General Miguel Gomez de Silva.¹⁴³ This family lived in block sixteen, solar three in 1600.¹⁴⁴ Sanchez' mestizo children included Bartolome de Morales, Ana de Morales, who was married to Gaspar Amaya -- a wealthy Portuguese merchant who owned two ships, and another daughter who married Martin Alonso de los Rios.¹⁴⁵

Antonio de Tarabajano - Tarabajano was born in 1508 in Las Navas de Villafranca and arrived in Peru in 1536. He took part in the founding of Santiago in 1541, and helped in the settling of Valdivia, Villarica, and Imperial. In 1567, he led an expedition to Chiloe.¹⁴⁶ His mestiza daughter, Francisca de Tarabajano, married Agustín Briceño, who was a notary in La Serena and later a vecino encomendero in Santiago.¹⁴⁷ They lived in block twenty, solar one in 1599.¹⁴⁸ Tarabajano's other daughter, Ana, married Babiles de Arellano, the Secretary of Government and regidor of the city from 1578 to 1588. They lived in block twenty, solar two from 1590 to 1605; block 120 from 1585 to 1596; and owned block 124 in 1585.¹⁴⁹ Later, Ana married Don Francisco Ponce de Leon, a vecino encomendero of Santiago. They lived in block twenty, solar two from 1590 to 1603.¹⁵⁰

Luis de Toledo - Toledo was born in 1517 and arrived in Peru in 1539. He came to Chile in 1540, and assisted in the founding of Santiago and La Serena. He was a vecino encomendero of Concepción and later regidor perpetuo of the City. In 1580, he was named vecino encomendero of Chillan.¹⁵¹ In 1554, he married Isabel Mejía, the mestiza daughter of the conqueror Hernan Mejía Mirabal and the widow of Francisco Rodriguez de Zanora.¹⁵² Their children included sargeant major Luis Toledo Mejía, who was instrumental in the settling of Chillan and had a large estate in that area; Captain Juan de Toledo, who married Maria

de Sierra Ronquillo; Alonso de Toledo, a soldier in Canete; the priest Agustín de Toledo Mejía; Leonor Toledo, who was married to Captain José de Castro; Bernadina Toledo who was married to Captain Gómez Bravo de Laguna; and Catalina Goledo, who was married to Captain Pedro de Sanchoval.¹⁵³

Hernando de la Torre - Torre was the mestizo son of Juan de la Torre one of the conquerors of Peru. He was with Valdivia in Santiago in 1541, and later lived in La Serena.¹⁵⁴

Juan Valiente - Valiente was the Negro slave of Alonso Valiente. He accompanied Almagro on his expedition in 1535, and returned with Valdivia in 1541. In 1546, the Santiago cabildo gave him a chacra in the area. In 1550, he became an encomendero in the Santiago area, and in 1553, he became a vecino of Concepcion. He married the Negro, Juana Valdivia, in 1548 and died fighting Indians at Tacapel. His son, Pedro Valiente, inherited the encomienda, but was dispossessed by Don García de Mendoza in 1568.¹⁵⁵

Sebastian Vázquez - Vázquez was born in 1507, and arrived in Peru in 1537. He journeyed with Valdivia to Santiago in 1540, and worked in the mines at Malga-Malga in 1549, then returning to Peru. He journeyed back to Santiago in 1556, and became alcalde mayor de minas in 1564, and vecino of San Juan de la Frontera the following year.¹⁵⁶ He had three mestizo sons who lived in the Santiago area and a mestiza daughter, Ana, who married a citizen of Lima, Juan Martín.¹⁵⁷

One other Spanish aristocrat who contributed to the first family stock of Chile was Diego García de Cáceres. García was born of a hidalgo family in Cáceres in 1517. He arrived in Venezuela in 1534, fought against the Indians in Peru, and joined Valdivia at Tarapaca. He returned to Peru, however, and attempted to get more financial backing for the Chilean expedition. As a consequence, he did not arrive in Santiago until 1546. He then became a vecino encomendero of Santiago. He was also regidor perpetuo of the cabildo from 1550 to 1553, aguacil mayor in 1553, alferéz real in 1556, alcalde ordinario in 1562, and procurador in 1568. He was married to Maria Osorio who arrived in the colony from Spain in 1555.¹⁵⁸ Their daughters married Captain Ramirínez de Seravia (block thirty-nine),¹⁵⁹ Captain Juan de Rivedeneira, and Captain Juan de Ocampo de San Miguel. García also had two mestiza daughters -- Catalina de Cáceres, who married Francisco Rubio a rich Santiago businessman. The family lived in block twenty-six in 1566.¹⁶⁰ Rubio's daughter, Mariana de Cáceres, married Francisco Hernández Lancha and lived in block twenty-five, solar one from 1578 to 1599.¹⁶¹ Another daughter, Juana Rubio de Cáceres, married Captain Juan de Ahumada Gavilan.¹⁶² Two of their children became priests. They lived in block sixty-three, solar two in 1610.¹⁶³ García's other daughter, Isabel García, married the conqueror García Hernández and was the mother of Captain Juan Perez de Cáceres who perpetuated this name.¹⁶⁴

Finally, one important marriage in the colonial aristocracy was that of Gonzalo Martínez de Vergara, the illegitimate son of Francisco Martínez -- Valdivia's partner -- and the Indian Princess, Mariana Pico de Plata, to Teresa de Anumada.¹⁶⁵ This was another linking of the Martínez and Anumada families.

Mestizos in the Aristocracy

Obviously, there are great discrepancies in wealth and status even among this cross section of the original Chilean aristocracy. Many persons were not in an aristocratic social or financial status when they arrived in the country. Others were not descendants of noble Spanish families. The common ground was reached during the struggle against the Indians, the quest for food, and the encomendero status granted to most of the original conquerors. As a result, everyone started at virtually the same economic and social level. What each person did with his lands and his Indians determined his future status. It was up to his own initiative. In other words, there was very little to interfere with his financial and social advancement and, in fact, the togetherness and comradeship of the first conquerors was the important determinant.

As an example of the early social leveling process, it was well known in Peru that foreigners could achieve positions of honor and command in Chile that were denied to them in Lima. The Genoese seaman Juan Bautista Pastene

became Valdivia's captain general of the sea. Vicencio de Monte, a Milanese, became a royal treasurer of Chile and the German, Bartolomé Floras became procurador general of Santiago. The situation was such that sailors going from Lima to Chile had to oblige themselves specifically to make the return trip.¹⁶⁶

Another consideration here is the economic-sociological impact of the Chilean climate. The conquerors, who had escaped the hardships of the homeland and the southern Indian wars, naturally sought an outlet for their energy. Industry and productive work provided this outlet. Combined with the favorable climate, this industry led to a work ethic virtually unknown in the other Spanish colonies. Economic capacity, in reality, knows no racial or ethnic bounds. Thus, whether Spanish, mestizo, or Indian, there was a common bond among the most productive men in the colony.¹⁶⁷

Another important factor was that most of the men involved in the conquest were in the 25 to 35 year age range. They were certainly at a prime period of life for sexual activity, and it is quite evident that their Spanish wives, who remained behind, were soon forgotten at least in sexual matters. The hardships endured during the conquest especially the poor security situation in the south -- prevented many Spanish women from joining their husbands. Francisco Frias, in fact, estimates that there were not more than

fifty Spanish women in the colony until the latter days of the century. Therefore, the only natural way to live was with an Indian or mestiza woman.¹⁶⁸

Several conclusions can be drawn from the Spanish man - Indian woman relationship especially from the raw data provided by Thayer Ojeda. The most interesting concept, as far as Chilean history is concerned, is that the Araucanian Indian has no role as an ethnic factor in the early colonial aristocracy. The evidence is clear that most of the Indians participating in a sexual relationship with the Spanish conquerors in the Santiago area were either Peruvian yanacunas or local central valley Indians such as the Mapuches. There is no evidence that any Araucanian woman either married a Spanish conqueror or had a child legitimized by the father. The revelation is interesting in view of Francisco Encina's attempts to show that the Gothic background of the conquerors and the "quality" Araucanian Indians produced a superior Chilean race.¹⁶⁹

In the second place, in the other colonial areas the Indian spouse was soon forgotten when Spanish women appeared on the scene. There is no evidence in Chile of this occurrence. As a matter of fact, there is contrary information indicating that a Spanish conqueror married to a Spanish woman more than likely would marry a mestiza after his first wife's death. In other cases, an Indian or

nestiza woman married more than one conqueror leading one to conclude that the woman in question was socially acceptable to the community as well as being a good wife.

Despite this position as an acceptable wife, however, most Indian women simply became mistresses to the various conquerors. Not much is known of this relationship from the Spanish point of view except that women were necessary for sexual relationship, and certainly provided a diversion from more mundane matters. We do not know, however, what happened to the Indian girl after the conqueror tired of her services. We do know, however, that the children of the union were accepted by their fathers -- especially the daughters -- and presumably the children saw to their mother's comfort.

This leads us to a discussion of the mestizo's role in the aristocracy. From the evidence presented, it appears that the Spaniards doted on their mestiza daughters and immediately accepted them as being Spanish. Moreover, these girls were married later by aging conquerors -- a situation resulting in a great deal of intermarriage within the aristocracy. They were also married by newly arriving hidalgos and caballeros; thus perpetuating the Indian blood in the aristocracy.¹⁷⁰

In addition to their marriage position, these girls had a significant legal status in that they were allowed to inherit property and pass it on to their children. This

seems to be an important factor in keeping property and the various *encomiendas* within the original aristocracy, and is certainly one of the reasons why aristocratic suitors pursued the wealthy *mestiza* widows.

The *mestizo* sons, on the other hand, in general did not fare as well as their sisters. Their road for advancement was always through the military ranks. Even in this endeavor, however, they were limited to the grade of Captain and there is no evidence of a *mestizo* becoming a general. Certainly, the *mestizo* military officers acquitted themselves well and were mostly on the same social footing as their half brothers in the same family.

The only other route open for advancement to the *mestizo* child of the aristocrat was through the church. There are many examples of *mestizos* becoming monks, minor clergymen, and priests. In fact, the most notable case of a *mestizo* marrying a Spanish woman in the early days was the wedding of the evangelical clergyman Juan de Rubias, the son of the conqueror Juan Gallegos de Rubias, to the Spanish daughter of Captain Luis Barba.¹⁷¹ In general, however, *mestizos* were limited in advancement in the church presumably by prejudice and at times by the law.

Mestizo priests did prove to be particularly useful in dealing with the natives especially because of their knowledge of the Indian language. For example, the Archbishop of Santiago recommended the *mestizo* Juan Blas to the

priesthood because of his language capability. Other important mestizo priests were Gabriel de Villagra, the son of General Gabriel de Vaillagra, Juan de Oces, Francisco de Aguirre, the son of the conqueror, Francisco de Tapia, Juan Barga, Jerónimo Bello, Juan Salguero, Juan de Armente, and Melchor de Arteaga.¹⁷²

The mestizo priests who were grandsons of indigeneous Chilcans were: García Hernández de Cáceres, the son of García Hernández and the mestiza Isabel García de Cáceres; Marcos Rubio, the son of Francisco Rubio and the mestiza Catalina de Cáceres; Juan de la Fuente Loarte, the son of Pedro de Burgos and the mestiza Beatriz de Loarte; Lazaro Hernández de la Serna, the son of Andres Hernández and the mestiza Magdalena de la Serna; Juan Velez de Lara, the son of Juan Fernández and the mestiza Inés de Lara; Rodrigo de Gamboa y Quiroga, the son of Marshal Martín Ruiz de Gamboa and the mestiza Isabel de Quiroga. Juan de Alunada, the son of Juan de Alunada and Leonor Hurtado the daughter of a mestiza; Juan and Bernardo de Toro Mazote, sons of Gines de Toro Mazote and Elena de la Serna -- the daughter of a mestiza. The following chart shows the probable number of conquerors and their sons admitted to the clergy as of 1580.¹⁷³

	Secular Clergy	Regular	Total
Conquerors	15	25	40
*Criollos; pure blood	100	150	250
Criollos; Cuarterones	15	25	40
Criollos; Mestizos	10	10	10
Totals	140	210	350

*Some one/eights blood Mestizos are included in this category.

Finally, one interesting phenomenon of the Spanish-Indian-mestizo relationship among the Chilean aristocracy is that, although many of the newly created families remained in Santiago, more journeyed to other cities and towns. In these places, they naturally assumed the aristocratic role and were active in governmental affairs at the highest level. They also dominated the ownership of land. These families through these colonial connections later became the oligarchs that came to dominate both colonial and independent Chile.

It is readily apparent from all of this information, that the Chilean aristocracy became a partial product of miscegenation. This does not mean that all of the Spanish nobility married Indian women and their progeny were integrated into Spanish-Chilean society. It does mean, however, that Indian blood became an integral part of the Chilean aristocracy in the early days, although it was diluted as time passed by the infusion of more Spanish

blood with no comparable replacement of the Indian element. It is significant that the newly created race, therefore, looked more European than Indian. The mestizo was taller, had lighter hair, and lighter skin than the Indian from the beginning, and even these characteristics became more European as time went by. The extent of the mestizo element in the Santiago area can be seen in the statement by the eminent genealogist, Jose Manuel Astorga, about the Lisperguer family. "In Santiago, he, who is not a Lisperguer, is a Mulatto."¹⁷⁴

It is also apparent that a certain amount of acculturation took place at the aristocratic level in society. Indian farming methods were adopted and improved upon, for instance, and Indian dress was adopted to a certain extent. In many cases, there is no doubt that the Spanish aristocrat, living with his mistress in his Santiago novel, probably existed in a state more closely resembling the Indian's subsistence life rather than the Spanish life-style that he had left behind in Europe.

There is no question that the Indian was also assimilated into Spanish culture at the aristocratic level. The adoption of the Church as well as certain elements of Spanish life style, customs, and mores are clearly evident. Certainly, those Indians selected by the Spaniards because of their beauty, talent, or royal Indian blood were absorbed by Spanish aristocratic society and all that remained of

their original Indian status was a superficial amount of their old culture.

In dealing with the Chilean aristocracy, some mention should also be made of the ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*) and patron-client relationships. Through these associations, the bulk of the population was able to attach itself to the influential aristocrat or sponsor. These unions were sealed by a godfather relationship, marriage alliances, or business contracts. Essentially, these associations were designed to provide adequate security, justice, and a social fabric distinct from that provided by law. In addition, the feudal relationship of mutual obligation was carried one step farther.

Although the period from 1541 to 1570 does not completely demonstrate the development of an elite capable of supporting these extra-family connections, one can surmise that these associations were evolving, and certainly would become important later in the century.

Stephanie Blank in her study of this relationship in Caracas posits that there were two methods for the first generation of settlers to structure their unorganized and unintegrated nature of their society. One was the marriage of the original residents to sisters and older daughters of other members of the new urban community. The second was through the extended family relationship in which persons of lower economic and social standing were related to the basic

family through an obligatory connection, possibly as god-parent -- godchild ties or through some economic union.¹⁷⁵

The situation in Santiago is difficult to discern during this early time because of the paucity of Church documentation. A perusal of the genealogical ties of the extended family of several of the early conquerors is very revealing, however. For instance, the Lisperguer family ultimately included members of the Flores, Velasco, Betanbergue, Machado, Estrada, Irarrazabal, Veras, Roco, Gormaz, Lopez, García, and Andía families -- all members of the Santiago elite.¹⁷⁶

Other families also followed this practice of inter-marriage. The Aguirre family ultimately was related to the families Jufre, Godoy, Pastene, Carvajal, and the Mendoza Buitron de Riberos. The family of Pedro de Cisternas was related to the Pastenes. The family of Juan de las Cuevas was related to the Barriaga, Ureta, Oyarzun, Ramirez, and Cardenas families. The family of Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa -- he was married to Valdivia's sister-in-law, Catalina Ortíz -- was related to the Gamboa, Riberos, Quiroga, and Mendoza families. Andres Fuenzalida's descendants were related to the Mendozas, Peraltas, Guzmans, and Escobars. Valdivia's brother-in-law, Diego Ortíz Nieto de Gaeta, was related to the Unzueta, Rioscco, Mendez, Montaner, Fuenzalida, Arrau, del Rio Zanartu, Moreira, Cifuentes, and Manchaca families. The family of Pedro de Miranda was related to the Jufre, Miranda, Guzman, Ramirez, and Corbalan

families. Diego Sánchez de Morales' descendants were related to the Gómez, Chacón, Quiroga, Morales and Pastene families. Bartolomé de Rojas Puebla, who arrived in Chile in 1601, was the originator of a new line including some of the old conqueror families -- Cervajal, Meneses, Bravo de Saravia, Gómez, Ortiz, Ahumada, and the Lisperguer families. The descendants of Diego de Sevillano Silva were related to the families Salazar, Toledo, Vega, Ureta, Perez, Lisperguer, Gaete, and Moreno. The family of Luis de Toledo was related to the Herrerias, Cuadras, Sarranos, Sotomayors, and Errázuriz. These are just a few examples. The family ties are quite obvious with the repetition of the names Lisperguer, Ahumada, Irazaval, Barros, Valenzuela, Gaete, Ortiz, Jofré, and Pastene.¹⁷⁷

It is obvious from the preceding list that the most prevalent method for cementing family ties among the conquerors was the practice of marrying mestizo or Spanish daughters to other conquerors or newly arrived Spaniards of high social standing. This process facilitated mestizaje in Santiago because of the lack of marriageable Spanish women. Another method was the marriage of Indian widows of one conqueror to another. The half-brother/half-sister relationships in the next generation were an important connective factor.

Finally, it must be remembered that the individual conqueror had a clientel family to begin with, comprised

of mestizos and Indians so numerous that the extended family was difficult to total. Included were the wife and her children, the concubines and their children, the servants and their children, and the numerous slaves and retainers. All of these people looked to the conqueror's home as a refuge and the family head as their protector. The inter-marriage of these *compadrazgo* and patron-clientel "kin" simply increased the total number of people owing fealty to the Spanish godfather.¹⁷⁸

In conclusion, a developing patron-clientel system can be discerned in Santiago during this period. Ritual kinship, blood relationships, and outright dependence provided the basis for social integration of the diverse peoples of the community. Moreover, the elite group that would ultimately control the economic and social life of the city was bound into a tight-knit group distinguished by the economic, political, and social power it wielded.

Middle Class

The middle class in Chile developed along lines similar to the aristocracy. Initially, there was hardly any middle class because almost everyone was an *encomendero* or occupied a definite lower class position. With the arrival of new immigrants especially soldiers, however, the structure of society began to change.

Theoretically, the newly arrived Spaniards -- no matter what their background -- enjoyed a higher legal and social

status than most of the mestizo element of the population. Certainly, their social ranking was superior to that of the Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians. Because of the limited immigration, the soldier-class roots and mores of the new arrivals, and the continuing security problems, most of the social constrictions were temporarily set aside. (This was particularly true in the zone of conflict in the south.) As in the aristocracy, the most important determining factor was the lack of Spanish women and the availability of attractive mestiza girls as substitutes.

What constituted the middle class? The most important factor among the Spanish element was the fact that its members were not encomenderos. Presumably, therefore, all Spaniards, who were not encomenderos, fit into this category. There were exceptions, of course, but this rule is acceptable as applied to the early days of the colony. In addition, every Spaniard below the military rank of Captain would be a member. Another determinant was occupation with various artisans, tradesmen, and businessmen fitting into the middle class category. Thus, miners, shoemakers, leatherworkers, hosiers, blacksmiths, and carpenters, in general, were middle class. Lower members of the clergy or independent evangelical clergymen with some sort of income would also qualify.

The mestizo part of the middle class comprised lower ranking soldiers, blacksmiths, hosiers, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, merchants, and lower clergymen. The most

important factor, however, was the marriage of Spanish middle class members with mestiza women and the subsequent continuation of Indian blood in the middle class. There was also one example of a middle class mestizo marrying a Spanish girl, however, and instances of Spanish middle class merchants marrying Indians.¹⁷⁹

As in the aristocracy, it is somewhat difficult to trace the mestizo element in the middle class. Of the thousands of individuals listed in Thayer Ojeda's three volumes, for instance, not more than seventy persons can be identified clearly as mestizo and probably middle class under the defined occupational categories. Most of these mestizos were either soldiers or army interpreters. Others were carpenters, silversmiths, sailors, shoemakers, tailors, school teachers, hosiers, blacksmiths, scribes, or clerics. These mestizos generally married mestiza or Indian women and presumably their sons continued in the same profession or at least were accepted as being middle class socially.

From the sparse evidence available, therefore, it appears that the mestizo fits into the middle class category in most instances. There were examples of a mestiza receiving a solar from the Santiago, cabildo in 1558 -- Juan de Mesa, and there was one example of a mestizo -- Luis de Santa Clara -- owning a chacra along the Canada River near Santiago.¹⁸⁰ Most, however, were bound by some rule of social stratification or more biographic data would be

available to point to some upward social mobility. This last point, of course, was also true of the Spanish middle class. It is clear that there was some social and occupational mobility among the mestizo soldiers at the front and in the frontier towns. Bravery in battle would probably lead to a reward of some social consequence.

Some of the mestizos, however, found life too harsh and alien in Spanish society. These "marginal men" fled to the south and joined the Indians in their flight against the Spaniards. The most famous of these runaways was Alonso Diaz, who was known by the Indians as Painancu. He left Santiago in 1560, and spent the next ten years fighting Spaniards. By 1575, he had been named an Araucanian chieftain and continued his anti-Spanish struggle until 1583, when he was captured and executed by Governor Sotomayor. Another example of this type was Francisco Gasco, a mestizo soldier who also deserted to the Indians.¹⁸¹

In conclusion, there is no doubt that the Chilean middle class became the great bastion of the mestizo from the early days. The upper middle class appears to be a combination of merchants and artisans, predominantly Spanish, but, in general, married to first generation mestiza women. The lower middle class consisted of mestizos married to mestizas or Indian women, but having the same vocation as their Spanish counterparts. Some time in the future, these ethnic lines were blurred by more intermarriage which was

certainly brought about by proximity and acceptance. Carried to its logical conclusion, the cities became the great melting pot for the middle class mestizo mixture, whereas persons with a greater amount of Indian blood gravitated to the countryside and along with the Indians created a labor force.

Thus, if one had to draw up a statement on the relative position of the mestizo-mestiza in society circa 1540-1575 in Santiago, the conclusion would be that the mestiza was furnishing part of the ethnic base of the Chilean colonial aristocracy. The mestizo, on the other hand, although functioning within the confines of the aristocracy, was basically associated with the plebian class. Carried to its logical judgement, the mestizo, marrying either a Spaniard or a mestizo, would create a group that was predominantly Spanish in character and blood relationship. This group would live primarily in the original vecino developments of the city or on large estancias. The mestizo, on the other hand, marrying either a mestiza or an Indian, would create a group with a greater percentage of Indian blood or gravitating toward Indian culture. He would live in the countryside or small towns and would work in laboring or trade occupations if he lived in the city. Therefore, Chilean society, already predominantly mestizo, developed along parallel mestizo-mestiza lines which have probably not fully converged to this day.

Indians and Negroes

The rest of Santiago society as late as 1565 comprised Indians and Negroes. The encomienda system with personal service granted to the Spaniards was formally established in 1539. Santillán's new regulations were designed to reduce the amount of work done by the encomienda Indians. In reality, however, the regulations systematized the relationship between the encomendas and his Indians. Thus, despite the intent of the law, the Indians really had no choice but to accept their servitude.¹⁸² The Indians who had escaped the system earlier through marriage or any other means could breathe a sigh of relief.

For the other Indians, the only respite from hardship was religion and alcoholic beverages. The Indians had finally been weared over to Christianity by this time. After being forced to attend mass for nearly twenty years, some of the religious spirit of the priests must have rubbed off. Moreover, the Church fiesta days gave the Indians an escape from their miserable existence. Many turned to alcohol for release from the drudgery, and tales of drunken Indians were as prevalent in Chile as they were in the lore of the western part of the United States more than three hundred years later.

Some further differentiation among the Indians should be made here. Captain Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, the author of Milicia y descripción de las Indias, which was published in 1599, clearly distinguishes between Indians

of service and Indian friends. The Indians of service carried the Spaniard's equipment and performed other functions for them. Many were free from any obligation to their masters and worked for a cash payment. The Indian friends, on the other hand, were military allies and assisted the Spanish in the conquest.¹⁸² Again, there is some blurring of the differences between Indian friends and yanaconas. Mariano de Lobera, in fact, refers to the assistance of the yanaconas in defending a Spanish position after the Battle of Tucapel.¹⁸⁴

In many instances, moreover, it is very difficult to separate the Indians of service from the Indian friends. The general rule appears to be that the Peruvian yanaconas were likely to be included in the general term Indian friend. Chilean Indians of service, however, were not likely to be included as military allies or Indian friends. Obviously, this situation would be very difficult to sort out as far as social stratification is concerned. It appears, however, that some method was used by the Spaniards to ensure that the treatment of Indian friends was better than that of Indians of service, and both were above the other Indians in status. Crecente Errázuriz makes his differentiation by referring to the yanaconas as a separate "third class" of Indians as opposed to local enemies and encomienda Indians.¹⁸⁵

Negro slaves at this time continued to occupy a somewhat higher position in society than most of the Indians.

Almost all of them lived in the cities except in cases where they were serving their masters in warfare. Most worked as majordomos in the households or as apprentices to tailors, shoemakers, silversmiths, and carpenters. Chilean historians tend to be evasive about the issue of Negro slavery, however, and statistics probably are not very reliable. Diego Barros Arana, for example, says that by 1650, there were only three to four thousand Negroes in Chile. He also states, however, that the 1778 census in Santiago indicated that there were 25,500 Negroes and mulattoes in the city.¹⁸⁶ Encina, on the other hand, states that there were 2,500 Negroes in Santiago in 1650, but because of Chile's climate and disease, pure Negro blood disappeared from the Chilean race during the next century. This claim would tend to invalidate the census of 1778.¹⁸⁷

In any case, judging from the available material, the Negro, because of his adaptability to Spanish culture, the fact that some Hispanicized Negroes had arrived in the country as conquerors, and the close relationship of Negroes with the Spanish families in their position as personal servants, came to occupy a higher position in society than the Indians. Moreover, through meritorious service or manumission, slaves could be freed. Andrea (El Valiente), for instance, a Negro slave was freed by his master as a reward for valor in the southern wars in 1555.¹⁸⁸ Further, it appears that intermarriage was prevalent between Spaniards and Negro women on one hand, and Negroes and Indians on the

other. Thus, the Negro, as a distinct racial entity, probably disappeared in Chile by the turn of the 19th century. In reality, the Negro had little impact on the Chilean race.¹⁸⁹

Social Change by 1575

By 1575, therefore, Chilean society had undergone a major change. The Spanish conquerors and his descendants comprised the aristocracy, but already a mestiza element had been introduced and multiplied. At a slightly lower level were the Spanish artisans, farmers, and soldiers. The mestizo sons of conquerors, for the most part soldiers, were integrated into this group. The mestizos, who followed the tradition of their Indian mothers occupied a lower position. Negroes occupied the next lower rung, and Indians, in general, were on the bottom. Clearly then, with certain specified exceptions, Chilean society was already being divided by ethnic differences.¹⁹⁰

Returning for a moment to Wernner's classic social status typology of Spanish colonial society, the Chilean model would have the following variations.

1545

- Spaniards
- Spancized Negroes
- Indian Friends
- Indians of Service
- Negro Slaves
- Other Indians or Indian enemies

1565

Spaniards
 Mestizo - Spanish-Mestiza
 Mestizo - Spanish-Mestizo
 Mestizo - Spanish-Indian-Mestizo
 Mestizo - Mestizo-Mestiza
 Negro - Hispanicized
 Mestizo - Mestizo-Indian
 Mulatto - Spanish-Negro
 Indian - Indian Friends
 Indian - Indians of Service
 Indian - Encomienda Indians
 Slaves - Negroes and Indians
 Indian - enemies

There does not appear to be an differentiation between Peninsular Spaniards and criollos even in 1565, probably because there were not enough Peninsular Spaniards in Santiago to form a separate entity. In fact, the number of female peninsulares in the whole country in 1593 probably did not exceed fifty. There were few Spanish children being brought to the colony and many of the first women peninsulares proved to be barren for one reason or another.¹⁹¹

Social developments during the rest of the century and the remainder of the period of this study can be telescoped because the basis for the evolution of society had already been established in the first twenty years of the colony. This process is clearly evident in the generations of Chileans born between 1560 and 1600.

During this period, Spanish aristocracy was divided into two groups. The first consisted of encomenderos descended along the paternal or maternal line from the grand encomenderos of the 1540s. (As noted, this group

contained some Indian blood via the Indians and mestizas that had married conquerors and sons of conquerors.) Other members of this group were functionaries and descendants of Crown appointees, who were designated in some cases as the "aristocracy of the city," and high military officers and clergy.¹⁹² Generally speaking, this group was quite wealthy. The men married Spanish women of high birth and were designated as hidalgos notorios or simply hidalgos.¹⁹³

The second group was made up of descendants of conquerors without encomiendas, descendants of conquerors from other towns who came to live and work in Santiago, and later, descendants of southern citizens who came to Santiago to escape the Indian wars.¹⁹⁴ This group probably contained a good portion of Indian blood via marriage with mestizas, and certainly some descendants of mestizo military captains would fit into this category. Generally speaking, however, this group had less wealth than the former, the men married Spanish women of lower birth, and were most often designated as hombres de bien.¹⁹⁵

The next level of Santiago society was the artisan and trading element, which at this point contained a sizeable number of mestizos. A perusal of Thayer Ojeda's Formación de la sociedad Chilena clearly indicates that many Spanish artisans had intermarried with Indians, Negroes, and mestizos. Their mestizo progeny, since they were from a somewhat lower class in society, married other mestizos,

Indians or Negroes; thus maintaining a distinct blood line from the aristocracy. This group was also joined by the common Spanish soldier who kept arriving in Santiago on his way to the front in the south. These men, for the most part, married mestizas while they were encamped in Santiago, or later when they were stationed in the frontier towns. The creation of a permanent army in 1601 had a direct effect on these soldiers as professionalism freed the aristocratic establishment from military service and gave increased stature and importance to the regular soldier.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, at relatively the same social level, a distinct military, commercial, and industrial class was established which had as one of its chief characteristics a high percentage of Indian blood. This group showed the most social mobility in that its members were able to move into the lower aristocracy category. The upper aristocracy level was unattainable for any lower group. It was a closed society in this period and maintained itself by proper marriages and family relationships.¹⁹⁷

It is appropriate to mention here that all of the groups discussed thus far -- the aristocracy, artisans, tradesmen, clergy, and soldiers -- had, on the average, more Spanish than Indian blood, and certainly the cultural aspects of the Spaniards. Perhaps, the importance of mestizaje can be seen in the statistics that by 1592, there were only 2,000 pure blooded Spaniards in the country, and

the population of Santiago consisted of only 500 Spanish or sons of Spanish inhabitants. (This figure apparently includes legitimate mestizo sons of which there were many.) No population figures are available on the number of mestizos in the city, but there may have been as many as 5,000 in 1579, and certainly that number by the turn of the century.¹⁹⁸

Another phenomenon was taking place in the countryside. As noted earlier, the number of Indians in the encomiendas of Santiago was diminishing, and by 1600 their number was down to 4,000.¹⁹⁹ There were not enough Indians to make the encomienda system viable, let alone provide labor for the farms and mines. Mestizos were integrated into agricultural operations via the *inquilino* system, and Araucanian prisoners from the south were imported as virtual slaves to work the farms. Despite these methods, the lack of cheap labor became so acute that the mining operations were mostly abandoned.

The mestizos, who followed their Indian mothers' cultural patterns, however, were able to fill the labor void on the farms. They soon became the most numerous labor force because they were vigorous, hard working, and adaptable.²⁰⁰ Thus, a new *Inquilino* society, composed of mestizos and Indians, began to evolve. Just as mestizos, with a high percentage of Spanish blood were taking over positions in the city, mestizos, with predominately Indian

blood were becoming the largest social class in the countryside.²⁰¹

This does not mean to say that the thirty years from 1540 to 1570 was a period of peaceful transition in which the Mestizo gradually took over. Obviously, there was discrimination at every level of society. The mestizos' bad characteristics -- especially drunkenness -- has been chronicled by many Chilean historians and sociologists.²⁰² And, obviously, there is a profound difference between the average ignorant mestizo of 1560 and the mestizo of the latter part of the century in terms of awareness and education. It is certain, however, that most of Chilean society, including the aristocracy, was mestizo to one degree or another by 1600.

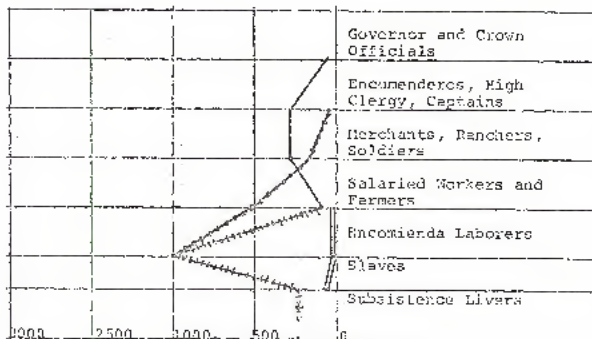
The rest of Chilean society continued to be divided into Negroes and Indians. No figures are available on the number of Negroes in Chile in 1600, but according to Encina, their percentage of total population was always decreasing. In addition, cédulas in 1594 and 1595 prohibited the importation of Negroes from Buenos Aires, although some small scale slave trading probably continued.²⁰³ Negroes or mulattoes continued to occupy household positions with the wealthy families during this period, and continued to function in the multi-racial artisan class of the city.

The pure Indians, as described before, were rapidly dying off. In a letter from Alonso de Ribera to the King

in 1603, however, the Indians are still parceled into three groups: "the Indians on the encomiendas, Indians that are yanacunas, and Indians that are in the power of the priests."²⁰⁴ Interestingly enough, Ribera ignores the racial characteristics of the population and simply separated society into Indians, "vecinos, moradores, estantes, habitantes, clerics, encomenderos, and military men."²⁰⁵ It may be an oversight on Ribera's part, but, perhaps, Encina's contention that by the middle of the 17th century, a mestizo was not distinguishable from a Spaniard may have been appropriate also in 1600.²⁰⁶

Santiago's social structure by the end of the century, therefore, like that of 1575 had been profoundly altered by the integration of the mestizo at all levels. The only difference between the groups having the largest percentage of Spanish blood, in fact, seems to be the original social rank or wealth of the Spanish progenitors, and the amount of Indian blood subsequently mixed into the family. (Jose Armando de Razon Polch puts heavy emphasis on the economic standing of the original conqueror in his study -- the rich being at the top of society and the poorest on the bottom.)²⁰⁷ An increasing amount of Indian blood in any family seems, however, to indicate a lower social status in most cases. Pure Negroes and Indians appear to occupy the same relative social position as they did in 1540 and 1560 except that their numbers were decreasing because of disease, over work, or simply by being bred out of existence.

SANFAGO 1575: POPULATION AND OCCUPATION



Population

SPANIARDS —————

MESTIZOS - - - - -

INDIANS - - - - -

NEGROES = = = = =

NOTES

¹Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 373.

²Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandón, La evolución social de Chile, 1541-1810 (Santiago, 1906), pp. 1-24.

³Vicuña Mackenna, Historia social y crítica de Santiago, p. 373.

⁴Tomás Thayer Ojeda and Carlos J. Larrain, Valdivia y sus compañeros (Santiago, 1950), pp. 65-68.

⁵Ibid., pp. 115-117.

⁶Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 31.

⁷Frias, op. cit., pp. 150-151.

⁸Thayer Ojeda and Larrain, op. cit., p. 16.

⁹Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, p. 101.

¹⁰Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 193-194.

¹¹Eyzaguirre, Historia de Chile, p. 162.

¹²Stephanie Blank, "Patrons, Clients, and Kin in Seventeenth Century Caracas: A Methodological Essay in Colonial Spanish American History," Hispanic American Historical Review, Vol. 54 (May, 1974), p. 277.

¹³Tomás Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena y censo de la población de Chile entre los años de 1540 a 1565, con datos estadísticos, biográficos, étnicos y demográficos (Santiago, 1939-1941), Vol. 1, pp. 24-61.

¹⁴Luis Silva Lezaeta, El conquistador Francisco de Aguirre (Santiago, 1953), p. 56. and Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, pp. 65-66.

¹⁵Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," p. 113.

¹⁶Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, p. 119.

- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 190.
- ¹⁸Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 86 and 125.
- ¹⁹Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, pp. 183-184.
- ²⁰Ibid., p. 200. and Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," p. 220.
- ²¹Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, pp. 202-203.
- ²²Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 10.
- ²³Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 361-362.
- ²⁴Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 208-209.
- ²⁵Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 10-11.
- ²⁶Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 244-247.
- ²⁷Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," p. 50.
- ²⁸Ibid., p. 136.
- ²⁹Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, p. 222.
- ³⁰Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 264-265.
- ³¹Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," p. 52.
- ³²Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, pp. 265-266.
- ³³Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 57.
- ³⁴Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 94-95.
- ³⁵Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 281-282.
- ³⁶Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 288-289.
- ³⁷Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 269-270.
- ³⁸Guillermo Cuadra Gormaz, "El apellido Castro durante la colonia," Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía (Santiago, 1921), Vol. 37, p. 333.

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- 40 Crecente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Francisco de Villagra, 1561-1563, p. 235.
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- 49 Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, pp. 345-348.
- 50 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 142-143.
- 51 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 172-173.
- 52 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 269.
- 53 Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 48, 74, 150.
- 54 Ibid., p. 54.
- 55 Ibid., pp. 132-133; pp. 76, 94.
- 56 Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, pp. 213-214.
- 57 Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 56 and 195.
- 58 Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, pp. 8-9.

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- 60 Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, p. 17.
- 61 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 151.
- 62 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 18-19.
- 63 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 368.
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- 65 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 78.
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⁸³Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 57.

⁸⁴Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 49, 51, 91, 112.

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⁸⁶Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, p. 60.

⁸⁷Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 243.

⁸⁸Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 69.

⁸⁹Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 87.

⁹⁰Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 267-268.

⁹¹Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 73.

⁹²Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 59, 64, 72, 165.

⁹³Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, p. 133.

⁹⁴Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 25-27. and Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 129, 165.

⁹⁵Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 11.

⁹⁶Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 141.

⁹⁷Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 55, 71, 166, 168, 54, 65, 157.

⁹⁸Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, p. 239.

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¹⁰⁰Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 149.

¹⁰¹Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 39.

¹⁰²Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 244.

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- 105 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 152.
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- 107 Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, pp. 186-190.
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- 113 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 21-22.
- 114 Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," p. 182.
- 115 Ibid., pp. 63, 76, 98.
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- 117 Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," pp. 185-186; 97-98.
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pp. 56, 75, 92.
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Vol. 1, pp. 122-123.
- 131 Ibid., Vol. 3, 161-163.
- 132 Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI,"
p. 75, 207.
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- 165 Frias Valenzuela, op. cit., pp. 157-158.
- 166 Lockhart, Spanish Peru, p. 131.
- 167 Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 1, pp. 405-407.
- 168 Frias, op. cit., p. 157.
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- 179 Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 2, p. 69. The mestizo Juan Gonzales, an Army 2nd Lieutenant married Isabel de Cáceres.
- 180 Thayer Ojeda, "Santiago durante el siglo XVI," and Formación de la sociedad chilena. The mestizo's social mobility can be seen in a perusal of the various biographies.
- 181 A.U. Hancock, History of Chile (Chicago, 1893), p. 79.
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- 183 Creciente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Don García de Mendoza, 1557-1561, p. 430. and Jara, Guerra y sociedad en Chile, p. 85.
- 184 Creciente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Francisco de Villagra, 1561-1563. p. 307.
- 185 Creciente Errázuriz, Historia de Chile. Don García de Mendoza, 1557-1561, pp. 424-438.
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- 189 Maguira Ibar, op. cit., p. 9.
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- 192 Maric Góngora, Encomenderos y estancieros: estudios acerca de la constitución social aristocrática de Chile después de la conquista, 1580-1660 (Santiago, 1970), p. 139.
- 193 Jose Armado de Ramon Folch, "La sociedad española de Santiago de Chile entre 1581 y 1596," Historia (Santiago, 1965), Vol. 4, p. 192.
- 194 Góngora, Encomenderos y estancieros, p. 139.
- 195 Ramon Folch, op. cit., p. 192.
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- 197 Ramon Folch, op. cit., pp. 205-207. See also Guillermo de la Cuadra, Origen y desarrollo de las familias Chilenas, under (Lisperguer).
- 198 Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 246.
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- 201 Alvaro Jara, Los asentos de trabajo y la provisión de mano de obra para los no-encomenderos en la ciudad de Santiago, 1586-1600 (Santiago, 1959), pp. 59-60.

202Domingo Amunátegui Solar, La sociedad de Santiago en el siglo diez y siete (Santiago, 1937), p. 136.

203Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 3, pp. 52-53.

204Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 314.

205ibid.

206Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 3, p. 49.

207Ramon Folch, op. cit., pp. 225-227. It appears that the second group did have considerable social mobility within itself. Again, the criterion for advancement was acquired wealth.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Francisco Encina once described the conflict between criollos and peninsulares in the following manner:

The Spaniard was irritated by the indolence, the frivolity, and the superficiality of the criollo, and especially of the tropical criollo. At heart he felt him to be an inferior, a bastard off-shoot of his race, an empty-headed chatterbox, incapable of any serious task. For his part, the criollo hated the peninsulares with all his soul; he regarded the mental deliberation of the Galician as stupidity; he saw the Catalan as a miser, and the Basque as a bird of prey, and he regarded all of them as parvenus and climbers, who wanted to monopolise wealth, and marry the richest heiresses... Viewing this antipathy from another point of view, we can see that the social ideals and values of the peninsulares and criollos were quite different. The criollos delighted in extreme generosity, in bold adventure and reckless courage, in skill at criollo sports and exercises, and in intense enjoyment of the present without thought of tomorrow. But for the Spaniards who came to America after the discovery and the first generation criollos, regularity of conduct, economy, and foresight were everything.¹

What brought about this attitude and the criollo-peninsulares conflict? Obviously the answer lies in the mixture of race life styles created in the New World. In Chile, as in most of the colonies, the term mestizo has a cultural as well as a racial meaning. It implies an interpenetration of native and European beliefs and modes of behavior, not blood intermixture alone. For this reason, mestizo characteristics soon became prevalent among the Spaniards and their descendants, even if they had no Indian blood at all. Chile, therefore, became a mestizo culture because of the

painful fusion between conflicting Spanish and Indian heritages of her peoples. The key factor, of course, was Indian resistance to Spanish subjugation for two centuries and the maintenance and evolution of the original Chilean mestizo racial base.²

Outwardly, the Spanish Chileans adopted many of the Indian characteristics -- their dress, their games, and many aspects of the Indian life style. This later became the real crux of the criollo-peninsular dispute as depicted by Encina. In any case, it is no accident that the Indian poncho, described in the first chapter, became a kind of Chilean national dress.³ It is uniquely adaptable to the Chilean climate. In addition, Indian games were enjoyed by the Spaniards. Polo, for instance, combined Spanish horsemanship and Indian field hockey. Even today, the so-called mestizo pony in Chile is highly regarded as a polo horse -- a combination of the old and new breeds. Again, an interpenetration of lifestyles and culture.

In Chile, apologists for the Indians and indigenistas are certainly mistaken, however, when they attribute modern Chile and its distinctive national temperament to the fighting characteristics of the Araucanian Indian. The evidence is clear that these people did not contribute significantly to the Chilean race in the early days of the conquest. The Mapuche Indians of the Santiago area, and even the Peruvian Incas were far more significant in the Chilean aristocracy.

It is true, however, that the Araucanians were the only Indians of South America to mount an important resistance against Spanish domination. These Indians became the object of a ruthless extermination policy and were enslaved to replace the vanishing Indian laborers in the north. Still, against all odds, they continued their resistance for almost 300 years. If their character did not rub off on the rest of the Chileans, it certainly was an object of envy and admiration.

In addition, the Araucanians made their own contribution to mestizaje. During the southern wars, many Spanish cities were captured and the female Spanish captives were divided among their Indian conquerors. The resulting progeny were raised as Indians and many occupied high positions in the Indian hierarchy. Don Antonio Chicahuala, an Araucanian chief, was the son of Chief Gualacan and Doña Aldonsa Aguilera de Castro, a Spanish woman of noble background who was captured by the Indians as a child.⁶

The Spaniards, for their part, seem not to have been motivated so much by the lure of gold in Chile as by the spirit of adventure. (Lockhart would probably argue that poverty kept them there.) Valdivia himself left a very comfortable life in Peru for what at best was an uncertain future. His band of men only had twenty-seven who could be described as members of the nobility. The rest were miners, farmers, artisans, and soldiers of fortune. Moreover, when

they arrived in Santiago and began the business of colonization, the persons possessing fertile and important farms or businesses in the Santiago area became rather important in the colonial hierarchy. The professional soldiers did not fare as well, especially if they were not of either Captain or general officer rank in the beginning.

In addition, later immigration was almost entirely made up of military men. In 1549, the entire Spanish population in the country was only 500 and at the time of Valdivia's death in 1553, it had only risen to 1,000.⁵ Thayer Ojeda calculates that there were only 1,100 Spaniards in the country in 1558, seventeen years after the founding of Santiago.⁶ Because of the homogeneity of the immigrants there appears to be much less racial and class discrimination in Chile than in the other colonies. Hardships were borne equally by all of the conquerors, and Valdivia divided the spoils almost equally among them. Men who face common dangers generally forget discrimination.

The indiscriminate dispersal of lands and Indians also had far reaching consequences for the colony. It meant, in the first place, that a Spanish farmer-soldier had the right of citizenship and the same opportunity to better himself as the Spanish noble. The enterprising Flores and Lisperguer families are examples of this. In addition, the food problem of the early years of the colony put a premium on production by the Santiago chacras. Thus, a prosperous farmer

or mill owner naturally would have importance and stature far in excess of what he would have been entitled to under the rigid Spanish social code.

Another interesting development in Chile was the close association of the encomienda grants of Indians and a physical piece of land. The difficulty in some instances of separating the encomienda grant from a specific land grant gives rise to speculation that in Chile an encomienda was much more than a grant of Indians.

Of additional importance is the fact that an Indian wife or a mestizo son or daughter could inherit the encomienda. In practice, the Chilean encomienda remained in one family until grants were abolished in the 18th century. Moreover, the son who inherited the encomienda had to take care of his mother, brothers, and sisters with its benefits.

Thus, there was a situation in Chile in which the grant of Indians was sometimes confined to a specific area near which or within which the Spaniards constructed a hacienda -- therefore, creating the latifundia or hacienda system that was to dominate the late colonial epoch. A premium was placed on food production and the economics of producing cheap food -- the hacienda was the answer.

Of course, Santiago's position in this development was rather important not only because of the fertility of the area, but because of its central location between the

civilization in Peru and the wars in the south. Valdivia never intended for Santiago to become the capital of the colony because he was always looking for new territory to be conquered in the south. As it turned out, however, Santiago's agricultural production and the Spaniards' inability to conquer the Araucanians caused a change in plans. Santiago not only produced the food for the military campaign, but was also close enough to the action for most of the colonial governors.

The most significant development in Santiago and in Chile, for that matter, was, of course, mestizaje. This point was touched on at length in the chapters on the Indians and the Spaniards. The immensity of the creation of the new society can be seen graphically, however, in one small example. It was always the propensity of the Spanish soldiers to appropriate Indian women for pleasure, as servants, armor carriers, and general camp followers. When a soldier went to the front, he most often took along a retinue of four to six Indian men and women. In one occupation camp at the front where Spanish soldiers were stationed for over a year, seventy mestizos were born to the camp followers and local Indian women in one week.⁷

The constant warfare prevented the large-scale immigration of Spanish women, caused the death of thousands of Indian warriors, and completely disrupted Indian family life. As a consequence, a great imbalance was created in the population in which women (primarily Indian) outnumbered men by

the ratio of nine to one.⁹ It is no wonder, therefore, that Chile has become known as a country in many ways dominated by women. Certainly, the first encounters of Spanish men and Indian women were dominated by the conquerors. The woman must have seen eventually, however, that their position and that of their children would be improved by a liaison or marriage with a Spaniard. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that later relationships were brought about to some degree by the traditional guile of woman.

Finally, marriage was an important factor in Chilean development and has continued to be an important institution to this day. While many of the Spanish conquerors in Peru, Mexico, and the Caribbean area abandoned their Indian women when Spanish girls arrived on the scene, there is no such evidence of this in Chile. In fact, the second marriage between two Spaniards in Santiago did not occur until 1548, when Alonso Escobar married Beatriz de Baldozar, some seven years after the city was founded.⁹ The conquerors, for the most part, honored their relationship with the Indian women by either marrying them or legitimizing the offspring. This simply did not occur with the same regularity in the other colonies.

In conclusion, therefore, Chile was a unique experiment from the beginning. There was no gold to speak of, the Indians were hostile from the outset, there was a certain esprit de corps among the conquerors that led to mutual respect and spoils were divided equally. Finally, there was

a lasting relationship created between the Spaniards and Indian women that would carry over into subsequent generations. Although these mestizo children were subject to some of the rigid class and social structures prevalent in Spain and in the other colonies, there was a certain amount of social mobility. Certainly, during the first twenty five years of the colony, a man could achieve fame and position even if he had Indian blood.

In summary, Chile's unique colonial development produced subtle differences between Chileans and other Latin American colonists in the 16th century. I am always reminded of the lines from Voltaire's Candide: "What country can this be? It must be unknown to the world, because everything is so different from what we are used to."

NOTES

¹Francisco Encina, reprinted in John Mander, The Unrevolutionary Society (New York, 1969), p. 209.

²Maguire Ibar, op. cit., p. 11.

³Eberhardt, op. cit., p. 196.

⁴Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 3, p. 49.

⁵Barros Arana, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 114.

⁶Douglas-Irvine, op. cit., p. 480. Quoting from statistics from Thayer Ojeda.

⁷Encina, Historia de Chile, Vol. 3, p. 37.

⁸Maguire Ibar, op. cit., p. 12.

⁹Thayer Ojeda, Formación de la sociedad chilena, Vol. 1, p. 74.

APPENDIX

CONQUERORS OF CHILE

Francisco de Aguirre	Pedro de Herrera	Luis Tormero
Juan de Almonacid	Antón Hidalgo	Luis de Toledo
Pero Alvarez	Juan de la Higuera	Hernando de la Torre
Erasmus de Araya	Martin de la Cruz	Antonio de Ulloa
Francisco de Arzeaga	Francis Tenorio	Francisco de Villarino
Juan de Avila Jofre	Juan Jimenez	Juan Villente (captain)
Lope de Ayala	Octavio Jimenez	Hernando de Vallejo
Santiago de Azuza	Jorge Jofre	Sebastian Viquez
Juan Benitez Monge	Lopo de Landa	Manuel Vega
Juan Bolon	Francisco de Dato	Diego de Velasco
Juan de Bolanos	Pedro de Loza	Jardimio de Vera
Juan de Cabrera	Juan Lobo (priest)	Juan de Vera
Alonso del Campo	Bartolomé Márquez	Gaspar de Vergara
Juan Martin de Candián	Francis Martinez	Francisco de Villagra
Juan de Caramona	Pero Martin Barrios	Pedro de Villagra
Alonso Caro	Pedro de Miranda	Gaspar de Villarreal
Luis de Castañeda	Alonso de Manzan	Antonio Zapata
Francisco Carretero	Alonso Moreno	Juan Zarbino
Antonio Carrillo	Sebastian de Moya	
Gaspar de las Casas	Bartolomé Muñoz	
Martin de Castan	Juan Navarero	
Diego de Céspedes	Juan Negrete	
Pedro Cisternas	Alvar Núñez	
Alonso de Córdoba	Diego Núñez	
Juan Cordero	Francisco Núñez	
Gabriel de la Cruz	Lorenzo Núñez	
Juan de Cuevas Bustillos y Tanco	Juan Núñez de Castro	
Juan de Chaves	Olea	
Alonso de Chiriqui	Juan de Oliva	
Diego Colgado	Domingo de Oñe	
Antonio Diaz de Rivera	Diego de Oro	
Bartolomé Diaz	Juan Ortiz Pacheco	
García Diaz de Castro	Martin de Ordoño	
Mateo Diaz	Juan Pacheco	
Pedro Dominguez	Antonio de Pastrama	
Pero Esteban del Marcano	Luis de la Peña	
Juan Fernandez de Aljovado	Alonso Perez	
Bartolomé Flores	Diego Perez	
Juan de Fandi	Santiago Perez	
Juan Galaz	Juan Pizar	
Francisco de Galdames	Don Francisco Ponce de León	
Juan Gallegos de Rojas	Roque de Quiroz	
Pedro de Gamboa	Francisco de Rabazon	
Ruy Garcia	Juan Raquillo	
Diego de Girones	Francisco de Ribera	
Gerardo Gil	Gonzalo de las Rios	
Juan Godínez	Francisco Rodriguez	
Juan Gomez de Almagro	Juan Gutierrez	
Pedro Gómez de las Montañas	Juan Huid	
Juan Gomez de Villalobos	Francis de Idrovo	
Juan Gonzalez	Alonso de Idrovo	
Pedro Gonzalez de Rivera	Alonso Jimenez	
Don Rodrigo González Naranjo	George Jimenez	
Alvarado	Diego Jimenez de Ribera	
Juan Gutiérrez	Pedro Jimenez de Ribera	
García Hernández	Don Martin de Salas	
Francis de Hernández Gallego	Luis Salas	
Juan de Herrera	Antonio Salsabajano	

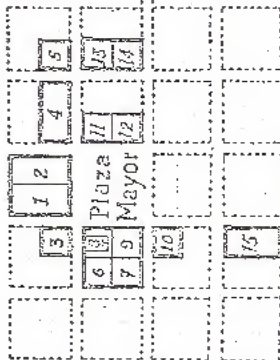
SPANIARDS WITH MESTIZO CHILDREN

	Spaniards	Mestizos	Native Americans	
Francisco de Aguirre	5	50		Según declaraciónes
Jerónimo de Alzate		1		
Juan de Alconada	12			Se supone español, con legítimos
Pero Alonso	2			
Rodrigo de Araya	1	1		
Francisco de Arregui		2		
Lope de Ayala		1		
Santiago de Azca	5	4		
Juan Balboa		1		
Juan Cabrera		5		
Martin de Canella	4			Se presume madre española
Juan de Carmona		2		
Alonso Cano		1		Se presume mestizo
Luis de Cartagena		3		
Ped. Carrutero	1			Se presume madre española
Pedro de Céspedes		1		
Padre de Cisternas	10	1		
Alonso de Córdoba	2	5	1	
Juan Crespo		2		con $\frac{1}{2}$ sangre india. Creció en México
Gabriel de la Cruz		4		
Juan de Cuevas	4			
Juan de Chávez		1		
Alonso de Chiribilla	1			
Juan Dávalos			1	Contrato, madre india. legítima
Don Diego de Castro		4		Legítimos de sangre noble.
Pedro de Cuba del Rio	1	2		
Juan Vaca de Alzate		1		
Bernabé Flores		3		1 de ind'a pura y 1 india con 50% de indio.
Juan de Flores		2		
Juan Galaz		1		
Francisco Galindo	1	2		
Juan Gallegos de R.		1		Legitimado
Pedro de Gaudin		2		
Don Garcia de Girones	5	2		
Gilberto Gil		2	2	7 mest. de india y 2 de ind.
Juan Gomez	8	1		
Juan Gomez de Alva		2	1	de ind'a pura
Pedro Gomez de Diaz	6	1		de india pura
Pedro Gomez de la M.	2	1		de india pura
Juan Gomez y Y.		1		
Juan González		2		
Pedro Gonzalez de Albornoz		3		
García González		10		muere mest. Hijos $\frac{1}{2}$ de ind. el padre legítimo
Francisco Hernández G.		1		
Juan de Herrera		1		
Pedro de Herrera		2		
Antonio Hildaga		5		1 de $\frac{1}{2}$ sang, madre india y dos mestizos
Juan Jimenez		2		probables mestizos
Juan Jairo	9	1		

	1900	1910	1920	Notas particulares
Luis de León	6			
Francisco de León	1	1		
Pedro de León	2			
Juan López		1		
Pedro Martín Patro		8		✓ Ausente, madre mexicana.
Bernabé Martínez	2	1		
Anita Martín Moreno	2			
Pedro de Miranda	3	2		
Bartolomé Muñoz		2		Probables mestizos y el padre también.
Juan Negrón		1		
Alvar Núñez		1		
Diego Núñez de Castro		1		
Juan Núñez de Castro		2		
Juan de Ojeda		3		
Diego de Ojeda	1	2		
Juan Ortiz Pacheco	1			
Antonio de Pastora	1			Probablemente español.
Alonso Pérez	1			
Francisco Pérez			3	1
Santiago Pérez				
Juan Pineda	5			
Fed. Ponce de León	2			
Roberto de Quirós		1		
Juan Rasquín		1		
Francisco de Rábago	11			90% y 2 al parecer naturales, pero el padre español.
Gregorio de los Ríos	6	1		
Ped. Rodríguez de M.	1	1		
Esteban de Salazar		1		
Alonso Salgado		1		
Alonso Sánchez		1		de india peruana.
Diego Sánchez	6	5		
Pedro Sánchez de Hita	1	1		
Agustín de la Sierra		3		presuntos mestizos.
Antonio Tarabjano		2		de distinguida estirpe.
Luis Tenorio	1			
Luis de Toledo		15/10		mestizo con 1/4 sang. india legítima.
Antonio de Ujeda	1	1		
Luis V. Ujeda			2	negros o 3/4 de negro.
Hernando Valdejo	1	7		
Sebastián Vázquez		4		
Marcos Vaca	4	1		
Diego de Valencia	7	2		
Juan de Vera		1		
Jacinto de Vera		1		
Gaspar de Verparán		3		al parecer mestizo.
Francisco de Villagra	4	1		1/2 india, 1/2 y 1/4 natural de madre española y 1 mestizo.
Gregorio de Villaverde	4			
Juan de Zorano		2		
	190	226	7	

SANTIAGO 1541

Actual calle de Santo Domingo

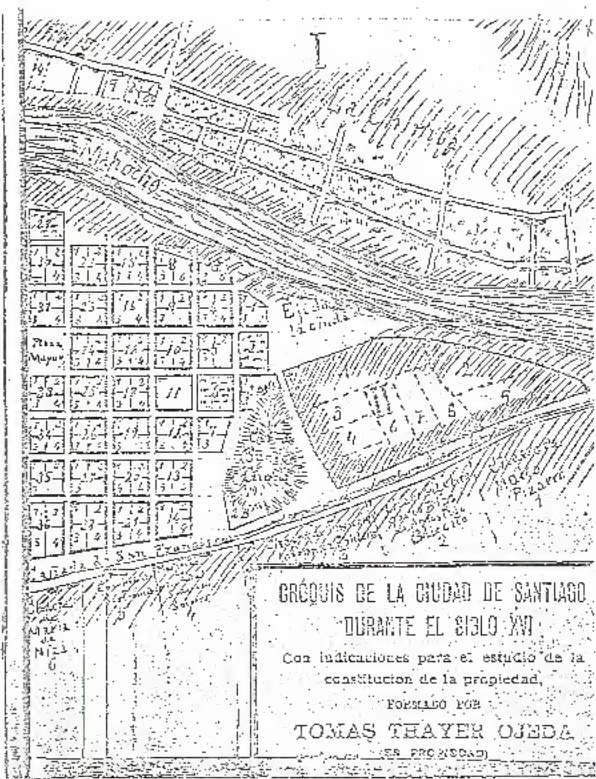


Travado hecho por el almirante Pedro de Canibes, para la ciudad de Santiago, y distribución de los primeros solares, según las investigaciones practicadas hasta el año 1829 por el señor Don Tomás Taboer Ojeda.

Actual calle de Aguilera



1. Pedro de Valdivia.—2. Vico de Villavieja.—3. Diego G. de Cisneros.
4. Pedro Gómez.—5. Recinto de Quiriqui.—6. Juan de Oñe.—7. Juan de Rivera.—8. Leona Noya.—9. Antonio de Exquemene.—10. Alonso de Escobar.—11. Pedro y Bracamonte.—12. Francisco de Aguirre.—13. Anton Hidalgo.—14. García Hernández.—15. Rodrigo de Araya.—16. Molina de Hoyos.—17. Juan Fernández de Alburquerque.—18. Malino de Ataya.—19. Ermita de Santa Lucía.



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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH


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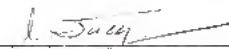
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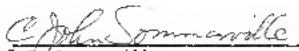
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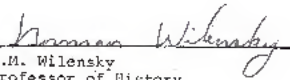
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