

AN EXAMINATION OF JUDICIAL AND LEGISLATIVE DOCUMENTS ON INDIGENOUS
TRIBUTE AND INDIGENOUS STRATEGIES USED IN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE
PROVINCE OF CÓRDOBA, ARGENTINA, 1782-1820

by

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ABSTRACT

EMILY HARNACH. An Examination of Judicial and Legislative Documents on Indigenous Tribute and Indigenous Strategies Used in Negotiations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1782-1820. (Under the direction of DR. CARMEN SOLIZ)

This study shows the importance of indigenous communities by analyzing judicial and legislative documents involving indigenous tribute and indigenous strategies used in negotiations in the province of Córdoba, Argentina, during the late colonial period (1782-1810) and the wars of independence (1810-1820). It examines the economic and socio-political situations that set the relationship between local authorities and indigenous groups in Córdoba. This work combines top-down and bottom-up perspectives to showcase the understanding of *indios'* responses to these motivations. The analysis of indigenous tribute revealed each level of authority and *indios'* responses to the motivations behind these payments. How the *indios* responded to tribute, whether through absence, violence, or attempts at exemptions from paying these taxes, shows the agency enacted by the *indios* and their participation as historical actors. Their responses also show how they connected with their identities and placements within the social hierarchy. The analysis of indigenous strategies used in negotiations demonstrates the *indios'*s capacity to negotiate their position in Spanish society during the wars of independence along with their first hand participation since they are representing themselves in court.¹ Overall, this study gives indigenous voices a place in Argentine history from 1782 to 1820 by showing that they were aware of their situation and could enact a certain level of agency against the oppression they were experiencing.

¹I will use the term *indios* to refer to the indigenous people based on the documents I have analyzed for my primary source research.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr., in *Where Caciques Met Mapmakers: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America*, argues that the "archival" erasure of *indios* from the Río de la Plata region coincided with the drawing of an inter-imperial border between European powers. Yet, numerous indigenous territorialities were able to leverage border making to their benefit.² Erbig's argument highlights how indigenous groups actively participated in colonial border making affairs in the Río de la Plata region during the eighteenth century. The Río de la Plata region includes modern-day Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Paraguay. The Argentine portion of the region will be the focus of this thesis. Furthermore, Erbig states that the story of colonialism and erasure in the Río de la Plata was not simply a story of native decline because indigenous agents were integral to the formation of regional societies.³

Contrary to Erbig's argument, public discourse in Argentina insists on erasing the Indian people's memory and presence. On June 10th, 2021, president Alberto Fernández declared during a meeting with Spain's prime minister "The Mexicans came from the Indians, Brazilians from the jungle, but we Argentines came from boats, and they were boats that came from Europe."⁴ Later, on March 30th, 2023 the head of the Mendoza provincial legislature passed a resolution claiming Mapuche people "should not be considered Argentine."⁵ Both statements

²Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr., *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 173.

³Erbig, *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met*, 173.

⁴Almudena Calatrava, "Argentine President Criticized for saying that 'Brazilians came from the Jungle,'" *Los Angeles Times*, June 10, 2021. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-06-10/argentine-president-ridiculed-over-boat-quote-that-brazilians-came-from-the-jungle#:~:text=During%20a%20meeting%20this%20week,boats%20that%20came%20from%20Europe.%E2%80%9D> (accessed May 2, 2023).

⁵Amy Booth, "Mendoza votes Mapuche aren't 'Indigenous people of Argentina,'" *Buenos Aires Herald*, March 30, 2023. [https://buenosairesherald.com/human-rights/mendoza-votes-mapuches-arent-indigenous-people-of-argentina#:~:text=%E2%80%9CMapuches%20are%20not%20Indigenous%20to,PRO\)%20party%20during%20the%20session](https://buenosairesherald.com/human-rights/mendoza-votes-mapuches-arent-indigenous-people-of-argentina#:~:text=%E2%80%9CMapuches%20are%20not%20Indigenous%20to,PRO)%20party%20during%20the%20session) (accessed May 2, 2023).

demonstrate the poor perception Argentine leaders have of Indigenous groups today. According to the International Group for Indigenous Affairs or IWGIA's website, the standard narrative for Argentines is that no *indios* exist in their country, either because the majority died out or are on the verge of doing so, or because "their descendants" were assimilated into Western civilization long ago.⁶ In the same vein as Erbig's argument, this thesis, focused on the Cordoba Province, demonstrates the role and economic importance of *indios* in the late colonial period and the first decades after independence.

This thesis will show the importance of indigenous communities by analyzing judicial and legislative documents involving indigenous tribute and indigenous strategies used in negotiations in the province of Córdoba during the late colonial period (1782-1810) and the wars of independence (1810-1820). This thesis examines the economic and socio-political situations that set the relationship between local authorities and indigenous groups in Córdoba. My work combines a top-down and bottom-up perspective since I am also interested in understanding indigenous individual responses to these motivations. The research questions I will answer in the following two chapters are: What does the judicial and legislative documentation tell us about late colonial society in Córdoba, Argentina? What was the significance of collecting indigenous tribute for the local authorities in Córdoba and the Spanish Crown? What are the economic and socio-political motivations behind the collection of indigenous tribute? How do the *indios* respond to these tributary collections? What does the collection of tribute say about the understanding of identity in the late colonial period in Córdoba? What does the judicial and legislative documentation tell us about society in Córdoba, Argentina, during the wars of independence? Did *indios'* socio-political and economic status change during the wars of

⁶International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, "Indigenous Peoples in Argentina," *Argentina*, accessed September 9th, 2022. <https://www.iwgia.org/en/argentina/274-indigenous-peoples-in-argentina> 10.

independence? Lastly, what were the *indios*' responses to these status changes during the wars of independence?

The province of Córdoba, located in the mountains or pampas (flatlands) in the central northern part of modern-day Argentina, offers an ideal area for a case study because of the early Spanish presence in the area. The settlement of Córdoba was founded on July 6th, 1573, by Jerónimo Luis de Cabrera and Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa.⁷ Most of the historiography on the question of indigenous tribute has focused on the colonial and postcolonial periods in the Andean (today Peru and Bolivia) region, which has a large indigenous population to this day. Yet, we still need to explore the implementation of indigenous tribute in other areas (as in the case of Córdoba) and the effects it had on indigenous groups like the Comechigones, Sanavirones, Diaguitas, and the Pampas or Puelches who resided in the province of Córdoba before Spanish contact.⁸

An extensive Argentine historiography discusses the extinction of *indios* in this area. The elimination of this population took place after the early Spanish conquest to the military campaigns known as the “Conquest of the Desert” (1878-1885).⁹ The “Conquest of the Desert” was an Argentine military campaign that had the goal of establishing control over the Patagonian Desert, which was predominantly inhabited by *indios*.¹⁰ Many *indios* were killed on the “battlefield” or their extermination was a constant possibility as a consequence of the “state of exception” that enabled the armed forces to execute prisoners and families in the name of the

⁷Robert James Turkovic, “Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853,” (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 6-7.

⁸Turkovic, “Race Relations,” 276.

⁹Walter Delrio, Diana Lenton, etc. “Discussing Indigenous Genocide in Argentina: Past, Present, and Consequences of Argentinean State Policies toward Native Peoples,” *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, Vol. 5: Iss. 2: Article 3, 139.

¹⁰Walter Delrio, Diana Lenton, etc. “Discussing Indigenous Genocide in Argentina,” 140.

“rights of civilization.”¹¹ Yet, emphasis on the narrative of the Indian disappearance prevents us from understanding the role Indigenous people actually played in Argentina’s history. This thesis that studies indigenous experience from the late colonial period and the wars of independence in Córdoba contributes to this scholarship and hopes to encourage further research by revealing *indio*’s role in Argentine history during the late colonial period and post-independence era. Not only is it essential to contribute indigenous voices to the discourse surrounding the overall history of Argentina, but the judicial and legislative documents used in this thesis relay the everyday lived experiences of these individuals through their responses to the economic and socio-political implementations placed upon them by both the colonial and post-independent regimes.

Literary Review

To explore indigenous tribute in Cordoba since the late colonial period and to study their situation after independence, it is important to familiarize with three bodies of literature. First, the relevance of tribute in colonial Latin America. Second, the governmental policies of indigenous erasure and invisibility; and third, the role that indigenous groups played during the wars of independence and afterward. Each theme will elaborate on the scholarship covered on each topic, followed by how my thesis will contribute. Two themes will include scholarship written on both the Andean and Río de la Plata regions to highlight the difference in the range of scholarship for each region. As mentioned previously, the question of tribute and the impact this colonial institution had on indigenous communities has received much more attention in the Andes than in the Río de la Plata. I will briefly discuss these themes in both regions for this literature review.

¹¹Walter Delrio, Diana Lenton, etc. “Discussing Indigenous Genocide in Argentina,” 140.

Indigenous and Tribute in the Andes and Río de la Plata

To understand the relationship between *indios* and the colonial estate, we must understand the institution of tribute. It was the primary way the colonial estate profited from indigenous labor. The Andean region has mainly studied the institution of tribute. For example, the works *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth Century Southern Andes* by Sergio Serulnikov and *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* by Sinclair Thomson utilize the definition of tribute as a payment of cash by Indian families based on family status and land tenure to royal authorities and the Spanish Crown. Thomson further elaborates that state officials kept padrones or registers which defined Indians as the following tributary categories: *ordinarios* (natives to the community and inherited land within it), *agregados* (Indians who held lands but were attached to the community less integrally), and *forasteros* (recently arrived outsiders).¹² Tristan Platt includes these tributary categories in his work *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino: Tierra y Tributo en el Norte de Potosí* when he analyzes the population statistics against records of tributary collection.

All Indians in the tributary categories were required to pay tribute on a prorated basis by the end of the eighteenth century. Policies were composed to determine the requirements of who would pay tribute and who did not. Serulnikov states that young Indian men started paying tribute a year or two after marriage rather than once they turned eighteen.¹³ If a newly married couple was still living on their parent's land, their parents passed into the *reservado*, the tax-

¹²Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 23.

¹³Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth Century Southern Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 91.

exempt category, even if they had not reached the official retirement age of fifty. Once an Indian reached the age of fifty, they became exempt from paying tribute regardless of whether their married children were living on their land.¹⁴ These policies show the continuation of tributary payments based on familial status and land tenure.

The King of Spain's representation through the utilization of the position of the "mallkus" in Tristan Platt's *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu: Tierra y Tribute en el Norte de Potosí* shows the success rate of the collection of tributary payment from the perspective of the Spanish Crown. Platt describes the unique position of the colonial "mallku," the tribute collector and informer of the mitayos.¹⁵ The mitayos were indigenous workers in mines and refineries scattered across the Andean region. The Spanish Crown derived the enforced labor of these indigenous workers from the mita system employed by the Quechan mit'a. The Quechan mit'a was where Andean societies created temporary assignments for workers on community projects. This system of forced labor is different from the encomienda system utilized in the Río de la Plata region. Platt states that the position of "mallku" had to assume the role of intermediary between the ayllus and the Spanish State, typically held by a curaca (indigenous chief).¹⁶ Ayllu is the traditional family form of a community in the Andes. Through the position of "mallku," the King of Spain could present himself to the Indians as the legitimate successor of the Inca: both chiefdoms claimed an eminent right over all cultivated land.¹⁷ This representation of the King of Spain as the legitimate successor to all who occupy the land is also related to the institution of tribute through its connection to the land. Furthermore, the *indios* paying a tribute tax to the King

¹⁴Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth Century Southern Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 91.

¹⁵Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino: Tierra y Tributo en el Norte de Potosi* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982), 28-29.

¹⁶Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino*, 28-29.

¹⁷Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino*, 28-29.

of Spain was a form of submission that additionally legitimized the King of Spain's succession. Lastly, Platt notes that both mita workers and curacas that held the position of "mallku" were both exempted from tribute.

Sergio Serulnikov supplements other forms of submission to the King of Spain in his work *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Tupac Amaru*. Serulnikov notes that the elaboration of public rituals expressed the submission of the Andean people to the Spanish Crown as a form of domination. These public rituals included paying tribute, mita service, religious feasts, and the King's Justice administration.¹⁸ As time passed, the *indios* began protesting these reforms of submission, and an uprising broke out in Potosi that led to the battle of Pocoata in August of 1780. Joaquín Alós, the corregidor (district governor or top Spanish official in a colonial province) of the Chayanta region (where Potosi is located), conducted an inspection tour of the province. In his warning to Antonio de Areche, Inspector General of Peru, Alós stated that any protests and lawsuits made by the indigenous would not undermine his authority under any circumstances.¹⁹ In response to this statement, the *indios* continued pushing their claims against the caciques (indigenous chiefs) and the corregidor in regional courts, regardless of how many arrests and punishments ensued.

As indigenous efforts continued to fail, indigenous leaders resorted to appealing to the court in Buenos Aires in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. The leader of this movement was Tomás Katari, a common Indian that did not have a noble lineage, did not speak Spanish, and paid tribute like any other Indian commoner.²⁰ Katari traveled from Potosi to Buenos Aires in August 1779. In his deposition, he described the tyranny of the caciques, the corregidores'

¹⁸Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Tupac Amaru* (Durham; Duke University Press, 2013), 33.

¹⁹Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes*, 24.

²⁰Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes*, 25.

venality, and the inability of the ministers of the Audiencia of Charcas and the royal treasury in Potosi to do anything about it.²¹ The viceroy ordered the Audiencia of Charcas to designate a commissioned judge to investigate the complaints made by Katari. If the complaints were valid, the following steps were to happen: the removal of the caciques; the initiation of Katari in their place; and eventually, the dismissal of corregidor Alós.²² Serulnikov concludes that the imitation of the public rituals expressed the insurgency between Katari and Alós rather than the dismissal. The imitation of the Western ceremonies of justice was neither a mask for an underground anticolonial conspiracy nor a mere expression of acquiescence to the ruling order.²³ Instead, it represented a judicial act and an act of political subversion. Overall, the *indios* still submitted to their European rulers by abiding by the judicial process to protest their complaints. However, this use of the judicial process showed the *indios*' concepts of justice and political legitimacy.²⁴ Furthermore, it exhibited the supremacy of the indigenous's power of coercion. Tristan Platt and Sinclair Thomson also include the events between Alós and Katari in their works.

One of the most important contributions of anthropologist Tristan Platt was to continue the study of tribute after the colonial period. He revealed that even after Bolivia's constitution and even after what he called Bolivia's first agrarian reform of 1824, indigenous tribute continued under the name of "contribución indigenal" (Indian contribution). Indigenous tribute continued to be collected even after the events of Katari and Alós. Platt states that in 1874 the legislators treated the tax aspect of tribute with caution and would now consider the contribution currently being paid.²⁵ Even so, the lands that were considerably compared to those owned by

²¹Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes*, 25.

²²Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Tupac Amaru* (Durham; Duke University Press, 2013), 26.

²³Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes*, 26.

²⁴Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes*, 33.

²⁵Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino: Tierra y Tributo en el Norte de Potosi* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982), 76.

others proposed a tax increase. The *indios* protested the tax implementations of the Bolivian government, which had gained independence from Spain in August of 1825. Eventually, the first agrarian reform was abandoned. There was a decrease in the reliance on the institution of tribute, but it was not abolished. Platt includes that the proportion of indigenous tribute in the State budget fell from 41% in 1852 to 23% in 1880.²⁶ As the reliance on the institution of tribute decreased, eventually, the political initiative began passing into the hands of the mestizos (mixed ancestry of indigenous and European descent).²⁷ Platt concludes that only the convulsive force of indigenous rejection against economic ruin and political cornering would reverse this process in certain circumstances.

These four works by the authors Tristan Platt, Sergio Servulnikov (who wrote two different works on the subject), and Sinclair Thomson show how the institution of tribute came to be in the Andean region, the successes of the institution experienced by the royal authorities and Spanish Crown, and lastly, how the institution of tribute changed during the postcolonial era. By tracing the course of the institution of tribute through the scholarship on the Andean region shows the comprehensive study on this topic. The institution of tribute, combined with the Spanish's refinement of the mita system, made it into an enforced labor system for the indigenous, which granted the royal authorities and the King of Spain submission of the indigenous, followed by *indios*' responses to protests against the institution of tribute, which they took to court. The events leading up to the judicial hearing of Tomás Katari in Buenos Aires in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata region show the dedication the indigenous would undergo to transform their socioeconomic status. Even so, the institution did not dissipate during the first

²⁶Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino: Tierra y Tributo en el Norte de Potosi* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982), 112.

²⁷Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino*, 147.

agrarian reform. The fact that the reliance on indigenous tribute lessened in the nineteenth century shows the nature of the relationship between the government authorities and the indigenous.

The scholarship included in this portion will only focus on the province of Córdoba rather than the entirety of the Río de la Plata region. John Lynch's work *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata* will be the only exemption. In the case of the province of Córdoba, the institution of tribute had some similarities to the institution found in the Andean region. Both institutions involved a form of submission granted to the Spanish Crown through tax payment. Historian Ana Inés Punta, in her work *Córdoba Borbónica: Persistencias Coloniales en Tiempo de Reformas (1750-1850)*, argues that the institution of tribute was also a coercive way of integrating the *indios* into a mercantile economy.²⁸ The Andean region utilized the mita system, while the Río de la Plata established the encomienda system. The encomienda system was established during the sixteenth century and involved an encomendero, rather than a "mallku," who was an overseer or master of the land granted to a conquistador by the Spanish Crown. A designated number of *indios* was given to an encomendero to use as a workforce. This labor system involved Spanish overseers instead of indigenous leaders like the curacas or caciques (indigenous chiefs). The *indios* also did not have direct ties to the land in the encomienda system since the Spanish Crown maintained ownership. The indigenous people were required to work the land to pay their overseers or in gold.

Daniela Clara Gutierrez's work "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII" notes how due to the harsh conditions on encomiendas, the Spanish Crown enacted the creation of Indian towns or pueblos in the early 1600s. It specified that the lands in

²⁸Ana Inés Punta, *Córdoba Borbónica: Persistencias Coloniales en Tiempo de Reformas (1750-1800)* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1997), 55.

the pueblos would belong to the *indios* and be separate from the lands of the encomenderos. An Indian mayor and an indigenous council would govern these pueblos.²⁹ Both Ana Ines Punta and Daniela Clara Gutierrez highlight the downfall of the encomienda system due to the transition of indigenous labor and the transfer of the pueblos from private to royal jurisdiction. The indigenous living in the pueblos began paying tribute directly to the Spanish Crown, which evolved into creating the pueblos de indios tributarios (Crown-sanctioned Indian settlements). The curacas aided the royal officials in the collection of tribute in the pueblos tributarios, which gave them a similar intermediate role to the "mallkus."

During the late colonial period, the Río de la Plata region established similar requirements designating who paid tribute and who did not. The works of Daniela Clara Gutierrez and John Lynch, who wrote *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata*, state the requirement any *indio* between the ages of eighteen to fifty had to pay tribute.³⁰ Tribute was not tied to familial status as it was in the Andean region. The only exemptions were for caciques, the eldest sons of caciques, Indian alcaldes, indigenous women, mulattos (mixed people of African and European ancestry). There was no exemption for married children living on parents' lands like in the Andean region.³¹ The basis of the institution of tribute was now on the classes of people, and any tribute-paying class would work under masters to deduct the tax from their wages.

In Robert Turkovic's work "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," he states that the indigenous's response to the institution of tribute was to claim a change

²⁹Daniela Clara Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII" (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 29.

³⁰John Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata*, (New York, 1969): 128.

³¹Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810*, 128.

in ancestry. They claimed to be of mulatto descent instead of *indios* to be considered exempt from the tributary tax.³² In 1778, the issue was eventually taken to court by the royal authorities, and the resolution was that mulattos now also had to pay tribute.

The inspection conducted by Florencio Antonio García, Visitor General, in the province of Córdoba, can compare the institution of tribute between the two regions. Like Alós's inspection, García found that many *indios* living in the pueblos tributarios were not native to the land and lived in the surrounding mountains and forests.³³ Both royal officials presented their findings to the court and sought to rectify the difficulties of collecting tribute from the indigenous.

Scholarship on the institution of tribute is present throughout the four works by the authors: Ana Inés Punta, Daniela Clara Gutierrez, John Lynch, and Robert Turkovic. Gutierrez and Turkovic consider the origins of the institution of tribute during the establishment of the encomienda system. At the same time, Lynch and Punta are more considerate of their chosen timeframes for analyzing the late colonial period. Turkovic is the only author that spans fully into the wars of independence since his timeframe ends in 1853 when Córdoba finally becomes a part of independent Argentina after being legally autonomous. The United Provinces of Río de la Plata did begin abolishing indigenous tribute and labor in 1811; however, *indios* did continue to be taxed in other forms.³⁴ Sonia Tell's article titled "El Calendario Actividades y la Participación Mercantil Campesina: Córdoba, 1750-1850" notes the differences of the institution of tribute in the Andean and Río de la Plata regions. Tell states that unlike the Andean societies studied by

³²Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 291.

³³Daniela Clara Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII" (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 33.

³⁴Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), xv.

Platt and others with a significant or majority indigenous component, in Córdoba tribute was not the main mechanism for forcing peasants to intervene in the market because it fell on a minority percentage of the rural population.³⁵ In Córdoba, all those who did not have access to the use of the Indian village lands, who represented 75% of the “Indians” in the second half of the eighteenth century, were left out of the tax polls.³⁶ Instead of paying tribute, most peasants of Córdoba were subjected to pay a diezmos or tithe, one tenth of annual produce of earnings which were taken as a tax to support the Church and clergy. The payments of tithes supported baptisms, marriages, and burials.³⁷ Peasants paid the tithe in “picos” or fractions of animals and eventually the payment was collected by the provincial State after 1837.³⁸ This change shows that even though the institution of tribute was abolished other forms of taxation remained prevalent in the province and Indigenous people continued to be subjected by the local authorities.

Governmental Policies of Indigenous Erasure and Invisibility in Río de la Plata

The Río de la Plata region and the province of Córdoba will be the only focus of this section. Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr.'s work *Where Caciques Met Mapmakers: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* examines the southern part of the Madrid and San Ildefonso demarcation efforts in the Río de la Plata region during the eighteenth century.³⁹ The treaties of Madrid and San Ildefonso involved designating borderlands between European imperial powers in Spanish America. He argues that by looking at the geographic and ethnographic labeling exhibited in European mapmaking, which did not include indigenous territorialities, contributed

³⁵Sonia Tell, “El Calendario de Actividades y la Participación Mercantil Campesina: Córdoba, 1750-1850,” *Andes*, 2006, n. 17, 97.

³⁶Tell, “El Calendario de Actividades,” 97.

³⁷Sonia Tell, “El Calendario de Actividades y la Participación Mercantil Campesina: Córdoba, 1750-1850,” *Andes*, 2006, n. 17, 98.

³⁸Tell, “El Calendario de Actividades,” 98.

³⁹Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr., *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 8.

to the invisibility of mobile indigenous territorialities. This invisibility shows the centrality of designating borders and, with it, becomes collective memory over time and creates other frameworks.⁴⁰ Erbig's focus on the mobile indigenous territorialities or *tolderías* brings the indigenous to the forefront as historical actors during the colonial period.

The other authors in the section on indigenous and Tribute in the province of Córdoba focus mainly on the institution of tribute in the late colonial period, minus Gutierrez and Turkovic's connection to the institution's origins during the *encomienda* system. Erbig's examination of Banda Oriental highlights indigenous involvement on a grander scale, specifically in the interior of the region, which is an area that typically goes unstudied. The countryside kept less primary source material than a more established settlement like a city, so the area typically goes unstudied. Another aspect is who wrote the source material, which Spanish colonists usually recorded. Erbig notes the discrepancy in records written by European mapmakers. Mapmakers did not want to draw an area they had never been to, including a large area between the borderlines; they also wanted maps to represent what the region would become in later years to appeal to the European imperial powers.⁴¹ This inaccuracy erased many indigenous contributions from history and contributed to overall invisibility.

Another contribution that Erbig offers to the scholarship is that *indios* lived in the interior of the region outside the range of the royal authorities' control even though they technically fell under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Crown according to the borderlands. However, by residing in the mobile *tolderías* or the mountains or forests, the royal authorities could not maintain power and autonomy over those indigenous groups due to the issue of distance. As seen with the

⁴⁰Erbig, *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met*, 7.

⁴¹Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr., *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 95.

institution of tribute, many *indios* avoided the collection of tribute by not living in the confines of a pueblo tributario and not submitting to the Spanish Crown. Erbig notes the actions *tolderías*, and *caciques* would take against colonial mapmaking agents. They would attack colonial settlements to get cattle or demand payments from the colonists to travel through the area of the *tolderías*.⁴² Overall, the *indios* living in the region's interior did not participate in the *encomienda* system and the institution of tribute. Their participation shown through their use of strategies during the negotiations of European mapmaking can be related to the strategies of negotiation implemented by *indios* living in the province of Córdoba leading up to the wars of independence.

The Role of Indigenous People during the Wars of Independence

Most studies on independence have focused on the role of the Creole elites and the mestizo populations in the wars of independence. Only in the last two decades have historians begun to analyze black and *indios*' complex role during this process. The two most notable books on this subject are the works of Cecilia Méndez and Marcela Echeverri, who study the role of indigenous populations during the war. Both pieces discover that the *indios* mobilized to defend the royalist forces. The work of Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850*, and Marcela Echeverri's *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780-1825* show that right after independence, those new republics, the Colombian and Peruvian estates, put so many burdens on the indigenous groups that they rebelled. The *indios* wanted the Spanish colonial King back.

Marcela Echeverri studies Colombia, and Méndez studies Peru. Echeverri notes in her work that indigenous people desired to return to royalism because Indians and enslaved people of

⁴²Erbig, *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met*, 26.

African descent were allowed to align their diverse and particular struggles for inclusion within the evolving imperial political landscape during the first decades of the nineteenth century.⁴³ The *indios* would align themselves with royalists backing the Spanish Crown to further their self-interest. The *indios* would implement strategies during negotiations with the royalist elites that transformed the terms of the relationship between the indigenous and the Spanish monarchy.⁴⁴ Cecilia Méndez focuses on the Huanta rebellion from 1825 to 1828 that involved an uprising of peasants, muleteers, landowners, and Spanish officers. Méndez situated the Huanta rebellion in the border context of early nineteenth-century Peruvian politics. She utilizes untouched sources from rebels from the province produced in Quechua, an indigenous language. By examining these sources, she can show that the Huanta rebels had a clear idea of the political affairs occurring during the wars of independence.⁴⁵ Through the rebels' negotiations, Méndez depicts that even though the rebels encouraged a rebellion establishing the Spanish monarchy as a source of legitimacy.⁴⁶ They did not support it as a political system. Lastly, Méndez argues that the rebels' behavior displayed a different political vision than what the colonial regime and republic followed.⁴⁷ Both works add to the scholarship on the Andean region during the wars of independence through the strategies and actions exhibited by the *indios* and Huanta rebels to show the active participation of both groups. This active participation in political affairs of the early nineteenth century displays on a greater level the complexities of how active these groups were in making the Peruvian and Colombian estates.

⁴³Marcela Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780-1825* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 233.

⁴⁴Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution*, 226.

⁴⁵Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 13.

⁴⁶Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic*, 13.

⁴⁷Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic*, 25.

For the portion of this section that covers the Río de la Plata region, the province of Córdoba will be the focus. A considerable lack of scholarship covers the early nineteenth century and wars of independence in Córdoba. There is scholarship written on Argentina as a newly independent nation and more on Buenos Aires's involvement in the political struggle. Seth J. Meisel's work "War, Economy, and Society in Post Independence Córdoba, Argentina" does cover the province but lacks in-depth coverage of the indigenous perspective, unlike Turkovic. Meisel does include how the frontier Indian conflicts did provoke a rupture in the affairs of the new republic elite as they attempted to organize Cordobés society for war on a vast scale.⁴⁸ Meisel's analysis revealed that the Cordobés leaders wanted to preserve the aura of command and conservative social hierarchies of the former colonial regime. Cordobés citizens protested this desire, and leaders were limited in their ability to tax, recruit, and requisition to support their military cause.⁴⁹ Córdoba's military effort required a large amount of financial support, which was crucial to maintain the vitality of their cause.

In Robert Turkovic's work "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," he depicts the livelihoods of the *indios* before and after the wars of Independence. Turkovic notes that the *indios* were still treated as outcasts even though they were legally free by 1840. He states that the tributary statuses had disparaged them; their lands were continually seized and corrupted by colonial authorities, ultimately keeping them on the fringes of society with minimal interaction.⁵⁰ Turkovic includes census records from 1813 and 1822 in his research depicting how many *indios* lived in the city and the countryside of the province. In 1813, 50

⁴⁸Seth J. Meisel, "War Economy and Society in Post Independence Córdoba, Argentina," *Proquest Dissertations Publishing*, 1999: iv.

⁴⁹Seth J. Meisel, "War Economy and Society in Post Independence Córdoba, Argentina," *Proquest Dissertations Publishing*, 1999: iv.

⁵⁰Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 3.

indios lived in the city and 5,649 in the countryside. This denotation of political and social control is starkly different from the European mapmakers' limited control of the *indios* living in the mobile *tolderías* in the region's interior.⁵¹ By 1822, 586 *indios* were in the city, and 2,345 were in the countryside.⁵² These numbers in the countryside are most likely lower than what they truly were because these numbers could have only included *indios* living in settlements like the *pueblos tributarios* or other smaller townships that were located in the countryside rather than the vast amounts of *indios* scattered in the mountains and forests across the rest of the interior of the province.

Furthermore, Turkovic highlights that the conscription of *indios* into the military forces of Córdoba during the wars of independence was due to punishment or by force. Like how *tolderías* would attack European settlements and steal cattle, many *indios* resorted to robbing livestock to feed their families. Due to the increase in robberies, many *indios* served as punishment. Many indigenous families lost their means of economic survival when the military conscripted their male family members by force. Turkovic notes that many indigenous families went to court to exempt this enforcement.⁵³ Utilizing the judicial process is similar to how the *indios* protested the institution of tribute in the Andean region. Lastly, Turkovic showcases the desertion of military posts by *indios* conscripted into the army. *Indios* would typically abandon their post in the first few months of service by stealing horses and guns from their regiment to get away.⁵⁴ This response is similar to the *indios'* responses of being absent and resorting to violence against captains collecting tribute in the province of Córdoba during the late colonial

⁵¹Turkovic, "Race Relations," 77.

⁵²Turkovic, "Race Relations," 79.

⁵³Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 311.

⁵⁴Turkovic, "Race Relations," 310.

period. Compared to the strategies implemented by the *indios* and Huanta rebels in Colombia and Peru, the *indios* in Córdoba never incited an uprising or rebellion against the Cordobés government. Currently, no scholarship depicts indigenous strategies involved in political negotiations on the level that Méndez and Echeverri exhibited.

My Contribution

The main contribution of the research and findings from this thesis aims to dismantle the "archival erasure" experienced by indigenous populations within Argentinian history, specifically in the province of Córdoba. The common misconception that indigenous groups perished due to death or assimilated into Western society is only part of what occurred to these individuals. Both narratives were the realities of some indigenous populations, and the interpretation of assimilation into Western society was a way of survival for these individuals. That is not to say that there were no other motivations for assimilation into Spanish society, such as the potential to prosper economically or socially or even that specific *indios* considered the Spanish a more civilized society than their indigenous ancestors. The judicial records involving indigenous tribute show the level of consideration that local authorities of Córdoba placed on maintaining control over the indigenous populations within their territories. These payments were necessary not only for economic survival but also so that these individuals did not relocate, allowing for further conflict and making it more difficult for the Spanish to maintain autonomous power and control.

The discourse surrounding indigenous tribute in judicial and legislative documents allows for a comprehensive study of the indigenous experience within Córdoba. The records contain elements highlighting each level of authority and *indios*' responses to the motivations behind these payments. How *indios* responded to tribute, whether through absence, violence, or attempts

at exemption from paying these taxes, shows the agency enacted by these individuals and their participation as historical actors. Their responses also show how they connected with their identities and placements within the social hierarchy. Lastly, it is essential to show the differences between the institution of tribute in the Andean and Río de la Plata regions, especially in areas like Córdoba. Both labor systems enforced the institution of tribute. It is essential to include how the indigenous were affected by the *encomienda* system to understand how colonial society operated in Spanish America.

This thesis's primary contribution of indigenous strategies used in negotiations during the wars of independence in Córdoba will be similar to Marcela Echeverri's work *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780-1825*. Through an analysis of a court case from 1818, the *indios* used strategies with the local authorities of Córdoba to negotiate their position on the province's southern border. They did not want to bring back the Spanish monarchy, like in the case of Echeverri's research; instead, they allied themselves with the local elite of Córdoba. Their negotiations were similar to the protests in court in the section covering indigenous and the institution of tribute in the Andean region. They actively participated firsthand in court to negotiate their protection granted by the Cordonese government. They also ratified the alliance treaty established between the government and the indigenous groups along the southern border to have a unified stronghold against forces allied with Buenos Aires during the wars of independence. In return, the *indios* gave their fidelity to the government of Córdoba and aided them in their issue of military desertion. Overall, this thesis aims to contribute by giving these individuals a voice in Argentine history and showing that they were aware of their situation and could enact a certain level of agency against the oppression they were experiencing.

Methodology & Sources

I transcribed and translated twenty-five court cases from two archives in Córdoba, Argentina, ranging from the late colonial period to the wars of independence. The archives were the Archivo Arzobispado de la Catedral, or AAC, and the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Córdoba, or AHPC. Through my study of the court cases, I learned about indigenous experiences that dealt with *indios*' attempts to circumvent the payment of tribute and strategies used by indigenous representatives in negotiations with local authorities in Córdoba. I also analyzed criminal activities, such as murders and robberies, and sexual activities that involved illicit relationships with people of authority from the Catholic Church that *indios/as* were involved with. The findings in these court cases shed light on the reality of the livelihoods of the *indios* in the province of Córdoba and how both the *indios* and local authorities perceived the concept of identity within the social hierarchy.

Out of the twenty-five courts, two specific cases stood out to me, which are the main primary sources used for this thesis's research. It is worth noting that there is a limit to the research of this thesis since it only focuses on two court cases, but through its contribution it paves the way for further work to be done on other judicial and legislative documents depicting indigenous experiences in Córdoba in English so that this research reaches a larger audience in English speaking countries. The first court case from 1785 focuses on the doubts and difficulties that the *alcaldes ordinarios* (judge or town council member) had with collecting tributary payments from the *indios* in nine pueblos in the province of Córdoba will be analyzed. This court case analysis will explore the negotiations between the *alcaldes ordinarios* and the Governor Intendant of Córdoba during the late colonial period. The negotiations that took place demonstrate the degree of understanding that each participant had in the collection of tribute and

show how critical the tributary payment was to the survival of the colonial province. Following the lead of the subaltern studies and the work of Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr., I am interested in analyzing colonial society's political dynamics from top-to-down and bottom-up perspectives. Erbig uses a top-down analysis to demonstrate how the Spanish and Portuguese dealt with the *tolderías* through legal and diplomatic discourse. Through his bottom-up analysis, he recounts actions that *tolderías*, and *caciques* took against colonial agents.⁵⁵ I will use the top-down perspective to examine how the local authorities and Spanish Crown dealt with the *indios* and the lack of tribute payment in the nine *pueblos*. Lastly, I will use the bottom-up perspective to understand the *indios*' responses to the tribute collections.

Another analysis of a court case from 1818 will focus on the ratification of alliance treaties between the *indios* living on the southern border of the province of Córdoba and the Governor Intendant. This analysis will show the strategies *indios* used in negotiating the alliance treaties. The study of this case will demonstrate the *indios*' capacity to negotiate their position in Spanish society during the wars of independence along with their first hand participation since they are representing themselves in court. Overall, this court case shows the intricate relationship between the indigenous representatives and the Governor Intendant. The analysis will include how the negotiations that took place met the needs of both sides of the relationship. Lastly, other primary sources used from the Portal de Archivos Españoles or PARES are maps displaying Córdoba and the region it encompassed, borderland reports on the areas surrounding Córdoba, letters written to local authorities relaying statuses on the relationships with the indigenous communities in the area, and official documentation on the formation of *encomiendas* in the province of Córdoba.

⁵⁵Jeffrey Alan Erbig Jr., *Where Caciques and Mapmakers Met: Border Making in Eighteenth-Century South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 21.

By combining Sonia Tell and Isabel Olaneta's observations on divergent trajectories of indigenous groups in their work "El Registro y La Historia de los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba entre los siglos XVI y XIX" and Daniela Gutierrez's methodological approach on analyzing the application of justice through social and economic motivations in her work "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII," I can examine how local authorities enacted indigenous tributary payments and how indigenous respond to these collections. This combination allows me to show how local authorities were enforcing or not enforcing collection payments and potentially why the *indios* in each pueblo had specific reactions toward these payments. Depending on how each indigenous group came to be in each pueblo most likely signified the type of response they had to the enforcement of collecting tributary payments. Their reactions allow a window into how they identified themselves and how much agency they were able to advocate.

In Norah L. A. Gharala's work *Taxing Blackness: Free African American Tribute in Bourbon New Spain*, she utilizes relating social position's definitions to the concepts of tributary status and identity. This concept will allow me to show how the local authority in Córdoba viewed indigenous communities versus how the indigenous viewed themselves within the system. Using her concept and focusing on terminology, I can examine how government officials used specific language to define *indios*' placement within the colonial system and their purpose, along with how the *indios* used the same terminology to either identify within the colonial system themselves or attempt to advocate a form of resistance by denying their status of tributary payments. On the other hand, in Ana Ines Punta's work *Córdoba Borbónica: Persistencias Coloniales en Tiempo de Reformas (1750-1800)*, she uses the methodological approach to examine the socio-political reasonings behind specific Bourbon Reforms allows me to analyze

the same terminology used to determine how the Spanish Crown categorized the *indios* within the social hierarchy in its colonies. Gharala's concept of tributary status and identity and Punta's methodological approach to socio-political reasonings allow me to examine the discourse used by multiple individuals in the judicial and legislative documents analyzed in this thesis.

By using Robert Turkovic's focus in his work "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853" that indigenous populations should remain on the fringes of society with minimal interaction from local authorities during post-independence lets me show how the socio-political relationship between Córdoba and indigenous communities developed. His framework allows me to determine whether or not the relationship between the two changed during the wars of independence. I can potentially answer the question of whether or not indigenous communities were able to transition within the social hierarchy through their use of strategies in negotiations or did they remain in the same place as a new relationship developed between the Cordobés government and its citizens during the wars of independence.

Outline

The chapter, "The Challenges and Difficulties of Collecting Indigenous Tribute in the Province of Córdoba during the Late Colonial Period," will briefly review the *indios* living in the province before Spanish contact and how the Spanish conquistadors established the settlement of Córdoba. Second, it will outline the history of the institution of tribute in the province, starting with the *encomienda* system. Third, it will describe the structure of the *pueblos tributarios*, followed by the introduction of the Royal Ordinance of 1782. Finally, an analysis of a court case from 1785 will present the following findings: the level of dependency the local administration had on the tribute payment from both an economic and socio-political perspective; the acts of resistance the *indios* had towards the collecting captains gathering tribute; the issue of distance

that made collecting tribute across the province difficult; and how the restructuring of the collection system included new revised incentives and exemptions. A conclusion will be provided at the end of the chapter to summarize the findings and reconnect them to the larger conversation of how Argentine history has represented *indios*. The chapter, "Indigenous Strategies Used in Negotiations in the Province of Córdoba during the Wars of Independence," will begin with a brief review of the local history of the province of Córdoba from 1808 to 1820, which includes the wars of independence. Second, the history of the indigenous during the wars of independence will be outlined, followed by an analysis of a court case from 1818. The analysis of the court case from 1818 will include the following findings: the relationship between the local authorities and the indigenous representatives that show how each side understood the necessity of the other; the type of protection offered to the indigenous groups by local authorities; a safeguard implemented by the local authorities to protect the ratification of the alliance treaties; and in return, the *indios* aided the local authorities in their issue of desertion. A conclusion will be provided at the end of the second chapter, summarizing the findings from the court case analysis and reconnecting them to the overall conversation surrounding how Argentine history has represented indigenous people. Lastly, a conclusion will be provided for the thesis, making connections and comparisons between the findings of both court case examinations to show how the late colonial period and the wars of independence perceived the *indios*. The primary goals of this thesis's research will also be restated, along with noting any further research that could be conducted on the topic and highlighting the connection between past and present indigenous experiences in Argentina's history.

CHAPTER TWO:
THE CHALLENGES AND DIFFICULTIES OF COLLECTING TRIBUTE IN THE
PROVINCE OF CÓRDOBA DURING THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

On December 10th, 1785, the Córdoba Governor Intendant received a letter from *alcaldes ordinarios*. An *alcalde ordinario* was a judge or town council member sometimes referred to simply as an *alcalde*. They described the doubts and difficulties they faced collecting tribute from the *indios* in the *pueblos*. These doubts and difficulties were a significant blow to the province of Córdoba's contribution to the royal revenue profits given to the Crown since royal tribute was one of only four revenue resources. This chapter explores the negotiations between the *alcaldes ordinarios* and the Governor Intendant of Córdoba in the late colonial period. Doing so explores the role each participant had in collecting tribute. It also shows how critical this payment was for the survival of the colonial province. To understand the complexity of the

relationship between all of the participants, this chapter will first offer a brief review of the *indios* living in the area, second it will outline the history of tribute starting with the encomienda system, third it will describe the structure of the pueblos, and fourth the Royal Ordinance of 1782 will be introduced. Lastly, it analyzes the 1785 court case and it uncovers the level of dependency the local administration had on the tribute payment from both an economic and socio-political perspective, the acts of resistance the *indios* had towards the collecting captains gathering tribute, the issue of distance that made collecting tribute difficult across the province, the structure of the collection system that included revised incentives for both the collecting captains and indigenous leaders, and lastly, exceptions made to the tribute requirements. The conclusion will summarize the court case's findings and reconnect them to the larger conversation of how *indios* were represented throughout Argentine history.

The following questions drove my research: What does this specific court case tell us about late colonial society in Córdoba, Argentina? Why is the collection of tribute necessary to the local administration of Córdoba (mainly the *alcaldes ordinarios*)? Do the demands and policies of the Bourbons affect the local administration's implementation of the collection of tribute? What are the motivations? How do the local indigenous groups in the pueblos respond to these implementations? What does the collection of tribute say about the understanding of identity in the late colonial period in Córdoba? By being able to answer these questions, the main contribution of the findings presented from this court case will be to highlight the *indios'* responses through acts of resistance to the collection of tribute. The study of indigenous populations in Córdoba has been a somewhat marginal topic in Argentinian historiography. Yet, the analysis of this case demonstrates the importance indigenous taxes had in the colonial period and the indigenous leaders' role in collecting them.

Comechingones, Sanavirones, Pampas, and Querandíes: Before and After Spanish Conquest

To understand the role of indigenous groups at the end of the colonial period, it is essential to comprehend the characteristics of the indigenous societies that lived in Córdoba before the arrival of the Spaniards. This section includes background information regarding indigenous groups in the province before and after contact with Spanish conquistadors (Spanish explorers). The province of Córdoba is located in the mountains or pampas (flatlands) in the central northern part of modern-day Argentina. The province spans from the Grande Mountains on the west to the Pampas on the east. Four major rivers cut through the province: Primero, Segundo, Tercero, Cuarto, and Quinto Rivers.⁵⁶ The two motivating factors that lured Spanish conquistadors from Peru into the region that would become Córdoba were the desire for wealth and new lands.⁵⁷ The conquistadors heard indigenous legends depicting the "Ciudad de los Césares," known as "The City of Caesars."⁵⁸ In 1528, Francisco Cesar was the first known Spaniard to reach where the city of Córdoba would be.⁵⁹ He could not find the "Ciudad de los Césares," but his expedition reached the interior of the sierras grandes of the region. Fifteen years later, after Cesar, Conquistadores Diego de Rojas, Felipe Gutierrez, Nicolas Heredia, and 200 soldiers ventured out on an expedition in 1543 to discover land between Chile and the Río de la Plata.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the group entered conflicts with the Diaguita and Juries Indians, dismantling any further efforts of the conquistadors. Francisco de Aguirre's expedition in 1566 proposed a settlement that would be a central distribution point for products from Chile and

⁵⁶*Mapa Geográfico de la República Argentina*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1882, *Portal de Archivos Españoles*, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla, España), <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/17095?nm>

⁵⁷Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 4.

⁵⁸Turkovic, "Race Relations," 4.

⁵⁹Hector Ramon Lobos, *Historia de Córdoba*, Vol. 1 - Vol 4 (Córdoba: Ediciones del Copista, 2009 - Presente): 45.

⁶⁰Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 5.

Tucumán and merchandise coming from the Río Paraná and Río de la Plata. This distribution point would connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and this settlement would be Córdoba.⁶¹ Even though Aguirre's expedition established a distribution point, he became the scapegoat for a plot and was arrested, which halted his permanent establishment. Finally, in January of 1573, Jeronimo Luis de Cabrera enlisted Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Tucumán, Juries, and Diaguitas. Both Spaniards eventually reached the Río Suquia and the interior of the land inhabited by the Comechingone Indians. They officially founded the city of Córdoba on July 6th, 1573.⁶²

Next, the following segment will cover the indigenous societies and cultures that Spanish conquistadors encountered and recorded during their travels. The Spanish encountered four different lifestyles among the people located in the region. According to historian Hector Lobos these lifestyles were paleolithic, hunter-gatherers, early neolithics, and later neolithics: the Comechingones, the Sanavirones, the Pampas, and the Querandíes.⁶³ Lobos use of the terms paleolithic, early neolithics, and later neolithics comes from a conservative depiction of how *indios* are represented, which are outdated and offensive terms today. This use of terminology is similar to the discourse used by leading legislators in Argentina featured in the beginning of the introduction. Other contemporary historians and academics refrain from associating early indigenous groups with these terms.

The Comechingones expanded to both sides of the mountain ranges. They encircled the valleys from the north of the Cruz del Eje to the foothills of the sierra that would eventually make up the region that covered the province of Córdoba. It was known as the province of the

⁶¹Turkovic, "Race Relations," 6-7.

⁶²Turkovic, "Race Relations," 8-9.

⁶³Hector Ramon Lobos, *Historia de Córdoba*, Vol. 1 - Vol 4 (Córdoba: Ediciones del Copista, 2009 - Presente): 45.

"bearded people" who lived in caves. They had more developed lithic techniques than other groups, ceramics, domestications of plants and animals, textiles, and their form of political organization and system of beliefs. The Spanish translated their name to "sierra with many villages," which refers to the locations the Comechingones inhabited. The two dominant languages of the region were Henya and Camiare, but there were also many other dialects.⁶⁴ Some of the subgroups of the Comechingones are the Sauletas, the Pascos, the Nogolmas, the Auletas, the Macacolitas, the Chocancharaba, the Chimes, and lastly, the Sitones.⁶⁵

The Sanavirones occupied the area east of the Comechingones to the north from the Dulce River to the Río Primero (First River). They are a group of advanced neolithics due to the cultural influences from the Chaco-Santaguena civilization and Diaguita-Calchaqui from Catamarca.⁶⁶ Many groups in this region were integrated into new cultural forms of the bearer version, while others continued exhibiting a nomadic way of life. Despite many different dialects, the Spaniards generalized the area's language from the word "sacat" or pueblo. The indigenous groups in the region mainly cultivated corn, pumpkin, beans, and quinoa. The main occupations of the people were shepherds and weavers who had abandoned the roles of hunter-gatherers.⁶⁷

The Pampas were located south below the Comechingones. The area borders the River plate and the lower-Paraná to the northwest, the Atlantic Ocean to the east, and the Patagonia steppes on the south.⁶⁸ The Pampas is a vast and grassland plain with rolling landscapes and a

⁶⁴Lobos, *Historia de Córdoba*, 46-47.

⁶⁵Lobos, *Historia de Córdoba*, 47.

⁶⁶Lobos, *Historia de Córdoba*, 51.

⁶⁷Hector Ramon Lobos, *Historia de Córdoba*, Vol. 1 - Vol4 (Córdoba: Ediciones del Copista, 2009 - Presente): 53.

⁶⁸Maria Andrea Campetella, "At the Periphery of Empire: Indians and Settlers in the Pampas of Buenos Aires, 1580-1776" (Phd Dissertation, The State University of New Jersey, 2008), 19.

few sierras.⁶⁹ Maria Andrea Campetella states in her dissertation “At the Periphery of Empire: Indians and Settlers in the Pampas of Buenos Aires, 1580-1776” that the Pampas Indians were highly mobile hunter-gatherers, traveling on foot, and were organized in small bands.⁷⁰ Their mobility depended on availability of resources such as water, wood, and stone until they developed strategies that allowed them to preoccupy spaces for longer amounts of time. It was discovered that the Pampas Indians became trade mediators between their hunter-gatherer counterparts to the south and the farming Tupi-Guaraní to the north, a northeastern Native group that expanded south along the Paraná-River Plate system.⁷¹

Lastly, the Querandíes were located to the east of the Comechingones, south of the Sanavirones, and north of the Pampas. Their area ranges from the Salado River in the province of Buenos Aires to the Carcarañá River in the province of Santa Fe.⁷² Sergio Hernan Latini states in his work “La Etnicidad de los Querandíes, Una Discusión No Resuelta” that from first encounters recorded in documents produced by Spanish conquistadors, the Querandíes were an ethnic group or a subgroup belonging to a larger one.⁷³ Furthermore, Latini notes that different scholars have discussed whether or not the Querandíes were nomadic or sedentary, hunters or farmers.⁷⁴ It seems from descriptions gathered by Spanish conquistadors that the Querandíes were most likely nomadic like the Pampas Indians. The Querandíes understood the territory they occupied and would move according to the resources that it would offer them. Furthermore, they were considered to be avid hunters, gatherers, and fishermen due to their location by the Atlantic

⁶⁹Campetella, “At the Periphery of Empire,” 19-21.

⁷⁰Campetella, “At the Periphery of Empire,” 24.

⁷¹Campetella, “At the Periphery of Empire,” 26.

⁷²Sergio Hernan Latini, “La Etnicidad de los Querandíes, Una Discusión No Resuelta,” *Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET)*, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2011, 98.

⁷³Sergio Hernan Latini, “La Etnicidad de los Querandíes, Una Discusión No Resuelta,” *Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET)*, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2011, 103-104.

⁷⁴Latini, “La Etnicidad de los Querandíes,” 104.

Ocean.⁷⁵ They maintained relations with other indigenous groups and with Spanish society after the Conquest, which allowed them to exchange goods and information similar to the Pampas Indians as well.

In 1492 there was an estimation that there were 300,000 indigenous in the Río de la Plata region. Demographer Angel Rosenblat produced this estimation. He predicts that by the time Córdoba's settlement appeared in the 1570s that there were still 300,000 *indios*. By including this information, the reader can better understand the societal structure and culture of the indigenous groups in the region before contact with the Spanish. This understanding provides a more in-depth comprehension of the changes that would take place in the livelihoods of these people under the Spanish Crown during the colonial period. Tribute was the most important form of indigenous labor extraction during the colonial period. The following section studies the implementation of tribute under the *encomienda* system in the province of Córdoba.

Indigenous Tribute in the Province of Córdoba

Tribute is a payment from either one ruler or nation to another that acknowledges submission or comes as a price for protection. It can also mean a tax, rental, or tariff imposed by a government, sovereign, lord, or landlord.⁷⁶ An official royal decree called the *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de Indios* or the *Compilation of the Laws of the Indian Kingdoms* describes tribute. The text describes tribute as a fair payment in recognition of their vassalage to the Crown:

⁷⁵Latini, "La Etnicidad de los Querandíes," 106.

⁷⁶Merriam-Webster, "Tribute," accessed December 12th, 2022, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tribute>.

Porque es justo y razonable que los indios que se pacificaron, y redujeron a nuestra obediencia y vasallaje, nos sirven, y den tributo en reconocimiento súbditos y vasallos debe, pues ellos entre sí tenían costumbre de tributar a sus Tecles y Principales: Mandamos que se les persuade a que por esta razón nos acudan en elgin tributo en moderada cantidad de los frutos de la tierra, como y en los tiempos que se dispone por las leyes de este título.

Because it is just and reasonable that the Indians who are pacified and reduced to our obedience and vassalage, serve us, and give tribute in recognition of the domain, and service, which as our subjects and vassals they owe, since they were accustomed to pay tribute to their Tecles and Principales: We order that they be persuaded to pay us tribute in a moderate amount of the fruits of the land, as and at the times provided for by the laws of this title.⁷⁷

For the Royal Crown, tribute was a tax used as a form of submission from the indigenous people to the Spanish Empire. In return, they would receive protection from other European powers like the British, French, or Dutch, who fought over borderland disputes. Ana Inés Punta, a historian at the National University of Córdoba, argues that the tribute also operated in a coercive way of integrating the indigenous people into the mercantile economy, forcing them to work for the *encomendero* or making them produce goods that served him.⁷⁸ The following section will explore the integration of the *indios* through tribute, which includes information on the *encomienda* system and *pueblos* established in the province of Córdoba to show how tribute had a two-folded purpose. It served as an economic source for the Spanish Crown and allowed the Crown to maintain power and autonomy over the indigenous groups located on the *encomiendas* through labor.

The Encomienda System and Pueblos

The purpose of the *encomienda* system was to enforce labor on *indios* in the area after the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century. The *encomendero* was the overseer or master of

⁷⁷Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 289.

⁷⁸Ana Inés Punta, *Córdoba Borbónica: Persistencias Coloniales en Tiempo de Reformas (1750-1800)* (Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1997), 55.

the land granted to a conquistador by the Royal Crown and gave a designated number of indigenous as a workforce. They oversaw the labor and production on the land, which gave them a certain amount of power. If they were given any trouble by the *indios* located in the encomienda, they were allowed to enact any punishment they saw fit. For the *indios*, life on the encomienda was busy days of hard labor in strenuous conditions, and anyone of able body was required to work. Disease and famine were also very prevalent.

In 1611, King Philip III appointed Francisco de Alfaro to inspect the treatment of the Indians in the region under his jurisdiction, which included Córdoba at this time. During Alfaro's appointment, he issued policies that suppressed Indians' servile work, the impossibility of moving Indians more than one league away from their residence, and a five peso tax payment.⁷⁹ Another component of the policies was the formation of Indian towns known as pueblos that an Indian mayor and indigenous council governed. It specified that the lands located in the town would belong to the Indians and be separate from the encomendero's lands.⁸⁰ The creation of Indian towns, unfortunately, did not decrease the abuses by encomenderos, even though the Royal Crown backed this policy. It was difficult for the Crown to fully enforce their policies due to the distance of power from across an ocean and the extensive coverage of how many colonies they had to maintain.

Eighteen encomiendas existed into the first half of the eighteenth century. However, in 1749, according to a register conducted by the Indians of Córdoba, only three encomiendas were in operation. The three encomenderos were Don Carlos de Olmos y Aguilera, Don Joseph

⁷⁹Daniela Clara Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII" (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 29.

Gutierrez states in her thesis that Felipe II or Philip II was King of Spain during 1611, but he actually reigned from 1556 to 1598. Felipe III or Philip III succeeded his father and reigned from 1598 to 1621.

⁸⁰Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios," 29.

Moiano Oscaris, and Don Nicolas de Leon.⁸¹ The decrease in encomiendas resulted from two components: the transition of the form of indigenous labor and the transfer of towns from private to royal domain. Instead of *indios* producing labor and living under the jurisdiction of encomenderos, they began paying tribute directly to the Crown. Their towns now fell under the jurisdiction of royal authorities in the area. Under the royal domain, any remaining encomiendas were converted into pueblos de indios tributarios (Crown-sanctioned Indian settlements).⁸² These pueblos were similar to those created during the 1600s. The significant difference between the two types was that the pueblos in the eighteenth century held the primary purpose of producing tribute directly to the Crown at a rate of five pesos.⁸³

The Spanish Crown sanctioned nine pueblos de indios tributarios (Crown-sanctioned Indian settlements): La Toma, located close to the city; Soto and Quilino to the north of the city of Córdoba; Nono and Pichana in Traslasierra, where the majority of the population resided; and San Antonio de Nonascate, San Jacinto, Cosquin, and Salsacate, the smaller pueblos.⁸⁴ Native, mestizos, mulattos, blacks, foreigners, and Spaniards inhabited the pueblos. Curacas (Indigenous chiefs) from distinguished lineages and families held positions of power in some pueblos. Town council officials granted authority by the Spanish Crown governed others.⁸⁵ Both the curacas and officials were to supervise social control of the *indios* in their area and collect tribute payments. The *indios* were required to pay tribute to the tributo al recaudador or tribute collector. By the 1770s, only twenty-nine percent of the total indigenous population lived in the tributary pueblos,

⁸¹Daniela Clara Gutierrez, “La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII” (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 33.

⁸²Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), 15.

⁸³ Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight*, 15.

⁸⁴ Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight*, 15.

⁸⁵Daniela Clara Gutierrez, “La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII” (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 32.

making tribute challenging to collect. The other seventy-one percent avoided paying tribute by living in the mountains and forests in the interior of the province. For example, in 1775, it was calculated that 226 *indios* owned tribute, totaling 1, 330 pesos, but the tribute collector only received 50 pesos and four reales.⁸⁶ With this significant decrease in financial return, the Spanish Crown introduced the Royal Ordinance of 1782 to improve social control over *indios* and the Crown's financial prosperity. The following section studies the implementation of the Royal Ordinance of 1782.

The Royal Ordinance of 1782: the Crown's New Attempt to Regain Control over the Pueblos of Córdoba

The Spanish Crown introduced the Royal Ordinance in 1782 under the Bourbons, who reigned from 1700 to 1808. The Bourbons enacted many reforms during their reign that dealt with maintaining power and autonomy over their empire and its colonies. On January 28th, 1782, Charles III, King of Spain, enacted *La Real Ordenanza para el Establecimiento e Instrucción de los Intendentes de Ejército y Provincia en el Virreinato de Buenos Aires* or *The Royal Ordinance for the Establishment and Instruction of the Quartermasters of the Army and Provinces in the Viceroyal of Buenos Aires* that divided the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata into eight different political intendencies. An intendency is a Viceroyalty subregion overseen by an official appointed by the Royal Crown. The intendencies were Buenos Aires, Paraguay, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, Potosi, Salta, and Córdoba. Originally Salta and Córdoba were part of an immense province of Tucumán before 1782.⁸⁷ The reasoning behind this Royal Ordinance was to

⁸⁶Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), 15.

⁸⁷Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 21-22.

divide and strengthen administration power across more considerable distances, and there would be more dispersal of tribunals.

A primary goal of the Royal Ordinance was to improve the financial system of the Viceroyalty. The Bourbon Crown established a new hierarchy to maintain the financial records and distributions. The Secretary of Indies in Madrid gained authority over the new hierarchical administrative order and was in charge of the superintendent in Buenos Aires. The superintendent in Buenos Aires delegated powers to various intendants across the provinces within the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata.⁸⁸ The royal revenue collected in the provinces was now under the jurisdiction of the intendants, and they could sanction the enforcement of the revenue collection. The collected sources were payments of royal tribute, purchase taxes, mining profits, and profits from stamped paper.⁸⁹

Under the new guidance issued under the Ordinance, the *alcaldes ordinarios* (judicial and administrative officials on the town councils) or subdelegates collected tribute. They recorded the money into the royal treasury twice a year to account for it in Buenos Aires.⁹⁰ The initial basis for the collection of tribute was on the number of inhabitants located in a designated area before the Ordinance, which encouraged censuses to be taken on the populations in the area the *alcaldes ordinarios* oversaw and were now required to be updated every five years. Another requirement was to submit any information they had on the subject to whom they received the payment from. More comprehensive reports became available by submitting further information on the subjects paying tribute and reviews being conducted on census records every five years. In 1784, an *Instruccion Metodica* or *Methodological Instruction* outlined the information for

⁸⁸John Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata*, (New York, 1969): 123–124.

⁸⁹Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration*, 128-130.

⁹⁰Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration*, 128.

collecting census data. The following information was the distinction of families, the number, name, state, and age, and the number of individuals of a tributary caste who lived there.⁹¹

Historically, a systematic policy allowed both the Spanish authorities and individuals with private ownership, like some *encomenderos*, to expropriate the *indios* from their lands and distribute them as they saw fit. By collecting this information, officials could determine who was native to the territory and who was *forastero*, known as "recently arrived outsiders" The term *forastero* referred to other *indios* who transferred from other *pueblos* or *encomiendas*. The constant migration of people created many disputes between locals and *forasteros*. Another consequence of this migration was the lack of sufficient resources to sustain the communities as they grew, which produced less economic prosperity for the local government and the Bourbon Crown.⁹² This lack of economic prosperity would eventually change the requirements of who contributed to the tribute.

The Royal Ordinance of 1782 collected tribute according to the classes of people, the quality of their arable land, and the profits from their trades and income.⁹³ Any *indios* between the ages of eighteen and fifty must pay tribute. The only exceptions of those that did not have to pay were *caciques* (Indigenous chief), the eldest sons of the *caciques*, Indian *alcaldes*, and women.⁹⁴ Other exemptions from tributary payments were *mulattos* (racial classification to refer to people of mixed African and European ancestry) and enslaved Africans. Enslaved Africans entered the Río de la Plata region through the Portuguese slave trade.⁹⁵ Estimates from between

⁹¹Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 290.

⁹²Daniela Clara Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII" (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 35.

⁹³John Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata*, (New York, 1969): 128.

⁹⁴Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration*, 128.

⁹⁵Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), 15.

1587 to 1640 suggest that 45,000 enslaved Africans traveled through the port of Buenos Aires. From there, many enslaved people traveled through the interior of Rio de la Plata. They stopped in Córdoba on their way to Potosi or other major interior cities like Mendoza, Catamarca, Jujuy, and Salta.⁹⁶

With the combination of collecting tribute now based on class and more thorough record keeping, there was an increase in tribute payments. In response to this increase in collections, many *indios* began claiming that they were mulattos and should not pay tribute. In 1778, this change in lineage became a severe problem for officials, and the Governor Intendant, Andres Mestre, received many communiques from administrative officials regarding problems of indigenous people claiming not to be indigenous. The text in this judicial document describes the issue from the communiques:

Remitimos a vuestro superior el adjunto expediente que trate sobre la excepción que se quieren apropos muchos Indios de la jurisdicción de la Ciudad de Córdoba, pretextando ser mulatos, y como tales no deben ser comprendidos en la satisfacción de los Reales Tributos...ser sirva vuestro superior tomar las providencias que les parezcan más arregladas a Justicia.

We refer to your superior the attached file that deals with the exception that many Indians of the jurisdiction of the City of Córdoba want to appropriate, claiming to be mulattoes, and as such should not be included in the satisfaction of the Royal Taxes...your superior should take the measures that seem to be more in accordance with Justice.⁹⁷

From the discourse used in this judicial document, one can more thoroughly interpret the *indios*' response to the collection of tribute. The *indios* understood the economic and political situation and knew which racial classifications had to pay tribute and which did not. With this knowledge, specific individuals changed their ancestry and identity to circumvent tributary payments. Previously, tribute payments represented an individual's submission to the Royal Crown and

⁹⁶Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight*, 16.

⁹⁷Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 291.

granted them protection. Some *indios* chose to ignore this submission to the Crown and render their right of protection to maintain autonomy over their economic status. The local administration's remedy to this response was to require both racial classifications to pay tribute legally.⁹⁸

After 1782, there was an increase in the total amount of tributes required. The Marquis of Sobremonte entrusted Florencio Antonio García, Visitor General or General Inspector, to survey the nine tributary pueblos. García's main goal was to produce a new census for the province. During his travels, he met the authorities of each tributary pueblo to learn the particularities that included: the lands they owned; their characteristics; the authorities they governed; the amount of population divided into native *indios* and forasteros (recently arrived outsiders), mulattos, blacks, mestizos, and Spaniards.⁹⁹ This task was paramount for the Crown, so numerous authorities accompanied García's visits. Each meeting was overseen by the Judge of the Party, Mayors of the Brotherhood, collecting captains, the priest, and a notary.¹⁰⁰ In particular, García found in his reports that the *indios* in the tributary pueblos were not native to the area and lived in the mountains and forests outside the pueblos. García described the *indios* as vagrants who relied on subsistence farming through access to land and did not comply with their obligation to pay taxes.¹⁰¹ With the information gathered in García's reports, the local administration of Córdoba presented to the court the doubts and difficulties of collecting tribute from the pueblos and how they planned to rectify this situation. The following section will analyze this court case and its findings.

⁹⁸Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 291.

⁹⁹Daniela Clara Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII" (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 33.

¹⁰⁰Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios," 33.

¹⁰¹Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios," 33.

Court Case from 1785: The Doubts and Difficulties of Collecting Tribute from the Indigenous in the Nine Pueblos

In the court case of 1785, the *alcaldes ordinarios* (judicial and administrative officials in the *cabildos* or town councils in Spanish Viceroyalties) presented to the Governor Intendant the doubts and difficulties they had been having collecting tribute in the nine pueblos (Indian towns) located in the province of Córdoba. The nine tributary pueblos were: Quilino, Nomsacate, San Jacinto, Soto, Pichana, Salsacate, Nono, Cosquin, and De la Toma. The analysis of this case demonstrates the difficulties captains faced while collecting tributary payments in the nine pueblos, the restructuring of the local administration, a new timeline containing a new collection plan, and revised incentives to encourage people to participate in collecting and paying tribute. The main participants involved in this case are the Sobremonte (Governor Intendant of the province of Córdoba), the Visitor General (general inspector), the *alcaldes ordinarios*, and the people paying tribute. Particular motivations that are predominant throughout the case contain economic or socio-political reasoning passed down by the Bourbon Crown or the local administration in Córdoba. This case will be analyzed from a top-down and a bottom-up perspective since I am also interested in understanding individual responses to these collections. The individual responses to taxes will cover the occupants in the nine pueblos, mainly from different indigenous communities in the region.

The case, from the beginning, reveals the importance of tribute for the operation of the city of Córdoba. Two interpretations show the level of dependency the Spanish authorities of the province of Córdoba had on the collection of tribute. One interpretation shows that Córdoba relied heavily on the revenue collected from the tribute payments. In contrast, the other interpretation shows the need to maintain power and autonomy over the indigenous populations

located in the pueblos. By analyzing the level of dependency from an economic perspective, the record depicted at the beginning of the case shows the thoroughness the local administration took to keep track of payment records in each pueblo. This record covers the current amount of tribute collection, the number of absences from each pueblo, the amount they should be collecting, the costs associated with the collection process, and the total amount each pueblo is worth. For example, the pueblo of Soto had the highest total number of Indians at 805, and only 117 Indians paid tribute.¹⁰² In 1785, Salsacate had the lowest amount of tributes collected and the lowest worth.¹⁰³ The demographics of each pueblo can explain the success or failure rates of the *alcaldes ordinarios* when collecting tribute payments before the changes enacted by the Royal Ordinance of 1782.

Spaniards initially created the pueblo of Soto in the late 1600s, and it began as an *encomienda*. Soto went through a period of three different *encomienda* systems throughout its lifetime.¹⁰⁴ Depending on how the indigenous communities came to be in each pueblo can be a factor that determines the success rate of collection payments. The *indios* located in Soto had participated in the collection of tribute for many years. The continued pattern of having the highest collection rate shows an understanding of the hierarchy in colonial society in Córdoba. From the perspective of the local administration, they understood that individuals in the pueblos had a duty to pay tribute to the state of Córdoba to remain under the government's jurisdiction. While for *indios*, paying tribute could be considered normal due to the longevity of the *encomienda* system in Soto. While other pueblos had higher rates of absences of tribute and acts of resistance for other reasons, either because of the displacement of indigenous communities to

¹⁰²A.H.P.C. Año 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

¹⁰³A.H.P.C. Año 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

¹⁰⁴Sonia Tell and Isabel Castro Olaneta, "El Registro y La Historia de los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba entre los siglos XVI y XIX," *Revista del Museo de Antropología* 4 (2011): 240.

the area or because the labor system of the pueblo had disintegrated, and they no longer had a reliable labor source. Overall, this lack of a labor system also resulted in a decrease in sufficient funds that allowed the pueblo to maintain their status and meet the requirements of the province and the Royal Crown.

Salsacate was formed around the same time as Soto but disappeared for two primary reasons. Salsacate showed the lowest amount of tribute collected and the lowest worth another pueblo will be used in the comparison because Salsacate ended up disappearing. There was pressure from a representative of the Copacabana nuns. The Copacabana nuns were a group located in the rural mountain of Copacabana, northwest of the province of Córdoba. The curaca made a supposed donation to a priest named Diego Salguero at the time of his death.¹⁰⁵ Due to these reasons, the productive measurements put into place previously in Salsacate ended up deteriorating and led to the eventual disappearance of the pueblo. In order to provide a more thorough examination, the tributary pueblo of Pichana will be used in comparison to Soto since Salsacate ended up disappearing.

According to the record in the court case, Pichana had 445 Indians, half of the total number Soto had, and only 67 Indians paid tribute.¹⁰⁶ Royal authorities organized Pichana in the second half of the seventeenth century, consisting of indigenous communities transferred from the La Rioja area. The pueblo fell under the control of the Bazan family, who were previously encomenderos. The argument that royal authorities used towards the transferred indigenous communities was that they already "owned" the communities in the town of Abaucan, where they originated from. Since the royal authorities previously "owned" the communities, they

¹⁰⁵Daniela Clara Gutierrez, "La Justicia en los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVIII," (Tesis de Maestría, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2011), 33-34.

¹⁰⁶A.H.P.C. Año 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

argued that the *indios* be treated similarly. Nevertheless, unlike the indigenous communities in Soto, these individuals had not been located there for many years, which affected the success rates produced by Pichana. According to records analyzed by Sonia Tell and Isabel Olaneta in their article "El Registro y La Historia de los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba entre los siglos XVI y XIX," they found that the *indios* in Pichana had not previously been under the jurisdiction of Córdoba. The *indios* ended up being transferred by an ecomendero who had presided over the communities prior in La Rioja, where they had been transferred yet again from another area.¹⁰⁷ Records analyzed by Tell and Olaneta show a decree made by the Visitor General during one of his visits to Pichana, stating the indigenous communities be returned to "their natural place." However, the decree was never fulfilled.¹⁰⁸ The fact that the indigenous communities had been displaced multiple times and never returned to their original place shows why there was a lower success rate.

The reasoning behind lower success rates in specific pueblos, like the situation of Pichana, can be seen through one of the difficulties brought up by the *alcaldes ordinarios* to the Governor Intendant, which was dealing with the absence of tributary payments and acts of resistance. The statement in one of the first proceedings shows this act of resistance:

...that when the captains' collectors have gone to the towns they have found them deserted, or they have desisted to free themselves of the payment. Achieving by this reprobate means to tire them, and that they were given entirely of hand. Even in some occasions it has been indispensable to them to take with armed people for the safeguard of other people because in other terms they were exposed to be reputed and reproached with violence of which frequently they have made hand. And arriving to the lamentable extreme of being unavoidable in one or another to make a pledge of the margins and to be arrested in this Royal Jail because they found the town deserted of men so that by such an unusual way they could maintain the collection.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷Sonia Tell and Isabel Castro Olaneta, "El Registro y La Historia de los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba entre los siglos XVI y XIX," *Revista del Museo de Antropología* 4 (2011): 240.

¹⁰⁸Tell and Olaneta, "El Registro y La Historia de los Pueblos," 240.

¹⁰⁹A.H.P.C. Año 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

Being absent at the time of payment or resorting to violence towards the collecting captains shows the acts of resistance that are responses by *indios* towards the local administration. Local administration wanted to maintain power and autonomy over the communities and heightened security over the inhabitants. The statement "in some occasions it has been indispensable to them to take with armed people for the safeguard of other people because in other terms they were exposed to be reputed and reproached with violence of which frequently they have made hand." used by the *alcaldes ordinarios* depicts the need for heightened security.¹¹⁰ These interactions between the *indios* and the collecting captains represent the socio-political setting of the late colonial period.

The distance was another critical factor in explaining local authorities' difficulties when collecting the tribute to regain control. The *alcaldes ordinarios* proposed a communication network across the *pueblos* to keep more thorough records of the tribute collection. Rather than the *alcaldes ordinarios* simply reporting to the province of Córdoba, they had to communicate as they collected in each designated *pueblo*. The proposed communication network is similar to the revised delegation of power that the royal authorities underwent while implementing the Royal Ordinance from 1782. The quote notes the problem of distance with an issue that the old regime could never correct efficiently:

They live all in distance from each other, very notable, of which the Judge Visitor will be able to inform what in this part he has remembered and examined. Well that in Quito to the first thing of the meeting, it is a matter that seriously has been thought by the above-mentioned Lords Governors of the old province before the creation of Córdoba, and they have not resolved to put it in practice...¹¹¹

¹¹⁰A.H.P.C. Ano 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

¹¹¹A.H.P.C. Ano 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

This quote shows that the *alcaldes ordinarios* were determined to avoid making the same mistakes as the old regime. The old regime was when the *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* collected tribute. There was an embezzlement issue during their collection before the Royal Ordinance of 1782.¹¹² After the Ordinance, *alcaldes ordinarios* and subdelegates collected tribute. Córdoba's connection to the rest of the world relates to the original proposal for the settlement as a central distribution point that would connect the trade routes between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. However, it also shows that the province of Córdoba was not isolated and connected to the rest of the Spanish Empire. Due to Córdoba's strategic location, Spaniards who aimed to enter Buenos Aires or any other intendency south had to travel through Córdoba. Due to the vitality of Córdoba, it was important for the local authorities in the area to maintain their power and remain relevant, which meant they needed to show they could control the people residing in their jurisdiction. Even so, they also needed a vital economic source to remain relevant, which added to the importance of collecting tribute from the *indios*.

To show the level of determination that the local authorities had in rectifying the old mistakes of the old regime. The *alcaldes ordinarios* included reports from the Visitor General that traveled through Quito and Lima in 1781 or 1783. Both areas were experiencing similar issues with collecting tribute from the indigenous in the area. After the Visitor General's visit, Quito and Lima implemented a new system that increased their collection success rates. By including these reports alongside the court case, the local administration shows the willingness to ensure they could collect the tribute by any means necessary.

¹¹²John Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810: The Intendant System in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata*, (New York, 1969): 128.

The case analysis also sheds light on the structure of the collection system, which shows incentives earned by the collecting captains for their task of collecting payments. Two incentives for the collecting captains are broached in this statement from the case:

Particularly imposed in the prize that is assigned to one percent of those who collected by the Royal Ordinance; being so that these such captains collectors have turned up to the present time of the one of ten percent and still have not yet graduated it by corresponding to the work and risks to which they expose themselves. Although they enjoyed the prerogatives of exempting themselves of all military service, and of other pensions that the other inhabitants suffer, because if something has entered volunteers.¹¹³

This quote shows that captains had two incentives for collecting tribute: first, they could keep 10% of the collected tribute, and second, the risk involved in their work exempted them from military service. The local administration threatened to take away the incentives of the *alcaldes ordinarios* if they did not fulfill their duties and collect the necessary payments. However, this does not appear to be the case; as the proceedings continue, the local administration notes the importance of the duty of the collecting captains and proposes incentives to show that they understand they take necessary risks to fulfill their obligation to the province of Córdoba. Tribute collection and the risk experienced by collecting captains are necessary to maintain the province's prosperity.

Other means could count as a tribute to meet collection demands. These means included anything of value that consisted of agricultural goods and other sources of commodity. For example, in place of money, people could give wheat, enslaved people, horses, mules, grain, or cotton.¹¹⁴ The exchange of other goods in place of money represented many things. Overall, it shows the importance that the local administration placed on the collection of tribute as a whole, especially from an economic point of view. Each source or commodity that the local

¹¹³A.H.P.C. Ano 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

¹¹⁴A.H.P.C. Ano 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

administration allowed held a monetary value. Each level of government relied on the function of each part, no matter how small so that they could operate efficiently. Nevertheless, the province of Córdoba also relied on these tributes to function locally. Not only was there a strain on the state of Córdoba to meet an economic demand that the Spanish Crown decreed, but they also needed to remain relevant within the greater network of Spanish America.

Furthermore, the court case outlines the requirements and exemptions to tribute. These requirements and exemptions allow us to understand better the population targeted for paying tribute. For example, the proceedings of the case show the age and married requirements:

Those that are detrimental to the Indians themselves, because in everything to keep the equity and justice that Sobremonte desires and to establish what is useful to some natives. He warns them that if they have previously contributed until they are sixty years old, they must stop contributing now when they reach fifty. For which they will be distributed as at present the reserved ballots to those who are this age or are disabled, which will be delivered to the interested parties by the Judge Commissioner in imitation of this year, in which the Elders experience a ten year reduction.¹¹⁵

This quote is important because it shows the level of consideration the local administration put into deciding who had to pay tribute and who was exempted. The local administration understood that only some could fulfill their tribute and made arrangements to allow their exemption. These exemptions show two understandings that local administration had towards *indios*. First, they understood that after reaching a certain age or in the event of a disability, the individual's ability to produce the tribute payment became more difficult. They changed the requirement from sixty years of age to fifty, showing that the royal authorities were willing to reduce the infractions procured by specific individuals. The royal authorities had some idea of who had paid tribute or not because of the records they collected. Suppose some *indios* had

¹¹⁵A.H.P.C. Ano 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

avoided paying tribute due to their age, potentially because it was more challenging to work and earn an income that would allow them to make the necessary payments as they aged. Instead of paying the administration until the age of sixty, individuals only had to make up for the payments until they were fifty, which shows a level of understanding by the royal authorities.

Lastly, to show how willing the local administration was to make the success of collecting tribute is the exceptions they allowed for higher ranking *indios* in the pueblos, which further shows how colonial society worked during the late colonial period. A list of individual names from each pueblo was included in the court case that represented who was considered to be higher ranking and could be exempted from the tribute payment. This can be seen in the following quote:

...if it is to enter to the Padrones and the Plan in that this explained; the first will be patent to anyone that read them: in that of Quilino, we find Juan Enrique Almos, and Luis Castillo, Regidores and Tributario, in that of San Jacinto to Joseph Leandro and Esteban Lujan, in that of Soto, Maxismo Fibien and Joseph Francisco Ortega and the second of demonstrated in the Padron of Soto in which this Joseph Leandro by the only one of Don Antonio de la Curaca put by tributary, in that of Cosquín to Domingo put by first this of Don Ortiz current Curaca, internal by tax. The second difficulty that we are offered is to enter the town of Nono, the Curaca Don Xavier Charra, his brother Joaquín, his son Vitoriano, another son Valentin, and an orphan Pedro, the first three are now prisoners in this royal jail, for thief and the last two are fugitives fleeing from justice for the same crimes.¹¹⁶

Overall, this shows that there was also a hierarchy within the pueblos themselves amongst indigenous communities. An exemption to tribute was for *indios* and family members of higher status. On multiple levels, these particular exemptions show that the local administration understood that not all *indios* made up the lowest ranks in the social hierarchy. It was necessary to have people of indigenous backgrounds that were of higher ranks who oversaw the people of lower status. Having another level of authority between the local administration and *indios*

¹¹⁶A.H.P.C. Ano 1785. Leg 29. Exp. 31.

allowed there to be a form of control established within the pueblos themselves that were not people of Spanish descent who oversaw the vitality of the pueblos themselves. Having people from the indigenous communities also overseeing other *indios* lessens problems that may arise from being unable to control the indigenous communities in their jurisdiction. Allowing specific *indios* to be exempted from the tributary payment and hold a position of authority created a further incentive for specific individuals to not resist the motivations of the Spaniards. By having a more complex system, it was allowed there to be further control and assurance that power and autonomy would be maintained.

Also, the elected leaders could be used as intermediaries to ease tensions between the local authorities and the indigenous. They had a unique understanding of both groups since they identified similarly to the communities that had to pay tribute. By holding a position of power, they understood the reasoning of the Spaniards. Even though most *indios* gained the privilege of holding a higher rank position most likely did it to better their own lives and their families. It still shows a level of understanding of how they saw themselves within the social hierarchy of colonial society and sought the means to move about the space of their designated socioeconomic status. Their mobility is a different form of resistance. It was also beneficial for the local administration to allow *indios* to hold positions of power because it allowed them to utilize these unique individuals' backgrounds. They could offer insight on ensuring indigenous communities pay their tribute rather than resist because they could interact with the communities on a different level than the local administration. Lastly, this also helped ease the difficulties of distance. By leaving another level of authority in the pueblos that were not of Spanish descent, they allowed for more assurance.

Conclusion

The collection of tribute was imperative for the survival of the province of Córdoba and the Royal Crown. As demonstrated by the implementation of the Royal Ordinance of 1782 and the court case from 1785, the local authorities were determined to ensure the success of the collection of tribute from the indigenous located in the nine tributary towns formed in the eighteenth century. With the determination presented by the local authorities, the analysis of this court case shows the level of Spanish dependency on tribute. Córdoba's economy did not solely rely on the collection of tribute, but the Bourbons intended to increase revenue and bolster the social hierarchy. The elite of Córdoba were a small minority so maintaining power and autonomy over the communities in their jurisdiction was their main encouragement for increasing control. Studying the involvement of each level of authority from top-to-down in the collection of tribute demonstrates the restructuring of the collection system presented in the court case. Royal authorities provided incentives for the collecting captains to encourage them to continue collecting tribute to increase economic gains, which factored in understanding the risk they took collecting the tribute.

Furthermore, royal authorities extended the exemption of paying tribute to indigenous leaders and other family members in the tributary towns. Exemptions given to *indios* included: dropping the age requirement from sixty to fifty, widowed women, and sick or disabled individuals. Other items of monetary value were also allowed to count as tribute instead of money to meet requirements and have a higher success rate of collection. The distance issue was also considered by involving more authorities in the collection process. This consideration allowed for more checks and balances that ensured the payments reached their final destination in the royal treasury. As the Royal Crown and local authorities strengthened their means and strategies behind collecting tribute, the indigenous responded with acts of resistance that resulted

in absences and resorting to violence towards the collecting captains. These acts of resistance by the *indios* and how the local authorities sought to rectify these resistances show the bottom-up perspective of how the *indios* responded to their placement on the social hierarchy dictated by the colonial regime.

For the Royal Crown and the local authorities, the collection of tribute represented an *indio's* submission to the Royal Crown and, in return, granted them protection. The local authorities' understanding of the *indio* as an individual of lower economic status and submission to the Spanish Crown is a legacy that has remained since early colonial times, even through the restructuring of the collection system. The trial largely silences indigenous voices, but we can see some of their strategies and actions of not paying tribute through their acts of resistance. *Indios* elected as leaders within the tributary towns also showed a unique understanding of identity since they had a foothold in both worlds. By acting as intermediaries, these individuals could navigate the colonial regime's social hierarchy and exhibit mobility not granted to all individuals. Indian tribute, one of the institutions that defined the colonial system, ceased to exist in 1811. One of the first acts of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata authorities consisted in abolishing this infamous institution. Immediately, this decision granted *indios* some sense of freedom.¹¹⁷ Even though the indigenous communities and other peasants continued to be taxed in other forms after the abolishment of tribute. For example, tributaries were subjected to the payment of the diezmos or the tithe to support the Church and its clergy members.¹¹⁸ The tithe covers ecclesiastical services like baptisms, marriages, and burials.¹¹⁹ Peasants paid the tithe in

¹¹⁷Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), xv.

¹¹⁸Sonia Tell, "El Calendario de Actividades y la Participación Mercantil Campesina: Córdoba, 1750-1850," *Andes*, 2006, n. 17, 98.

¹¹⁹Tell, "El Calendario de Actividades," 98.

“picos” or fractions of animals like half a mule or half a calf to support Church affairs.¹²⁰ Lastly, through the findings presented in the court case and understanding of identity highlighted by the *indios*, they aid in dismantling the “archival erasure” of indigenous voices in Argentine history by showing they were present and active.

¹²⁰Tell, “El Calendario de Actividades,” 98.

CHAPTER THREE:
INDIGENOUS STRATEGIES USED IN NEGOTIATIONS IN THE PROVINCE OF
CÓRDOBA DURING THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

On February 11th, 1818, three indigenous representatives living on the southern border of the province of Córdoba sent a letter to the Governor Intendant ratifying the alliance treaties. Indigenous authorities addressed Córdoba's governor in this judicial process, demanding assurances of peace and tranquility in their regions. This chapter explores the negotiations between the indigenous representatives and the Governor Intendant of Córdoba during the wars of independence from 1810 to 1820. By doing so, these negotiations demonstrate the capacity of the indigenous representatives to negotiate their position in Spanish society and show the significance of their first-hand participation. This chapter first explores the political events that involved Córdoba between 1808 and 1820; second, it outlines the situation of the indigenous groups during the wars of independence; third, it will analyze a court case from 1818 to understand the intricate relationship between the indigenous representatives and the Governor Intendant. The findings from the analysis of the court case will cover the relationship between the local authorities and the indigenous representatives to highlight how each side understood the necessity of one another, the type of protection offered to the indigenous groups by the local authorities, a safeguard implemented by the local authorities to protect the ratification of the treaties, and lastly, the issue of desertion. The conclusion will summarize the court case's findings and reconnect them to the larger conversation of how *indios* were represented throughout Argentine history.

The research questions that I will answer in analyzing the case from 1818 are: What does this specific court case tell us about society during the wars of independence? Were there any

continuities from the colonial period that extended into the wars of independence? To what extent did *indios*' actions and strategies at the court negotiations disrupt the colonial order? How did independence change *indios*' economic status? By being able to answer these questions, the main contribution of this chapter will be to highlight the first-hand active participation of the indigenous representatives as they renegotiated their social standing during the wars of independence. These representatives used the legal discourse to improve their situation, which shows that the *indios* had extensive knowledge and could participate in governmental affairs actively.

Córdoba during the Wars of Independence

To fully understand the actions and negotiations in the court of Córdoba, we first need to understand the regional history of the province of Córdoba during the end of the late colonial period and the beginning of the wars of independence. In particular, we will pay attention to the years between 1808 and 1820. Córdoba reached a period of instability between 1808 and 1810. The political crisis started in 1808 when Napoleon (French emperor) removed King Fernando VII of Spain. Napoleon appointed Joseph Bonaparte, his brother, as King. This event created a cataclysm across Spain and its colonies that erupted a dismantling of power across all areas. After the removal of Fernando VII, Viceroy Santiago de Liniers wrote to the Río de la Plata (today Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay) intendants about the political crisis that was taking place in Spain and notified them to prepare to defend all legitimate authority. All intendants were to preserve the possessions of the legitimate Spanish monarchy (Fernando VII)

and adhere to the leadership of Buenos Aires.¹²¹ At the time, the recently created Junta in Buenos Aires was still loyal to the Spanish Crown under the leadership of Viceroy Hidalgo de Cisneros.

Yet, in only a few years, political alliances changed again. In 1810, the provinces of the south portion of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata that eventually became modern-day Argentina became de facto separated from Spain due to the events unfolding overseas. In Buenos Aires, the Junta that supported the Spanish Crown was disassembled. Viceroy Hidalgo de Cisneros was no longer fit to rule after the Junta's disassembled. An open cabildo or town council convened to discuss the future fate of the local government. Shortly after, the "Primera Junta" was established, and this new council was no longer loyal to the Spanish Crown. Under the jurisdiction of the "Primera Junta," Buenos Aires requested that the other intendencies of the Viceroyalty acknowledge the power of the new Junta and send deputies. The intendencies of Córdoba, Montevideo, Paraguay, and Upper Peru resisted this request. Former Viceroy Santiago de Liniers (Viceroy prior to Hidalgo de Cisneros) left his retirement to organize an army along with Montevideo and Upper Peru to overtake Buenos Aires. These multiple and successive events led to the *May 25th Revolution*. This week-long Revolution started on May 18th, resulting in the removal of the Viceroy and the people's revindication of sovereignty. This Revolution was one of the most emblematic events in Latin American history since it initiated the wave of the struggle for independence in the rest of the continent.¹²²

The United Provinces of the Río de la Plata was formed as a sovereign government after the *May 25th Revolution* and held power until 1820. The United Provinces recognized Buenos Aires as the seat of power for the new government, instilling a regional divide between Buenos

¹²¹Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 33-34.

¹²²Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), xv.

Aires and the region's interior that continued to have its seat in Córdoba. From there, counterrevolutionary forces led a military response in July, rejecting the sovereign government of Buenos Aires. In response, the government of Buenos Aires sent 1,000 soldiers led by Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo to capture Liniers and others. Eventually, the independent forces of Buenos Aires captured and executed Liniers in August of 1810. After the execution of Liniers, a new governor, Colonel Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, was appointed by the cabildo or town council of Córdoba. However, the Junta of Buenos Aires dissolved in October of 1811. The first Triunvirato came into power after the Junta. The first Triunvirato became the new executive body of government that replaced the "Junta Grande" in the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. At the same time, Lieutenant Colonel Santiago Carrera was appointed the Governor of Córdoba. He pushed forward the original revolutionary zeal from the July Counterrevolution. Until 1819, the Wars of Independence ensued in the region.¹²³ The factional disputes between Córdoba and Buenos Aires continued over the following years in full force.

An example of the power disputes between the two cities was when Buenos Aires ordered Colonel Francisco Javier de Viana, Governor of Córdoba in 1813, to replace Córdoba's coat of arms with the one of Argentina. The Second Triunvirato mandated that Córdoba publicize the new national anthem and that the Intendancy of Córdoba was to divide into two parts. This decision caused Córdoba to lose jurisdictional control over Cuyo, a region located east of Córdoba.¹²⁴ As frustrations festered, in March 1815, Colonel Jose Javier Diaz declared Córdoba independent from Buenos Aires. He was now loyal to José Gervasio Artigas, the Protector de Los Pueblos Libres, also known as the Protector of the Free People. The League of

¹²³Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 38.

¹²⁴Turkovic, "Race Relations," 38-39.

Free People was an alliance of provinces from parts of modern-day Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil that wanted to establish a confederation for the government emerging from the *May 25th Revolution* in the war of independence against the Spanish Empire.¹²⁵ Later that year, a rebellion led by federalist Colonel Juan Bautista Bustos fought to gain control of the Argentine nation from Buenos Aires.¹²⁶ Colonel Juan Bautista Bustos was appointed leader of the Army of the North by the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, Ignacio Álvarez Thomas. Bustos's objective was to free the Argentine northwest and the Upper Peru region (today Bolivia) from the royalist troops led by the Spanish Empire.¹²⁷ Córdoba wanted to form a federal organization of the region's provinces, while other provinces from the original eight intendancies from 1782 pushed for a centralized government solely located in Buenos Aires. Finally, on July 9th, 1816, the Congress of Tucumán, composed of delegates from various regional provinces, officially declared independence from Spain.¹²⁸ Córdoba was not included in the Congress of Tucumán since they supported forming a federal organization of the provinces. They did not officially declare independence from Spain in 1820. For thirty-three more years, Córdoba remained legally autonomous from the rest of Argentina until they officially adopted the national constitution in 1853.¹²⁹ As has been seen, Córdoba's independence was complicated, and Buenos Aires's control over what it is today, north Argentina, only occurred in the mid of the 19th century. The following section will cover the local history of the indigenous in the province of Córdoba from the end of the late colonial period and the beginning of the wars of

¹²⁵Turkovic, "Race Relations," 39.

¹²⁶Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 41.

¹²⁷Turkovic, "Race Relations," 41.

¹²⁸Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), xvi.

¹²⁹Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 41-42.

independence to highlight how the indigenous were explicitly affected by the events since they are the primary focus of this thesis. This section will also connect to the ratification of the alliance treaties negotiated in the court case from 1818.

History of the Indigenous in the Province of Córdoba during the Wars of Independence

Each level of the social hierarchy in the province was affected by the events that took place during the wars of independence. To understand the specific effects this political crisis had on indigenous groups, in this section, we will devote time to analyze some statistics from census records to show the breakdown of how many *indios* and other racial ethnicities were located in the city, surrounding countryside, and provincial total to show whether or not they increased or decreased over time, along with reasons why. The census records are from 1813, 1822, 1832, 1832, and 1840. One item to note is that the census records from 1813, 1822, and 1840 include both the city and the countryside while the census record from 1832 only covered the city of Córdoba. Census records from 1813, 1822, and 1840 include both the city of Córdoba and the countryside which totals the whole province. While the census of 1832 only includes the breakdown for the city of Córdoba. In 1813, census records only included *espanoles* (spaniards), *indios* (indians), *negros/mulatos/mestizos libres*, and *negros/mulatos/mestizos esclavos*.¹³⁰ The census record from 1822 instead contains the following racial breakdowns: *nobles* (whites); *indios* (indians); *pardos libres* (free mestizos, mulatos, chinos); *negros libres* (free blacks); and *negros esclavos* (enslaved blacks).¹³¹ For 1832, the census record included the following racial breakdown: *blancos* (whites), *indios* (indians), *pardos libres* (free mestizos, mulatos, chinos),

¹³⁰Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 77.

¹³¹Turkovic, "Race Relations," 79.

pardos esclavos (enslaved mestizos, mulatos, chinos), negros libres (free blacks), and negros esclavos (enslaved blacks).¹³²

In 1840, the categories included in the census were nobles, naturales (naturals), no especificados (unspecified), pardos (black) libre, libertos (liberated), and esclavos (enslaved).¹³³ *Indios* were no longer categorized under the racial category of *indios* and were either classified as naturales (mostly in the countryside) or pardos libres (in the cities). The term naturales included *indios* that were native to the community and had ties to the land similar to the concept of the tributary category ordinarios that was referred to in Sinclair Thomson's work on the Andean region. Based on the information found in the first court case it was very common for *indios* to live outside the city limits and to either reside in the tributary towns or in the surrounding mountains or forests.

The classification of pardo also transitioned during the nineteenth century and census takers began associating pardos with formerly labeled castas, such as mestizo, indio, zambo, moreno (dark brown; referring to an African descendant), and negro.¹³⁴ Previously, pardo mostly likely only referred to mulatos in the late colonial period. Historian Erika Edwards provides an explanation for this shift in classification in her book *Hiding in Plain Sight*, which was because the people designated by these casta labels experienced a decrease in population compared to pardos.¹³⁵ She further notes the category of pardo marked calidad's transition to a more permanent identity because it streamlined those formerly labeled as castas into one common group in an increasingly free population.¹³⁶ Robert Turkovic also argues that the *indios* were

¹³²Turkovic, "Race Relations," 80.

¹³³Turkovic, "Race Relations," 83.

¹³⁴Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), 44.

¹³⁵Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight*, 45.

¹³⁶Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight*, 45.

most likely included in the category of the pardos libres.¹³⁷ This explanation is further reinforced by the work of Florencia Guzmán in her article “¿Quiénes son los Trigueños? Análisis de una Categoría Racial Intersticial (Buenos Aires, 1810-1830).” She states that the racial labeling of Afro-Indian-Spanish families informs the lack of stability of the categories of miscegenation.¹³⁸ Guzmán adds that this lack of stability leads to an underestimation of the degree of mixing that took place between Africans and Indians and potentially in the same way makes it possible to detect processes of mixing and social ascent that could or could not translate into whitening.¹³⁹ Next, each census record will be depicted in graphs and discussed in further detail.

Census Record from 1813

Class and Condition	City	Countryside	Provincial Total
	Absolute Values		
Espanoles	4,241 (including 150 Europeans)	37,000 (including 43 Europeans)	41,341
Indios	50	5,649	5,699
Negros, mulatos, mestizos, etc.: libres	3,691	14,252	17,943
Negros, mulatos, mestizos, etc.: esclavos	2,605	4,455	7,060
Total	10,587	61,456	72,043
	Percentages		
Espanoles	40.06	60.37	57.38

¹³⁷Robert James Turkovic, “Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853,” (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 85.

¹³⁸Florencia Guzmán, “¿Quiénes son los Trigueños? Análisis de una Categoría Racial Intersticial (Buenos Aires, 1810-1830),” *Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET)*, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2021.

¹³⁹Guzmán, “¿Quiénes son los Trigueños?, 2021.

Indios	0.47	9.19	7.91
Negros, mulatos, mestizos, etc.: libres	34.86	23.19	24.91
Negros, mulatos, mestizos, etc.: esclavos	24.61	7.25	9.80
Total	100	100	100

Source: Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 77.

Census Record from 1822

Class and Condition	City	Countryside	Provincial Total
	Absolute Values		
Nobles (Blancos)	5,713 (including 174 Europeans)	42,157 (including 135 Europeans)	47,870
Indios	586	2,345	2,931
Padros (including mestizos, mulatos, chinos, y no especificados) libres	5,187	19,189	24,376
Padros (including mestizos, mulatos, chinos, y no especificados) esclavos	1,225	2,464	3,689
Negros (or morenos): libres	78	150	228
Negros (or morenos): esclavos	111	152	263
Total	12,900	66,457	79,357
	Percentages		
Nobles (Blancos)	44.29	63.43	60.32
Indios	4.54	3.53	3.69

Padros (including mestizos, mulatos, chinos, y no especificados) libres	40.21	28.87	30.72
Padros (including mestizos, mulatos, chinos, y no especificados) esclavos	9.50	3.71	4.65
Negros (or morenos): libres	0.60	0.23	0.29
Negros (or morenos): esclavos	0.86	0.23	0.33
Total	100	100	100

Source: Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 79.

Census Record from 1832 - City of Córdoba

Class and Condition	Absolute Values	Percentage
Blancos	5,017	42.63
Indios	497	4.22
Pardos: Libres	5,495	46.68
Pardos: Esclavos	626	5.32
Negros: Libres	73	0.62
Negros: Esclavos	62	0.53
Total	11,770	100

Source: Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 80.

Census Record from 1840

Class and Condition	City	Countryside	Provincial Total
	Absolute Values		

Nobles	3,237 (including 104 Europeans)	22,105	25,342
Naturales	0	1,582	1,582
No Especificados	1,972 (including 6 Europeans)	24,370	26,342
Padros: libres	8,127 (including 3 born in Europe and 14 born in Africa)	37,142	45,269
Libertos	0	685	685
Esclavos	415 (including 1 born in Europe and 11 born in Africa)	1,009	1,424
Total	13,751	86,893	100,644
	Percentages		
Nobles	23.54	25.44	25.18
Naturales	0	1.82	1.57
No Especificados	14.34	28.05	26.17
Padros: libres	59.10	42.74	44.99
Libertos	0	0.79	0.68
Esclavos	3.02	1.16	1.41
Total	100	100	100

Source: Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 83.

From the census record in 1813, there were 50 *indios* living in the city, and 5,649 living in the countryside, totaling 5,699 in the province.¹⁴⁰ The three significant factors occurring in 1813 that affected the indigenous population were: the United Provinces of Río de la Plata was in charge of the region, the Triunvirato in Buenos Aires was the seat of power for the region, and

¹⁴⁰Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 77.

the Intendancy of Córdoba lost jurisdictional control over the Cuyo region. Each of these factors involved different levels of authority that underwent transitions of power, and in this transition, indigenous groups were politically and economically displaced. The conclusion of chapter one mentioned that the United Provinces of Río de la Plata began abolishing indigenous labor and tribute from 1811 to 1813.¹⁴¹ The tributary system that the *indios* had been under for hundreds of years was no longer relevant, which meant the *indios* no longer had to serve a European colonial power. The *indios* now had a semi-level of freedom, which allowed them more economic freedom.

The *indios* had been protected by the Spanish Crown against other European colonial powers (British, Dutch, and French) fighting over borderland disputes in return for their tributary payments. On the other hand, they lost the granted protection that came along with the submission to a European colonial power. This loss presented them with a choice of either remaining under the new government's power, both the United Provinces and the Triunvirato, or migrating to another area by personal choice that hosted various economic and political economic and political opportunities. Nevertheless, with the loss of the Cuyo region, they had fewer migration options.

In one decade, there was a significant decrease in the indigenous population. The census record from 1822 shows 586 *indios* living in the city; 2,345 were living in the countryside, totaling 2,931 in the province.¹⁴² This number only shows the effects of the war and the political crisis on the indigenous population. Even though there was an increase in the number of *indios* in the city of Córdoba, there were two primary reasons for the decrease in indigenous living in the

¹⁴¹Erika Edwards, *Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, the Law, and the Making of a White Argentine Republic* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), xv.

¹⁴²Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 79.

countryside.¹⁴³ These two reasons were the recruitment of *indios* into military service during the wars of independence and the disruption of families' livelihoods due to military recruitment.¹⁴⁴ According to Robert Turkovic, army records from the late 1820s and early 1830s did not clearly indicate a physical description of soldiers, but indications of indigenous soldiers can be found in army rosters that specify race or color along with army desertion records.¹⁴⁵ Due to the inadequate records, it is hard to determine how many indigenous soldiers were conscripted into the war by force or punishment. To face the war, Córdoba needed manpower and funding to finance its military. Funding came from increased tax collections, donations supporting the cause, and food and textile productions. According to statistics gathered by John J. TePaske and Herbert S. Klein, the military expenditures in the province of Córdoba ranged from 350,000 pesos in 1815 to 550,000 pesos in 1820.¹⁴⁶ The increase in expenditures resulted from the rise of the factional disputes between the two cities. The need for manpower was solved by recruiting individuals by enforcing male family members from local towns into service or through criminal punishments.

Many indigenous families lost their primary financial providers because the military took their male family members by forced conscription. They sought exemptions for the return of these individuals since they were needed elsewhere more urgently. For example, an indigenous widow named Petrona Olmos of Quilino petitioned the Governor of Córdoba to exclude her only son from military service. She states in her petition that "her son is honest and hardworking and

¹⁴³Turkovic, "Race Relations," 311-312.

¹⁴⁴Turkovic, "Race Relations," 311-312.

¹⁴⁵Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 310-311.

¹⁴⁶John J. TePaske and Herbert S. Klein, *The Royal Treasuries of the Spanish Empire in America*, vol. 3: Chile and the Río de la Plata (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1982): 221-244.

supports himself by cultivating the land."¹⁴⁷ Another case presented by Maubrisia Mercado petitions the governor to free her nephew, Jose Antonio Bazan, from Pichana. The authorities accused Jose of desertion. She says, "He is needed back in the fields to tend to the livestock, which was how her family survived."¹⁴⁸ The amount of granted exemptions is unknown.

If families' exemptions to ease their economic strains were not granted, we could infer that many families engaged in livestock robbery for survival. With the increase in livestock robberies, the local authorities arrested *indios*. Moreover, sources indicate that Córdoba's local authorities forced them to serve in the army as punishment. Army rosters and army desertion records reference indigenous recruits who served as punishment. For example, in 1818, an *indio* named Pasqual Altamirano was accused of deserting his post with the Regiment of Granaderos. He robbed several households and assaulted travelers on roads between Córdoba and Mendoza. He was conscripted again into the army after his arrest.¹⁴⁹ Even though many *indios* deserted their posts in army regiments, the military maintained a supply of people to serve their cause if they were captured.

By having a foundation of what occurred locally in the province of Córdoba during the wars of independence and how the *indios* were explicitly involved in the events that unfolded, an analysis of a court case from 1818 will be presented next. The main components discussed in the case that can connect to the history in the previous two sections are: how *indios* located on the southern border advocated for protection against the paid indigenous groups and military forces allied with Buenos Aires and, in return, both sides (local authorities and indigenous) aided each

¹⁴⁷Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 311.

¹⁴⁸Turkovic, "Race Relation," 311-312.

¹⁴⁹Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 310.

other in the issue of desertion of military service. As a form of recognition for their aid, the local authorities provided a legally binding agreement to ratify the alliance treaty that the representatives could not overturn after them.

Court Case from 1818: Indigenous Strategies Used in Negotiations of the Ratification of the Alliance Treaties

On February 11th, 1818, three indigenous representatives, Don Santiago Gintama de la Vega, Sepian, and Neguan, presented a court case to Colonel Don Antonio Ortiz de Ocampo and Governor Intendant in order to ratify the alliance. The three indigenous representatives oversaw the indigenous groups located on the southern border from the lower outskirts of the city of Córdoba to the Rio Cuarto (Fourth River). The indigenous groups on the southern border were the Sanavirones, Pampas or Puelches, and other indigenous groups living in the pueblos: Nono, Los Ranchos, and Santa Rosa de Calamuchita. In this court case, the indigenous representatives offered the government of Córdoba their fidelity in exchange for guaranteeing "protection and tranquility" so they could continue living in these areas.¹⁵⁰ The pueblo Nono was one of the nine discussed in the court case from 1785 in the previous chapter. This case involves maintaining the current treaty that proposes a continued union and friendship between all indigenous groups on the province's southern border. On January 25th, 1815, the local authorities implemented the original alliance treaty.

This court case shows how indigenous groups actively participated in the political situation developing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The active participation of these

¹⁵⁰Robert James Turkovic, "Race Relations in the Province of Córdoba, Argentina, 1800-1853," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1981), 274.

indios is essential to note as primary historical actors since, towards the end of the late colonial period and the beginning of the wars of independence, many indigenous groups were in decline. The three indigenous representatives in the court case show that they understood the situation unfolding and advocated for safeguards for their protection and tranquility.

Also, this court case exhibits that the local administration of Córdoba understood the significance of maintaining relationships with the indigenous groups in their province since, due to their location, they were the first line of defense against the military forces of Buenos Aires. After the formation of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata in 1810, which recognized Buenos Aires as the seat of power for the new government, a regional divide began between Buenos Aires and the interior of the region. In response, Córdoba led a counterrevolution that rejected this new government and began a military dispute between the two areas.

The first finding presented in the court case is towards the beginning of the proceedings representing the main goal behind ratifying the alliance treaties. The government of Córdoba and the *indios* of the South made the original alliance treaty on January 25th, 1815.¹⁵¹ The main goal proposed in this court case is that the indigenous groups along the southern border would continue sustaining fidelity to Córdoba. In return, the government continued safeguarding and protecting indigenous groups along its province's border. Buenos Aires was known to pay indigenous groups like the Pampas and Chacos to raid the southern border where indigenous groups and military forces allied with Córdoba were.¹⁵² The goal of sustaining fidelity and protection can be seen in the following quote from the court case:

In as much as the citizen Don Santiago Guintama de la Vaga Cacique of the Tribes of the South, has gone down with the Caciques Sepian and Neguan to ratify the treaties of

¹⁵¹A.H.P.C. Año 1818. Leg 53. Exp. 17.

¹⁵²Seth J. Meisel, "War Economy and Society in Post Independence Córdoba, Argentina," *Proquest Dissertations Publishing*, 1999: 15.

alliance, and confederation with this Governor of which they have just given an unequivocal proof, assuring that with their partiality they will continue in cordial union, and friendship with all the neighbors of the Frontiers of this Province wishing on our part to give him a sensitive sign of our fraternal correspondence for the fidelity.¹⁵³

From this quote, the indigenous representatives understood the importance of their position on the province's southern border. In return for their fidelity to Córdoba, they wanted the local administration to guarantee a united front of all indigenous groups on the border so their chances of being attacked by paid indigenous groups and military forces allied with Buenos Aires were decreased.

The next finding shown in the case is the type of protection that the local government of Córdoba would provide to the indigenous groups on the southern border. The following quote displays all that the protection includes:

Therefore, taking him under the safeguard and protection of the Governor, I promise him in the name of the Nation, to defend their lives protected by their properties, territories, and privileges, granting him full power so that with the help of this Government he can pursue and punish the unjust men who try to disturb the tranquility and good order of this Province, and the good order that he keeps among the people, of which he will give notice to this Government through the Commander of the Frontier to lend him assistance with a frank hand.¹⁵⁴

By asking for the safeguarding and protection of the indigenous groups' properties, territories, and privileges, the indigenous representatives are explicitly asking for the government's protection, which is a form of advocacy. By gaining this designation of recognition from the local authorities in Córdoba, the indigenous representatives could maintain control over the other indigenous groups located on the southern border. They understood the importance of their

¹⁵³A.H.P.C. Ano 1818. Leg 53. Exp. 17.

¹⁵⁴A.H.P.C. Ano 1818. Leg 53. Exp. 17.

position on the southern border and knew that appealing to the need for military protection would give them the upper hand.

Furthermore, analyzing the exact terminology used by the indigenous representatives displays their understanding of their identity and the importance they held to the local authorities in Córdoba. This understanding is in the following quote:

In which conformity they are kept well, and complain the prominences that correspond to them, charging the Commander of the Frontiers, to keep to the mentioned caciques all the considerations that wane to him.¹⁵⁵

This use of the terminology from this quote expresses the active first-hand participation of the *indios* as historical actors. The local authorities are hearing the indigenous's voices. They show that they know what they deserve and want to ensure that all receive protection under the province of Córdoba.

Another added benefit that the Governor Intendant of Córdoba is granting to the indigenous groups in the South is that the ratification of the alliance treaties can not be overturned by the representatives. The following quote shows this benefit:

I immediately interpose to that effect in the name of the Fatherland and of the Supreme Authorities of the State all the respects of my authority, so that they may be purely kept and observed in the treaties in the same terms in which they are contained in them and in the ratification before, and observed to the treaties in the same terms, in which in them, and has before ratification contains him, without in any way they can be broken, nor altered with no pretext neither by the Cacique Don Santiago Gintama de la Vega, nor by the Caciques Sepian and Neguan.¹⁵⁶

The Governor Intendant states "all the respects of my authority" and "without in any way they can be broken, nor altered with no protest" Both of these statements display that the Governor Intendant is ensuring that the ratification can neither be broken or altered by the representatives.

¹⁵⁵A.H.P.C. Ano 1818. Leg 53. Exp. 17.

¹⁵⁶A.H.P.C. Ano 1818. Leg 53. Exp. 17.

The last finding presented in the court case is the promise that the representatives make to the Governor Intendant on how the government will deal with the deserters found in the region. As mentioned above, desertion was a common problem, and even though conscripting deserters back into military service was a solution utilized by authorities, they could not apprehend everyone. Desertion typically occurred during the first few months of enlistment. Recruits would desert their post by stealing horses and guns from their regiment to aid in their escape.¹⁵⁷ However, with the help of the *indios* on the southern border, capturing deserters allowed for a strengthened, unified form of control. The following quote shows the agreed-upon terms on how the indigenous groups would deal with deserters:

Nor for being successors in the chieftainship, but rather, they must keep a constant union, and close friendship with all the inhabitants of this Province, and the others that are frontier to their territories, adding by new circumstance in the treaties, that the referred Caciques are not to admit in their states, my consent that soldiers deserters from our States stop for them, and not that they will return them, and deliver them immediately without offending them in their person and properties to the Commander of our Frontiers, who are and will be from now on.¹⁵⁸

The military obtained a continued supply of manpower through the efforts of the authorities in Córdoba and the indigenous groups capturing deserters. This effort also promoted complete control across the province and would allow for stability amongst the ranks in the military and the province's citizens. Lastly, this finding exhibits *indios* participating as historical actors through their efforts to maintain control in their area and prevent any further disruption that the deserters may cause. The findings exhibited in this court case show how the indigenous representatives were active participants in the political situation that was taking place in the region. As historical actors, they understood the unraveling of political and economic unrest and

¹⁵⁷Seth J. Meisel, "War Economy and Society in Post Independence Córdoba, Argentina," *Proquest Dissertations Publishing*, 1999: 88.

¹⁵⁸A.H.P.C. Año 1818. Leg 53. Exp. 17.

sought ways to prevent this. Through their utilization of knowledge of the judicial discourse and status, they were able to negotiate the ratification of the alliance treaties established to ensure protections and safeguards for themselves.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the harsh situation indigenous populations living in and around the city of Córdoba faced during the wars for independence. It showed the rapid decline of the population during the wars, and it traced some of the strategies used by the existing indigenous populations to ensure their survival during these difficult times. The analysis of this case shows both the policies of the government of Córdoba and the indigenous strategies, thus constituting a tool for analyzing top-down and bottom-up decisions.

Through the negotiations between the three indigenous representatives and the Governor Intendant in the court case from 1818, both sides recognized the significance of each other. The side of indigenous representatives could negotiate their power and autonomy over the other indigenous groups located on the border through the support granted to them by the local authorities. By the indigenous representatives offering fidelity to the local authorities of Córdoba, they were able to ensure the safeguarding and protection of their properties, territories, and privileges. The indigenous representatives maintained their identity by using judicial discourse and knowledge to advocate for their needs as first-hand participants. In return, the local authorities in Córdoba were guaranteed a first line of defense against the attacking forces allied with Buenos Aires and also given a supply of manpower as their issue of desertion lowered with the aid of the indigenous groups located on the southern border.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

By the 1880s and 1890s, indigenous communities' land rights were dissolved. According to Sonia Tell and Isabel Olaneta in their article “Los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba de Tucumán y El Pacto Colonial (Siglos XVII a XIX),” the provincial government declared and executed the expropriation “for public utility” of indigenous lands and disregarded their “community status.”¹⁵⁹ This expropriation of rights shows a legacy that has survived from the colonial regime that remained persistent during the republic into the second half of the nineteenth.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, the authors include the survival of some of the tributary towns that did not dissolve until the end of the nineteenth century. For example, De la Toma lasted until 1885, Soto y San Marcos survived until 1892, Quilino ended in 1896, and lastly by `898 Pichana and Cosquin ended.¹⁶¹ The following towns were mentioned in the first court case: De la Toma, Soto, Quilino, Pichana, and Cosquin. After the expropriation indigenous communities were no longer mentioned in the legislative documents of Córdoba. Along with the events that took place during the “Conquest of the Desert” further initiated the decline of indigenous communities. The erasure of indigenous identity throughout the province's history resonates with the greater invisibility that the *indios* have experienced throughout Argentina’s history.

¹⁵⁹Sonia Tell and Isabel Olaneta, “Los Pueblos de Indios de Córdoba del Tucumán y El Pacto Colonial (Siglo XVII a XIX), *Revista del Museo de Antropología* 9 (2016): 210.

¹⁶⁰Tell and Olaneta, “Los Pueblos de Indios,” 210.

¹⁶¹Tell and Olaneta, “Los Pueblos de Indios,” 216.

The goal of this thesis was, in part, to recover Indian invisibility from the history of the province of Córdoba. This thesis showed the importance of indigenous communities by analyzing judicial and legislative documents involving indigenous tribute and strategies used in negotiations in the province of Córdoba during the late colonial period and the wars of independence. I examine the economic and socio-political conditions that set the relationship between the local authorities and the indigenous communities in Córdoba. Methodologically, I used a top-down and bottom-up perspective, to study in-depth the reality experienced by the indigenous communities in both periods. Most importantly, by tracing the voices of *indios* throughout court cases, I analyzed *indios*' multiple responses to the economic and socio-political constraints they were forced to face.

During the late colonial period, the collection of tribute was crucial for the survival of the royal government of the province of Córdoba. Both the implementation of the Royal Ordinance of 1782 and the analysis of the court case from 1785 show the dependency the Spanish had on the tribute collection. The Spanish were determined to ensure the success of the collection of tribute from the *indios* in the nine pueblos tributarios surrounding the city of Córdoba. Top-down analytical perspective, highlights how the Spanish Crown and the local authorities in Córdoba understood the importance of tribute, and it guaranteed Indian submission to the Crown. Despite the unquestionable power royal authorities held in the area, the cases also show the multiple strategies they needed to pursue to actually collect the tribute. Local authorities provided incentives encouraging captains to continue collecting tribute because the authorities understood the necessary risk the captains took during the collection process. Furthermore, the local authorities strengthened the collection process by involving more authorities to ensure the tribute reached the royal treasury in Buenos Aires, which also aided in their distance issue.

A bottom-up methodological perspective, allows us to understand how *indios* responded to those policies. Analysis of the court cases allows us to grasp what James Scott has coined “everyday forms of resistance.”¹⁶² For instance, the court cases reveal *indios* absentee during times of tribute collection, or they would resort to violence against the captains in charge of collecting the tribute. This prompted the captains to take armed forces along with them. In the *pueblos tributarios*, certain *indios* were elected leaders. They showed a unique understanding of identity since they had a foothold in the Spanish and indigenous worlds. They acted as intermediaries between both groups since, as leaders, they could navigate the colonial regime's social hierarchy and exhibit a certain level of mobility that not all *indios* had. Although the trial of the court case from 1785 still largely silenced indigenous voices, yet, by analyzing the sources against the grain, we can still grasp indigenous strategies to challenge the institutional constraints imposed on them.

During the wars of independence, the indigenous populations experienced a rapid decline through the loss of male family members forced into military service. Exemptions by indigenous families were taken to court to rectify their loss. Also, the desertion of military posts rose high during this time as *indios* abandoned their regiments. The analysis of the court case from 1818 represents a unique situation as the indigenous groups on the southern border of the province sought to ensure their communities did not fall into the same destruction. At the same time, the local authorities of Córdoba also realized the necessity of maintaining a solid relationship with the indigenous communities on the southern border to ensure their survival during the wars of independence against Buenos Aires. Local authorities were granted a first line of defense against the attacking forces allied with Buenos Aires during the wars by ratifying the alliance treaties

¹⁶²Carmen Soliz, *Fields of Revolution: Agrarian Reform and Rural State Formation in Bolivia, 1935-1964* (Boston: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021), 13.

with the indigenous groups along the border. They also gained a supply of manpower for their military cause since the indigenous groups on the border aided the authorities in their issue of desertion.

Indigenous representatives from the southern border negotiated support from the local authorities that allowed them to maintain power and autonomy over the other indigenous groups located on the border so that they would remain a unified front. Additionally, the local authorities granted the safeguarding and protection over the properties, territories, and privileges to maintain the peace and tranquility of the area. In return, the indigenous offered fidelity to the local authorities during the negotiations. In contrast to the court case of 1785, the court case of 1818 gave us the opportunity to grasp indigenous voices firsthand. They represented themselves in court and advocated their agency through the strategies they used during the negotiation of ratifying the alliance treaties.

The *indios* highlighted in these two court cases show that the indigenous communities did not simply die off or assimilate into Western society over the years. The research shown in this thesis aids in dismantling the "archival erasure" experienced by indigenous populations in Argentinian history, similar to the work of Jeffrey Erbig Jr. Additionally, the court case from 1818 specifically adds to the scholarship on indigenous strategies used in negotiations similar to the work of Marcela Echeverri since the *indios* actively participated firsthand in the court to negotiate their protection with the local government of Córdoba. Further research on the topic would contribute to the fields of Latin American studies and Indigenous studies. It would also aid in the scholarship in Argentina and the Río de la Plata region.

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