

Fernando de Valdés Llanos

ASTURIAN MERCHANT OF PARRAL, 1639–1651

Rick Hendricks and Gerald Mandell

Wherever the Asturian goes he takes Asturias with him; in distant regions of the globe there are Asturians as Asturian as most Asturians and that, nevertheless, were not born in Asturias or ever saw it. They are Asturians by relation or contagion, because an Asturian or group of Asturians must have infused the spirit of Asturias there. — Ramón Pérez de Ayala

On the evening of 3 September 1648, a small gathering was held at the home of Fernando de Valdés Llanos,¹ an Asturian merchant in the mining town of San José del Parral, Nueva Vizcaya. Among those attending were Julián de Valdés, Miguel de Noriega, Alonso Morales García, and fray Luis de Medina, an Augustinian missionary.² Julián de Valdés, born about 1626 in Gijón, Asturias, was Fernando's nephew and mercantile assistant. Noriega, a native of San Vicente de la Barquera in the Spanish province of Santander, would later become New Mexico governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal's governmental secretary.³ At some point in the evening, for reasons unknown, the host announced that he intended to whip his mulatto slave, Francisco. Before he could be restrained, Francisco—age twenty-two and a native of Caracas—dashed into a nearby room and emerged with a

Rick Hendricks works in the Archives and Special Collections Department at New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces. Gerald Mandell is an independent scholar and research consultant.

sword in each hand. A frightening spectacle ensued, during which the mulatto held the crowd at bay and attempted to stab those who drew near. Valdés Llanos and his guests were horrified. Father Medina tried in vain to calm Francisco. As luck would have it, Gen. Juan Fernández de Carrión, the *justicia mayor* (deputy of the *alcalde mayor*) of Parral, arrived at the house (possibly armed with two or more pistols) and quickly disarmed the slave. Francisco was promptly taken to jail and charged with threatening his master with a weapon. After a three-week criminal proceeding, he was sentenced to be sold, receive two hundred lashes in public, fined 150 pesos, and ordered to perform hard labor in one of Parral's ore mills.⁴ The sentence the *justicia mayor* imposed was beyond harsh. Pedro de Andrade, a Galician who had committed a similar, but much bloodier, offense the same year in Parral walked away from the proceeding with a modest fine.⁵

The violent melee that occurred in Valdés Llanos's home did little to undermine his reputation, for virtually everyone in Nueva Vizcaya understood that he was no ordinary frontier merchant. Through enviable social connections in Mexico City, a network of financial consultants, sound business decisions, a profitable playing card contract, and a favorable marriage, Valdés Llanos accumulated an array of personal property that was impressive even by Parral standards. An estate inventory compiled at the time of his death in October 1651 was one of the most diverse of its era: 2,500 pounds of flour, 1,760 pounds of sugar, 300 pounds of steel, felling axes, sheep shears, 168 pounds of iron wedges, 266 pounds of Campeche thread, silk from China and Calabria, 310 marks of silverware, a wide variety of imported fabrics and spices, men's camlet (a fabric made of silk and camel hair) and mohair suits, a camel hair cloak, nearly 500 gold buttons, 378 varas of fine Flemish lace, a gilded pistol, large Chinese tapestries (one of blue silk), embroidered sheets, a bedspread edged with gold, and a linen campaign tent from Sinaloa. There were Egyptian and Berber rugs, an expensive coach and six mules, several groups of houses, two rented stores, a small library of history books and plays, more than 14,000 pesos' worth of silver bullion, 16,319 decks of cards, fourteen Black and mulatto slaves, and many other articles of interest and value. A warehouse Valdés Llanos owned contained 70,000 pounds of *greta* (litharge, or lead monoxide) and 15,000 pounds of lead, substances used in the smelting of ores.⁶

By his own estimate, Valdés Llanos had spent more than 6,000 pesos (three times the annual salary of a provincial governor) on gold, pearl, dia-

mond, ruby, and emerald jewelry for his wife, Luisa Gómez Fernández. A gold chain from China, which weighed nearly two pounds, was valued at 676 pesos. These and other glittery objects—including a 1,400-peso necklace featuring 198 emerald pendants—were later inherited by the couple's daughter, Josefa.⁷ Fernando also owned a pair of showy, custom-made saddles. One was trimmed with blue silk and had tin stirrups; another was fashioned of yellow silk with gilt stirrups. At the time of his death, estate valuator also recorded charge accounts and promissory notes payable to Valdés Llanos from ninety individuals, including the town assayer, numerous silver miners, provincial officials, and the former governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Luis de Valdés.

During his brief but successful career in Parral, Valdés Llanos carried on extensive trade in basic merchandise for the local silver haciendas, dealt in luxury goods for those who could afford them, acquired the lucrative playing card monopoly for Parral, imported large quantities of lead and other smelting commodities, was appointed captain and *sargento mayor* (field-grade officer equivalent to major) in the Parral militia, and participated in the New Mexico trade during the governorship of Capt. Luis de Rosas (1637–1641). Valdés Llanos became a knight in the Order of Santiago in 1644, served as New Mexico governor Luis de Guzmán y Figueroa's business agent in Parral between 1647 and 1649, had dealings with Fernando Durán y Chaves of New Mexico, and maintained business relationships with individuals in Spain, Veracruz, Puebla, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Sombrerete, Nueva Vizcaya, and at the mining outpost of San Francisco in far-off Nuevo León. His mercantile interests in Mexico City were managed by his brother, Alonso, a prosperous merchant with ties to the city's elite.

Fernando de Valdés Llanos was baptized in Gijón, Asturias, on 21 June 1604.⁹ His 1651 will and other Parral documents listed his parents as Alonso González de Valdés and María de Valdés.¹⁰ In his petition for membership in the Order of Santiago, however, Fernando stated that his parents were Alonso González de la Pedrera, a native of La Pedrera (San Andrés de la Pedrera), and María de Valdés Llanos, a native of Gijón.¹¹ His paternal grandparents were Alonso González de la Pedrera, the elder, and Catalina Suárez, both of La Pedrera. His maternal grandparents were Juan Llanos Valdés, a native Porcello, and Marquesa de Valdés, who was from Gijón. Fernando's brother, Alonso de Valdés, was also a native of Gijón. The men had at least one sister, Isabel, and possibly other brothers.

The contrast between the hastily built boomtown of Parral and the ancient city of Gijón could hardly be more striking. Located on the Bay of

Biscay northeast of Oviedo, the port city of Gijón stands in an intensely green, well-watered region of Spain with a temperate Atlantic climate. Rainfall, which is ample throughout the entire year, is heaviest during the fall and winter months. Summers are generally cool. Known as Gigia to the Romans and Goths, Gijón was the capital of the Kingdom of Asturias until 791. Fire destroyed Gijón in 1395, and the city was repeatedly raided by privateers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Remnants of Roman baths and medieval castles are among the city's historical landmarks. At the time of Fernando's birth in 1604, fishing, iron mining, metallurgy, and coal extraction were important industries.¹² It is possible that the Valdés family was involved in some type of commercial activity: shipping, food processing, import-export, mining, the metal trades, or even the dry goods business.

The modern Principality of Asturias lies along the coast between Cantabria to the east and Galicia to the west. It covers an area of 10,565 square kilometers, roughly three-fourths the size of Connecticut or one-third the size of the Netherlands.¹³ The numerous branches of the Valdés family produced individuals who were by any measure among the most important in the region.¹⁴ According to nineteenth-century Asturian scholar Manuel García Mijares, "The house and lineage of Valdés is so ancient, well known, and extensive in Asturias that there is scarcely a district or town that does not have or has had a house and principal buildings bearing this surname, some very distinguished ones maintaining the male line despite the many ties to other houses and families."¹⁵ Their power and influence extended to the highest reaches of Spanish society in a variety of fields. Asturias contributed such outstanding churchmen as Fernando de Valdés, a native of Salas who was appointed Archbishop of Seville in 1546, and Fernando de Valdés Llano, who was born in Cangas de Tineo, and became Archbishop of Granada in 1633.¹⁶ In the military realm, two cousins, admirals Pedro de Valdés and Diego Flores de Valdés, commanded the navies of Andalusia and Castile, respectively, in the late sixteenth century, most notably in the 1588 failed invasion of England.¹⁷ In addition to his fleet command, Diego was the chief advisor on naval matters to the Duke of Medina Sedonia, the supreme Spanish commander. As is common even in the best of families, Diego and cousin Pedro were also "inveterate and implacable enemies."¹⁸

Fernando and brother Alonso, both aspiring merchants, probably emigrated to New Spain sometime in the mid-1620s. Their cousin, Sebastián González de Valdés, born about 1591 in San Andrés de la Pedrera, may have

emigrated a bit earlier. Veracruz was the first point of contact in the New World. One of their associates in that city was Capt. Antonio Méndez Chillón, occupation unknown, who sent a Black slave to Fernando years later.¹⁹ Juan Rangel de Biezma discovered rich silver deposits at Parral in the summer of 1631, and Sebastián González de Valdés was already the proprietor of a store there by March 1633.²⁰ Although he was still a citizen of Zacatecas, Alonso had begun to test the waters in Parral. He had opened a retail outlet there by May 1635 that was still in operation that December, albeit slightly depleted. There were at least twenty-nine stores in Parral, and 143 mining properties were registered that year.²¹ Other businessmen from Zacatecas, including building contractors, were attracted to Parral.²²

Fernando and Alonso traveled a great deal. By the early 1630s, they had entered into a quarrelsome business partnership in Zacatecas with another merchant, Cristóbal Martín.²³ There is evidence to suggest that Fernando, operating out of San Luis Potosí, sold over 6,600 pesos' worth of clothing and other merchandise to Parral merchant Juan de Echeverría in November 1634.²⁴ As their experience and reputations grew, the brothers attracted the attention of influential persons, including the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Luis de Monsalve y Saavedra (1633–1638), who granted Fernando a power of attorney for debt collection in August 1636.²⁵ In December of that year, Alonso, described as a merchant of Zacatecas, sold a male Angolan slave to his cousin, Sebastián González de Valdés.²⁶

Neither Fernando nor Alonso owned stores in Parral in 1637.²⁷ Perhaps at the urging of his brother or cousin, Fernando had taken up residence there by 1639, at which time Francisco Bravo de la Serna was interim governor of Nueva Vizcaya. This was a conscious decision on Valdés's part: to abandon the amenities of Zacatecas to pursue business opportunities in the rapidly expanding economy of Parral. Declining silver production in the Zacatecas district by 1636–1637 was undoubtedly a major factor in his relocation. Between 1635 and 1640, silver production in Zacatecas totaled almost 730,000 marks, 34 percent less than over the previous five years.²⁸ Economic trends and simple mathematics favored Parral.

Fernando's prospects improved dramatically on 29 August 1639 when he married Luisa Gómez Fernández of San Bartolomé, a ranching and wheat-growing community a few leagues from Parral.²⁹ Witnesses to the ceremony were Capt. Juan de Madrid y Luna, the *alcalde mayor* of Parral, and *Licenciado* (licentiate) Miguel de Barzenábal Balmaseda, inspector-general of the Bishopric of Nueva Vizcaya. Doña Luisa was the daughter of Capt.

Juan Gómez Fernández, a prosperous merchant and a native of Quintanilla de Sotoescueva in Old Castile.³⁰ Luisa's mother was María Romo, a native of the Bishopric of Toledo. A dowry of at least 18,000 pesos was provided for the marriage, part of it in silver and the balance in slaves and other property.³¹

Most of the retail business in Parral revolved around the silver haciendas, some of which were large, complex operations employing dozens of laborers and their families. Capt. Diego Galiano's hacienda employed over forty Indian laborers, some of them from Sinaloa.³² A number of Parral's miners owned smelting refineries, but most were dependent upon amalgamation—and therefore mercury—to process their ore.³³ Although yields of 2.0 to 2.5 ounces of refined silver per *quintal* (hundredweight) of ore were common, yields of 4 to 5 ounces were sometimes reported.³⁴ When supplies of mercury were adequate, which was not always the case, several of Parral's silver haciendas processed over a million pounds of ore per year. By the early 1640s, Parral-area silver haciendas were producing over 90,000 marks of silver annually.³⁵

Whether large or small, all of Parral's silver haciendas required a multitude of essential supplies: flour, dried beans, corn, sugar, salt, chocolate, candles, soap, iron and steel, rope, clothing for the employees, a wide variety of tools, cooking utensils, and other articles. Some Parral merchants, including Valdés Llanos, also distributed charcoal and lead to their customers.

Retail prices were high in Nueva Vizcaya. The transportation charge of 13.5 reales per *arroba* (twenty-five pounds) from Mexico City to Parral greatly increased prices on iron, sugar, chocolate, coarse woolens, tools, cooking utensils, firearms, dishes, soap, and other heavier merchandise.³⁶ Freight fees added 34 percent to the cost of a five-peso *arroba* of sugar, not counting the 4 percent paid to the wholesale merchant in Mexico City. High prices for basic commodities contributed to inflated overhead for most Parral silver refineries. Mercury-based refining operations were labor- and capital-intensive enterprises with high fixed costs. Individuals who conducted vertically integrated and financially diversified operations—including several former Parral merchants—often outperformed the others.

Only a small percentage of miners became wealthy. Most remained deeply in debt throughout their careers. Diego Galiano was more than 24,000 pesos in debt by 1641, not counting more than 5,000 pesos he owed to the Crown for mercury.³⁷ Parral's discoverer, Rangel de Biezma, owed 21,000 pesos to one of his suppliers in 1643;³⁸ and Luis Zubrier de Morese, a French miner on the Cerro Rico, had run up a 33,662-peso debt to his suppliers by 1649.³⁹

For merchants such as Valdés Llanos, it was one thing to sell basic supplies to silver refiners but quite another to collect on the accounts. Civil actions against miners were a common and inevitable feature of the Parral legal environment. Fernando and his nephew initiated a debt execution against one of Parral's founding miners in 1646.⁴⁰

Sophisticated, informed, and apparently well-capitalized, Valdés Llanos took up permanent residence in Parral and began building his clientele. Many of his customers were individuals connected to the mining sector: Valerio Cortés (the town assayer), Mateo Núñez, Francisco and Pedro de Montalbán, Juan Leal, Diego del Castillo, Juan Gutiérrez Tamayo, Bartolomé de Urbaneja, and many others. From a merchandising standpoint, it was really all about the miners and their silver. The 90,000 to 100,000 marks of silver they produced each year were worth almost three-quarters of a million pesos, a percentage of which went to the Crown. When bullion was being produced, merchants and other suppliers were paid. In order for that to happen, the miners needed mercury, an essential reagent in the amalgamation process.

Mercury was a controlled substance. Crown officials supervised importation and distribution as well as pricing of this supremely important commodity. In 1641 the price was set at 97 pesos 3 tomines per quintal. Legal controversies involving the distribution and utilization of mercury were commonplace. Allegations of mercury fraud against the *alcalde mayor* of Parral were investigated in 1643–1644 by *Sargento Mayor* Cristóbal Valero, an accountant employed by the Royal Tribunal of Accounts for New Spain.⁴¹

The nearest mercury warehouse to Parral was in Durango. Shortages of mercury occurred periodically during the 1630s.⁴² Similar deficiencies were noted in Zacatecas.⁴³ The situation was particularly acute in 1640 and early 1641, when Parral miners begged the Crown for more mercury—a lot more. Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, Nueva Vizcaya's wealthiest miner, made an outlandish request for 200 quintals.⁴⁴ Gutiérrez Tamayo, whose financial guarantors were Valdés Llanos and Sebastián González de Valdés, asked for an additional forty quintals.⁴⁵ In January 1641, Tamayo borrowed 2,000 pesos from Fernando—at no interest—in order to purchase mercury and remarked that he had 300,000 pounds of ore waiting to be processed.⁴⁶ That same month, Juan Leal claimed to have a million pounds of ore sitting idle on his hacienda.⁴⁷

The shortage of mercury in Parral was alleviated in 1641 with the arrival of the new governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Luis de Valdés, and his younger

brother, Gen. Melchor de Valdés, who served as *alcalde mayor* of Parral from mid-March 1641 until early May 1643. Luis de Valdés had arrived by late January 1641 in Durango, where he assumed the governorship from Gen. Fernando de Sosa Suárez, knight of Santiago and “*Señor del valle de Tebra*” (Lord of the Tebra Valley).⁴ Melchor continued on to Parral, bringing with him a large quantity of mercury and other supplies. The *alcalde mayor* subsequently provided credit to miners, so that ore mills and other improvements could be made to their haciendas.⁴⁹ This was generally good news for Parral’s merchants, despite the fact that a member of the governor’s entourage, Capt. Diego de Bergonça, also brought 35,000 pesos’ worth of retail merchandise and other materials with him from Mexico City. The distribution agent for these goods was Pedro Mosquera.⁵⁰

Bergonça was a native of “*Duara de las Damas en los estados de Flandes*,” which may have been Dour or Damme, in present-day Belgium.⁵¹ In a petition written on 18 July 1643, Bergonça stated that he had been imprisoned by Dutch rebels in Holland sometime during the 1630s.⁵² He assumed the role of Luis’s and Melchor’s business agent, or front man, in Parral, since, as government officials, they were prohibited by law from engaging in commerce or owning silver haciendas. Evidence in the Parral records indicates that the governor and his brother were actively engaged in mining and mercantile activities in Parral, and several residents of that community—Bergonça, Mosquera, Toribio Fernández Harnero, and others—were assisting them. A Parral cleric characterized Bergonça as the governor’s *hacedor* (steward or financial administrator).⁵³ Bergonça’s (and the Valdés brothers’) commercial benefactor and partner in Mexico City was Simón Váez Sevilla, the Portuguese merchant whose property was confiscated by the Inquisition. The financial guarantor for Bergonça’s 35,000-peso deal with Váez Sevilla was Luis de Valdés, who may have been the real owner of this merchandise.⁵⁴

Melchor de Valdés organized a Parral muster in May 1641.⁵⁵ More than two hundred Spanish and Portuguese males reported, one of whom was Valdés Llanos. Two months later, on 22 July 1641, Fernando and his wife baptized a son, Juan, in Parral.⁵⁶ The priest officiating at the ceremony was the bishop of Nueva Vizcaya, Diego Díaz de Quintanilla y de Hevia y Valdés, a friar of the Order of San Benito (Benedictines) and native of Oviedo, Asturias.⁵⁷ Juan’s godparents were Melchor de Valdés and his wife, Cecilia Jofre. Melchor and Cecilia appear to have been married in 1632, shortly before he assumed the governorship of Soconusco (present-day Chiapas).⁵⁸

Born about 1601 in the city of Granada, Melchor had previously served in government and military posts in Flanders, Lombardy, and probably in the Indies. Parral documents suggest that he also had business contacts in Guatemala, Oaxaca, and on the island of Hispaniola.⁵⁹ His older brother Luis—baptized 24 May 1591 in Almuñécar, on the coast of the province of Granada—was a captain of cavalry, a member of the king's war council for the Flemish states, and a resident of Ghent, Belgium, when he applied for membership in the Order of Santiago in 1630.⁶⁰ Both Luis and Melchor were the sons of Capt. Luis de Valdés and Elvira Rejano. The Mexico City churchman, Licenciado Pedro de Longoria, was a cousin of Luis and Melchor.

Spanish regionalism has deep historical roots on the Iberian peninsula. This peculiar attraction to the *patria chica*—the love of a particular geography, manner of speaking, and folkways of the place where one was born and raised—was a defining characteristic of many Spaniards in the New World. This shared love of place expressed itself in an almost instinctive solidarity among people from the same environment, such that natives of Asturias, for example, sought out others who traced their roots to the same region in northwestern Spain.

Valdés Llanos and other residents of Parral, several with Asturian ancestry, were the recipients of Governor Valdés's largesse. The governor made a remarkable 130 appointments,⁶¹ promotions, and grants between 1641 and 1648.⁶² Valdés Llanos was made a captain of infantry in the Parral militia by 1643 and was soon promoted to sargento mayor. His father-in-law, Juan Gómez Fernández, was granted permission to slaughter one thousand aging ewes. By July 1643, only two years after arriving in Nueva Vizcaya, Bergonça was captain of the presidio of San Sebastián de Chiametla and the newly-appointed governor of Sinaloa. Among those receiving posts who bore the Valdés surname were Luis and Francisco de Enciso y Valdés (the governor's nephews), Gonzalo Méndez de Valdés, Bartolomé de Estrada Ramírez y Valdés (the bishop's nephew), Diego Flores de Valdés, and Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdés II, who became Melchor's *teniente* (lieutenant) in the town of San Diego.⁶³ The previous men were residents of the Santa Bárbara province and the sons of New Mexico Governor Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdés, who had arrived in Santa Fe by mid-April 1641 and died a few months later.

Having been resupplied with investment capital, mercury, and other essentials by Melchor de Valdés and his associates, the miners of Parral resumed their refining operations. Between mid-March 1641 and early May

1643, 183,000 marks of silver were produced in Parral, and Valdés Llanos continued to build his business and customer base.⁶⁴ Crown officials arranged to ship an additional thirty thousand pounds of mercury to Parral in 1645, which promised continued silver production. Fernando's cousin, González de Valdés, was given two thousand pounds to distribute.⁶⁵ Thus, the 1640s were an active period for the men from Gijón.

By 1641 Alonso de Valdés had become a permanent resident of Mexico City, where he supervised the brothers' affairs with considerable success. Alonso and Fernando were well-connected in the capital. Two of Alonso's closest associates in Mexico City were Capt. Andrés Fernández Talavera, an important silver merchant, and Alferez Fabián Chacón.⁶⁶ By the early 1650s, Chacón owned a large store within "*los portales del comercio*" (the portales where business was conducted), which was reportedly well-stocked with specialties from Spain and China. Having high-level legal contacts in Mexico City was important to all serious businessmen. Two of the brothers' most valued associates in this field were Juan de Cervantes Casaus, an accountant for the Audiencia of Mexico,⁶⁷ and Licenciado Andrés Pardo de Lago, a distinguished audiencia judge.⁶⁸

When Fernando moved to Parral in the late 1630s, Capt. Luis de Rosas, a former member of the king's war council for the Flemish states, was governor of New Mexico. The rise of Parral as a commercial center by the mid-1630s served as a potent stimulus to the New Mexico trade. Traders and governors—including Rosas, Fernando de Argüello Carvajal (1644–1647), Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha (1649–1653), Juan Manso (1656–1659), Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659–1661), and others—found a ready market in the Parral district for woolen goods, baskets, antelope skins, deer-skins, buffalo hides, leather garments, sheep, piñones, and, of course, Apache slaves.⁶⁹ Governor Argüello's agents distributed at least seventeen Apaches in Parral in the spring of 1646.⁷⁰

Although illegal from its inception, the Apache slave trade flourished for more than twenty years in Parral, before the Audiencia of Guadalajara intervened to halt the traffic in 1659.⁷¹ Parral baptismal and matrimonial records indicate that González de Valdés, Valdés Llanos, and Gómez Fernández all acquired Apache slaves and servants during the 1640s. Their connection to New Mexico governor Guzmán y Figueroa and to Fernando and Pedro Durán y Chaves may have facilitated this process. At least five Apache slaves or servants belonging to Valdés Llanos and Gómez Fernández were baptized in Parral between 4 April and 28 June 1650. The following year, three

of González de Valdés's female Apache slaves married three of his Black silver hacienda laborers.⁷²

Fernando was an indirect participant in the New Mexico mercantile trade near the end of Governor Rosas's term. On 13 June 1640, Parral merchant Manuel Márquez, a native of Palencia de Alcántara, signed a 4,000-peso promissory note, wherein he stated that Fernando had sold him 2,869 pesos' worth of retail merchandise at reduced prices.⁷³ All or part of this consignment was to be sent to New Mexico. When Márquez wrote his will in October 1640, he mentioned the consignment of clothing that had been shipped north with the wagons of Capt. Tomé Domínguez.⁷⁴ The account was still unsettled on 5 March 1641, at which time Valdés Llanos—acting as the late Márquez's executor—granted powers of attorney to captains Domínguez and Diego del Solar Ceballos for the purpose of collecting 2,028 pesos from Alonso Sánchez de Valverde, the individual who had distributed the Parral goods in New Mexico.⁷⁵

Valdés Llanos was active as a merchant, moneylender, and commodities broker throughout the 1640s. He sold charcoal—obtained through Francisco Palomino, a rancher and charcoal maker near Santa Bárbara—to Capt. Francisco de Montalbán, one of the community's pioneer miners.⁷⁶ Valdés Llanos and other Parral merchants also supplied basic merchandise to Francisco's brother, Pedro de Montalbán.⁷⁷ Capt. Bartolomé de Urbaneja was another of Valdés Llanos's established customers. Urbaneja, who owned the Hacienda de San Juan near Parral, was the brother-in-law of Parral's founder, Juan Rangel de Biezma. Both men owned varas in La Negrita, one of the oldest and most productive mines in Parral, which Rangel had registered in 1631.⁷⁸ Urbaneja and his wife, Ana de Biezma, signed two or more promissory notes payable to Valdés Llanos. On 13 June 1642, the couple incurred a two-thousand-peso, three-month obligation for clothing and other articles purchased.⁷⁹ Later that year, on 11 December, another 2,568-peso note was recorded.⁸⁰ Urbaneja evidently fell behind on his payments, and in September 1646, Valdés Llanos and Julián de Valdés initiated a debt execution against the miner to recover 1,254 pesos.⁸¹

Since some Parral-area miners still owned smelting refineries, Valdés Llanos began importing large quantities of lead and litharge, which were used to smelt ores. These bulky commodities were shipped to Parral by ox caravan from the outpost of San Francisco, near Monterrey, Nuevo León. Valdés Llanos signed a contract with freighter Francisco de Avila in December 1641 to have 800 quintals of "*greta pura*" (pure litharge) transported to

Parral within five months. In January 1642, Nicolás de la Cerda (or Serna) of San Francisco committed himself to delivering 422 quintals. There were other such contracts, also involving Avila. On 21 August 1643, an obligation for 600 quintals of lead and 600 quintals of litharge was notarized. Valdés Llanos evidently had problems with his suppliers, for on 30 May 1644, he granted a power of attorney to Martín González to collect 422 quintals of litharge from Cerda. In March 1649, Avila signed another obligation to deliver 1,000 quintals of litharge.² At the time of his death, Valdés Llanos still owed Avila 3,000 pesos on these confusing accounts, which suggests a less than satisfactory relationship between the merchant and his freighter. In 1651 the litharge in Valdés Llanos's warehouse was valued at 4 pesos per quintal, and the lead 4.5 pesos. A decade after he began distributing these materials, at least 850 quintals—42.5 tons—remained unsold.

Like Spaniards of his social class throughout the Indies, Valdés Llanos also bought and sold Black slaves, some of whom were sent to him from Mexico City, Veracruz, and other locations. By midcentury he owned one dozen or more. The far-reaching nature of New Spain's slave-distribution network was illustrated by the fact that Valdés Llanos's mulatto slave, Francisco, had been born in Caracas. Hundreds of slave sales appear in the Parral notarial records of the 1630s and 1640s. The Blacks and mulattoes named in these documents were from every corner of the Spanish and Portuguese empires: South America, Guatemala, Oaxaca, Hispaniola, Angola and the Congo, Mozambique, Spain, Lisbon, and even Goa, the Portuguese colony in India. Several of Parral's Portuguese merchants—Simón Martín, Capt. Domingo González, and others—had direct links to international slave traders, including Capt. Juan Gómez de Paiva of Lisbon.³ Valdés Llanos received a Black female slave from Capt. Antonio Méndez Chillón of Veracruz in November 1641.⁴ The former sold a *chino* (mulatto-Indian) slave to Domingo de Apresa y Falcón in May 1642.⁵

In 1643 Valdés Llanos acquired the coveted playing card monopoly for Parral. The individual who awarded him the monopoly, and who had been authorized by royal contract to collect taxes on playing cards in New Spain between 1643 and 1651, was Maestre de Campo Antonio Urrutia de Vergara of Mexico City. The latter's *asiento* (trade contract) called for an annual payment to the Crown of 90,000 pesos.⁶ From a mercantile standpoint, it was Urrutia's task to make more money collecting taxes on the sale of cards than he paid to the Crown. His partner in this "tax-farming" enterprise was his brother-in-law, Capt. Nicolás de Salcedo of Mexico City, who also shipped

chocolate to Parral.⁷ Urrutia's son-in-law, Capt. Antonio Flores de Valdés, served as a financial guarantor for the playing card contract. As of August 1643, Valdés Llanos had taken delivery of 8,000 decks of cards.⁸ At the time of his death in October 1651, the merchant had received 58,308 decks, and the nine-year contract was still in effect.

Among Valdés Llanos's papers in 1651 was a letter from Urrutia, dated 29 September 1649, regarding a lawsuit Fernando Durán y Chaves and others had filed about the playing cards.⁹⁰ Urrutia, whose father was from Vergara, Guipúzcoa, Spain, may have been Fernando and Alonso's most valued business asset in New Spain. Characterized by historian Louisa Schell Hoberman as a "merchant-político," he was one of Mexico City's most prominent wholesalers and venture capitalists.⁹¹ Urrutia invested heavily in the cacao trade during the 1630s and functioned as a financial advisor to several of New Spain's viceroys, most notably the Marqués de Cerralvo (1624–1635). Urrutia's wife was María Bonilla de Bastida, whose estate was worth 500,000 pesos at the time of her death.

A remarkable transformation occurred in the early 1640s. Before Gov. Luis de Valdés's arrival in Nueva Vizcaya, the merchant from Gijón was known to all as Fernando de Valdés. The governor had promoted him to captain by 1643 and sargento mayor a year later. Fernando petitioned for membership in the Order of Santiago, which was granted in 1644. Thus, between 1641 and 1644, Fernando de Valdés became captain and sargento mayor "don" Fernando de Valdés Llanos, knight of the Order of Santiago. Governor Valdés and Urrutia may have expedited Fernando's rapid ascent, but the nature of their contribution remains a mystery. Viceroy Salvatierra (1642–1648) could also make recommendations to the three military orders.

Although Fernando's son, Juan, baptized in 1641, apparently died as a child, two other children survived: Josefa, baptized 26 March 1645, and Fernando, baptized 12 May 1648.⁹² González de Valdés acted as godfather to both children.

By the mid-1640s, when he was in his early forties, Valdés Llanos began delegating more responsibilities to his nephew, Julián de Valdés. The latter had been born around 1626 in Gijón, the son of Martín de Valdés and Ana de Valdés, one of whom was Fernando's sibling.⁹³ Julián had arrived in New Spain by the early 1640s and may have lived for a time in Mexico City with Alonso. On 28 October 1645, Fernando granted a general power of attorney to Julián, who was around nineteen years of age.⁹⁴ Between 1645 and 1651, Julián acted as his uncle's legal representative in business transactions and

legal disputes, including the debt execution that was initiated against Captain Bartolomé and Ana de Biezma in September 1646.

The 1640s were a time of political conflict in New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya. The disturbances in Parral centered around events that occurred during the term of Governor Monsalve: allegations of mercury fraud committed by appointed officials, issues relating to the Portuguese, and additional controversies. Abuses perpetrated by Alonso González de Villalba, a *juez pesquisidor* (investigative judge) sent from Mexico City in 1643, only added to the aggravations.⁹⁵ Governor Valdés sent reports and petitions for relief to Mexico City and Spain, and *Bachiller* (title for a university graduate) Juan Robledo (the Parral priest) journeyed to the capital in 1646 to confer with the apostolic inquisitor, Dr. Juan Sáenz de Mañozca. One of those assisting the governor in this effort was his cousin, Licenciado Pedro de Longoria of Mexico City.⁹⁶

The political turmoil of the mid-1640s had a profound impact on the lives of many Parral residents. González de Villalba seized property and handed out large fines for no discernable reason. Numerous men, including prominent miners and several Portuguese merchants, were jailed. It seems Parral merchant Lorenzo Rodrigues Soto was incarcerated for having been born on the wrong side of the Río Miño, which separates Galicia from Portugal.⁹⁷ Virtually no one was immune to the judge's wrath. Former governor Monsalve and members of his *séquito* (retinue) were ignominiously shackled and carted off to Guadalajara in a freight wagon.⁹⁸ González de Villalba had the temerity to roughly disarm Captain Bergonça, place handcuffs on him, and throw him into a cell, simply because he had been chatting with several of the prisoners through the window of the jail. At the time of his arrest in July 1643, Bergonça was acting captain of the presidio of San Sebastián de Chiametla and the newly-appointed captain-general of Sinaloa, as well as Governor Valdés's *teniente* for the Pacific coasts.⁹⁹

An avalanche of legal paperwork resulted from these and other incidents. Although the visiting judge had imposed a heavy fine on Valdés Llanos's father-in-law,¹⁰⁰ it appears that the Asturian merchant managed to avoid any serious disruption to his business affairs, despite the special attention he received from Governor Valdés, one of González de Villalba's most powerful enemies. Several factors may have been in his favor: Fernando was not a permanent resident of Parral during Governor Monsalve's term in the mid-1630s; he was not Portuguese, although he had several Portuguese business associates; he had not, as far as can be determined, been personally involved

in any suspicious mercury transactions; and he had influential friends in Mexico City. Indeed, Fernando's most valued ally in the capital, Antonio Urrutia, enjoyed a close personal relationship with Doctor Mañozca, the very individual who was investigating the many complaints filed against González de Villalba by the residents of Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁰¹

As bad as things were in Parral, they were even worse in Santa Fe. Governor Rosas was murdered in January 1642, and his successor, Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdés, died only months after assuming office in 1641. Flores's widow, María de Herbalejo, left a power of attorney in Parral on 5 January 1642 instructing her agent in Mexico City to attend to the necessary paperwork at Viceroy Villena's office.¹⁰² The hastily appointed replacement for Governor Flores, Capt. Alonso Pacheco of Durango, initiated an investigation of rebellious activity in New Mexico and ordered eight captains beheaded in 1643. Pacheco's successor in 1644, Capt. Fernando de Argüello Carvajal, a former presidio captain in Sinaloa, contributed to the problem by subjecting Pacheco to a punitive *residencia* (official review of a term of office) proceeding. Their mutual animosity overflowed in Parral when Pacheco's agents filed a civil lawsuit against Argüello in May 1646.¹⁰³

Pacheco and Argüello—the latter possibly in handcuffs for violations of Crown law—left Santa Fe in the fall of 1647. Pacheco remained in Parral until March 1648, then departed for Mexico City, presumably to seek another government post. Capt. Luis de Guzmán y Figueroa, Argüello's replacement as New Mexico governor, was scheduled to serve from 1647 until 1650. The incoming governor, journeying north to Santa Fe, stopped in Parral and granted general powers of attorney to Fernando and Julián de Valdés on 14 February 1647.¹⁰⁴ This was for the customary purpose of facilitating the sale of any native merchandise, including Apache slaves and livestock, which the governor might ship to Parral. Paperwork pertaining to trade goods or other activities involving the governor and his Parral agents is currently lacking. Although he was clearly still active in mercantile affairs, Fernando de Valdés's name did not appear on a February 1647 list of forty-odd merchants with stores, but his cousin's name did.¹⁰⁵

Accompanying Governor Guzmán to New Mexico was his brother, Capt. Manuel de Guzmán y Figueroa, who commanded the protective guard. By March 1648, only eleven months after arriving in Santa Fe, Manuel had already returned to Parral on his way south to Mexico City.¹⁰⁶ This strenuous about-face suggests that the governor's brother may have departed Mexico City in the winter of 1646 with an arrest warrant for the ex-governor, Argüello.

Among the soldiers escorting the caravan to Santa Fe in 1647 were Fernando Durán y Chaves and his son, Agustín.¹⁰⁷ Several years later, the elder Durán y Chaves purchased a small ranch and wheat farm from Valdés Llanos's father-in-law. Agustín also became a resident of the Parral district in the 1650s, where he was closely associated with the Portuguese miner and former merchant, Domingo Lorenzo, who occupied one of Valdés Llanos's rental houses in 1651.¹⁰⁸

Relatively little is known about Governor Guzmán y Figueroa. Like other seventeenth-century New Mexico governors, he may have previously held offices in New Spain, served in the military in Flanders, or in the merchant fleet running between Spain and Veracruz.¹⁰⁹ His surname was a distinguished appellation in Spain. Luis's ancestors may have been related to the infamous Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán y Figueroa (1490–ca. 1544), governor of Pánuco and founder of the city of Guadalajara, Nueva Galicia.¹¹⁰ That Luis was a man of considerable influence is evidenced by a derogatory comment expressed by fray Andrés Juárez, who in October 1647 described the new governor as “the King's criado [servant].”¹¹¹ Although merely inferred, the possibility nevertheless exists that the New Mexico governor—customarily referred to as “don” Luis de Guzmán y Figueroa—was somehow affiliated with Spain's lesser nobility.

Guzmán y Figueroa's arrival in Santa Fe around mid-April 1647 did not, unfortunately, suspend political conflict in New Mexico. The governor, who managed to antagonize the local missionaries only months after assuming office, evidently had problems of his own, for he left the province sometime in 1649—a year early—presumably to avoid a confiscatory *residencia* proceeding when his replacement arrived in 1650. Among other things, it was reported that Guzmán had banished Pedro Durán y Chaves (Fernando's younger brother) from the province for his complicity in Governor Rosas's murder.¹¹²

As yet, no Parral documents relating to Guzmán y Figueroa's return trip have surfaced. He had already died by early December 1650 when his widow, Clemencia de Rivera, was living in the Spanish city of Toledo. Luis's brother and heir, Manuel de Guzmán, reappeared in Parral in March 1656, asking to be reimbursed for twenty-nine embellished deerskins his brother had sent to Valdés Llanos years before.¹¹³ Since Fernando had died in 1651, this issue devolved to Julián de Valdés. As it was highly unlikely that Manuel would have traveled from Mexico City to Parral in order to collect on an account worth less than one hundred pesos, it is possible that Governor

Guzmán y Figueroa had financial dealings in Parral with persons other than Valdés Llanos.

Next to his nephew, Julián, one of Fernando's closest business associates was Manuel Peres de Sequeira, a frontier merchant and native of Caminha, Portugal. Extensive trade was conducted between the two. On 17 May 1649, Valdés Llanos sold, or delivered, 15,336 pesos' worth of retail merchandise to Peres de Sequeira, who apparently marketed this consignment of goods elsewhere.¹¹⁴ By 1651 Valdés Llanos and Peres de Sequeira had become partners, and Fernando declared that the 15,000-peso note was no longer binding. The account, which produced a net profit for the two merchants of 6,506 pesos, had been settled. Valdés Llanos had business dealings with other Portuguese, including Domingo Lorenzo, a native of Caminha, and Juan Rodrigues Sánchez, from Montemor. At the time of Valdés Llanos's death, Lorenzo and Rodrigues occupied stores in his rental properties on the Calle de la Cruz in Parral.¹¹⁵

Another merchant with whom Valdés had important accounts was Juan Alvarez, also known as Juan Gala, a native of Salas, Asturias. The latter was one of at least four or five Parral merchants of the late 1640s and early 1650s who invested in the New Mexico trade and had accounts with New Mexico-based freighters, including Andrés López de Gracia, Tomé Domínguez, Pedro Durán y Chaves, and others.¹¹⁶ In March 1649, Alvarez signed a promissory note to Valdés Llanos in the amount of 3,645 pesos.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, Alvarez was gravely ill by 1 May and died shortly thereafter. Valdés Llanos's interests, in the person of Julián, intervened in the estate settlement to recover their money. In 1649 Fernando also gave Julián written instructions to deliver 6,000 pesos in cash to Alonso de Valdés and Sebastián de Castro in Mexico City.¹¹⁸

By midcentury, Valdés Llanos's social status had risen dramatically. His multiple titles—successful merchant, captain of infantry, sargento mayor, and knight of the Order of Santiago—motivated him to dress accordingly. In addition to imported shirts and stockings, he owned expensive suits. One, valued at one hundred pesos, was a multipiece, black mohair ensemble with braided trim, with a vest, cape, and knee breeches made of damask. Another, valued at 150 pesos, was a lustrous, black camlet, satin-edged suit and damask jacket. The breeches, vest, and cape were lined with plush.¹¹⁹

Fernando's active and luxurious life was drawing to a close. Julián, in his early to mid-twenties, had grown increasingly active in family affairs. Around six o'clock on the evening of 7 October 1651, Fernando de Valdés Llanos

died at his home. He was forty-seven years old. The burial entry was recorded the following day.¹²⁰ A disorderly, unsigned will was brought forth. Capt. Juan de Lares had written fourteen pages, and five were in the hand of Padre Maestro Dionisio Cortés, a respected Augustinian friar. Portions were crossed out. A clause pertaining to Manuel Peres de Sequeira's account with the deceased was inserted in the margin. Valdés Llanos had given oral instructions to those present, but he apparently died before the process could be completed. Questions were raised about the appearance of the document, and a petition was filed on 31 October to have it declared nuncupative.¹²¹

Valdés Llanos stipulated that his body be placed in the Parral church for a year, after which his bones were to be transferred to the Augustinian convent in Mexico City. Income from his rental properties would be used to fund a two-thousand-peso benefice, whereby masses would be recited for the repose of Fernando's soul, those of his parents and dead children, and for the courage of doña Luisa and their two surviving children, Fernando and Josefa. The deceased left one hundred pesos to the Indian hospital in Parral; five hundred pesos to his sister, Isabel, in Gijón; and one thousand pesos to the Parral church for construction and repairs. Executors of the rather complicated will were Luisa Gómez, Alonso de Valdés, and Sebastián González de Valdés.¹²²

Certain aspects of Valdés Llanos's estate inventory have already been discussed. There were more than ninety accounts totaling well over 35,000 pesos owed the merchant: Alonso de Valdés owed 6,000 pesos; Sebastián González de Valdés, the balance of a 3,229-peso debt; Valerio Cortés, 2,446 pesos; Juan Gutiérrez Tamayo, more than 5,000; Juan Leal, more than 3,000; Diego del Castillo, another miner, 3,240; Domingo Lorenzo, 730; Gen. Luis Cestín de Cañas of Guanaceví, 512; ex-governor Luis de Valdés, 604; Canon Felipe Montaña, 624; fray Ambrosio Vigil of Zacatecas, 200; Juan Robledo, the Parral priest, 150; and dozens of others.¹²³ As noted, Peres de Sequeira's 15,336-peso debt was forgiven. Fernando still had an unsettled account with the former governor of New Mexico, Alonso Pacheco, who may have charged merchandise in early 1648 before leaving Parral for Mexico City in March of that year.

The value of the Valdés Llanos family assets—promissory notes, charge accounts, silver bullion, three groups of houses, retail merchandise, litharge and lead, silverware, clothing, rugs, tapestries, jewelry, slaves, and so forth—appears to have exceeded 75,000 pesos.

Several debts were also noted. At the time of his death, Fernando owed 3,000 pesos to freighter Francisco de Avila, 1,245 to his brother Alonso, and 2,039 to Capt. Juan Gómez Fernández. Another 4,000 to 5,000 pesos were outstanding on the playing card account. He also owed 368 pesos to Capt. Nicolás de Salcedo of Mexico City for a shipment of chocolate.¹²⁴

Although Valdés Llanos's wife, Luisa Gómez, was still living, justicia mayor Capt. Gonzalo Mesía de Magaña appointed Peres de Sequeira guardian ad litem for Fernando's minor children on 2 November 1651.¹²⁵ Fernando's father-in-law and close friend, Juan Gómez Fernández, died in late March 1653.¹²⁶ His executors were his wife, María Romo, and Peres de Sequeira. Luisa Gómez, who continued the business partnership with Peres de Sequeira after Fernando's death, remarried on 9 February 1653.¹²⁷ Her second husband was captain and sargento mayor Pedro González de Junguitu y Mendoza, an official at the treasury at Durango.

Little more than a year later, in June 1654, Luisa also died.¹²⁸ By that time, Sebastián González de Valdés had become guardian ad litem for the two Valdés children and their assets. Anticipating lawsuits, González de Valdés granted several powers of attorney to individuals in Parral and Guadalajara in early July 1654.¹²⁹ One of his legal representatives in Guadalajara was Hernando Enríquez del Castillo, scribe for the city's cabildo. In August 1654, a proceeding was held in Parral on behalf of the minor children to secure the proceeds of business transactions between the late Luisa Gómez and Manuel Peres de Sequeira.¹³⁰ As expected, Alonso de Valdés, still a merchant in Mexico City, petitioned for custody of the children. His agent in Parral during the *discernimiento* (appointment of guardian) proceeding was Julián de Valdés. After reviewing petitions and other paperwork, the alcalde mayor of Parral, Capt. Juan de Aguilera Ladrón de Guevara, appointed Alonso guardian of Fernando and Josefa de Valdés in late 1654.¹³¹

Fernando, the younger, and Josefa were eventually transferred to Mexico City and placed in the care of their uncle, Alonso. The latter was also guardian of their combined assets, which totaled 51,772 pesos.¹³² On 26 November 1662, Josefa married Pedro Martín de Quiroga. A dowry of 25,886 pesos was provided.¹³³ Quiroga, a native of Ireland, became the manager of Sebastián González de Valdés's silver refinery, the Hacienda del Espíritu Santo. After Sebastián González's death, Josefa inherited the 30,000-peso property, which ultimately became encumbered by debt.¹³⁴ Josefa's brother, Fernando, remained in Mexico City, where he married doña Mariana de Salas y Valdés, a native of Puebla, in June 1663. Her parents were Capt. don Juan de Salas

y Valdés and doña Josefa Larios de Martilla.¹³⁵ Julián maintained his residence in Parral and lived for another forty-one years after his uncle's death. A lifelong bachelor, Julián died at age sixty-six and was buried inside the Parral church in front of the altar of Nuestra Señora del Rosario on 6 December 1692.¹³⁶

Fernando de Valdés Llanos's decision to leave Gijón and journey to New Spain was by no means unprecedented. Thousands of young men left port cities and other communities in northern Spain to seek better lives in the New World. More than a few settled in Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico. Juan Manso, a native of Lluarca, Asturias, a seaside community west of Gijón, became governor of New Mexico in 1656.¹³⁷ New Mexico governor Juan de Miranda (1664–1665, 1671–1675) was a “councilman in perpetuity” of Tineo, Asturias, southwest of Lluarca.¹³⁸ There were countless others. Pedro de Sapién, Parral's official mutton supplier, was a native of San Sebastián, Guipúzcoa;¹³⁹ and Pedro de Perea, the *justicia mayor* and war captain of Sonora in 1643, appears to have been born in Camelle, Galicia, located on the Playa de Traba.¹⁴⁰

Valdés Llanos's ascension to wealth and prominence in the mining town of Parral was the result of good organizational skills and sound planning on his part and that of his brother, who evidently supervised the wholesale end of their business in Mexico City. Choices made by Fernando and Alonso were primarily based upon ambition, reason, observation, and necessity. Financial advice provided by associates in Mexico City and elsewhere undoubtedly helped. If all roads led to Mexico City—the financial and commercial headquarters of New Spain—they also led away. After exploring opportunities and establishing business contacts in Mexico City, the men from Gijón took the highway north to San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas. Their choice of commerce over mining was also grounded in logic. Commercial ventures were neither as capital-intensive nor as risky as mining operations. Start-up costs were relatively low. A few thousand pesos' worth of basic merchandise—easily obtained in Mexico City on credit—was enough to get started.

By the early 1630s, the Valdés brothers had taken up residence in Zacatecas, the most important commercial center in northern New Spain. There were eighty-one retail outlets in the city in 1633, more than twice as many as in Parral.¹⁴¹ Declining mercury supplies and silver production in Zacatecas by 1636–1637 prompted the siblings to re-evaluate their financial position. Silver bullion presented for taxation at the treasury in Zacatecas between 1 May 1634 and 30 April 1635 totaled 208,215 marks. The total had

dropped to 150,772 marks in 1636–1637. A further reduction was noted in 1637–1638, when silver production was 137,861 marks. By the time Fernando moved to Parral and married Luisa Gómez, production had fallen to 125,378 marks.¹⁴² As production declined, it was noted that itinerant merchants were bypassing Zacatecas in favor of Nueva Vizcaya.

Although bullion production during the early 1640s was still substantially greater in the Zacatecas district than in Parral, Fernando had wisely opted for a long-term approach to financial planning. He believed that mercantile prospects were better in the younger Parral market. While most of Parral's merchants continued to rely upon basic supplies sold to silver miners, it appears that Fernando made a conscious effort to diversify his inventory. His questionable decision to deal in lead and litharge (bulky, low-end commodities that had to be imported from afar) was offset by his acquisition of the profitable playing card monopoly. Business alliances formed in Mexico City—particularly with venture capitalist Antonio Urrutia and his brother-in-law, Nicolás de Salcedo—undoubtedly contributed to the Valdés brothers' success. It was no accident that Luis de Guzmán y Figueroa chose the sophisticated Valdés Llanos as his business agent in 1647.

As wealth accumulated in Parral, which was something of an oasis of opulence on the far northern frontier, Fernando expanded his inventory of high-end goods: silk stockings from Toledo, exotic fabrics, spices, cambric thread, damask doublets, Flemish lace, and so on. His personal accumulation of such goods, combined with upscale decorative objects, suggests that Valdés Llanos made a conscious effort to transfer some of the trappings of the good life in Mexico City to his home in Parral. The fact that Fernando carried unsettled accounts of well over 35,000 pesos and could still conduct a profitable enterprise indicates that he was well-capitalized. He simply made more money than he spent, and he spent a great deal. A curious blend of ostentation and practicality was apparent in Fernando's estate inventory. Chinese tapestries and gilded stirrups were offset by large quantities of basic commodities, such as flour, sugar, Campeche thread, and felling axes. Had it become necessary to do so, the family could have lived for several years on the 1,853 marks of silver bullion Fernando had accumulated. To his credit, the merchant decided that the 14,000 pesos' worth of silver would be better spent by paying accounts in Mexico City.

Like other frontier entrepreneurs of his era—miners, merchants, freighters, government officials, stockmen—Fernando had come to northern New Spain with very specific goals and expectations. This was a man who had

every intention of succeeding in his chosen field. His small library of history books, plays, and commentaries indicated that Fernando was somewhat better educated and more contemplative than most immigrants to the New World, perhaps markedly so. His taste in literature was academic: a general history by Antonio de Herrera, a history of Spain by Ambrosio Morales, commentaries on the Flemish states, papal histories, plays, and other works. By applying his eager intellect, building a strong financial network in Mexico City, staying well informed, trusting his observations, and adapting to economic trends, Fernando de Valdés Llanos grew prosperous in an unpredictable, silver-based commercial environment.

**Appendix: Individuals of Asturian Ancestry with
Connections in Parral in the 1640s–1650s**

Name	Occupation and family information	Place of birth
Fernando de Valdés Llanos	Merchant and commodities broker at San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, and Parral; knight of Santiago, 1644; captain of infantry and sargento mayor; Parral agent for New Mexico Gov. Luis de Guzmán y Figueroa; married Luisa Gómez Fernández	Gijón, Asturias
Fernando de Valdés II	Son of Fernando I	Parral
Josefa de Valdés	Daughter of Fernando I	Parral
Julián de Valdés	Nephew of and mercantile assistant to Fernando de Valdés Llanos	Gijón, Asturias
Alonso de Valdés	Merchant at Zacatecas, Parral, and Mexico City; brother of Fernando de Valdés Llanos	Gijón, Asturias
Bernardo de Valdés	Possible relative and business associate of Fernando and Alonso; transported clothing from Spain to Mexico City and elsewhere	Likely from Asturias
Antonio Flores de Valdés	Son-in-law and business partner of Antonio Urrutia de Vergara; Fernando de Valdés Llanos's correspondent in Mexico City	Cangas, Asturias

Name	Occupation and family information	Place of birth
Sebastián González de Valdés	Parral merchant and silver miner; cousin of Fernando and Alonso de Valdés	San Andrés de la Pedrera, Asturias
Maestro Diego de Hevia y Valdés	Bishop of Nueva Vizcaya 1641–1656	Oviedo
Diego de Hevia	Possible relative of Bishop Hevia y Valdés; alferez of infantry 1640s	Unknown
Toribio de Hevia	Parral-area merchant and landowner; ties to the Chaves family of New Mexico	San Julián, Asturias
Bartolomé de Estrada y Valdés	Nephew of Bishop Hevia y Valdés; held several government positions in Nueva Vizcaya in 1640s, including justicia mayor of San Juan del Río and San Diego; governor from 1670–1671 and 1679–1684	Oviedo
Luis de Valdés	Captain of cavalry; knight of Santiago, 1630; member of king's war council for the Flemish States, and the council's teniente in the castillo of Ghent; Parral miner and governor of Nueva Vizcaya 1641–1648; married María de Alcega y Urdiñola	Granada
Francisca de Valdés	Daughter of Gov. Luis de Valdés and María de Alcega; became the first Marquesa de Aguayo	Likely from Parras
Melchor de Valdés	Younger brother of Gov. Luis de Valdés; held military and government post in Flanders, Lombardy, and the Indies; governor of Soconusco early/mid-1630s; alcalde mayor of Santa Barbara province 1641–1643; Parral miner; married to Cecilia Jofre by 1632	Granada
Luis de Valdés Jofre	Son of Melchor de Valdés and Cecilia Jofre; Parral miner 1650s; married María de Inurcio, the niece of Parral miner Gregorio de Carvajal	Likely from Soconusco
Gaspar de Valdés Jofre	Son of Melchor de Valdés; a prominent Sonora churchman by the 1660s	Likely from Soconusco

Name	Occupation and family information	Place of birth
Juan Alvarez (Juan Gala)	Parral merchant 1640s; ties to the New Mexico freighters and trade	Salas, Asturias
Luis de Enciso y Valdés	Held several government posts in Nueva Vizcaya in 1640s including captain of the presidio of San Hipólito, justicia mayor of San Ildefonso, and justicia mayor of Parral; nephew of Gov. Luis de Valdés	Unknown
Francisco de Enciso y Valdés	Held several government posts in Nueva Vizcaya in 1640s including justicia mayor of Santa Bárbara province, captain of the presidio of San Sebastián de Chiametla, and justicia mayor of Copala, Pánuco, San Bartolomé; brother of Luis de Enciso y Valdés	Unknown
Torbio Fernández Hamero	Parral miner; frontman and business associate of Gov. Luis de Valdés and Melchor de Valdés	Likely from Valle de Ardisania or “las Asturias de Oviedo”
Gonzalo Méndez de Valdés	Standard bearer for Gov. Luis de Valdés in the 1640s	Unknown
Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdés	Resident of San Bartolomé prior to 1640; possibly held government posts in New Spain; married María de Herbalejo; governor of New Mexico 1641; died in Santa Fe; his grandson, Juan (son of Diego Flores, below), had moved to Guatemala by 1680	Likely from Asturias
Diego Flores de Sierra y Valdés	Son of Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdés and María de Herbalejo; promoted to sargento mayor by Gov. Luis de Valdés in early 1640; had relocated to Mexico City by the 1650s; may have had a brother named Juan	San Bartolomé
Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdés II	Brother of Diego	Likely from San Bartolomé
Fray Tomás Manso	Distinguished New Mexico Franciscan missionary; business ties to Parral 1640s	Luarca, Asturias

Name	Occupation and family information	Place of birth
Juan Manso	Brother of Tomás Manso; employee of New Mexico mission supply service early 1650s; governor of New Mexico 1656–1659; married daughter of wealthy Parral merchant; <i>asentista</i> (sole contractor) of New Mexico mission supply service mid- to late 1660s	Luarca, Asturias
Juan de Mestas	Resident of New Mexico in 1650s; business connections in Parral	Asturias
Toribio de la Huerta	Resident of New Mexico in 1650s; connections in Parral; later moved to Sonora	Asturias
Juan de Villar	Parral (occupation unknown)	Asturias
Pedro de Ciano	Parral merchant	Langreo, Asturias
Pedro Fernández de Labra y Noriega	Parral and Mexico City (occupation unknown)	Cangas, Asturias

The information in this appendix is derived from the authors' database of individuals mentioned in the Archivo Histórico de Hidalgo del Parral.

Notes

1. Although Fernando de Valdés did not begin to use the double surname "Valdés Llanos" until the early to mid-1640s, we are employing both surnames when referring to him to avoid confusion with the plethora of individuals named "Valdés" who appear in this article.
2. Criminal complaint against Francisco, mulatto, Parral, 3 September 1648–20 July 1651, ff. 861b–73b, r. 1648, Archivo Histórico de Hidalgo del Parral, microfilm collection, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque [hereafter frame numbers, roll number, AHP].
3. Noriega worked as a scribe in 1649 and later became a Parral merchant. See Rick Hendricks and Gerald Mandell, "Francisco de Lima, Portuguese Merchants of Parral, and the New Mexico Trade, 1638–1675," *New Mexico Historical Review* 77 (summer 2002): 268, 287 n. 22.
4. Criminal complaint against Francisco, mulatto, Parral, 3 September 1648–20 July 1651, ff. 861b–73b, r. 1648, AHP.
5. Capt. Pedro de Andrade, a native of Betanzos, Galicia, inflicted a serious stab wound on the buttocks of another Spaniard, but was fined only 50 pesos and court costs. Criminal complaint against Pedro de Andrade, Parral, 21 February 1648–17 March 1649, ff. 726b–50a, r. 1648, AHP.

6. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086a, r. 1651B, AHP.
7. Information regarding the inheritance and dowry of Josefa de Valdés, Mexico City and Parral, 16 March 1663–9 October 1680, ff. 1903a–16b, r. 1678D, AHP.
8. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086a, r. 1651B, AHP. Luisa Gómez, Petition, Parral, 31 October 1651–18 October 1660, ff. 1017b–42a, r. 1652C, AHP.
9. Fernando de Valdés Llanos, Investigation for membership in the Order of Santiago, 1644, microfilm 1629363, legajo 700–8433, item 9, Real Consejo de Órdenes Militares, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Las Cruces Family History Center [hereafter LDS, Las Cruces].
10. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086b, r. 1651B, AHP.
11. Ibid.
12. Juan Antonio Cabezas, *Asturias: Biografía de una región* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956), 13–15, 163–255.
13. Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, Country Studies, http://lcweb2.10c.gov/frd/cs/spain/es_appen.html; and Hope for Europe Archives, http://www.hfe.org/_old/resource/aids/euro11.htm (accessed 3 March 2005).
14. Cabezas, *Asturias*, 98, 199, 242, 296, 362, 389, 466.
15. Manuel García Mijares, Apuntes históricos, genealógicos y biográficos de Llanes y sus hombres, Capítulo VII, Libro I, Casa y linaje de Valdés, I. Antigüedad de los Valdés (1893), <http://www.llanes.as/cla/mij/mj007.htm>.
16. Catholic Hierarchy, s.v. “Archbishop Fernando de Valdés Llano,” <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bvalll.html> (accessed 3 March 2005); and Catholic Hierarchy, s.v. “Archbishop Fernando de Valdés,” <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bvaldes.html> (accessed 4 March 2005).
17. Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 207, 210, 247.
18. Ibid., 287; and Geoffrey Parker and Colin Martin, *The Spanish Armada* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), 2–3.
19. Antonio Méndez Chillón to Fernando de Valdés, Power of attorney to sell a slave, utilized in Parral, 27 November 1640, ff. 614b–18b, r. 1641A, AHP.
20. List of Parral merchants with stores, Parral, 30–31 March 1633, ff. 4b–28b, r. 1633A, AHP.
21. List of Parral merchants with stores, Parral, 5 May and 19 December 1635, ff. 23b–25b, 29b–34b, r. 1635, AHP. Registrations of mining properties (not in proper order), Parral, 1 January–3 October 1635. Many churchmen owned mines. Fray Diego Crespo, *predicador* (preacher) of the Order of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Mine registration, Parral, 14 March 1635, f. 86b, r. 1635, AHP.
22. Diego del Castillo, farmer of San Bartolomé, and Bernabé de Gaona, builder of silver refineries from Zacatecas, Contract, Parral, 31 January 1633, ff. 469b–71a, r. 1633A, AHP.
23. Alonso de Valdés, Power of attorney (from Fernando de Valdés, Zacatecas, 21 May 1633) and information relating to their unsatisfactory partnership with Cristóbal Martín, merchant of Zacatecas, Parral, 28 March 1635, ff. 345b–46b, r. 1635, AHP.

24. Juan de Echeverría to "Hernando" de Valdés, citizen of San Luis Potosí and *estante* (present at the time) in Parral, Obligation, Parral, 15 November 1634, ff. 938b–39b, r. 1633B, AHP.
25. Gov. Luis de Monsalve to Fernando de Valdés and Luis Roque de Vargas of Zacatecas, Power of attorney, Parral, 14 August 1636, ff. 343b–44a, r. 1636, AHP.
26. Alonso de Valdés to Sebastián González de Valdés, Slave sale, Parral, 4 December 1636, ff. 446b–47b, r. 1636, AHP.
27. Fernando's future father-in-law, Juan Gómez Fernández, did own a store in Parral in 1637. List of [34] Parral merchants with stores, Parral, 3 November 1637, ff. 5b–13b, r. 1637A, AHP.
28. Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 246.
29. Parral Marriages, microfilm 0162555, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Family History Center, Albuquerque [hereafter LDS, Albuquerque].
30. Juan Gómez Fernández, Codicil, Parral, 3 December 1646, ff. 289b–92a, r. 1647, AHP.
31. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086b, r. 1651B, AHP.
32. List of Diego Galiano's employees, Parral, 30 April 1642, ff. 1023b–26a, r. 1649C, AHP.
33. Bartolomé de Urbaneja, Will, Parral, 14 December 1648, ff. 1381b–92b, r. 1649C, AHP.
34. Gregorio de Carvajal, Petition, Parral, 27 October 1642, ff. 94b–96b, r. 1642A, AHP; and Juan Gutiérrez de Tamayo to Juan de Aldaz, Power of attorney, Parral, 20 December 1640, ff. 388b–89b, r. 1640A, AHP (reference to his ores yielding 4 and 5 ounces per quintal).
35. Between 16 March and 9 May 1643, Parral miners presented about 183,000 marks of silver for taxation in Durango. Juan Moro, Accounting, Parral, 16 June 1643, f. 1193a, r. 1649C, AHP.
36. Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 275.
37. Juan Fernández de Carrión, Declaration, Parral, 26 July 1649, ff. 1109b–10b, r. 1649C, AHP.
38. Juan Rangel, "principal discoverer and settler of Parral," to Fernando Enríquez del Castillo, Power of attorney, Parral, 11 September 1636, ff. 359b–60a, r. 1636, AHP; and Pedro Mosquero to Diego de Bergonça, Parral, 8 June 1643, ff. 1242b–44a, r. 1641B, AHP.
39. Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 280.
40. Fernando and Julián de Valdés, Request for debt execution against Bartolomé de Urbaneja in the amount of 1,254 pesos, Parral, 1–25 September 1646, ff. 290b–303a, r. 1646A, AHP.
41. Melchor de Valdés, the *alcalde mayor* of Parral ca. March 1641–early May 1643, was accused of selling mercury to miners at prices that were far above the established rate. He was exonerated in 1645. Cristóbal Valero, Ruling, Durango, 4 March 1645, ff. 1207a–b, r. 1649C, AHP.
42. Mateo Núñez to Francisco Montoya and Gerónimo Treviño, Power of attorney to acquire 40 quintals of mercury, Parral, 6 May(?) 1634, ff. 791b–92a, r. 1633B, AHP.

43. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society*, 191.
44. Maestre de Campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, a native of Estremadura, occupied the top position in Parral's financial hierarchy in the 1630s. Montaña, whose wife was Inés de Oñate of Zacatecas, owned productive mines near Parral, silver haciendas and mines at Guanaceví, farms and ranches along the Río de Nazas, dozens of Black and mulatto slaves, and a vast array of personal property. The heir to his estate in 1647 was his nephew, Felipe Montaña de la Cueva, also a native of Estremadura and a former friar in the convent of Santiago de la Espada in Sevilla. Felipe was named as Francisco's sole heir, but the term *fructuario* (usufructuary) was sometimes used to describe his status. Felipe Montaña de la Cueva, Will and estate inventory, Parral, 22 April 1676–17 November 1679, ff. 1462a–86b, r. 1676C, AHP. Francisco Montaña to Pedro Serrano de Arco and Juan de Oviedo, Power of attorney, Parral, 7 May 1640, ff. 121b–22b, r. 1640A, AHP, and a reference to mercury shortage in Durango. Montaña tried to obtain another 150 quintals in 1642. Francisco Montaña to Pedro Ronquillo de Amaya, Power of attorney, Parral, 14 December 1642, ff. 1202b–3a, r. 1641B, AHP.
45. Juan Gutiérrez Tamayo, Fernando de Valdés and Sebastián González de Valdés, guarantors, to Juan de Aldaz, Power of attorney, Parral, 20 December 1640, ff. 388b–89b, r. 1640A, AHP.
46. Juan Gutiérrez Tamayo to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 19 January 1641, ff. 589b–90b, r. 1641A, AHP.
47. Juan and Mariana Leal to Alonso Rodríguez, Obligation, Parral, 18 January 1641, ff. 586a–87b, r. 1641A, AHP.
48. Sosa Suárez, perhaps a native of Tebra, Galicia, had also been *corregidor* (chief officer of a district, often the equivalent of governor) of Mexico City. Gov. Luis de Valdés, Auto, Durango, 28 January 1641, ff. 12b–13b, r. 1641A, AHP.
49. Juan Rangel, Testimony, Parral, 16 May 1643, ff. 1176a–77a, r. 1649C, AHP; and Pedro de Perea, Testimony, Parral, 28 May 1643, ff. 1189a–b, r. 1649C, AHP.
50. Diego de Bergonça, Declaration (torn document), at the silver hacienda of Toribio Fernández Harnero, one league from Parral, 18 and 26 January 1650, ff. 542b–43b, r. 1651A, AHP.
51. Diego de Bergonça to Toribio Fernández Harnero, Power of attorney to write a will, Parral, 24 February 1655, ff. 910b–911a, r. 1654B, AHP. Bergonça, still a bachelor, was buried on 1 March 1655. Parral Burials, microfilm 0162562, LDS, Albuquerque.
52. Diego de Bergonça, Petition, Parral(?), 18–19 July 1643, ff. 1088b–91b, r. 1643B, AHP.
53. Bachiller Juan del Candano, Declaration, Parral, 21 July 1649, ff. 1103b–1104b, r. 1649C, AHP.
54. Gov. Luis de Valdés to Bachiller Juan Robledo, Power of attorney, Indé, 16 October 1646, ff. 581b–82b, r. 1645B, AHP; and Diego de Bergonça, Declaration (torn document), at the silver hacienda of Toribio Fernández Harnero, one league from Parral, 18 and 26 January 1650, ff. 542b–43b, r. 1651A, AHP.

55. Muster, Parral, 12–24 May 1641, ff. 110b–114b, r. 1641A, AHP.
56. Parral Baptisms, microfilm 0162529, LDS, Albuquerque.
57. Catholic Hierarchy, s.v. “Bishop Francisco Diego Díaz de Quintanilla y de Hevíá y Valdés, O.S.B.,” <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bdiazdeq.html> (accessed 3 March 2005).
58. Melchor de Valdés and Cecilia Jofre, Dowry agreement, Güegüetlán, Soconusco (Chiapas), 20 July 1632, ff. 1210a–12a, r. 1649C, AHP.
59. Melchor de Valdés to Luis Zubrier de Morese, Slave sale, Parral, 23 July 1641, ff. 754b–56b, r. 1641A, AHP; and Melchor de Valdés to Diego de Bergonça, Power of attorney, Parral, 18 September 1642, ff. 1117b–18b, r. 1641B, AHP.
60. Luis de Valdés, Investigation for membership in the Order of Santiago, 1630, microfilm 1629363, Real Consejo de Ordenes Militares, LDS, Las Cruces.
61. One of Governor Valdés’s earliest appointments was bestowed upon Diego de Alcega, who was named lieutenant general for the Parras-Salttillo district. Diego was a close male relative of María de Alcega, whom Valdés married in February 1643 at Parras, a wine-producing region west of Saltillo. This was likely an arranged marriage. María’s parents were Luis de Alcega, a knight of Alcántara, and Isabel de Urdiñola. María was also the granddaughter and heiress of Francisco de Urdiñola, a governor of Nueva Vizcaya in the early 1600s. Francisca de Valdés, the daughter of Luis de Valdés and María de Alcega, married the first Marqués de Aguayo, Agustín de Echeverz y Subiza, a native of Pamplona. Juan de Echeverría, Testimony, Parral, 15 January 1644, ff. 84b–86b, r. 1644A, AHP; Santa María de las Parras Marriages, microfilm 0605241, LDS, Albuquerque; and Alferez Domingo de Hermúa, Testimony, Durango, 4 January 1650, ff. 264b–79a, r. 1649B, AHP.
62. Governor Valdés had appointed Fernando de Villanueva justicia mayor of Guanaceví by 1643. Many years later, Villanueva served as governor of New Mexico (1665–1668). José de Prado and Melchor del Peral, List of appointments, promotions, and grants made by Gov. Luis de Valdés 1641–1648, Durango, 26 February 1650.
63. Juan de Echeverría, Testimony, Parral, 15 January 1644, ff. 84b–86b, r. 1644A, AHP.
64. Accounting of silver produced in Parral from 16 March 1641–9 May 1643, Parral, 16 June 1643, f. 1193a, r. 1649C, AHP.
65. Cristóbal Valero, Mercury allotment, Parral, 31 December 1644, ff. 11b–13b, r. 1644A, AHP.
66. Alonso de Valdés, Petition for guardianship, Mexico City, 20 July 1654, ff. 841b–44b, r. 1654B, AHP.
67. Juan de Cervantes Casaus to Pedro de Fernando de Valdés, Slave sale, Mexico City and Parral, 18 July 1648 and 25 March 1649, ff. 799b–801b, r. 1649B, AHP.
68. Andrés Pardo de Lago to José de las Mariñas and Fernando de Valdés, Power of attorney, Parral, 3 September 1648, ff. 868b–69a, r. 1649B, AHP. Pardo de Lago also consigned a slave to Melchior de Valdés in Mexico City, prior to the latter’s departure for Nueva Vizcaya. Andrés Pardo de Lago to Melchior de Valdés, Power of attorney to sell a slave, Mexico City, 6 December 1640, ff. 714b–18b, r. 1641A, AHP.
69. Hendricks and Mandell, “Francisco de Lima,” 277.

70. Ibid., 286 n. 15.
71. Rick Hendricks and Gerald Mandell, "The Apache Slave Trade in Parral, 1637–1679," *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 16 (2004): 68–69.
72. Ibid., 73. Parral Baptisms, microfilm 0162529, LDS, Albuquerque; and Parral Marriages, microfilm 0162555, LDS, Albuquerque.
73. Manuel Márquez to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 13 June 1640, ff. 183b–84b, r. 1640A, AHP.
74. Manuel Márquez, Will, Parral, 5 and 25 October 1640, ff. 341b–45b, r. 1640A, AHP.
75. Fernando de Valdés to Tomé Domínguez and Diego del Solar Ceballos, Power of attorney, Parral, 5 March 1641, f. 639b, r. 1641A, AHP.
76. Francisco Palomino, Will, Parral, 16 April 1643, ff. 307b–14a, r. 1643A, AHP.
77. Pedro de Montalbán, Will, Parral, 20–21 April 1641, ff. 709b–12b, r. 1641A, AHP.
78. Proceedings in regard to the discord at La Negrita, Parral, 26–29 April 1641, ff. 59b–64b, r. 1641A, AHP.
79. Bartolomé de Urbaneja, Ana de Biezma, and Juan de Santa Cruz to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 13 June 1642, ff. 1034b–36a, r. 1641B, AHP.
80. Bartolomé de Urbaneja to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 11 December 1642, ff. 1198b–99a, r. 1641B, AHP.
81. Fernando and Julián de Valdés, Request for debt execution against Bartolomé de Urbaneja in the amount of 1,254 pesos, Parral, 1–25 September 1646, ff. 290b–303a, r. 1646A, AHP.
82. Lead and litharge accounts, Francisco de Avila to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 24 December 1641, ff. 852b–53b, r. 1641A, AHP. Nicolás de la Cerda to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 29 January 1642, ff. 886b–88b, r. 1641A, AHP; Francisco de Avila to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 21 August 1643, ff. 1280b–81a, r. 1641B, AHP; Fernando de Valdés to Martín González, Power of attorney, Parral, 30 May 1644, ff. 491b–92a, r. 1644A, AHP; Fernando de Valdés to Marcos Beltrán, Power of attorney, Parral, 26 August 1644, ff. 570b–71a, r. 1644A, AHP; and Francisco de Avila to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 27 March 1649, ff. 805b–6b, r. 1649B, AHP.
83. Hendricks and Mandell, "The Portuguese Community of Seventeenth-Century Parral, Nueva Vizcaya," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 12 (winter 2003): 25, 26 n. 6.
84. Antonio Méndez Chillón to Fernando de Valdés, Power of attorney to sell a slave, utilized in Parral, 27 November 1640, ff. 614b–18b, r. 1641A, AHP.
85. Apresa, a native of Tui, Galicia, was the business partner of merchant Francisco de Lima. In October 1649, he acquired the silver refinery of Luis Zubrier de Morese in a debt execution and later became one of Parral's most successful businessmen. Each of Apresa's three daughters—one of whom married José de Neira y Quiroga Riomol, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya—received a 50,000-peso dowry. Hendricks and Mandell, "Francisco de Lima," 280; Domingo de Apresa y Falcón to José de Neira y Quiroga, Power of attorney to write a will, Hacienda de San Antonio near Parral, 9 November 1686, ff. 550b–60b, r. 1687B, AHP; and Fernando de Valdés

- Llanos to Domingo de Apresa, Slave sale, Parral, 26 May 1642, ff. 1017b–18b, r. 1641B, AHP.
86. Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590–1660: Silver, State, and Society* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991), 160, 163, 166.
 87. In 1651 Fernando de Valdés owed Salcedo 368 pesos for some cases of chocolate. Luisa Gómez, Petition, Parral, 31 October 1651–18 October 1660, ff. 1017b–42a, r. 1652C, AHP.
 88. Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite*, 206.
 89. Fernando de Valdés to Alonso de Valdés, Power of attorney, Parral, 20 August 1643, ff. 1273b–74a, r. 1641B, AHP.
 90. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086a, r. 1651B, AHP.
 91. Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite*, 123, 127, 178, 242–44.
 92. Parral Baptisms, microfilm 0162529, LDS, Albuquerque.
 93. 6 December 1692, Parral Burials, microfilm 0162563, LDS, Albuquerque.
 94. Fernando de Valdés, knight of Santiago, to Julián de Valdés, Power of attorney, Parral, 28 October 1645, ff. 651b–52a, r. 1645B, AHP.
 95. Hendricks and Mandell, “The Portuguese Community,” 39–40.
 96. Gov. Luis de Valdés to Licenciado Pedro de Longoria and Bachiller Juan Robledo, Power of attorney, Parral, 14 May 1646, ff. 547a–48b, r. 1645B, AHP.
 97. Hendricks and Mandell, “The Portuguese Community,” 40.
 98. Father Diego de Medrano, Testimony, Durango, 10 November 1647, ff. 34a–37a, r. 1647, AHP.
 99. Diego de Bergonça, Petition, Parral(?), 18–19 July 1643, ff. 1088b–91b, r. 1643B, AHP.
 100. Juan Gómez Fernández was fined 4,658 pesos by the *oidor* (audiencia judge) from Mexico City. Summary of fines assessed by González de Villalba, Parral, 30 July 1646, ff. 1011b–12b, r. 1646B, AHP.
 101. Antonio Urrutia's brother-in-law, Nicolás de Bonilla y Bastida, married the sister of Dr. Juan Sáenz de Mañozca. Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite*, 242.
 102. María de Herbalejo to Rodrigo Lorenzo, Power of attorney, Parral, 5 January 1642, ff. 868a–69a, r. 1641A, AHP.
 103. Alonso Pacheco v. Fernando de Argüello Carvajal, Civil lawsuit, Parral, 11 May–30 June 1646, ff. 357b–79a, r. 1646A, AHP.
 104. Luis de Guzmán y Figueroa to Fernando and Julián de Valdés, Power of attorney, Parral, 14 February 1647, ff. 340a–41a, r. 1647, AHP.
 105. List of Parral merchants with stores, Parral, 24–25 February 1647, ff. 70b–72b, r. 1647, AHP.
 106. Manuel de Guzman v. Diego de Urrea, Civil lawsuit, Parral, 12 March 1648–26 April 1656, ff. 1334b–41a, r. 1656C, AHP.
 107. Fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (Santa Fe: William Cannon, 1975), 20.
 108. Hendricks and Mandell, “Francisco de Lima,” 272–73.

109. Gov. Juan de Eulate (1618–1625) had worked in the *flota* (Spanish fleet) before coming to New Mexico. Gov. Luis de Rosas and Gov. Juan Francisco Treviño (1675–1677) had both been captains in Flanders. At least two seventeenth-century New Mexico governors, Bernardino de Ceballos (1614–1618) and Felipe Sotelo Osorio (1625–1629), were former admirals. John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840* (1979; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 105, 108, 138; Lansing B. Bloom, “A Trade Invoice from 1638,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 (October 1935): 246; Residencia of Gov. Juan de Miranda, Santa Fe, June–July 1675, Civil 511, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico [hereafter AGN]; and France V. Scholes, “The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 (July 1935): 196.
110. Alberto and Arturo García Carrafa, *Diccionario Heráldico y Genealógico de Apellidos Españoles y Americanos*, 86 vols. (Madrid: Impr. de Antonio Marzo, 1920–1963), 35:20, 30–31.
111. Fr. Andrés Juárez, letters to Crown officials, [Nambé], 23 October 1647, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 63, Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI].
112. Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families*, 21.
113. Manuel de Guzmán v. the estate of Fernando de Valdés, Civil lawsuit, Parral, 8 March 1656–22 June 1657, ff. 703b–14a, r. 1656B, AHP.
114. Manuel Peres de Sequeira to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 17 May 1649, ff. 859a–60b, r. 1649B, AHP.
115. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086a, r. 1651B, AHP.
116. Hendricks and Mandell, “Francisco de Lima,” 269.
117. Juan Alvarez to Fernando de Valdés, Obligation, Parral, 8 March 1649, f. 786a, r. 1649B, AHP.
118. Fernando de Valdés to Julián de Valdés, Power of attorney, Parral, 25 March 1649, ff. 798b–99a, r. 1649B, AHP.
119. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086a, r. 1651B, AHP.
120. Parral Burials, microfilm 0162562, LDS, Albuquerque.
121. Luisa Gómez, Petition, Parral, 31 October 1651–18 October 1660, ff. 1017b–42a, r. 1652C, AHP.
122. Will and estate inventory of Fernando de Valdés, Parral, 7 October 1651–7 November 1654, ff. 937b–1086a, r. 1651B, AHP.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. Appointment of guardian, Gonzalo Mesía de Magaña to Manuel Peres de Sequeira, Parral, 2 November 1651, ff. 1019b–20a, r. 1652C, AHP.
126. Parral Burials, microfilm 0162562, LDS, Albuquerque.
127. Parral Marriages, microfilm 0162555, LDS, Albuquerque.
128. Parral Burials, microfilm 0162562, LDS, Albuquerque.
129. Sebastián González de Valdés to Antonio de Cansio, Juan Bautista de Lara, and Juan Berna, Power of attorney, Parral, 2 July 1654, ff. 769b–70a, r. 1654B, AHP; and

- Sebastián González de Valdés to Hernando Enríquez del Castillo and Andrés Venegas de Torres, Power of attorney, Parral, 9 July 1654, ff. 775a–b, r. 1654B, AHP.
130. Proceeding regarding the assets (proceeds of a business partnership) of the minor children of Fernando de Valdés and Luisa Gómez, Parral, 19 August 1654, ff. 790b–92a, r. 1654B, AHP.
131. Appointment of guardian hearing, Parral, 1 December 1654, ff. 833a–48a, r. 1654B, AHP.
132. Information regarding the inheritance and dowry of Josefa de Valdés, Mexico City and Parral, 16 March 1663–9 October 1680, ff. 1903a–16b, r. 1678D, AHP.
133. Matrimonias de Españoles, 26 November 1662, Sagrario Metropolitano (Mexico City), microfilm 0035268, LDS, Albuquerque; and Josefa de Valdés, Will, Parral, 28 May 1676, ff. 1892b–99a, r. 1678D, AHP.
134. Josefa de Valdés, Will, Parral, 28 May 1676, ff. 1892b–99a, r. 1678D, AHP.
135. Amonestaciones de españoles, 17 June 1663, Sagrario Metropolitano (Mexico City), microfilm 0035255, LDS, Albuquerque.
136. Parral Burials, microfilm 0162563, LDS, Albuquerque.
137. Rick Hendricks and Gerald Mandell, “Juan Manso, Frontier Entrepreneur,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (July 2000): 339–40.
138. *Ibid.*, 361 n. 36.
139. Hendricks and Mandell, “Francisco de Lima,” 269.
140. Pedro de Perea was married to María de Ibarra. Their daughter, Josefa, became the wife of the Parral merchant and miner, Domingo de Apresa y Falcón, a native of Tui, Galicia. Pedro de Perea, justicia mayor and capitán a guerra of Nueva Andalucía (Sonora), Testimony, Parral, 28 May 1643, ff. 184b–85b, r. 1644A, AHP; Marriages, 29 January 1631, Sagrario Metropolitano (Mexico City), microfilm 0035267, LDS, Albuquerque; and Domingo de Apresa to Tomás Perea and Pedro de Perea II, Power of attorney to arrange a marriage, Parral, 26 March 1658, ff. 462a–b, r. 1660B, AHP.
141. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society*, 77.
142. *Ibid.*, 242.