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The Portuguese Community of Seventeenth-Century Parral, Nueva Vizcaya

RICK HENDRICKS
and GERALD MANDELL

When Captain Juan Gomes de Paiva, a citizen of Lisbon and an international slave trader, arrived in Mexico City in 1638, there were already several dozen Portuguese residing in Parral and its satellite communities of San Diego, Santa Bárbara, and San Bartolomé. While many of these men were merchants, a handful were silver miners, and others were tailors, mine guards, charcoal makers, ranchers, and priests. Men like Simón Martínez [Martins],¹ Captain Domingo González [Gonçalves], and their compatriots were integral components of a distinctly Portuguese community in Parral that formed a part of an economic and social network that tied Parral to Mexico City, Portugal, and the Portuguese possessions. Portuguese merchants in Parral maintained business relationships with countrymen in other northern provinces.² At the same time, members of this Portuguese community became well integrated into Spanish society, so much so that subsequent generations lost their separate Portuguese identity. Before that amalgamation took place, however, the Portuguese of Parral

¹ The documents from Parral render Portuguese names phonetically into Spanish or give them approximate Spanish equivalents. This spelling has been retained, providing the probable Portuguese spelling in brackets for those surnames that are considerably altered, such as González for Gonçalves and Martínez for Martins. For other surnames that involve a simple change of orthography, such as Gómez for Gomes and Correa for Correia, the Portuguese spelling has been restored.

² In April 1652, the Parral merchant and mine provisioner, José Simões, granted a power of attorney to Captain Matías Pereira Lobo of Sinaloa, which authorized the latter to collect 300 pesos from Andrés Pérez de Lara, a merchant "in the mines of Sonora." There were similar financial transactions involving other Portuguese in Parral and Sinaloa. Gonçalo Rodrigues Sampaio and Captain Matías Pereira Lobo, Loan agreement, Parral, 30 March 1658, Archivo Histórico de Hidalgo del Parral (hereinafter cited as AHP), roll 1660B, frames 462b-63b; Captain Matías Pereira Lobo to Juan Álvarez and Domingo Rodrigues Soto, Power of attorney, Parral, 30 March 1658, AHP, roll 1660B, frames 463b-64b; and José Simões to Francisco de la Rocha and Matías Pereira Lobo, Power of attorney, Parral, 14 April 1652, AHP, roll 1652C, frames 1048b-49a.

formed a remarkably interwoven community and attained a notable measure of success.

In 1580, King Felipe II pressed his claim to inherit the Portuguese Crown by sending his troops to annex the neighboring kingdom, and, from that time until 1640, Spain ruled both Iberian countries. This period was one of severe demographic decline in New Spain, and Spain urged Portuguese slave traders to increase the labor supply by delivering more slaves from their African possessions (Angola, Mozambique, and the Congo) to alleviate a perceived labor shortage. Beginning in 1595, Spain granted *asientos*, or monopoly contracts, to Portuguese slavers to supply the American market, and, by 1620, the system was in place to bring large numbers of African slaves to New Spain. In the spring of 1638, Captain Paiva landed at Veracruz with a shipload of African slaves.³ Thus, *bozales*, or non-Hispanized African slaves, were introduced into the port of Veracruz. From there they were often sent to the viceregal capital and thence to other parts of New Spain, particularly the mining districts, following the lines of well-established commercial networks.⁴

By May 1638, Captain Paiva had relocated to Mexico City, where he granted a power of attorney to fellow countrymen Martínez⁵ and González to sell an Angolan slave.⁶ Martínez, a native of Guimarães (Minho), and González, who was born in Tangier, North Africa, were members of a thriving and expanding Portuguese merchant community based in the silver-mining center of San José del Parral (present-day Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua) in the northern

³ Captain Juan Gomes de Paiva to Simón Martínez and Captain Domingo González, Power of attorney, Mexico City, 21 May 1638, AHP, roll 1640A, frames 464b-68a.

⁴ Luanda, the source for Angolan slaves, contributed an estimated 40 percent of the Africans brought by force to the Americas. Patrick James Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 22-28.

⁵ Martínez was involved in the slave trade, as were many of the Portuguese throughout New Spain. There are a great many slave sales in the Parral notarial records for the 1630s and early 1640s, most involving slaves from Angola, the Congo, and Mozambique. African slaves in Parral and their mulatto offspring generally found work in above-ground operations in silver refineries, as domestic servants, ranch hands, muleteers, coachmen, and common laborers. Paid Indian workers performed most of the heavy, below-ground mine labor. Simón Martínez to Bernardo de Pastrana, Slave sale, Parral, 29 March 1640, AHP, roll 1640A, frames 95b-96b. Vincent V. Mayer, Jr., writes about the Parral slave trade in "The Black Slave on New Spain's Northern Frontier: San José de Parral, 1632-1676" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1975).

⁶ Captain Juan Gomes de Paiva to Simón Martínez and Captain Domingo González, Power of attorney, Mexico City, 21 May 1638, AHP, roll 1640A, frames 464b-68a.

province of Nueva Vizcaya. These individuals, along with Manuel Jorge, who in 1633 first appeared on the list of Parral merchants with stores, and his descendants, are representative of this Portuguese community as a whole.

That such a community of non-Spanish Europeans existed in a mining center, although somewhat unusual, was not unique in the New World.⁷ For centuries, mining communities all over the world have been magnets for laborers, tradesmen, merchants, opportunists, and adventurers of every sort. Portuguese were active at a few such sites in Spanish America. Portuguese prospectors have been credited by some writers with the discovery, around the 1530s or 1540s, of the rich silver deposits at San Agustín de Huantajaya in the Atacama Desert in present-day Chile.⁸ Little is known of these individuals, although one of them, Vasco de Almeida, figures prominently in a local legend regarding his forbidden love of an Inca princess, Nusta.⁹ These Portuguese were associates of Lucas Martínez Vegazo, an *encomendero* who became the richest man in southern colonial Peru on the strength of the silver bullion extracted from Huantajaya. Martínez Vegazo died in 1567, but the Portuguese continued to exploit the mines into the 1570s.¹⁰

Additional documentation exists for the Portuguese at the mines of Potosí in the viceroyalty of Peru. A registration of foreigners that occurred between 1595 and 1606 revealed that 117 Portuguese, by far the largest contingent of non-Spanish Europeans, resided in various communities.¹¹ Outside of Lima, the largest group lived in Potosí. Twenty-three Portuguese lived in Potosí during this period, but there had been Portuguese there as early as the first half of the sixteenth

⁷ Jonathan Irvine Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 126.

⁸ Kendall W. Brown and Alan K. Craig, "Silver Mining at Huantajaya, Viceroyalty of Peru," in *In Quest of Mineral Wealth: Aboriginal and Colonial Mining and Metallurgy in Spanish America*, ed. Alan K. Craig and Robert Cooper West (Baton Rouge: Geoscience Publications, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, 1994), 307.

⁹ Information on the so-called legend of La Tirana is readily available on the Internet: "La Tirana," <http://turismochile.com/norte/1region/latirana>.

¹⁰ Brown and Craig, "Silver Mining at Huantajaya," 308; and Efraín Trelles Aréstegui, *Lucas Martínez Vegazo: funcionamiento de una encomienda peruana inicial* ([Lima]: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1982).

¹¹ María Encarnación Rodríguez Vicente, "Los extranjeros en el reino del Perú a fines del siglo XVI," in *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, ed. Juan Maluquer de Motes y Nicolau (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1967), 2:536-38.

century. It was noted in 1564 that they even had their own street in the imperial city. Almost 50 percent of the foreigners living in Peru were Portuguese artisans, plying such trades as tailor, cobbler, confectioner, silversmith, glove maker, and silk maker. Notably, there were only five Portuguese involved in mercantile activities: three merchants and two barkeepers.¹²

Parral, the busiest mining and commercial complex in Nueva Vizcaya, also offered extraordinary opportunities for Portuguese immigrants, particularly during the 1630s and 1640s.¹³ The diversified economy of the Parral district—mining, commerce, freighting, and agriculture—provided a wide variety of potential occupations for incoming Portuguese. There is no evidence of discrimination against the Portuguese, at least regarding their ability to acquire *encomiendas*, mining properties, parcels of agricultural land, or political offices. Moreover, the volume of commercial traffic between Mexico City and Parral was so great that the Portuguese merchants, who already had a vigorous support system in the viceregal capital, were virtually guaranteed a share of the Parral trade. It could not have hurt that the ranking ecclesiastical figure in Parral between the early 1630s and the mid-1660s was related to several local Portuguese and showed no inclination to pursue Inquisition investigations against them or others of like origin.

Seeking economic advancement, the Portuguese were drawn to the northern silver-mining and ranching frontiers of New Spain at a very early date. There were doubtless some Portuguese in and around the city of Zacatecas during the 1550s, and a number of immigrants to the present-day Mexican states of Durango and Chihuahua between 1562 and the early 1600s were Portuguese. Among the founders of the mines of Santa Bárbara in 1567 was Cristóbal Ruiz Aragonés, who was described as Portuguese. According to Chantal Cramaussel, Ruiz, a merchant and landowner, was part of a "group of the privileged" agriculturists in the first decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ Depositions given in 1569 regarding the service record of the colonizer

¹² Rodríguez Vicente, "Los extranjeros en el reino del Perú," 2:540.

¹³ Oakah L. Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 84-86, discusses the rise of Parral as a commercial center.

¹⁴ Apparently, Cristóbal was the brother of Antonio Ruiz Aragonés, a native of Córdoba. Chantal Cramaussel, *Primera página de historia colonial chihuahuense: la provincia de Santa Bárbara en Nueva Vizcaya, 1563-1631* (Chihuahua: Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, 1990), 22, 60-64.

of Nueva Vizcaya, Francisco de Ibarra, indicate that there were at least a few Portuguese in Durango, including Alonso Fernandes and Gaspar González, both from Ponte de Lima (Minho).¹⁵

This early Portuguese presence in Nueva Vizcaya was similar to that observed by historians James Lockhart and Woodrow Borah for the Toluca and Tulancingo areas, respectively. In the Toluca case, a very strong Portuguese element was present, particularly in agricultural activities, but penetrating into commerce as well. This was apparently quite a general phenomenon in the provinces; Woodrow Borah has noted the importance of Portuguese farmers, estate managers, and muleteers in the Tulancingo region around 1640. That the Portuguese were already so numerous and well established in the Toluca Valley by 1580 indicates that the influx of Portuguese nationals had little to do with the union of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, but was rather part of an overall pattern of emigration from Iberia to America.¹⁶

The principal difference between the Portuguese of Parral during the mid-1600s and those mentioned above is that the Parral contingent displayed a conspicuous preference for commerce over handicrafts and agriculture. When the Portuguese of Parral were required to register in 1642, about half of those who came forward were merchants.¹⁷

By the time of the 1604 census of Nueva Vizcaya, which was conducted in February and March of that year, there were several more Portuguese in the region. Andrés Pereira, a native of the Azores, was a merchant at San Juan del Río, and Antonio de Barrios [Barros]—the son-in-law of a successful Spanish cattle rancher, Antonio de Urbaneja—was living at San Bartolomé. Sebastián de Barrios, probably Antonio's brother, also married one of Urbaneja's daughters in the early 1600s. Another Portuguese was Pedro Coelho, who resided in Cuencamé.¹⁸

The 1604 census reveals other interesting facts about communities where Portuguese settled prior to the founding of Parral in

¹⁵ José Ignacio Gallegos, *Durango colonial, 1563-1821* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1960), 120-21, 127-28.

¹⁶ James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 241.

¹⁷ Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 14lb-62a. Slightly under half of all the Portuguese identified in the cumulative list were merchants. See Appendix 1.

¹⁸ The 1604 Census of Nueva Vizcaya, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter cited as AGI), Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 28.

1631. Cuencamé, in the present-day state of Durango, was apparently one of the busiest mining centers in Nueva Vizcaya. There were seventeen merchants and peddlers in Cuencamé, as compared to twelve merchants living in Durango and ten in Topia. There were twenty-two miners operating mines and *ingenios*, or processing facilities, at Guanaceví, and sixteen in Cuencamé. Most of the ranches in Nueva Vizcaya were near the city of Durango, at San Juan del Río, and in the Santa Bárbara province, particularly at San Bartolomé, where there were eight or nine cattle ranches and eleven grain farms.¹⁹

After 1604, there was a small but steady increase in the number of Portuguese in Nueva Vizcaya. Most of the new arrivals were single men, and several were aspiring merchants. Sometime in the 1620s, two Portuguese arrived in Nueva Vizcaya and evidently set themselves up as merchants shortly thereafter. Manuel Jorge and Domingo González were both born around 1592 in Tangier, at the time a Portuguese possession in North Africa.²⁰ The two men may have immigrated to New Spain together. Jorge chose to settle in the busy mining town of Cuencamé, and González opted to set up shop in the wheat-growing community of San Bartolomé. Once established, the men got married. Jorge wed Ana de Vera, the daughter of the *alguacil mayor* of Cuencamé, Captain Gaspar de Vera (who may have had Portuguese ancestry), and María Delgado.²¹ In San Bartolomé, González married into a locally prominent family, wedding Ana de Grados, the daughter of Andrés Cordero and Ana de Grados. After Ana died, González

¹⁹ The 1604 Census of Nueva Vizcaya, AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 28. The most complete study of this region in the period immediately before the present article is Cramaussel, *Primera página*.

²⁰ Manuel Jorge was born in Tangier to António Jorge and Maria Alvares. He was apparently a man of modest means, unlike his brother-in-law, Domingo González, and his nephew by marriage, Francisco de Lima. Jorge was also related through *compadrazgo*, the system of godparent relationships, to the Galician merchant, Domingo de Apresa y Falcón. Jorge routinely conducted business with González and Lima, as well as with Manuel Correia and Sebastián de Barrios. Burial of Manuel Jorge, Parral, 18 September 1655, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (hereinafter cited as LDS); and Manuel Jorge, Will, Parral, 7 June 1655, AHP, roll 1654B, frames 942b-45a.

²¹ González's parents were Melquior González and Juana Fernandes. Captain Domingo González, Will, Parral, 13 February 1642, AHP, roll 1641B, frames 942b-57b; 1604 Census of Nueva Vizcaya, AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 28; Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a; and Manuel Jorge, Will, AHP, roll 1654B, frames 942b-45a.

married Regina de Vera, the sister-in-law of his compatriot, Manuel Jorge.²²

In the summer of 1631, a major silver strike occurred twelve miles northeast of Santa Bárbara. The principal deposit was called La Negrita, and it rapidly drew miners, laborers, tradesmen, and merchants from throughout Nueva Vizcaya and from other areas of New Spain. A *real de minas* called San José del Parral was promptly established at the base of the hill containing the ore body. Within a year of the discovery, miners had already filed four hundred claims.²³ In November 1632, Captain González was still operating a general store in San Bartolomé, but his compadre, Manuel Jorge, had relocated to Parral and appeared on a 1633 list of more than thirty merchants with stores.²⁴ Both men had business dealings with prominent Mexico City silver merchant Francisco Franco Moreira. Moreira, whose property was confiscated by the Inquisition in the late 1640s, provided an assortment of financial services for the Portuguese in Parral. In 1642, González had 6,951 pesos on deposit with Moreira, most of which had been earmarked for purchasing the office of public scribe in Parral for González's son, Domingo the younger.²⁵

A second silver strike occurred nearby in 1634 at what was soon called San Diego de las Minas Nuevas. These bonanzas converted the Parral district into one of the most productive silver mining areas in New Spain. By the early 1640s, mines in the Parral district were producing between 90,000 and 100,000 marks (720,000 and 800,000 ounces) of silver a year.²⁶ The mining boom of the 1630s and 1640s, along with its powerful commercial component, triggered a dramatic

²² Captain Domingo González, Will, AHP, roll 1641B, frames 942b-57b.

²³ Robert Cooper West, *The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), 12-13; and Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 84-85.

²⁴ Antonio Moreira, about whom very little is known, was another Portuguese on this list. List of merchants, Parral, 31 March 1633, AHP, roll 1633A, frames 4b-28b.

²⁵ Captain Domingo González, Will, Parral, AHP, roll 1641B, frames 942b-57b.

²⁶ A mark of silver is equal to eight ounces. During the same period, Zacatecas, already in decline from its seventeenth-century peak, was still producing over 130,000 marks annually. Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge [Eng.]: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 242, 259; and Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 218.

increase in the number of Portuguese seeking to establish residence there.²⁷

The Portuguese of Nueva Vizcaya could move freely from place to place, marry well, purchase homes and land, and establish stores. It also appears that they faced few impediments in the field of silver mining. Among the miners working claims on the Cerro Rico of Parral in the spring of 1635 was another Portuguese, Captain Gonçalo Rodrigues, who, like Domingo González and Manuel Jorge, was born around 1592 in Tangier.²⁸ In an example of the interfamilial relationships indicative of the clannishness among the Portuguese in Nueva Vizcaya, Rodrigues also married into the Vera family, wedding María de Vera, the sister of Regina and Ana de Vera.²⁹ Probably a man of some means even before he arrived in Parral, Captain Rodrigues had a fellow countryman, Francisco Dias Correia, attached to his household and probably in his employ.³⁰ At some point, Rodrigues received an *encomienda*, presumably of Conchos Indians, to supply labor for his properties in San Bartolomé.³¹ Rodrigues and his wife clearly attained a certain level of affluence, since only individuals with significant labor demands—large-scale miners, *hacendados*, or smaller-scale miners who also owned rural properties—were authorized to request *encomiendas*.³² At her death in 1658, the estate of María de Vera, whose husband had predeceased her, included seventeen slaves.³³

Sometime in the summer or fall of 1638, a twenty-six-year-old Portuguese merchant who was destined to become one of the town's leading citizens arrived in Parral. Francisco de Lima, born in Vila Viçosa (Alentejo), Portugal, around 1612, began his career in the northern mining town as a *boticario*, or apothecary. It must have become obvious that there was a great deal more money to be made

²⁷ A third find was made in the 1650s, a deposit of gold- and silver-bearing ore called San Francisco del Oro. West, *Mining Community in Northern New Spain*, 12-13.

²⁸ List of the miners on the Cerro Rico, Parral, 8 May 1635, AHP, roll 1635, frames 206a-08a.

²⁹ Baptism of José Rodrigues, Parral, 1 June 1641, LDS, Baptisms, 0162529.

³⁰ Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a.

³¹ List of *encomenderos* of Parral and San Bartolomé, Parral, 31 March 1655, AHP, roll 1655B, frames 884b-85b.

³² Chantal Cramaussel, "Encomiendas, repartimientos y conquista en Nueva Vizcaya," in *Actas del Primer Congreso de Historia Regional Comparada, 1989* (Juarez: Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, 1990), 146.

³³ María de Vera, Will, Parral, 26 September 1658, AHP, roll 1660B, frames 547a-48b.

supplying the booming mining sector than selling medicinal powders, and Lima quickly opened a general store. As was the case with virtually all of Parral's merchants, Lima would have received his retail inventory from wholesale merchants and commodities brokers, oftentimes Portuguese, based in the viceregal capital and distribution center of Mexico City. Shortly after taking up residence in Parral, Lima became closely associated, socially and commercially, with several of the individuals mentioned above, including Captain Domingo González, Manuel Jorge, and Captain Gonçalo Rodrigues. Most of the merchants of Parral had their commercial establishments attached to their living quarters, and Lima was no exception. A 1639 list of businesses included the house and store of Francisco de Lima.³⁴ On 30 November 1644, he married María González, the daughter of Regina de Vera and Domingo González, Parral's most affluent and successful Portuguese.³⁵ In the years that followed, some of Parral's leading citizens, several of them non-Portuguese, acted as godparents to Lima's numerous children, thereby establishing an important quasi-familial link between families. Beyond personal ties, Lima became involved in business with a number of these men. By the mid-1640s, Lima had become a high-volume provisioner to the area's silver refineries. He later acquired the office of *alguacil*, or constable, of Parral and the entire Santa Bárbara province and was *teniente alcalde mayor* of Parral for a time.³⁶

When Lima established himself as a merchant in Parral, he joined a number of other men from Portugal who were active in commerce. Among the other merchants were: Antonio Juan Marques, a native of Alcaface in the jurisdiction of Viseu (Beira); Simón Martínez, a native of Guimarães; and Manuel de Cortinas, native of Valverdón in the bishopric of Salamanca, Spain, who was raised in Portugal.³⁷ Domingo de Apresa y Falcón, a native of Tui (Galicia) on the Spanish side of the Minho River, was another early merchant in Parral who was closely linked with the Portuguese, perhaps by cultural

³⁴ List of merchants of Parral, Parral, 2 August 1639, AHP, roll 1639A, frames 30b-38b.

³⁵ Marriage of Francisco de Lima and María González, Parral, 30 November 1644, LDS, Marriages, 0162555.

³⁶ Yumar Ramírez de Vera, Will, Parral, 1 October 1658, AHP, roll 1660B, frames 549a-51a. Lima's career is analyzed in Rick Hendricks and Gerald Mandell, "Francisco de Lima, Portuguese Merchants of Parral, and the New Mexico Trade, 1638-1675," *New Mexico Historical Review* 77 (2002):261-93.

³⁷ List of merchants, Parral, 20 April 1638, AHP, roll 1638, frames 8b-16a; and Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a.

affinities or family relationships. Among the commercial activities in which Lima was involved during the early 1640s was acting as an agent for the sale of slaves. Through this business, Lima established relationships with individuals such as Captain González and Apresa y Falcón.³⁸

Although Portuguese in Parral were actively involved in the slave trade, they did not dominate or control the local market as their countrymen did elsewhere in the Spanish Empire; rather it was characterized by the diversity of participants in the business. According to Vincent Mayer:

Negro slaves in Parral were sold by merchants, miners, wagon train, and mule team owners. In addition, members of the secular and regular clergy were well represented in the trade. This participation was apparently not restricted to men alone as evident by the number of slaves sold by Spanish women. Institutions also took part including the Jesuit colleges of Durango and Mexico City, in addition to several convents.³⁹

In the first decade of mining activity in Parral, from 1631 to 1641, more than 350 slave sales took place and 161 sellers participated. Most individuals bought and sold a single slave, and only a few sold as many as four. Captain Antonio Leitón, one of Parral's leading Portuguese miners, was active in the slave trade during the 1630s.⁴⁰ By the end of this period, events in Europe led to Portugal's loss of its monopoly on providing slaves to Spain's overseas possessions.

Word of the December 1640 independence of Portugal from Spain arrived in Mexico City in August 1641. It is uncertain when the news of the events in Europe reached the Portuguese in Parral, but there is no doubt that a viceregal edict issued on 27 November 1641 brought

³⁸ Captain Fernando de Lugo to Francisco de Lima, Power of attorney, Zacatecas, 17 January 1640, AHP, roll 1640A, frames 139b-42b; Domingo de Apresa y Falcón to Francisco de Lima and Domingo González, Power of attorney, Parral, 2 June 1640, AHP, roll 1646A, frames 170b-71a; and Alférez Mayor Pedro de Vertiz to Francisco de Lima, Slave sale, Parral, 1 October 1640, AHP, roll 1640A, frames 266b-69a.

³⁹ Vincent Villanueva Mayer, *The Black on New Spain's Northern Frontier: San José de Parral, 1631 to 1641* (Durango: Center of Southwest Studies, Ft. Lewis College, 1974), 8.

⁴⁰ Mayer seems to have confused Captain Antonio Leitón with his son, Ignacio, who later became a priest. Mayer, *Black on New Spain's Northern Frontier*, 13.

the import of events in Portugal to the attention of the citizenry of Mexico City. Acting in response to letters from Felipe IV dated 12 January and 4 April 1641, the viceroy called for the mandatory registration of the Portuguese in New Spain.⁴¹

Even before independence was achieved, the viceroy himself had come under suspicion because of his interest in the politics of the duke of Bragança, the future João IV, and because he was of Portuguese extraction. Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, duke of Escalona and marquis of Villena, was also a dishonest administrator and a glutton. Taken together, all these factors made him a very dangerous man in the eyes of many at court in Madrid.⁴² In the view of Felipe IV, the duke of Bragança had committed an act of treason so vile that the exile of all Portuguese from Spain's dominions and the confiscation of their property were more than justified. Nevertheless, as Viceroy Villena stated in his decree, the king had given in to his own magnanimous, benevolent spirit and decided on milder measures rather than the rigorous ones deserved. In order to protect the lives and estates of the Portuguese in his lands, most of whom were loyal vassals of King Felipe IV, the viceroy decreed that all Portuguese and children of Portuguese residing in New Spain were to register with local officials and hand over their weapons. Furthermore, they were to have no contact or engage in any commerce with the Portuguese Crown until such time as their loyalty had been clearly established.⁴³

The Portuguese were the subject of suspicion for other reasons as well. During the period from 1580 to 1640 when Spain was governing Portugal, there was a considerable migration of Portuguese crypto-Jews to Spanish possessions. It has been asserted by a number of scholars over the years that in New Spain during the seventeenth century, the terms "Portuguese" and "Jew" were virtually synonymous.⁴⁴ Jonathan Israel notes

⁴¹ Woodrow Borah, "The Portuguese of Tulancingo and the Special Donativo of 1642-1643," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 4 (1967):387; and Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a.

⁴² Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro Navarro de Anda, eds., *Instrucciones y memorias de los virreyes novohispanos* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1991), 1:401; and Seymour B. Liebman, "The Great Conspiracy in New Spain," *The Americas* 30 (1973):26-28.

⁴³ Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a.

⁴⁴ Liebman, "Great Conspiracy in New Spain," 21.

the marked tendency in seventeenth-century Spanish America to confuse Portuguese with Portuguese New Christians and crypto-Jews, to overlook the abhorrence of Portuguese Old Christians for Portuguese New Christians, and to assume that the Portuguese, Jewish and non-Jewish, were united in hatred of the Castilians.⁴⁵

Most of the crypto-Jews in seventeenth-century New Spain were, indeed, Portuguese or children of Portuguese parents.⁴⁶ Bishop Juan de Palafox, in particular, was suspicious of the Portuguese of New Spain. He was instrumental in having Viceroy Villena replaced and informed any and every official in Mexico City that the Portuguese were enemies of the Spanish Crown and of God because of their disloyalty and Jewish beliefs. Persecution of Portuguese also provided the opportunity to seize the property of commercial rivals and extract money from them, as well as assurances of loyalty to the Spanish Crown.⁴⁷ Much activity of this nature occurred in Mexico City in the 1640s. Events in Parral, however, did not closely parallel those of the viceregal capital, despite the fact that some of the Portuguese in Nueva Vizcaya had extensive business dealings and personal relationships with Francisco Franco Moreira and other Portuguese merchants in Mexico City who had run afoul of the Inquisition.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 124.

⁴⁶ Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 126.

⁴⁷ Borah, "Portuguese of Tulancingo," 389. The marquis of Villena, a third cousin of Felipe IV, proved his loyalty to the king soon after his return to Spain. By royal order of 28 January 1647, he was restored to office as viceroy of New Spain. Ill health prevented him from taking up this post, but he did accept the appointment of viceroy of Navarre. J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *Orígenes y jurisdicciones, y dinámica social de los virreyes*, vol. 1 of *El virreinato* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983), 147-48.

⁴⁸ Franco Moreira, a Mexico City silver merchant, acted as an agent or business associate of several of the Portuguese of Parral, such as Manuel Jorge and Domingo González, for whom he had silver coined. He was among the Portuguese Jews whose property was seized by the Inquisition in Mexico City. Alfonso W. Quiróz, "The Expropriation of Portuguese New Christians in Spanish America," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 11 (1985):407, 418, 462-63, 465; Manuel Jorge to Francisco Franco Moreira and Amaro Díaz Maturana, Power of attorney, Parral, 25 November 1636, AHP, roll 1636, frames 434a-35a; Manuel Jorge, Will, AHP, roll 1654B, frames 942b-45a; Captain Domingo González, Will, Parral, AHP, roll 1641B, frames 942b-57b; and Captain Domingo González to Licenciado Agustín Guerrero and Francisco Franco Moreira, Power of attorney, Parral, 15 June 1641, AHP, roll 1641A, frames 732b-33b.

Indeed, Moreira may have been key in the establishment of the commercial network linking the Parral Portuguese with merchants in Mexico City. Since identifying and exploiting emerging boomtowns was in his economic self-interest, Moreira likely promoted Parral as a destination for aspiring young Portuguese merchants in the 1630s and 1640s. This would explain why merchants were so disproportionately represented in the Portuguese community of Parral.

Ironically, when Viceroy Villena's decree was proclaimed in Parral on 12 January 1642, one of the three witnesses was Blas Correia (almost certainly a Portuguese), and the document was recorded in the hand of Diego Arias, a native of Vila Viçosa. Thirty-eight male heads-of-household, representing 102 individuals, came forward in the period from 13 January to 20 February 1642 to respond to the mandatory registration of Portuguese and children of Portuguese (see Appendix 1).⁴⁹

Although most of the regions of Portugal, as well as its African possession of Tangier, were represented among the residents of Nueva Vizcaya who registered in 1642, the largest concentration came from Minho, the area to the north of the Douro River in northwest Portugal, which accounted for around half of the Portuguese of Parral. In this respect, they mirrored the much larger Portuguese exodus to Brazil. In the seventeenth century—up to 1640—Portuguese were leaving their Iberian homeland at a rate of 3.5 percent of the nation's population, most destined for Brazil or the Spanish Indies. Very nearly half of these people were from Minho.⁵⁰ It is worthy of note that two individuals in the Parral area who were apparently taken to be Portuguese came forward to avoid suspicion: Juan Álvarez, a Galician, and Manuel de Cortinas,⁵¹ a Spaniard raised in Portugal. It seems likely that the speech of these men marked them as different from their neighbors.

⁴⁹ The individuals in the 1642 registration are noted in bold in the list of Parral Portuguese that constitutes Appendix 1. Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a.

⁵⁰ Robert Rowland, "Emigración, estructura y región en Portugal, siglos XVI-XIX," in *Emigración española y portuguesa a América*, ed. Antonio Eiras Roel (Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1991), 1:137-40.

⁵¹ Cortinas described his parents as *castellanos viejos* and presented documentation of this to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. He left Spain as a boy and was raised in Portugal, which is why some took him for Portuguese. Cortinas owned a black slave, valued at 450 pesos, from "la India de Portugal," a reference to a Portuguese possession in India. Manuel de Cortinas to Jerónimo de Aranda, Slave sale, Parral, 31 December 1640, AHP, roll 1640A, frames 400b-01b.

Conspicuous by their absence from the list were two Portuguese priests, Fray Antonio Moreira and Licenciado Diego de Moreira.

It is difficult to establish what percentage of the overall population of the Parral district the Portuguese community represented. According to Oakah Jones, Jr., no one really knows the population of the area in the 1640s, although there seems to be some agreement that some three hundred Hispanic *vecinos*—out of a total population of three thousand—lived there.⁵² If one takes the Portuguese community to consist of the male heads-of-household born in Portugal or born in New Spain to at least one Portuguese parent, their wives, and their children, then it made up 10 or 12 percent of that subgroup of the population. This would not include the much larger group of mestizos, blacks, mulattoes, and Indians living and working in the district that probably numbered a few thousand. By another measure, of the wills extant in the Parral archives for the period 1632 to 1654, 8.5 percent of the men of property were Portuguese.⁵³

As was the case with Portuguese living in other regions of New Spain, the Portuguese citizens of Parral were obligated to make a *donativo* to the Spanish Crown in 1643. Such donations were collected to provide funds to meet urgent needs or for the benefit of the public good,⁵⁴ but, in the case of this particular demand, the Portuguese suspected they were being singled out for punitive reasons. As it happened, their suspicions were justified. The measure had already been used successfully in Castile where Portuguese had been required to prove their loyalty to Felipe IV by means of an appropriate donation of money.⁵⁵ Beginning in June 1643 and continuing throughout the summer, a judge of the *audiencia* of Mexico City, Alonso González de

⁵² In discussing the population of the Santa Bárbara province at the end of the sixteenth century, Cramausssel hypothesizes the relationship between Indians and Hispanic citizens to have a coefficient of one to ten. Applying this coefficient to Jones' estimate of the non-Indian population of Parral gives an overall population of approximately three thousand in the 1640s. Cramausssel, *Primera página*, 82; Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 88-89; and Gerhard, *North Frontier of New Spain*, 218.

⁵³ Database of wills from the Archivos de Hidalgo del Parral in the authors' possession. This database covers the period 1632 to 1682 and consists of 335 documents: 250 for men and 73 for women. Sixty-five percent of the males were natives of Spain, Portugal, the Canaries, the Azores, Mallorca, Flanders, and France. Ninety-three percent of the women were born in New Spain, 65 percent of those having been born in Nueva Vizcaya.

⁵⁴ Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de autoridades*, facsimile edition (1726; reprint, Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1979), 2:335.

⁵⁵ Borah, "Portuguese of Tulancingo," 389.

Villalba, directed the collection of money in Parral from thirty-five individuals.⁵⁶ A number of the Portuguese who had appeared on the mandatory registration of the previous year also made donations, some of considerable size: Regina de Vera (widow of Domingo González) gave 1,000 pesos, Antonio de Barrios 500 pesos, Antonio Juan Marques 400 pesos, Captain Gonçalo Rodrigues 301 pesos, Sebastián de Barrios 300 pesos, Francisco de Lima 250 pesos, and Diego Arias 50 pesos. Also included on the list were individuals who apparently were not Portuguese or of Portuguese ancestry, such as Gregorio de Carvajal and Bartolomé de Urbaneja, although some of these individuals were known to have social and financial dealings with Portuguese.⁵⁷

In addition to collecting the *donativo*, González de Villalba had been entrusted with several other commissions involving investigations into an outbreak of Indian unrest and certain irregularities with the mercury distribution system.⁵⁸ He also had been named judge for cases involving these matters. Apparently, such broad powers led González de Villalba to commit excesses, many of which victimized several of Parral's Portuguese. Complaints against the judge led the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Luis de Valdés, to conduct an investigation into González de Villalba's affairs and order his removal in 1646.⁵⁹ After collecting testimony, Governor Valdés sent his findings to Juan Sáenz de Mañosca, apostolic inquisitor, who was investigating González de Villalba's activities. González de Villalba took up residence in Durango, and Governor Valdés wanted him to depart that city—and indeed the whole of Nueva Vizcaya—on pain of a fine of 10 thousand Castilian *ducados*. He was accused of causing serious problems for the miners and merchants of Parral, much to the detriment of the local economy.

⁵⁶ List of what was received from the donation by the Portuguese, Parral, 18 June-21 October 1643, AHP, roll 1646B, frames 997a-1003b.

⁵⁷ Carvajal's provisioner was Simón Martínez. Gregorio de Carvajal, Will, Parral, 9 August 1663, AHP, roll 1667A, frames 544b-47b; and Bartolomé de Urbaneja, Will, Parral, 14 December 1648, AHP, roll 1649C, frames 1381b-96a.

⁵⁸ Information regarding the nature of González de Villalba's commissions can be found in an order for his removal from Nueva Vizcaya and in testimony detailing his excesses. Governor Luis de Valdés to Antonio de Villalta, Commission, Parral, 1 June 1646, AHP, roll 1646A, frames 170b-75b; Licenciado Pedro de Longoria, Statement, Parral, 2 July 1646, AHP, roll 1646B, frames 702b-05a; and Fray Diego de Espinosa, Statement, Parral, 3 July 1646, AHP, roll 1646B, frames 707b-08b.

⁵⁹ Governor Luis de Valdés to Antonio de Villalta, Commission, Parral, 1 June 1646, AHP, roll 1646A, frames 170b-75b.

Durango was strategically located to strike a blow against the Portuguese involved with the mining and commercial sectors, which was seemingly one of González de Villalba's aims. According to testimony of the participants, Lorenzo Rodrigues Soto and Gonçalo Antunes, a native of Fafe (Minho), departed Parral en route to Mexico City with a shipment of silver.⁶⁰ The pair stopped at the treasury office in Durango to have the silver stamped and pay the tax corresponding to the royal fifth. While they were conducting this business, González de Villalba confronted them and queried Soto on his origins. The Portuguese responded that he was from the town of Caminha (Minho) on the border of Galicia. Upon hearing this answer, González de Villalba was said to leap up in the air three times, exclaiming, "Take the low down son of a bitch to jail." Clearly the Spaniard knew his geography well enough to realize that the Portuguese was not being very forthcoming. Caminha was indeed on the border with Galicia, but on the Portuguese side of Minho. Both men from Parral went under escort to the public jail, and their silver was embargoed. González de Villalba took 500 pesos from Soto, which the former claimed the latter had donated to the Crown. The two Portuguese also incurred 90 pesos in expenses while imprisoned in Durango. Additional testimony revealed that José Simões, a native of Guimarães, had entrusted silver valued at 5,400 pesos to Antunes. González de Villalba seized the entire amount.⁶¹ Simões explained that the judge had also imprisoned in Parral a Portuguese merchant, Simón Martínez, arbitrarily embargoing his retail inventory and placing a guard in his store.

It was significant that the governor of Nueva Vizcaya mounted such a spirited defense of the Portuguese.⁶² Of no less importance was a

⁶⁰ While in Parral, Gonçalo Antunes maintained a business relationship with individuals in Seville, including his son-in-law, Francisco Antunes, and Henrique de Andrade. At the time of his death, Gonçalo Antunes had more than 5,000 pesos' worth of silver in Mexico City, under the protection of his nephew, Bachiller Domingo Antunes, a priest. A further 2,925 pesos' worth of silver had been sent to Mexico City via Captain Pedro de Andrade, a Galician commercial freighter based in Parral. Antunes had more than 3,000 pesos' worth of silver in reales in Parral and merchandise in his store worth an additional 2,000 pesos. Rather remarkably, he recorded no debts. His heir, Bachiller Antunes, was the son of his sister, Catalina Antunes. His executors were all Portuguese: Juan Simões, Simón Martínez, and José Simões. Gonçalo Antunes, Will, Parral, 27 May 1649, AHP, roll 1649B, frames 865b-67b; and Lorenzo Rodrigues Soto, Statement, Parral, 15 July 1646, AHP, roll 1646B, frames 975a-75b.

⁶¹ José Simões, Statement, Parral, 15 July 1646, AHP, roll 1646B, frames 974a-74b.

⁶² Cramausel discusses the conflict between Governor Valdés and González de Villalba in the context of a complicated, internecine factional struggle within the elite of Nueva Vizcaya, which also involved members of the Audiencia de Guadalajara.

long list of accusations against González de Villalba that Bachiller Juan Robledo wrote in July 1646.⁶³ Father Robledo probably delivered the voluminous file to Inquisitor Mañosca in person in Mexico City. Robledo, an extremely influential figure in Parral, was the town vicar, commissary of the Inquisition, and ranking ecclesiastic in the area.⁶⁴ Moreover, he was linked through family relationships to some of the most prominent people in the community and to several of the Portuguese. His sister, Elvira Robledo, was married to General Juan Fernández de Carrión, one of Parral's leading citizens.⁶⁵ Juan Robledo's nephew was Ignacio Leitón [Leitão], the son of Captain Antonio Leitón, a Portuguese miner.⁶⁶ Father Robledo was apparently the half-brother of José Lobo, a Portuguese native of Nueva Vizcaya and miner at San Diego de las Minas Nuevas.⁶⁷

Despite the vexations that doubtless resulted from the mandatory registration of 1642 and persecution at the hands of Judge González de Villalba, no indication that the Portuguese of Parral attracted the intense scrutiny of the Inquisition has come to light, although it seems likely that inquiries were made. As for the series of *autos de fe* that began in 1646 and culminated in the general *auto de fe* in April 1649 in Mexico City, it appears that there were no similar actions in Parral.⁶⁸ At a time when Portuguese in various parts of New

Seen in this light, Valdés' defense of the Portuguese suggests that they were part of the faction that supported him in general, rather than any specific pro-Portuguese stance on his part. Cramaussel errs, however, in stating that González de Villalba was a member of the Audiencia de Guadalajara; he was actually from the Mexico City *audiencia*. Chantal Cramaussel, "El poder de los caudillos en el norte de la Nueva España," in *Circuitos de poder en la Nueva España*, ed. Carmen Castañeda García (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Miguel Ángel Porrúa, Grupo Editorial, 1998), 44-46.

⁶³ Bachiller Juan Robledo, Statement, Parral, 24 July 1646, AHP, roll 1646B, frames 985a-90a.

⁶⁴ Bachiller Juan Robledo, Proceedings, Parral, 20-25 April 1665, AGN, Inquisición, leg. 593.

⁶⁵ When she died, Elvira Robledo owed money to several Portuguese, including more than 20,000 pesos to her nephew, Bachiller Ignacio Leitón, and smaller sums to Francisco de Lima and Antonio Rodrigues Soto. Elvira Robledo, Will, Parral, 21 May 1671, AHP, roll 1671C, frames 1525b-28b.

⁶⁶ Bachiller Juan Robledo, Will, Parral, 26 January 1669, AHP, roll 1669A, frames 463b-64b.

⁶⁷ Captain Domingo González, Will, AHP, roll 1641B, frames 942b-57b.

⁶⁸ Stanley M. Hordes notes that among the people accused of Jewish practices who were subsequently reconciled by the Inquisition, there were those who picked "up their business where they left off years earlier, apparently suffering neither full confiscation of their estates nor exile." Stanley M. Hordes, "The Inquisition and the Crypto-Jewish

Spain were having their property confiscated by the Inquisition, the Portuguese of Parral were experiencing good relations with the Church. The Portuguese were also becoming increasingly integrated into the society and commerce of Parral. For the most part, they appear to have engaged in the same sorts of activities in the early 1650s that they had pursued in the early to mid-1640s. At the same time, they remained closely tied to fellow Portuguese and certain Galicians. They were even able to obtain the services of one of their own, master barber-surgeon Andrés Nunes, when they needed tonsorial or medical attention.⁶⁹

Two other important members of this close-knit community of the 1640s and early 1650s were Sebastián de Barrios and Domingo Lorenzo [Lourenço]. Barrios was born in Portugal to Pedro de Alcácer and Maria de Barrios sometime before 1590, although his place of birth is uncertain.⁷⁰ In 1642, his sons—Juan, Antonio, José, and Diego—gave Setúbal as their father's birthplace. In his will, Barrios stated that he was from Sesimbra, although his burial entry indicates Lisbon. Whatever the case, Barrios was an early settler in the Santa Bárbara province, a merchant at San Bartolomé, and a fairly successful silver miner in the Real de San Diego, a few miles from Parral.⁷¹

There were so few Spanish settlers in the Santa Barbara jurisdiction in 1600 that the established families were always on the lookout for new, eligible bachelors to marry their daughters. Having a daughter wed a European newcomer, even a Portuguese, was better than seeing her marry a local mestizo. Most of the women of property in the Parral district were natives of New Spain, but most of the propertied men were Europeans. *Criollas* tended to marry outsiders. Of the seventy-two women of property who left wills in the Parral notarial archives between 1632 and the early 1680s (excluding one Indian and another of unknown origin), almost 93 percent had been born in New Spain, and about 63 percent were native to Nueva Vizcaya. By contrast, only 11 percent of the men of property who left wills in Parral were born in Nueva Vizcaya. Of the 250 men who left wills in Parral during

Community in Colonial New Spain and New Mexico," *Sephardic Jews in the Trans-Mississippi West* (October 1996):701 n. 15.

⁶⁹ Andrés Nunes, Will, Parral, 28 July 1663, AHP, roll 1662B, frames 828b-30b.

⁷⁰ Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a; Sebastián de Barrios, Will, Parral, 29 April 1654, AHP, roll 1656C, frames 1422b-29b; and Burial of Sebastián de Barrios, Parral, on 2 May 1654, LDS, Burials, 0162562.

⁷¹ Sebastián de Barrios, Will, Parral, 29 April 1654, AHP, roll 1656C, frames 1422b-29b.

this same period, 65 percent were natives of Spain, Portugal, Mallorca, the Canary Islands, Flanders, or France.⁷²

Sebastián de Barrios fits this pattern well. A brother named Antonio, who appears on the 1604 census of San Bartolomé, probably preceded him to Nueva Vizcaya.⁷³ Sebastián doubtlessly came to Parral seeking his fortune and a union with a local woman with a substantial dowry. He married Teresa Ruiz de la Chica of San Bartolomé around 1610. She was the daughter of Antonio de Urbaneja and Francisca de Grados, two of the earliest settlers of the valley and members of the most recognized extended family involved in silver mining in Parral. Teresa brought a 3,000-peso dowry to the marriage, a considerable sum at that time and place. Her brother, the cattle rancher and miner Captain Bartolomé de Urbaneja, married Ana de Biezma, the sister of Juan Rangel de Biezma, the founder of the mines at Parral. Through this, Barrios had married into one of the oldest and most influential families in Nueva Vizcaya.⁷⁴

Sebastián and Teresa had numerous children, several of whom provide additional insight into the Portuguese community of Parral. Their son, Sebastián II, returned to Coimbra, Portugal, with 800 pesos; Pedro became a Franciscan; Antonio administered his father's affairs; Andrés joined the Jesuit Order; and Juan became a miner near Parral.⁷⁵

The senior Barrios was one of the few Portuguese in the Parral area who succeeded as a silver miner on a substantial scale. As a result of his mining operation near San Diego and his mercantile activities at San Bartolomé, he was able to distribute thousands of pesos in dowries when his daughters wed. María married Martín Goicoechea, receiving a 3,600-peso dowry; Francisca received a 2,000-peso dowry when she

⁷² Database of wills from the Archivos de Hidalgo del Parral in the authors' possession.

⁷³ The 1604 Census of Nueva Vizcaya, AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 28.

⁷⁴ Documents related to the dowry of Teresa Ruiz de la Chica, Cuencamé, 17-20 August 1610, AHP, roll 1656C, frames 1434b-35a; Captain Diego del Castillo, Will, Guadalajara, 4-14 November 1637, AHP, roll 1639B, frames 574b-81a; and Ana de Biezma, Will, Parral, 2 February 1660, AHP, roll 1660B, frames 741a-45a. The family relations as presented in these documents contradict Cramaussel, who indicates that Antonio was the uncle of Bartolomé rather than his father. Cramaussel, *Primera página*, 66; and Captain Bartolomé de Urbaneja, Will, AHP, roll 1649C, frames 1381b-96a.

⁷⁵ Sebastián de Barrios, Will, Parral, 29 April 1654, AHP, roll 1656C, frames 1422b-29b.

married Pedro Alonso de Villalba; and Luisa also received a dowry of 2,000 pesos when she wed Diego Martín.⁷⁶

Barrios had arrived in the Santa Bárbara province decades before the silver strike at Parral. He accumulated considerable assets during his fifty years in the region. Like other Europeans in the community, he became financially diversified, with interests in mining, commerce, agriculture, and rental properties. By 1653, the family fortune was substantially depleted due to financial setbacks.⁷⁷ At the time of his death in May 1654, his silver-refining operation was rented to General Juan Fernández de Carrión, whose wife, Elvira Robledo, was related to at least two Portuguese families in the district. Barrios' estate included property in Parral and San Diego, as well as a small farm at San Bartolomé.

Captain Domingo Lorenzo was another Portuguese who had varied commercial interests in and around Parral. Lorenzo was a native of Caminha, the son of Manuel Alvares and Maria Rodrigues.⁷⁸ He was not among the Portuguese who registered in 1642, but his name appears a year later on a list of Parral merchants operating stores.⁷⁹ A bachelor for much of his career in Parral, Lorenzo lived in one of Fernando de Valdés Llanos' several houses.⁸⁰ *Sargento mayor* Valdés Llanos was a native of Gijón, Asturias, and a purveyor of high-end retail merchandise in Parral. He had business and personal associations with several Portuguese, including Mexico City merchant Manuel Peres de Sequeira, also a native of Caminha.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Sebastián de Barrios, Will, Parral, 29 April 1654, AHP, roll 1656C, frames 1422b-29b.

⁷⁷ Teresa Ruiz de la Chica, Will, Parral, 26 January 1653, AHP, roll 1653B, frames 919b-21a.

⁷⁸ Domingo Lorenzo, Will, Hacienda de Santo Domingo de Año Nuevo, 10 July 1664, AHP, roll 1665A, frames 562b-66a.

⁷⁹ List of merchants, Parral, 9 November 1643, Parral, AHP, roll 1643A, frames 177b-85a.

⁸⁰ Another Portuguese, Juan Rodrigues Sánchez, lived in a rental house belonging to Valdés Llanos. *Sargento Mayor* Fernando de Valdés Llanos, Will, inventory, and estate settlement, Parral, 7 October 1651-7 November 1654, AHP, roll 1651B, frames 937b-1086a.

⁸¹ Just before he died, Valdés Llanos named Sequeira legal guardian of his children. *Sargento Mayor* Valdés Llanos, Will, inventory, and estate settlement, AHP, roll 1651B, frames 937b-1086a; Manuel Peres de Sequeira to *Sargento Mayor* Fernando Valdés Llanos, Obligation, Parral, 17 May 1649, AHP, roll 1649B, frames 859a-60b; and Manuel Peres de Sequeira, Will, Parral, 5 December 1660, AHP, roll 1660B, frames 840a-45b.

Lorenzo held the title of *alférez* during his early years in Parral, at which time he was a general merchant and provisioner of mines. By 1655, Lorenzo had diversified his financial holdings to include mining properties at San Diego and, before the early 1660s, had acquired the Hacienda de Santo Domingo, a silver smelting facility at the outpost of Año Nuevo, in the jurisdiction of San Francisco del Oro, southwest of Parral.⁸² During his years as a mine provisioner, Lorenzo had become familiar with the day-to-day details of running a refining operation. Aggressive in his business pursuits, Lorenzo evidently thought he could manage such a facility better than his customers, one of whom was Juan Gallardo, his compadre at Año Nuevo, who owed the former 4,000 pesos at the time of his death.⁸³ Thus, Lorenzo was tempted to move beyond mercantile activities into mining. Several of Parral's merchant-miners appear to have used their mercantile connections to obtain mining provisions for themselves at wholesale prices, thereby reducing their overhead.

Mercantile activities were, on the whole, safer and more consistently profitable than mining operations, which were subject to a multitude of economic variables. Silver refineries were labor-intensive, required large amounts of capital and upkeep, and sometimes suffered from poor ore. Furthermore, since most Parral refineries relied on the amalgamation process to extract silver from the ore, such facilities required constant supplies of salt, mercury, and, to some extent, charcoal. They also required ample water supplies, which were lacking during times of drought, most notably during 1653-1654 and the late 1660s.⁸⁴ Refinery employees tended to run up large debts to their employers that were seldom repaid. Still, the lure of silver was very strong, even for experienced businessmen who should have been

⁸² Alférez Domingo Lorenzo to Felipe Catalán, Obligation, Parral, 23 September 1655, AHP, roll 1678B, frames 1059a-60a.

⁸³ Lorenzo may have purchased the hacienda from Gallardo's widow. Since Gallardo owed Lorenzo a sizable sum, the latter was probably able to acquire the property cheaply and then use his mercantile connections to obtain supplies wholesale. Juan Gallardo, Will, Año Nuevo, 16 October 1649, AHP, roll 1649A, frames 213b-19a.

⁸⁴ Domingo de Apresa y Falcón and Felipe Catalán, Inventory of available flour and grain, Parral and San Bartolomé, 21 January-28 February 1654, AHP, roll 1654A, no frame number (case number G-3); General Carlos Gago de Mendoza y Sotomayor, Edicts, Parral, 31 October 1667-10 February 1668, AHP, roll 1666A, frames 155b-63a; Captain Juan Leal, Petition, Parral, [24 April] 1668, AHP, roll 1668C, frames 1532b-33a; Gonçalo Rodrigues Sampaio and Juan Martínez Simões, Petition, Parral, 2 July 1669, AHP, roll 1669A, frames 41b-42a; and Bachiller Diego Manuel de Rivera, et al., Petition, Parral, 10 January 1686, AHP, roll 1685A, frames 53b-54b.

cognizant of the risks. A few miners were wildly successful, but many others, including Lorenzo, fell on hard times.

By the summer of 1664, Lorenzo was a captain and *alcalde mayor* of the mining district of San Francisco del Oro. As *alcalde* of a booming mining district, the potential for financial gain was considerable. Lorenzo earned 633 pesos during the 1665 estate settlement of miner Juan de Ugarte, working at a rate of one mark of silver (valued at 8 pesos) a day.⁸⁵ At that time, Lorenzo's financial assets included his silver refining operation (the Hacienda de Santo Domingo de Año Nuevo), mines, and a charcoal-making facility. His refinery and charcoal operation might have employed around forty individuals, making it a good-sized operation, but not one of Parral's largest. Sometime after 1664, Lorenzo wed María Jorge, almost certainly a descendant of the Portuguese merchant, Manuel Jorge.⁸⁶

By the mid-1670s, Lorenzo had become seriously encumbered by debts of more than 11,000 pesos, and his silver refining operation had evidently fallen into serious disrepair. The mules, so vital an element in the production process, were old, thin, and exhausted. Antonio Rodrigues Soto, a Parral merchant and Mexico City native with long-standing ties to the Portuguese of both cities, purchased Captain Lorenzo's silver refinery at public auction in November 1676.⁸⁷ This distress sale was evidently the result of an accumulation of unpaid debts owed to a number of individuals.

Lorenzo was still alive in June 1685 but was dead by January 1695.⁸⁸ His widow, María Jorge, was buried in Parral in 1696.⁸⁹ Her burial entry states that she died at San Bartolomé and that she had been the owner of a silver refining hacienda in the jurisdiction of San Francisco del Oro. This suggests that she and her husband, or she alone, might have reacquired the hacienda sometime prior to 1696 or purchased another facility. It may also be, however, that the only

⁸⁵ Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 292 n. 102; and Domingo Lorenzo to Pedro de Andrade, Obligation, Parral, 1 August 1663, AHP, roll 1662B, frames 830b-31a.

⁸⁶ Domingo Lorenzo, Will, AHP, roll 1665A, frames 562b-66a; and Burial of María Jorge, Parral, 30 August 1696, LDS, Burials, 0162563.

⁸⁷ Documents related to the estate of Antonio Rodrigues Soto, Parral and Mexico City, 9 December 1675-11 November 1676, AHP, roll 1678B, frames 1031a-73a.

⁸⁸ Domingo Lorenzo, Statement, Hacienda de San José, 23 July 1685, AHP, roll 1678C, frames 1315b-16a; and Diego Jorge, Execution of power of attorney, Hacienda de Santo Domingo, 15 January 1695, AHP, roll 1678C, frames 1440b-41a.

⁸⁹ Burial of María Jorge, Parral, 30 August 1696, LDS, Burials, 0162563.

reason this was noted in her burial entry was because owning the refinery was thought to have been her greatest achievement.

Despite the fact that they were Portuguese (some perhaps of Jewish ancestry), men such as González, Jorge, Lima, Barrios, Lorenzo, and their offspring, had much the same opportunities as Spanish entrepreneurs in Parral and engaged in essentially the same activities. González, Lima, and the others bought and sold slaves, loaned and borrowed money, participated in all forms of commerce, had extensive business connections in Mexico City, acquired land if they so desired, were granted *encomiendas*, and were appointed to a variety of offices and positions of responsibility. Lima was a successful general merchant, constable of Parral, syndic for the Franciscans, and a prosperous landowner by the 1660s. He also had dealings with an array of silver miners, as well as New Mexican governors, missionaries, and traders. González was a captain during the 1630s and a pioneer merchant at San Bartolomé. As a citizen of Parral, he was active in commerce, bought and sold numerous slaves, had business arrangements with New Mexican missionaries, and even assumed responsibility for financing the completion of the local church. Gonçalo Rodrigues—the compadre of Lima, González, and other Portuguese—was an early miner on the Cerro Rico of Parral and an *encomendero*. José Simões was involved in the provisioning of silver mines, and Domingo Lorenzo was a merchant, miner, and *alcalde mayor* of San Francisco del Oro, making and losing a modest fortune in the process.⁹⁰

The Portuguese of Parral shared with other Iberian immigrants the same goals, aspirations, and overall assumptions about the potential for financial prosperity in the New World. There were, however, differences. More than half of the Portuguese of Parral were merchants, many of whom managed to exploit, each in his own way, the economic opportunities available in Parral. For young or would-be merchants, the ready ability to obtain credit in Mexico City from well-established fellow countrymen and the modest initial cash outlays to set up a small to mid-sized retail outlet in Parral made for a very attractive investment. A shipment or two of basic merchandise from Mexico City, if properly liquidated in Parral, provided sufficient income to get them started on the road to prosperity. Most demonstrated considerable sophistication in monetary affairs and a facile adaptability to the economic possibilities of the northern frontier. The Portuguese community of Parral was defined by men of commerce rather than

⁹⁰ Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 276, 279.

agriculturalists. Although there were some who attained nothing more than a low-paying job as a mine guard or shepherd, most were fairly well-to-do by the standards of the day, and a few became wealthy. A good number of the Portuguese married well, entering into the local elite, even though none came to dominate the local scene socially or financially.

It is difficult to establish a net worth for most of the Portuguese in Parral, but for a few it is possible to furnish some reliable information. As a rule, they were neither the lowliest nor the loftiest members of the business community. The most prominent of these men was Francisco de Lima, whose estate at the time of his death was valued at almost 50,000 pesos.⁹¹ Domingo González's will reveals that his assets—such as accounts receivable, slaves, silver, but not including real estate and personal property—amounted to approximately 25,000 to 30,000 pesos.⁹² The merchant-miner Sebastián de Barrios was sufficiently wealthy to provide 7,600 pesos in dowries for his three daughters.⁹³ In the late 1640s, when he was still active as a mine provisioner, Domingo Lorenzo's assets may have exceeded 10,000 pesos.⁹⁴ Antonio Rodrigues Soto's assets exceeded 20,000 pesos at the time of his death in 1678, but his estate was encumbered by debt.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, most of Parral's wealthiest citizens were Spaniards. The value of General Juan Fernández de Carrión's estate was roughly 100,000 pesos.⁹⁶ Domingo de Apresa y Falcón, Lima's business partner during the 1640s, established dowries of 50,000 pesos for each of his three daughters.⁹⁷ Valerio Cortés del Rey, arguably the wealthiest man in Nueva Vizcaya, accumulated assets worth nearly 300,000 pesos.⁹⁸

Writing about the seventeenth-century merchant elite in Mexico City, Louisa Schell Hoberman notes, "In this period, therefore, if a person were worth 10,000 to 25,000 pesos, he or she was well-to-

⁹¹ Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 284.

⁹² Captain Domingo González, Will, Parral, 13 February 1642, AHP, roll 1641B, frames 942b-57b.

⁹³ Sebastián de Barrios, Will, Parral, 29 April 1654, AHP, roll 1656C, frames 1422b-29b.

⁹⁴ Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 273.

⁹⁵ Antonio Rodrigues Soto, Will, Parral, 9 March 1678, AHP, roll 1678B, frames 973b-78b.

⁹⁶ General Juan Fernández Carrión, Will, Parral, 17 June-13 October 1667, AHP, roll 1667B, frames 889b-918a.

⁹⁷ Captain Domingo de Apresa y Falcón, Will, Parral, 6 December 1686, AHP, roll 1687B, frames 550b-60b.

⁹⁸ Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 292 n. 99.

do; if 25,000 to 50,000 pesos, wealthy; and more than 100,000 pesos made a person the equivalent of a millionaire."⁹⁹ Wage, price, and income data available in the Parral records suggest that businessmen with estates of 100,000 pesos (thirty to fifty times the annual salary of a provincial governor) were, in fact, multimillionaires by today's standards. Whatever the criteria, it is clear that several of the leading members of the Portuguese community in Parral were prosperous individuals. It would seem logical to conclude that these men would have enjoyed even greater prominence in a place the size of Parral as compared to the merchants of the viceregal capital about whom Hoberman wrote. Nevertheless, it was Spaniards such as Cortés del Rey, whom Chantal Cramaussel characterizes as a *caudillo*, that formed the ruling elite in Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁰⁰

There is scant evidence about the relationship between the more prosperous members of the Portuguese community of Parral and those of more modest circumstances, but at least three Portuguese had men from their homeland in their employ in Parral. Gonçalo Antunes, a native of Fafe, had a young Portuguese employee, Juan Martínez Simões, who was born in the same province in Portugal. Juan Rodríguez Sánchez, a Mexico City merchant residing in Parral and a native of Montemor in Portugal, employed a Portuguese named Gaspar Barbosa at Minas Nuevas. Captain Gonçalo Rodríguez, a Parral miner from Tangier, had a Portuguese man named Francisco Díaz Correa. It must have been very unusual on New Spain's northern frontier to see European employees, and this probably afforded their employers an additional measure of prestige. In turn, these employees must have considered themselves to be on a higher social plain than the mestizo, mulatto, and Indian servants and laborers in Parral.¹⁰¹

The Portuguese seemingly made a concerted effort to establish and maintain good relations with the Church. There were two Portuguese priests in the Parral area, Antonio and Diego de Moreira, about whom little is known. Two of Sebastián de Barrios' sons became priests, as did Bachiller Ignacio Leitón, the son of Portuguese miner Antonio Leitón. Two of Francisco de Lima's sons were also prominent

⁹⁹ Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590-1660: Silver, State, and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 225.

¹⁰⁰ Cramaussel, "Poder de los caudillos," 39-58.

¹⁰¹ Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a.

churchmen.¹⁰² Bachiller Nicolás Rodrigues, the son of María de Vera and Gonçalo Rodrigues, also became a priest.¹⁰³ As noted above, Captain Domingo González, Parral's most prominent Portuguese businessman prior to 1642, assumed responsibility for the completion of the church in Parral. The Portuguese also apparently enjoyed the protection afforded by Bachiller Juan Robledo, the most important ecclesiastical figure in Parral at the time, to whom several of the Portuguese were related by marriage. In 1685, Luis Simões donated two urban properties as a site for the construction of the Jesuit primary and secondary schools. The following year, he established a *censo* (pledge of payment of an annuity as interest on a loan) with 18,000 pesos in principal, the income from which was dedicated solely to the support of the school. Luis continued to support education in Parral until his death in 1728, at which time his brother José took over as benefactor of the Jesuit institution. His support continued until his death in the 1740s.¹⁰⁴

Members of the first generation maintained ties to their native land by associating with other Portuguese, if by no other means. Given the rather large number of Portuguese in the Parral region, it seems reasonable to conclude that some family members in Portugal continued to follow those who had gone before, at least until 1640. In some instances, there were clusters of individuals from the same community in Portugal, such as Caminha and Guimarães. Caminha and its environs were the source of at least ten of the Portuguese living in Nueva Vizcaya during the period under consideration. One of the earliest was Captain Lorenzo de Lima, a merchant in Durango as early as 1629.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps he touted the opportunities of the region in letters to

¹⁰² The tradition continued into at least the next generation. Two of Lima's grandsons also became priests. Bachiller Francisco Javier Vetancur and Bachiller Juan de Bohórquez, Proclamation of intention to take holy orders, Durango, Parral, 4 August 1714, Archivos del Arzobispado de Durango, microfilm, roll 13, frames 35, Archives and Special Collections Department, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

¹⁰³ María de Vera, Will, Parral, 26 September 1658, AHP, roll 1660B, frames 547a-49a.

¹⁰⁴ Francisco R. Almada, *Resumen de historia del Estado de Chihuahua* (Chihuahua: Ediciones del Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 1986), 81.

¹⁰⁵ Documents related to the *capellania* founded by Captain Lorenzo de Lima, Durango, 9 January 1629, Archivos del Arzobispado de Durango, Mexico, microfilm, roll 1, frames 45-48, Archives and Special Collections Department, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico; and Lorenzo de Lima, Will, Parral, 3 October 1632, AHP, roll 1632, frames 329b-31a.

friends and relatives in Portugal or to business associates in Mexico City, thereby encouraging other Portuguese to settle there. At least one member of the second generation, Sebastián de Barrios II, returned to his ancestral homeland. There were probably others who did the same.

Although the Portuguese community in Mexico City was instrumental in helping the first generation of their fellow countrymen get established in Parral, over time the Portuguese of Parral began to develop business and other sorts of connections with influential non-Portuguese in the viceregal capital. One of Captain Domingo González's most important legal contacts in Mexico City was Licenciado Agustín Guerrero, an attorney registered with the *audiencia* of Mexico City. Juan González de Cobas, a Mexico City financier, had business ties to several Portuguese of Parral. Antonio Rodrigues Soto's wholesale supplier in Mexico City was Juan Navarro Pastrana of Mexico City. Manuel Peres de Sequeira was closely involved in business relationships to Fernando de Valdés Llanos of Parral and his brother in Mexico City, Alonso de Valdés, a silver merchant.¹⁰⁶ In this sense, they behaved like any other merchants in the New World, regardless of national origin. According to Hoberman, in the Mexico City merchant community, Portuguese *conversos* assimilated into the society at large, and one stimulus for this was their business relations with non-Portuguese.¹⁰⁷ It appears that this process extended to the Portuguese community of Parral.

The first generation of Parral Portuguese was decidedly clannish, particularly during the 1630s and 1640s. The relationships between and among the Jorge, González, Rodrigues, Lima, Lorenzo, and Martínez families illustrate this tendency. Within a few years, the busy Parral milieu, with its fluid social structure and diverse economic opportunities, began to erode or relax the sense of community among the Portuguese. The monetary support the Portuguese provided for the defense of the Parral region and their willingness to serve in the local militia doubtless also helped to bind them to their neighbors as military supporters and comrades in arms.

In the early days of mining in the Parral district, troops were garrisoned at Santa Bárbara and in Parral to protect this vital sector of the frontier economy. A muster in 1641 in Parral indicated that there

¹⁰⁶ Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 286 n. 16, 288 n. 34; Domingo González to Licenciado Agustín Guerrero and Francisco Franco Moreira, Power of attorney, Parral, 15 June 1641, AHP, roll 1641A, frames 732b-33b; and Gregorio de Carvajal, Will, Parral, 9 August 1663, AHP, roll 1667A, frames 544b-47b.

¹⁰⁷ Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite*, 21.

were 206 able-bodied men to serve as local militiamen. Twenty-two of these men—more than 10 percent—were from the Portuguese community.¹⁰⁸ Only three captains were identified: Juan Gómez Fernández, a native of Quintanilla, Spain, who was a wealthy sheep and cattle rancher; Fernando de Torres Quijada, a native of the Valle de Carrión, Spain, who was a former merchant in Parral; and the Portuguese merchant, Domingo González.¹⁰⁹ Historian Salvador Álvarez notes that the most important criterion for the selection of such captains was that they were all "*hacendados* of certain importance, capable of supporting contingents of soldiers at their own expense."¹¹⁰ González's wife, Regina de Vera, had inherited her father's hacienda, La Concepción, in the Valley of San Bartolomé. The Portuguese who appeared at the 1641 muster were not segregated by national origin under Captain González's command. Indeed, about half of the Portuguese enlistees were assigned to Captain Torres Quijada's company.

In 1645, a decision was reached to establish a presidio at Cerrogrado. Nueva Vizcaya governor Valdés ordered merchants and other wealthy individuals to make a financial contribution to the establishment of the new presidio. In September and October 1646, in Parral and Minas Nuevas, Gonçalo Antunes, Domingo Lorenzo, Juan Rodríguez Sánchez, Fernando Martínez, Simón Martínez, Lorenzo Rodrigues Soto, José Simões, Manuel Mendoza, and Antonio Juan Marques donated between 8 and 12 pesos each for the new presidio.¹¹¹ Fear of an outbreak of war with the Tarahumara two years later led a

¹⁰⁸ Those passing muster were: Román Mendes, Simón Martínez, José Simões, Juan Martínez Simões, Manuel Cortinas, Francisco Álvarez, Antonio Juan Marques, Enrique Lopes, Lorenzo Rodrigues, Lorenzo Rodrigues Soto, Domingo Lorenzo, Antonio Robles, Manuel Jorge, Blas Correa, Manuel Gomes, Jerónimo Pereira, Juan de Barrios, Francisco de Lima, Gonçalo Antunes, Antonio Leitón, Luis Peres [de Molina], and Domingo González. Muster of able-bodied men, Parral, 12-24 May 1641, AHP, roll 1641A, frames 110b-14b.

¹⁰⁹ Captain Fernando de Torres, Will, Parral, 11 July 1642, AHP, roll 1641B, frames 1050b-54b; and Captain Juan Gómez Fernández, Will, Parral, 22 May 1653, AHP, roll 1653B, frames 972b-76a.

¹¹⁰ Salvador Álvarez, "La hacienda-presidio en el Camino Real de Tierra Adentro en el siglo XVII," in *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, historia y cultura: primer coloquio internacional*, ed. Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (Chihuahua: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, National Park Service, 1997), 191, 198.

¹¹¹ Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986-1997), 1:336-42.

number of the Portuguese community to participate in the militia mustered in Parral. Among those who passed muster were: Simón Martínez, José Simões, Alferéz Manuel Jorge, Gonçalo Rodrigues Sampaio, Francisco de Lima, and Antonio de Barrios.¹¹²

As evidenced by their marriage and *compadrazgo* patterns and business relationships, assimilation occurred fairly rapidly for the Portuguese. After one generation, these individuals looked much like the more successful of their Iberian neighbors who emigrated to the Indies. They tried to make good marriages for themselves and their children (for whom they secured influential people as godparents), and associated with people of similar economic standing. One important difference, however, is their subtle tendency to keep a low profile by avoiding governmental service, which was a magnet to Spanish immigrants. This may indicate that they were in New Spain illegally or were seeking to avoid suspicion of Jewish origins.¹¹³ By any economic measure, the Parral Portuguese were doing very well financially. In the end, their economic status enabled them to assimilate quickly and broadly into the society of Nueva Vizcaya, at the top or nearly so. Once safely ensconced among the leaders of that society as sons-in-law, compadres, and business associates, the Portuguese were insulated from scrutiny by the Holy Office and other powers that might have threatened their security and prosperity.

By the time the first generation died off and was replaced by a second and then a third generation, the Portuguese of Parral had essentially lost their distinct identity and presumably any of the characteristics—language in particular—that had once distinguished them from other citizens of Nueva Vizcaya. Through strategic marriages, business relationships, and military and religious service, the subsequent generations—descendants of the founders of Parral's Portuguese immigrant community—were completely assimilated into the Hispanic population of the region.

¹¹² Naylor and Polzer, *The Presidio and Militia*, 369-73.

¹¹³ New Christians were not allowed to leave Portugal before 1580. In 1628, Felipe IV allowed Portuguese *conversos* to trade and establish themselves in the Spanish dominions. This measure led to the passage of a good number of such individuals to the Indies, perhaps many illegally. Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO, 1978), 2:64; and René Millar Corbacho, "Las confiscaciones de la Inquisición de Lima a los comerciantes de origen judeo-portugués de la 'gran complicidad' de 1635," *Revista de Indias* 43:171 (1983):32.

Appendix 1

The Portuguese of Nueva Vizcaya

Name	Occupation/Family information	Place of Birth
Francisco Alvares	merchant, Parral	Guimarães (Minho)
Gregorio Alvares	impoverished, San Diego	Vila Nova de Portimão (Algarve)
Juan Alvares Caminha	merchant, Parral	Caminha (Minho)
Alonso Alvares Moreira	merchant, Parral	Portugal[?]
Gonçalo Antunes	merchant	Fafe (Minho)
Jerónimo de Aranda	firewood vendor	Vide
Diego Arias de Vila Viçosa	governmental escribano	Vila Viçosa (Alentejo)
Gaspar Barbosa	employee of Juan Rodríguez Sánchez	Braga, Portugal
Antonio de Barrios	stock raiser, San Bartolomé (possibly brother of Sebastián I)	Portugal
Sebastián de Barrios	merchant, miner, San Bartolomé, outskirts of Parral	Setúbal, Sesimbra or Lisbon
Gaspar Coelho		Portugal
Manuel Andrés Coelho	mine guard, San Diego	Angra, Terceira (Azores)
Pedro Coelho		Portugal
Blas Correia		Portugal[?]
Francisco Correia		Portugal
Captain Francisco Correia da Silva	merchant, rancher, Parral and San Francisco del Oro	Lisbon

Name	Occupation/Family information	Place of Birth
Juan Alonço de Cortinhas	merchant, Parral	Vilar de Mouros (jurisdiction of Caminha)
Francisco Dias Correia	employee of Captain Gonçalo Rodrigues	Portugal
Antonio Fernandes	merchant, Parral and Mexico City	Porto
Francisco Fernandes	charcoal burner, Nueva Vizcaya	Almodôvar (Alentejo)
Jerónimo Fernandes	resident of Mexico City	Portugal
Gonçalo Fernandes Vasconcelos		São Miguel, Azores
Antonio García	tailor, San Bartolomé	Braga (Minho)
Manuel Gomes	merchant, Parral	Loulé (Algarve)
Captain Juan Gomes de Paiva	international slave merchant	Lisbon[?]
Captain Domingo González	merchant, San Bartolomé and Parral	Tangier
Manuel Jorge	merchant, Parral	Tangier
Captain Antonio Leitón	silver miner, Parral	Santarém
Bachiller Ignacio Leitón	son of Antonio, diocesan priest	Nueva Vizcaya
Francisco de Lima	apothecary, provisioner, rancher, farmer, Parral and San Bartolomé	Vila Viçosa
Captain Lorenzo de Lima	merchant, Durango	Caminha
Captain Henrique López	merchant, Parral, son of Fernando R[odrigue]s, who married María López in her native city of Talavera de la Reina	Sabugal on the Côa River (Beira)

Name	Occupation/Family information	Place of Birth
Jerónimo Lobo		Caminha
Alfárez José Lobo	son of Jerónimo, silver miner, San Diego	Topia, Nueva Vizcaya
Captain Domingo Lorenzo	provisioner, miner, charcoal maker, Parral, San Francisco del Oro and San Diego	Caminha
Antonio Juan Marques	merchant, San Diego	Alcafache in the jurisdiction of Viseu (Beira)
Fernando Martínez	merchant, Parral	Caminha
Antonio, Juan, Francisco, Simón II Martínez	sons of Simón Martínez	
Simón Martínez	merchant, Parral	Guimarães
Juan Martínez Simões	merchant	Portugal
Román Mendes	tailor, San Diego	Vila Meã (district of Viana do Castelo)
Manuel Mendonça	merchant, saddle maker	Near Coimbra
Antonio Moreira	merchant, Parral	Portugal[?]
Fray Antonio Moreira	Franciscan priest	Portugal[?]
Licenciado Diego de Moreira	diocesan priest, San Bartolomé	
Francisco Franco Moreira	silver merchant, agent, Mexico City	Portugal
Andrés Nunes	master barber-surgeon, Parral	Portugal
Antonio Pacheco	merchant, San Diego	Fafe
Andrés Pereira	merchant, San Juan del Río	Ilha Terceira, Azores
Jerónimo Pereira	merchant, son of Andrés	San Juan del Río

Name	Occupation/Family information	Place of Birth
Manuel Pereira	San Diego	Monção
Agustín Pereira Freire	silver miner, San Diego	Tavira (Algarve)
Matias Pereira Lobo	alcalde mayor of Sonora	
Luis Peres	Jerez, Nueva Galicia	Portugal
Alfárez Antonio Peres de Molina	son of Luis, commercial freighter	Jerez, Nueva Galicia
Alfárez Luis Peres de Molina	son of Luis, incapacitated	Jerez, Nueva Galicia
Alfárez Marcos Peres de Molina	son of Luis, silver miner, Parral	Jerez, Nueva Galicia
Manuel Peres de Sequeira	merchant, Parral and Mexico City	Caminha
Antonio de Robles	merchant, Parral, son of Jerónimo Fernandes, a native of Portugal, and Isabel de Robles	Mexico City
Captain Gonçalo Rodrigues	merchant, silver miner, Parral	Tangier
Gonçalo Rodrigues Sampaio	merchant, miner, Parral, Minas Nuevas	Portugal
Juan Rodríguez Sánchez	merchant, Parral	Montemor
Antonio Rodrigues Soto	merchant, Parral	Mexico City
Domingo Rodrigues Soto		Caminha
Lorenzo Rodrigues Soto	merchant, Parral and Mexico City	Caminha
Andrés Sanches de Almeida		Portugal[?]
Diego de Sequeira		Portugal[?]
Domingo da Silva	Parral	Guarda (Beira)

Name	Occupation/Family information	Place of Birth
José Simões	merchant, provisioner, Parral	Guimarães
Pedro Luis [de] Sousa		Moncarapacho (jurisdiction of Tavira)
Jorge Váz	employee of Pedro Robles, San Diego	Vila Nova (Algarve)
Antonio de Vera Barbosa	shepherd, outskirts of Parral	Porto

Information is derived from the authors' database of individuals mentioned in the Archivo Histórico de Hidalgo del Parral. Names in bold appear in the Mandatory Registration of Portuguese, Parral, 12 January-20 February 1642, AHP, roll 1642A, frames 141b-62a.