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## Enslaved Women and Creoles in Guadalajara's Slave Market, 1615–1735

Jorge E. Delgadillo Núñez

### ABSTRACT

Based on an extensive documentary database, this study charts the evolution of the slave market in seventeenth-century Guadalajara. The case of colonial Guadalajara offers a fascinating contrast to the better-known markets of Mexico City, Puebla, and Veracruz. Contrary to what happened in those cities, the local slave trade to Guadalajara peaked after 1640. Slavery thus remained significant for the economy of the region until at least the beginning of the eighteenth century. The study shows how the slave market of Guadalajara transitioned from more enslaved Africans being sold at the beginning of the century to mostly American-born slaves sold at the end of the period; from mostly enslaved *negros* sold to a majority of enslaved *mulatos*; and from more enslaved men being sold at the beginning of the century to more enslaved women sold at the end. These processes happened in the midst of gradually decreasing slave prices across the whole period. By shifting away the focus from Central Mexico to a lesser-known place, this article nuances our understanding of the transatlantic slave trade to Mexico and offers a reinterpretation of the history of colonial Guadalajara's slave market.

### KEYWORDS

Slave market; race; Guadalajara; New Spain

### Introduction

Using new evidence from the Notarial State Archive of Jalisco (*Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos de Jalisco*) this article demonstrates that the slave market of Guadalajara peaked during the second half of the seventeenth century. Further, it shows that it was through the sales of enslaved creoles and, toward the end of the century, of captive women that slavery was expanded and sustained in Guadalajara. It is thanks to this important source that we learn about cases such as Magdalena's. She was classified as a *negra criolla* originally from Santo Domingo. We do not know when or how she was forcibly transported from the Caribbean to Guadalajara, close to the Pacific coast of Mexico. What we do know, is that on 14 April 1615, when Magdalena was only 17 years old, she was traded for 470 pesos.<sup>1</sup> Magdalena's case is significant

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for several reasons. First, hers is the oldest surviving slave bill of sale from seventeenth-century Guadalajara. Second, Magdalena's story also exemplifies the themes that are the focus of this article, namely Guadalajara's links with the intra-American and domestic slaving networks, and the preponderance of enslaved women and creoles in the local slave market.<sup>2</sup>

In light of recent developments in the historiography of the slave trade to Spanish America, and equipped with new sources, this work breaks away from previous interpretations that downplayed the centrality of slavery for the history of the city, portraying it as a declining practice after the 1640s. On the contrary, it is the contention of this article that slavery remained significant for the development of Guadalajara throughout the seventeenth century and that slavery did not decline, but actually peaked in the second half of the century.<sup>3</sup> Further, through an analysis of hundreds of bills of purchase, this work shows the close relationship between slavery and the development of categories of difference (called *calidad* in the period) as an instrument to police the increasingly porous line between slavery and freedom.<sup>4</sup> In turn, this examination of the slave market of Guadalajara helps us to understand later phenomena, such as the emergence of distinctive notions of belonging that are irreducible to US American notions of Blackness and whiteness, as well as the virtual disappearance of *negro* (Black) as a category of difference in the late colonial period.<sup>5</sup>

Thanks to the collaborative efforts of scholars during the past three decades reflected on the *Slave Voyages* database, we now know that Spanish America was the part of the Americas with the most enduring links to Africa. We also know that Spanish America was one of the regions that received the most enslaved Africans over the duration of the trade, second only to Brazil.<sup>6</sup> The most recent estimates suggest that 1,506,000 enslaved Africans were forcibly transported to Spanish America between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries through the transatlantic slave trade. An additional 566,300 enslaved people were transported to the region through the intra-American trade from other European colonies, giving a total of 2,072,300 enslaved Africans or Afro-descendants disembarked in Spanish America.<sup>7</sup>

In the case of New Spain (or colonial Mexico), the period between 1580 and 1640 was crucial in the creation of this transatlantic connection. It is a well-established fact in the historiography that this was the period when most enslaved Africans were introduced to colonial Mexico.<sup>8</sup> The extent of the trade, however, is still a subject of debate.<sup>9</sup> Several authors have suggested different figures for the introduction of enslaved people during the colonial period. In the 1940s Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, based on the different royal *asientos*, estimated that 200,000 enslaved people were introduced in New Spain during the whole colonial period, 60,000 in the sixteenth century, 120,000 during the seventeenth, and 20,000 during the eighteenth.<sup>10</sup> For her part, Enriqueta Vila Vilar, revising Aguirre Beltrán's figures, proposed that

69,560 enslaved people were legally disembarked in Veracruz between 1595 and 1640.<sup>11</sup> In order to account for the illegal trade, Colin Palmer suggested at least 110,525 African arrivals for the period between 1521 and 1639.<sup>12</sup> The most recent estimate indicates that between 155,000 and 165,000 enslaved Africans were disembarked in Veracruz before the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the uncertainty of these figures, the centrality of the transatlantic slave trade between 1580 and 1640 is evident. It is worth noting, however, as Tatiana Seijas and Pablo Miguel Sierra Silva have pointed out that although most of the studies on the subject focus on the Iberian union period, the transatlantic slave trade to Mexico did not end in 1640.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the number of enslaved Africans introduced during the second half of the seventeenth century did decrease considerably, and the arrival of slave ships became more intermittent until 1735, when the last recorded transatlantic slave ship disembarked on Mexican coasts.<sup>15</sup> Even if the transatlantic slave trade decreased considerably after 1640, slavery remained fundamental for the development of the viceroyalty's economy, and subsisted with the natural growth of the slave population and the supply of enslaved Afro-descendants from other European colonies.<sup>16</sup>

As much as these studies have advanced our understanding of the larger slave trade to Mexico and Spanish America, scholars have recently signalled some of their limitations. Although these quantitative studies allow us to know the contours of the trade, they teach us very little about people's experiences.<sup>17</sup> Further, their general focus does not allow us to understand how the particularities of the slave trade in specific locations shaped the history of those places. Ultimately, in the case of colonial Mexico, the emphasis on the 1580–1640 period has created the impression that the history of slavery in Mexico ended in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup>

Based on baptismal records and on a small sample of bills of purchase from 1630 to 1699, one of the few published studies about slavery in seventeenth-century Guadalajara claimed that the demographic importance of slavery in the city decreased as the century progressed. According to the author, around the year 1600, 20% of children baptized in the city were enslaved: this figure grew to 28% in the 1620s, decreased to 17% in the 1650s, and reached 13% toward the end of the century.<sup>19</sup> The assertion that slavery declined in Guadalajara in the second half of the century is problematic, however. It does not consider that baptisms only record enslaved Afro-Mexicans baptized in Guadalajara and not those baptized elsewhere, or even those who were never baptized and later introduced in the city. The use of baptismal records as a source is also problematic in this case since these documents do not adequately reflect the status of people. Small numbers of Afro-descendants were able to gain their freedom from very early in the history of the city; oftentimes, however, they remained in subordinated positions, working as servants in Spanish households. Baptismal records sometimes indicate if parents of

baptized children were servants or enslaved in the houses of specific people. In some instances, nonetheless, these documents only contain phrases such as 'Blacks or *mulatos* from the house of such and such' (*'negros o mulatos de casa de'*), leaving us with the uncertainty of their status.

In this sense, as this article will show, it would be more appropriate to say that the Guadalajara-born enslaved population seems to have decreased during the seventeenth century, but slavery as a practice survived in the city through the introduction of enslaved people from other regions. Critically, the fact that fewer enslaved people were baptized in Guadalajara as the century progressed, suggests that, in order to obtain enslaved labour, slaveholders had to draw from other markets either domestic or intra-American.

### **A Brief History of Afro-descendants in Guadalajara**

Guadalajara was first established in 1532 in what is today the Mexican state of Zacatecas by Juan de Oñate, acting on behalf of Nuño de Guzmán, infamous for his bloody conquest of western New Spain and his enslavement of the region's indigenous peoples. Determined indigenous resistance forced Spanish settlers to relocate Guadalajara three times, the last after indigenous armies sieged the third Guadalajara during the Mixton War (1540-1542). After New Spain's Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, intervened to 'pacify' the region, the beleaguered city moved to its fourth and current location in the Valley of Atemajac. Present-day Guadalajara is located in the western region of what is now Mexico, approximately 200 miles (321.8 Kilometres) East of the Pacific Ocean and 350 miles (563.2 Kilometres) Northwest of Mexico City. Guadalajara's location Northwest of Mexico City and close to the Pacific Ocean, then, made the city's slaving networks distinct. Further, during the course of the colonial period, Guadalajara became crucial to the development of the northern reaches of the viceroyalty, and the city's merchants and authorities kept ties with people from Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, San Luis Potosí, and Durango, among other cities.

Africans, free and enslaved, took part in all these Spanish colonization efforts and some escaped to indigenous villages.<sup>20</sup> Silver mining and cattle raising by Indian and African labourers contributed to the region's growth and in 1560, Guadalajara became the seat of the bishopric of Nueva Galicia and of the second High Court of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. In 1577, as the native population plummeted, the city council wrote to the Royal Council of the Indies asking permission to import 500 enslaved Africans, many of whom were probably destined for the region's silver mines and mills. Inventories and wills from the last decades of the sixteenth century document the presence of Africans bearing ethnonyms such as Bran, Biafara, and Terranova. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar wrote that Guadalajara's inhabitants employed as servants '*mulato* and Black

slaves, that to this day amount to more than five hundred, without counting others from this lineage who are free.<sup>21</sup>

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Guadalajara brought together *españoles*, *indios* of different origins -some from nearby native groups, and others brought to the region from Central Mexico-, and African-descended peoples. Additionally, during the seventeenth century some Portuguese traders, a few Japanese merchants, and enslaved Asians, (mostly Filipinos) inhabited the city.<sup>22</sup> By the beginning of the seventeenth century the city and its surrounding Indian towns (Analco and Mexicaltzingo, which eventually became part of the city), had between 3,000-4,000 inhabitants, of which approximately 60% were *indios*, 20% *españoles*, and 20% African or African descended. By the 1650s, the city and its surroundings had a maximum of 5,000 inhabitants, 3,357 of whom were registered in the main parish of the city: 54.7% were *españoles*, 7% *mestizos*, 9.2% free *negros* and *mulatos*, 20.3% enslaved *negros* and *mulatos*, and 8.7% *indios*.<sup>23</sup> Whether enslaved or free, Afro-descendants were central for the economic activities of the city, some of them were artisans such as shoemakers, hatmakers, blacksmiths, or tailors. Afro-descendants also took an active role in the religious life of Guadalajara through membership in Catholic brotherhoods and other religious corporations.

Afro-Mexicans maintained their relative demographic importance in Guadalajara throughout the eighteenth century. It is difficult to estimate how many of them were enslaved, however.<sup>24</sup> The first official census of the Viceroyalty in 1777 reported 19,192 inhabitants in Guadalajara, of whom 37.5% were *mulatos*. The Viceregal census of 1793 counted 24,768 inhabitants in Guadalajara, of whom 26.3% were *mulatos*. Over time Afro-descendants in Guadalajara achieved positions of some higher social status such as silversmiths and sacristans, among others, and with the political and ideological changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they seemed to have rejected the colonial categories of difference that served to marginalize them and pioneered ideas about a 'raceless' or 'de-racialized' citizenry that would characterize independent Mexico. Indeed, the 1821-1822 census of Guadalajara (the last that recorded colonial classifications) reported that just 2% of the 38,021 inhabitants of the city were classified as *mulatos*.<sup>25</sup>

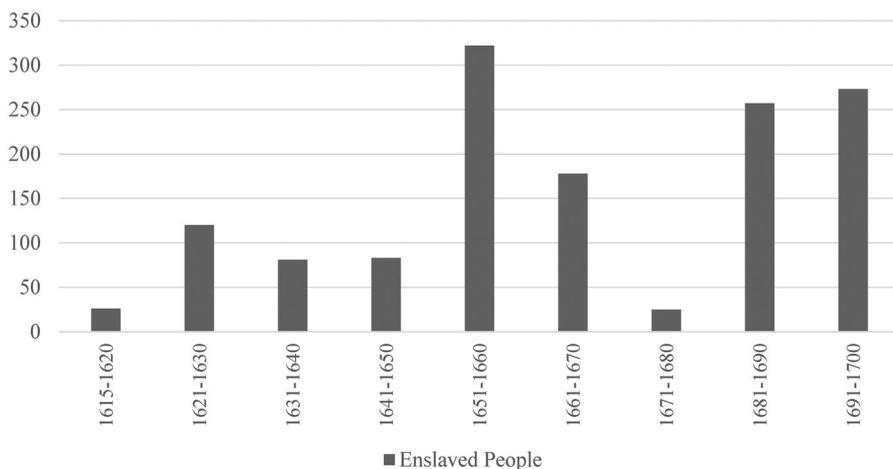
All these figures point to a historical and significant presence of Afro-descendants in Guadalajara, a city that is not usually considered as part of Afro-Latin America or the Black Atlantic. An analysis of the slave market in this context helps us to understand how the specificities of the slave trade to the city shaped the history of Afro-Mexicans in the region.

### The Slave Market of Seventeenth Century Guadalajara

The following analysis is based on 1,365 bills of purchase registered in Guadalajara between 1615 and 1700, plus a small sample of 234 bills of purchase

recorded between 1701 and 1735. Most of the notarial documents from Guadalajara are held in bound books, each containing the paperwork processed by a specific notary during a particular period, usually a year, sometimes more. This research is based on all the extant bills of purchase included in the 89 surviving notarial books from 18 notaries who worked in seventeenth-century Guadalajara. We know that more notaries worked in the city during that time, but their records are nowhere to be found. Two specific lacunae in the sources are noticeable: one at the beginning of the century between 1600-1615, for which we have barely any information and another one during the 1670s, for which we only have information coming from three notaries.<sup>26</sup> Despite these caveats, the sample used in this study gives us a clear idea that slavery remained significant for the history of Guadalajara throughout the century and did not decline after 1640. If new sources ever come to light, it is more likely that they would bolster this interpretation rather than the opposite. It is important to say, however, that this pattern of the expansion of slavery is very specific to Guadalajara and should not be generalized to other cities, where a decline of slavery indeed took place after 1640.<sup>27</sup>

Figure 1 presents all the bills of purchase that I was able to gather for the period 1615–1700 by decade. A simple glimpse of the data immediately casts doubt on the assumption that slavery declined after 1640. As a matter of fact, over three times as many enslaved people were sold in Guadalajara after 1650 than during the first half of the century (310 versus 1055, respectively). Just in the period 1651-1660, more enslaved people were sold (322) than in the four previous decades combined. This is also consistent with the population growth of the city as a whole that increased from approximately 3,000 people in 1600, to 5,000 in 1650, to about 10,000 in 1700.<sup>28</sup> This pattern contrasts with the



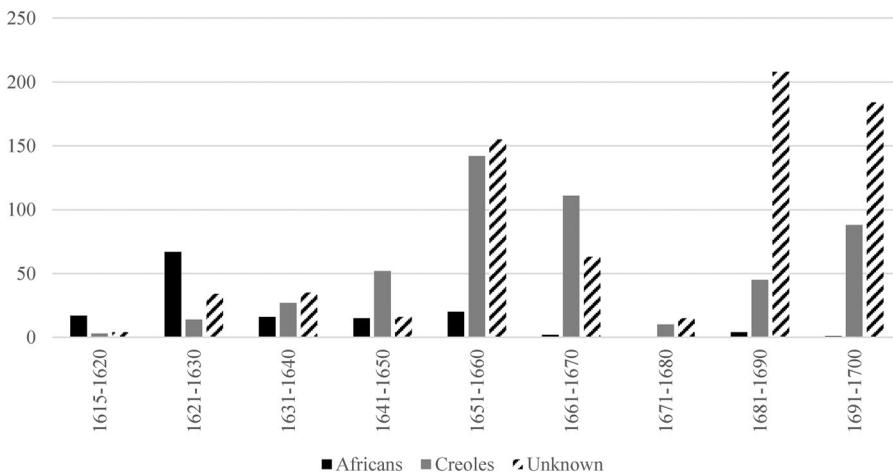
**Figure 1.** Enslaved People Sold in Guadalajara, 1615-1700. N = 1365.

more extensively studied Mexican cities that experienced a decrease in the overall number of slave sales after 1650.

A more in-depth analysis reveals that African arrivals to the city peaked between 1621 and 1630, then decreased significantly, but remained at a constant level between 1630 and 1660. From 1661 to 1700, enslaved Africans would continue to arrive in Guadalajara, but just in small numbers. From 1631 forward, *negros* and *mulatos* criollos surpassed Africans in Guadalajara (this process is summarized in [Figure 2](#)). Scholars of colonial Mexico have observed the replacement of enslaved Africans with creoles across the viceroyalty during the seventeenth century. In this regard Guadalajara is not different. This common process, however, seems to have occurred in Guadalajara earlier than in other cities. In San Luis Potosí, for example, creoles surpassed Africans in the period 1646-1650. In Central Mexico (Puebla and Mexico City), creoles became the majority of enslaved people sold beginning in 1640. In Jalapa, Africans remained the majority of enslaved people sold until 1670.<sup>29</sup>

The majority of enslaved Africans for whom we have data about their provenance were from Angola. From 160 slaves who were not born in Mexico, almost 72% bore the ethnonym Angola. Again, Guadalajara is not unique in this respect. Angolans and central Africans in general predominated in the slave markets of Mexico City, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Oaxaca, Veracruz, Valladolid (Morelia), and Chiapas, at least until the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup> As it is common knowledge, the overwhelming presence of Angolans is explained by the Iberian Union between 1580 and 1640.

Small numbers of other ethnonyms also appear in Guadalajara's sources. For example, four Congo and four Arará enslaved people were sold in the city during the seventeenth century. In particular, an Arará enslaved person was the last African sold in Guadalajara for whom we have an origin. It is the



**Figure 2.** Origin of Enslaved People Sold in Guadalajara, 1615-1700. N = 634.

case of an unbaptized *negro bozal*, between 18 and 20 years of age, whom Diego de Roa vecino of Puebla acquired in Veracruz from the agent of Baltazar Coymans, a Dutch trader licensed to introduce slaves into the Spanish empire. Roa then sold this enslaved person to don Fernando de Velasco Anzures vecino of Guadalajara in 1687.<sup>31</sup> Enslaved people from other American places also reached Guadalajara: for example from Guatemala, Havana, Santo Domingo, and Perú. The ethnonyms and/or provenance of slaves sold in Guadalajara are summarized in table 1.

In this light, the ties of Guadalajara's slave market with the domestic and intra-American slave trades cannot be overstated. We have already seen the case of Magdalena, *negra criolla* from Santo Domingo. Similarly, on 12 March 1627, Juan Ruiz de Portillo, vecino of Mexico City, sold to Hernando Enriquez del Castillo, royal scribe of Guadalajara, an enslaved woman originally

**Table 1.** Origin/Ethnonym of Enslaved People Sold in Guadalajara, 1615–1700.

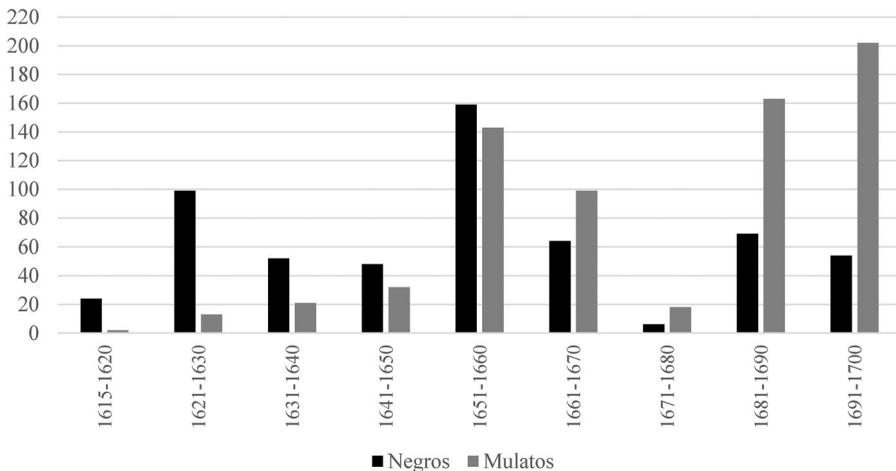
Guadalajara	375	Zapotlán	2
<b>Angola</b>	115	Acaponeta	1
<b>Mexico City</b>	43	Acapulco	1
<b>Ameca</b>	11	Aguascalientes	1
<b>Sayula</b>	11	Amajac	1
<b>Puebla</b>	8	Autlán	1
<b>Lagos</b>	7	Bungi	1
<b>Guachinango</b>	6	Cape Verde	1
<b>Ahualulco</b>	5	Cholula	1
<b>Philippines</b>	5	Cocula	1
<b>Arará</b>	4	Colimilla	1
<b>Congo</b>	4	Colotlán	1
<b>Tequila</b>	4	Culiacán	1
<b>Antequera</b>	3	Cuquío	1
<b>Cafre</b>	3	Guatemala	1
<b>Colima</b>	3	Guinea	1
<b>Durango</b>	3	Havana	1
<b>Istlán</b>	3	Hostotipaquillo	1
<b>Juchipila</b>	3	Jacona	1
<b>Michoacán</b>	3	Jalostotitlán	1
<b>Portugal</b>	3	Jerez	1
<b>Querétaro</b>	3	Jiquilpan	1
<b>San Luis Potosí</b>	3	Jora	1
<b>Ahuacatlán</b>	2	Magdalena	1
<b>Biafara</b>	2	Mandinga	1
<b>Bran</b>	2	Mascota	1
<b>Celaya</b>	2	Minas de la Resurrección	1
<b>Compostela</b>	2	Ocotlán	1
<b>India de Portugal</b>	2	Ocotitlán	1
<b>Irapuato</b>	2	Pátzcuaro	1
<b>Malabar</b>	2	Peru	1
<b>Malenba</b>	2	Pinu	1
<b>Poncitlán</b>	2	San Andrés	1
<b>Real de Nieves</b>	2	Santo Tomé	1
<b>Santo Domingo</b>	2	Senticpac	1
<b>Sombrerete</b>	2	Seville	1
<b>Teocaltiche</b>	2	Tacámbaro	1
<b>Tepic</b>	2	Tanguansiguaro	1
<b>Tlazazalca</b>	2	Villa Purificación	1
<b>Valladolid</b>	2	Zacualco	1
<b>Zacatecas</b>	2	<b>Total</b>	<b>705</b>

from Perú named Andrea for 400 pesos. A few days later, on 24 March 1627, Francisco Rodríguez Gavilán, also vecino of Mexico City, sold to Hernando de Mujica, accountant of the royal treasury of Guadalajara, an enslaved woman named Dominga from Cartagena de Indias for 325 pesos.<sup>32</sup>

After 1640 the local market drew enslaved people from new places that had not appeared in the notarial records of Guadalajara until then. Such is the case of Andrés, an enslaved man from Córdoba de Castilla who friar Dionisio Cortez, from the order of saint Augustin, sold to Juan Arias de Avella y Valdez, miner, for 280 pesos in 1652. Also in that year, Juan de Cárdenas sold to don Manuel Macedo, choirmaster of the cathedral of Guadalajara, an enslaved man named Juan Laureano from Seville for 400 pesos.<sup>33</sup>

It is worth noting that small numbers of Asian enslaved people reached Guadalajara's slave market during this period, the majority of whom were also sold after 1640. For example, in 1659 presbyter Francisco de Cueto Bustamante sold to Juan Pérez de Valdez, merchant from Guadalajara, an enslaved man named Antonio de la Cruz, classified as *chino* of the Malabar nation, 48 years old for 170 pesos. Similarly, in 1662 Cristóbal Gutiérrez, vecino of Guadalajara, sold to Gerónimo de Merlo, merchant from Guadalajara, an enslaved man named Juan Baboy classified as *chino* of the 'casta camocon', 27 years of age for 300 pesos.<sup>34</sup> The presence of enslaved Asians in Guadalajara shows the different markets from which slaveholders drew in order to get enslaved labour as well as Guadalajara's connections with both the Atlantic and Pacific worlds.<sup>35</sup>

Parallel to this trajectory of creoles replacing Africans, there was another process consistent with larger demographic processes: that is, enslaved people classified as *mulatos* increasingly replacing *negros*. This process resulted from the high levels of exogamy between Afro-descendants and other populations, particularly indigenous peoples during the period.<sup>36</sup> As shown in Figure 3,



**Figure 3.** Calidad of enslaved people sold in Guadalajara, 1615-1700. N = 1268.

*mulatos* increased from being 7.7% of all enslaved people sold in 1615–1620 to 44.4% between 1651 and 1660. Then, the sales of enslaved *mulatos* surpassed that of *negros* in the slave market after 1661, and finally reached about 74% of all slave sales during the last decade of the century. It is difficult to draw comparisons with other cities because of the diverging ways authors present their findings and because the way these categories worked in everyday life (why, how, and when a person was considered a *mulato* varied from place to place, for example). Nonetheless, a similar phenomenon is observable in San Luis Potosí, where *mulatos* went from being 17% in 1625–1630 during the peak of the trade to reach 65% of all sales between 1666 and 1705.<sup>37</sup>

Beyond this superficial analysis of the *calidades* assigned to enslaved people in seventeenth-century Guadalajara, there is a more complex reality that very few studies have uncovered so far. As the century progressed, there was not simply a trend of creoles replacing Africans or *mulatos* replacing *negros* in the slave market, but also *calidad* designations grew in complexity. Beginning in the 1640s enslaved people in Guadalajara, *mulatos* in particular, were assigned what some authors have called a compound or composite *calidad*, that is a common *calidad* label such as *negro* or *mulato*, with an added qualifier highlighting a specific trait.<sup>38</sup> Basically, all of the studies analyzing African arrivals have documented qualifiers such as *negro bozal*, *negro ladino*, *negro* or *mulato criollo*, *negro entre bozal y ladino*, or some other variations of these. Such designations referred to origin (in the case of *criollo*) or to the degree to which slaves were familiarized with Spanish culture (in the case of *bozal* or *ladino* and all of the variations in between).<sup>39</sup> Composite *calidades* appearing in Guadalajara during the second half of the seventeenth century were different in that they highlighted features related to physical appearance rather than origin or culture.

There is a consensus among scholars that the label *mulato* referred to a person of partial African ancestry, regardless of the other components of their background. This is a constant observed across the Spanish world.<sup>40</sup> Jack Forbes has presented compelling evidence about the origins of this term. The concept of *mulato* emerged during the early sixteenth century. It is a derivative, a distortion basically, of the Arabic word used for a type of indentured servant common in the Islamic world, and the term employed to refer to the offspring of a Christian and a Muslim (*muwallad*). With time, because of the observable somatic differences between servants and masters or between the children of mixed marriages, people linked the word *mulato* with skin colour. The hypothesis that the term *mulato* arose from the comparison between a mule and the physical features of specific individuals appeared in the 1600s when the concept of *mulato* had been in use for at least a century. Forbes has also documented the use of compound *calidades* in the Iberian Peninsula during the late sixteenth century such as *mulato leonado*, *negro atezado*, and so forth.<sup>41</sup> Some authors have found the use of compound

calidades in central Mexico as early as the 1590s. The first of such designations appearing in the historical record of that region seems to have been *negro amulatado*, *mulato blanco* and *mulato prieto*.<sup>42</sup>

In the case of Guadalajara, notarial records suggest that this process occurred much later. The first enslaved person with a composite *calidad* sold in Guadalajara was Francisco Dávila, *mulato morisco blanco*, branded on the face, 35 years of age, and sold for 550 pesos in 1648.<sup>43</sup> In the following decade, 1651-1660, almost 10% of all the *mulatos* sold in Guadalajara had a compound *calidad*. This figure increased to 30% by the last decade of the century (table 2 summarizes all the composite *calidades* found in Guadalajara during this period).

The meaning of who was a *mulato* in terms of physical features thus was never homogenous and constantly changed over time. The idea that a *mulato* was someone of African ancestry, however, remained constant. Take, for example, the case of José, '*mulatillo*', 10 years of age who was the son of Antonia described as a '*china*', herself the daughter of Esperanza de la Cruz, also a *china* in 1654.<sup>44</sup> Even the offspring of a '*china*' (José's father is unknown, but probably was an Afro-descendant) thus was considered a *mulato*.<sup>45</sup>

Compound *calidades* did not just grow in number as the century progressed but also in complexity, including characteristics related to hair or complexion of the body. For example, José, '*mulato de color claro y pelo liso*' (light-skin *mulato* with straight hair), 18 years of age, sold for 350 pesos in 1685. Similarly, Lorenzo, '*mulatillo peliliso alobado*', five or six years of age, sold for 100 pesos in 1692. Also, Juan, '*mulato algo blanco de pelo lacio*' (a somewhat white *mulato* with straight hair), seven years of age, sold for 250 pesos along with Francisco '*mulato algo más prieto*' (a somewhat darker *mulato*), five years of age in 1694. Finally, probably the most extreme case of all, José, '*mulato prieto color membrillo cocho, carirredondo, alto y grueso*' (roughly, dark *mulato* the colour of a cooked quince with round face, tall, and robust), 24 years of age, sold for 350 pesos in 1690.<sup>46</sup> To a lesser extent, enslaved people classified as *negros* also were described using a composite *calidad*. For instance, Juana '*negra amulatada*' originally from Sayula, 21 years of age, sold for 435 pesos in 1664.

**Table 2.** *Calidad* of Enslaved People sold in Guadalajara, 1615-1700.

Mulato prieto	29	Negro atezado	2
<b>Mulato blanco</b>	27	Mulato prieto pasudo	2
<b>Mulato color membrillo cocho</b>	14	Mulato amestizado	1
<b>Mulato alobado</b>	9	Mulato blanco pasudo	1
<b>Mulato morisco blanco</b>	5	Mulato claro	1
<b>Mulato color cocho</b>	5	Mulato negro	1
<b>Mulato morisco</b>	3	Mulato color pardo	1
<b>Mulato atezado</b>	3	Mulato prieto acochado	1
<b>Negro amulatado</b>	2	Mulato prieto color membrillo cocho	1

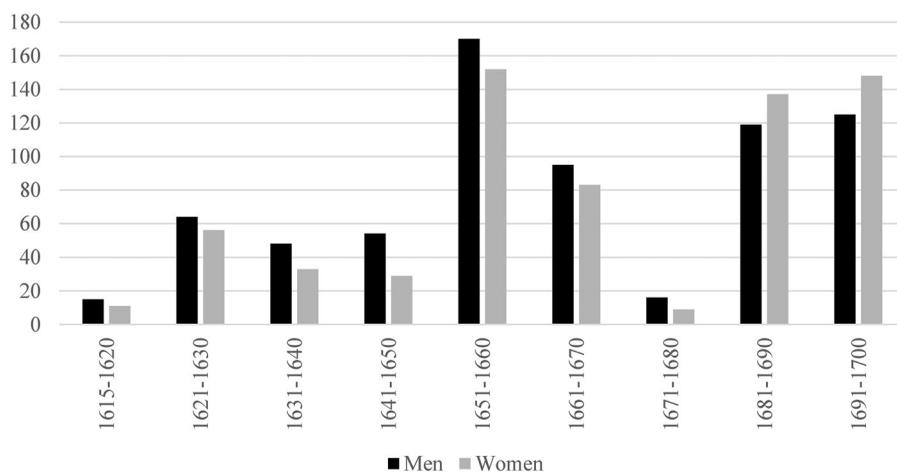
N = 108

Similarly, Juan de la Madre de Dios ‘*negro atezado*’, 21 years of age, sold for 400 pesos in 1694.<sup>47</sup> Evidently, these qualifiers referred to a Black woman who somehow resembled a *mulata* and a Black man who was particularly dark.

These classifications were clearly impositions from slaveholders and can be seen as Spanish elites’ attempts to police the increasingly porous boundaries between slavery and freedom, particularly in light of the high levels of intermarriage mentioned previously. Indeed, although we lack systematic studies about manumission in seventeenth-century Guadalajara, the ones that we do have suggest an expansion of freedom parallel to the expansion of the slave market during the second half of the century.<sup>48</sup> Critically, this process suggests that as much as these classifications were an avenue for social climbing for freed people of African descent, these mixed-ancestry categories also served to reinforce slavery.<sup>49</sup>

Thus far we have seen that the notarial records of Guadalajara reveal three parallel processes. First, the sales of enslaved creoles surpassed those of Africans relatively early in Guadalajara. Second, the number of enslaved *mulatos* sold in Guadalajara exceeded that of *negros* toward the second half of the century. Then, we saw how the *calidad* categories assigned to enslaved people grew in complexity as the century progressed. Bills of purchase show a concurrent process in which the number of enslaved women sold in Guadalajara outstripped that of men toward the end of the century.

As Figure 4 shows, men were the majority of enslaved people sold in the city between 1611 and 1680. Beginning in 1681, the majority of enslaved people sold in Guadalajara were women. Between 1681 and 1690, women totalled 53.3% of all enslaved people sold in the city. This figure slightly increased during the next decade when women were 54.2% of all enslaved people sold between 1691 and 1700. Fragmentary evidence from eighteenth-century Guadalajara indicates



**Figure 4.** Sex of Enslaved People Sold in Guadalajara, 1615-1700. N = 1364.

that this trend probably lasted until the end of slavery in the city. From a small sample of 234 bills of purchase recorded in Guadalajara between 1701 and 1735, a total of 61.5% were women. A study of late-colonial Guadalajara reported that 83.7% of enslaved people sold during the years 1789 and 1790 were women. Importantly, all the enslaved people sold in those two years were *mulatos*, something that suggests the virtual disappearance of *negro* as a category of difference by that period.<sup>50</sup>

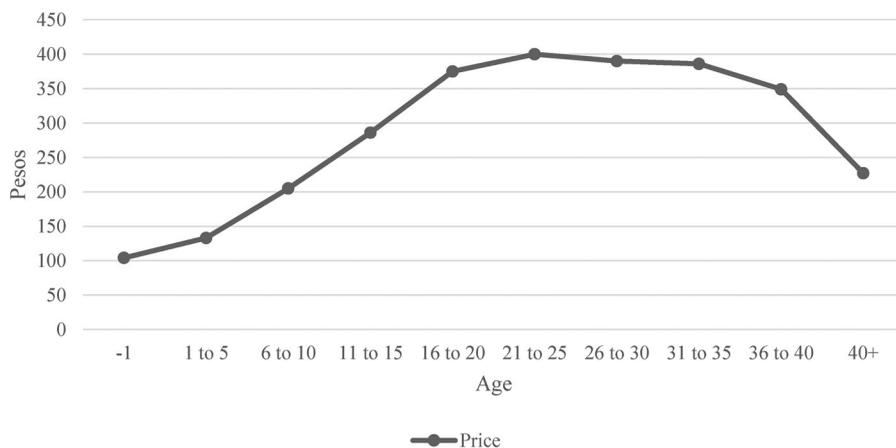
This transformation is counter to the general patterns of the transatlantic slave trade, which suggest that, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, twice as many men as women were forcibly transported to the Americas.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, it seems that the increasing numbers of women in slave sales were directly correlated to the increasing numbers of enslaved creoles, among whom the gender ratio would be normal, with a slight excess of females.

Interestingly, despite decreasing prices of enslaved people across the whole period, and despite the increasing numbers of enslaved women in the local market of Guadalajara, women became more priced than men toward the end of the century. It is difficult to determine the larger reasons behind this change. However, there are two hypotheses that are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and that might explain this transformation, although they should only be considered as tentative until more research is done on the subject.

First, it might be the case that, because of the decline of the transatlantic slave trade to New Spain during the second half of the century, enslavers began to value enslaved women more for their reproductive value. Second, it is also possible that this process was accompanied by a diversification of slavery in the region, that changed from being almost exclusively resource extraction driven to be also urban and domestic, a symbol of status and power. This does not mean that enslaved labour was not used anymore for economic activities such as mining or agriculture (something that the evidence would not support), but rather that as Guadalajara grew in political and cultural importance, royal officials, the clergy, and wealthy merchants increasingly employed enslaved labour in their households as a mark of their social standing.

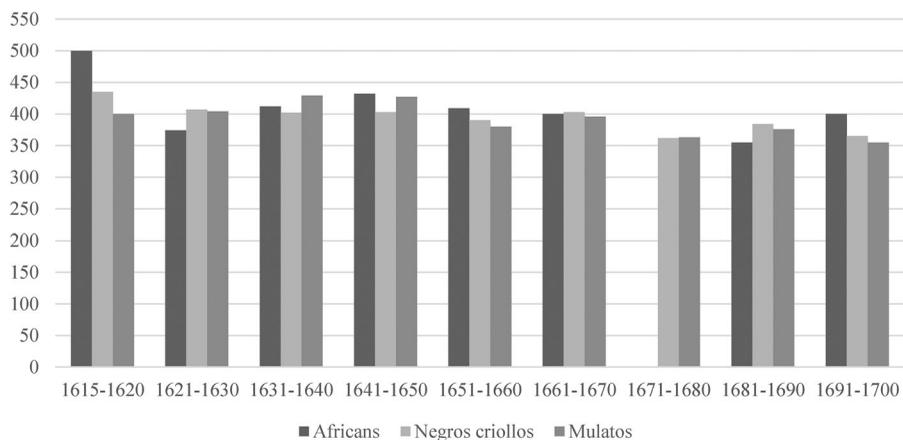
As it is well known, enslaved people's prices varied according to factors like sex, age, health condition, occupation, and calidad label. [Figure 5](#) shows how enslaved people's prices varied with age. It is important to note that the graph includes both men and women. Enslaved children under one year of age were valued at 100 pesos on average. From there, their price increased gradually to reach a maximum of 400 pesos between the ages of 20 and 25; beyond the age of 25, the price decreased until it reached less than 200 pesos for those 40 years old or more.

[Figure 6](#) shows the evolution of enslaved people's prices over the century in terms of their calidad. The graph includes enslaved men and women between the ages 16–40. The findings from Guadalajara are consistent with what studies from Central Mexico have also discovered: namely, enslaved Africans



**Figure 5.** Price of Enslaved People Sold in Guadalajara Based on their Age, 1615-1700. N = 1037.

were more valued followed by Black creoles and *mulatos*. The graph also shows a gradual, although not significant devaluation of prices across the century. At the beginning of the century, Africans were sold for about 500 pesos, while *mulatos* for 400. By the end of the century, slaveholders were willing to pay about 400 pesos for enslaved Africans and 350 for enslaved *mulatos*. In general terms, prices in Guadalajara were higher than in Central Mexico; for example, enslaved Blacks (whether Africans or creoles), sold for a maximum of 440 pesos at the beginning of the century and for over 340 pesos by 1700. Slaveholders in that region paid over 380 pesos for enslaved *mulatos* by 1600 and just above 300 at the end of the century. Despite this gradual decrease of prices, slavery both in Guadalajara and Central Mexico remained economically



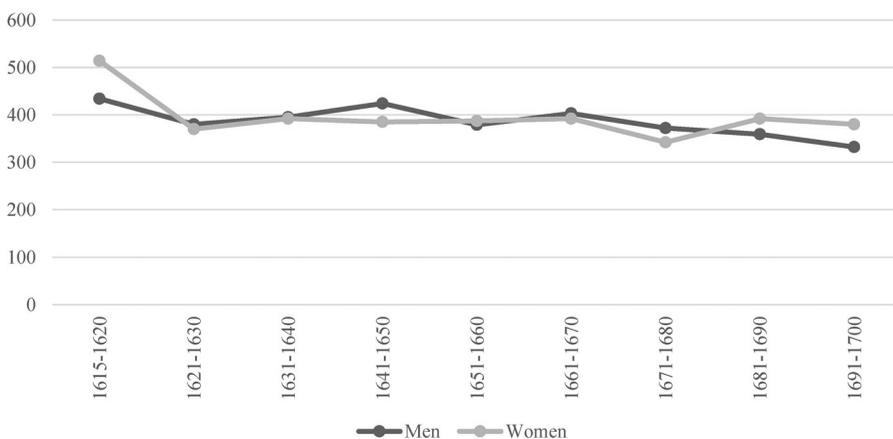
**Figure 6.** Price of Enslaved People Sold in Guadalajara Based on their Calidad, 1615-1700. N = 708.

viable throughout the seventeenth century, and what slaveholders paid for even one enslaved person was worth several years of rent for an average house.<sup>52</sup>

A comparison of the prices of enslaved men and women in seventeenth-century Guadalajara reveals a similar trend. Figure 7 includes the prices of enslaved men and women between the ages of 16 and 40 sold in Guadalajara. At the beginning of the period, women were priced at over 500 pesos, while men a little over 400. Between 1620 and 1640 the average price of men and women was virtually the same. From there, men were valued slightly more between 1640 and 1680. Beginning in the latter decade, the price of men decreased while that of women slightly increased. By the end of the century, women were priced at about 380 pesos and men just over 330.

Fragmentary evidence might support these two interpretations. Beginning in the 1640s, enslavers incrementally used phrases such as ‘born and raised in my house’ or similar statements to describe the origin of the enslaved people they were selling. For example, in 1650 Antonio de San Miguel, vecino of Guadalajara, sold to Juan del Castillo, merchant from Guadalajara, an enslaved *mulata* woman named Francisca, who was born in the house of captain Diego Carrillo from Mexico City. Similarly, in 1685 Francisco Rodríguez Ponce from Guachinango sold to friar Antonio de la Torre from the convent of Saint Dominic of Guadalajara a twelve-year-old enslaved girl named Estefana, who was born and raised in his house.<sup>53</sup> These examples point to the importance of the regional slave trade and the value placed on enslaved women for their reproductive capacity.

On the other hand, while miners, *obraje*, and *ingenio* owners participated widely in the slave market during the seventeenth century, they seemed to have done so to a lesser extent in the eighteenth. Miners were involved as sellers or buyers in 105 transactions between 1615 and 1700: of these, 67.3% involved enslaved men. For example, in 1653 Juan de Robles miner from



**Figure 7.** Prices of Enslaved Men and Women Sold in Guadalajara, 1615-1700. N = 728.

Jolapa bought four enslaved people in Guadalajara: these were Gerónimo *mulato*, 20 years of age, for 300 pesos; Juan *negro*, 30 years old, for 400 pesos; Domingo de la Cruz *mulato*, 20 years of age, for 320 pesos, and Blas Rivera *negro*, 23 years old, for 430 pesos.<sup>54</sup> During the same period ingenio owners bought or sold 20 enslaved people of whom 70% were men. Half of these were actually purchased by a single person, Diego de Mora, who between 1641 and 1664 bought six men and four women and described himself as ‘sugar mill owner and resident of Tepic (dueño de ingenio de hacer azúcar y vecino de Tepic).’ In 1650 Mora bought from Nicolás de Covarrubias Mateo and Matías, *mulato* brothers for 380 pesos each. Then in 1655 he bought three more enslaved people, Pedro de Rojas, 50-year-old *negro*, from Bartolomé de Sabina for 130 pesos worth of sugar; Josefa, 12-year-old *negra*, and Lucrecia, 20-year-old china for 280 and 310 pesos respectively both from Francisca de Porras.<sup>55</sup>

For their part, *obraje* owners bought or sold seven captives of whom six, or 85.7%, were men. Again, the majority of these transactions were conducted by a single person, Melchor de Santacruz, who sold three enslaved people and bought another three between 1640 and 1653. In 1640 he bought Lorenzo ‘*chino de nación Malabar*,’ 22 years old for 320 pesos. In 1641 he bought Melchor ‘*negro criollo de Oaxaca*’ for 270 pesos. Then, in that same year he bought 24-year-old Dominga ‘*negra criolla de Guadalajara*’ for 400 pesos.<sup>56</sup> Altogether, this evidence is consistent with the city’s role within the regional economy for this period.

In contrast, between 1701 and 1735 just two miners bought or sold enslaved people in Guadalajara. These two transactions involved enslaved men. In 1702 Francisco Bernal ‘capitán, vecino y minero del Real de san Sebastián’ bought Vicente Ferrer, 24-year-old *negro*, for 400 pesos. Then, in 1712 the same Francisco Bernal bought Lucas Efigenio, ‘*mulato de color alobado*,’ ten years old, for 250 pesos. No *obraje*, nor ingenio owners participated in the slave market during this period.<sup>57</sup>

The increasing number of enslaved women sold in Guadalajara across the eighteenth century along with the diminishing involvement of miners, *obraje* and ingenio owners in Guadalajara’s slave market, might suggest a diversification of the slave market that originally supplied mostly mines, haciendas, *obrajes*, and *ingenios* to be centred on the urban demand for domestic slaves. This is also apparent in the involvement of women in slave transactions. The same study cited above found that from 43 purchases in 1789 and 1790 in Guadalajara, just 19 men acted as buyers or sellers, while the rest of the people conducting these transactions were women.<sup>58</sup>

The increase in enslaved women’s value after 1680, analyzed above, coincides with the moment when women became the majority of enslaved people sold in Guadalajara. In turn, this process lends more credence to the argument that enslaved women were more valued at the end of the century and that almost

at the same time, there was a diversification of the practice of slavery that changed from being almost exclusively resource-extraction oriented, to be also urban and domestic.

## Conclusion

This work has shown that slavery remained central for Guadalajara and its region across the seventeenth century. Contrary to previously held views, slavery in Guadalajara did not decline after the ending of the Iberian Union in 1640; quite the opposite, the apex of Guadalajara's slave market happened in the second half of the century and this insidious practice remained significant for the region throughout the 1600s.

A close analysis of bills of purchase reveals several concurrent historical processes. First, although enslaved Africans were forcibly transported to the region throughout the century, the highest point of the Atlantic slave trade in Guadalajara happened in the 1620s. This is consistent with data from previous studies about African arrivals to the viceroyalty of New Spain that show a peak around the same time. In turn this process had two significant repercussions for the local market: first, slaveholders had to draw from other markets in order to secure enslaved labour and, as a result, the sales of creoles quickly surpassed those of Africans. A second process had to do with the development of categories of difference associated with African ancestry and enslavement. In this regard, the sales of enslaved *mulatos* outstripped those of *negros* in the 1660s and at the same time slaveholders began to deploy more new and complex classifications as an attempt to police the boundaries between slavery and freedom. This process suggests that categories associated with individuals of mixed-ancestry served both as avenues for social mobility and to reinforce slavery. Further, the fact that more enslaved women than men were sold in Guadalajara beginning in the 1680s indicates that the practice of slavery in the city diversified from being mostly resource-extraction oriented to being domestic and urban. All of these processes happened in the midst of gradually decreasing prices for slaves. This, however, did not mean that slavery had lost its importance or was a declining practice.

The case of Guadalajara is significant in that by decentering the study of slavery from places that have been studied in greater detail, it nuances our understanding of the slave trade to Mexico, and it helps us to better explain later processes that would shape the history of peoples of African descent in the country. More importantly, perhaps, this research might have implications for regions whose slave markets have not yet been systematically studied in the north and northwestern regions of New Spain (Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Alta California, Durango, Saltillo). In that sense, this article is a contribution for the conformation of a new understanding of the geographies of slavery in New Spain, arguably the most important Spanish possession in the Americas. Ultimately,

by bringing attention to experiences of women's enslavement and domestic servitude during this period, this work adds a new layer of analysis to the study of slavery in colonial Mexico.

## Notes

1. Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos de Jalisco (AIPJ), Escribanos, Andrés Venegas, 1, f. 131. Throughout this work I use the colonial Spanish American terminology about human difference. This vocabulary was pejorative and derogatory in different ways and included comparisons between animals and human beings. I, of course, am not trying to revive these terms or to uphold the ideologies that produced them; rather, I use this terminology as a tool to analyze colonial Mexican society.
2. Two studies about enslaved women and creoles in colonial Mexico are: Frank Proctor III, "Gender and the Manumission of Slaves in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, no. 2 (2006): 309–36; and Herman Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), chapter 3 in particular.
3. In presenting a longer view of Guadalajara's slave market to challenge the notion that slavery diminished in importance after 1640, I build upon Tatiana Seijas and Pablo Miguel Sierra, 'The Persistence of the Slave Market in Seventeenth-Century Central Mexico', *Slavery and Abolition* 37, no. 2 (2016): 307–33.
4. For the concept of *calidad* see, among others Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 92; Robert McCaa, 'Calidad, Clase, and Marriage: The Case of Parral, 1788–90,' *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 3 (August 1984); Rappaport, *The Disappearing Mestizo*, 204, 235–36; Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, 'La trampa de las castas' in *La sociedad Novohispana: estereotipos y realidades*, ed. Solange Alberro and Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2013); and Jorge E. Delgadillo Núñez, 'The Workings of *Calidad*: Honor, Governance, and Social Hierarchies in the Corporations of the Spanish Empire', *The Americas* 76, no. 2 (April 2019): 215–39.
5. In arguing this I am echoing the work of Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, who make a similar point, 'The Size and Direction of the Slave Trade to the Spanish Americas,' in *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*, ed. Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020), 15–46.
6. Indeed, the first and last transatlantic slave voyages had Spanish America as destination. See: Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat, 'Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America', *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (April 2015): 433–61. See, also, [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org).
7. Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, 'The Size and Direction', 20.
8. Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México. Estudio etnohistórico* (México: FCE, 1989); Colin Palmer, *Slaves of the White God* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Frank T. Proctor, '*Damned Notions of Liberty*': *Slavery, Culture, and Power in Colonial Mexico, 1640–1769* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).
9. For an overview of the debate up to the 1980s, see: Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: a Synthesis', *The Journal of African History* 23, no. 4 (1982).

10. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, 'The Slave Trade in Mexico', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 3 (1944).
11. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: los asientos portugueses* (Sevilla: CSIC, 1977), 206–09.
12. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, 14–16, 28.
13. Joseph M. H. Clark, 'Veracruz and the Caribbean in the Seventeenth Century' (PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2016), 142–67.
14. Seijas and Sierra Silva, 'The Persistence of the Slave Market'.
15. Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, 'Atlantic History and the Slave Trade', 437.
16. Seijas and Sierra Silva, 'The Persistence of the Slave Market', and Proctor, *Damned Notions of Liberty*, chapter one.
17. This is beginning to change for the case of Mexico: see, for example, Pablo Miguel Sierra Silva, 'The Slave Trade to Colonial Mexico: Revising from Puebla de los Ángeles, 1590–640', in Borucki, Eltis, and Wheat, *From the Galleons to the Highlands*, 73–102.
18. For a study that expresses these concerns see Roquinaldo Ferreira and Tatiana Seijas, 'The Slave Trade to Latin America: A Historiographical Assessment', in *Afro-Latin American Studies. An Introduction*, eds. Alejandro de la Fuente and George Reid Andrews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 27–51.
19. Thomas Calvo, *Poder, religión y sociedad en la Guadalajara del siglo XVII* (Guadalajara: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1989), 332–34; another study of early slaving transactions in Guadalajara is Brígida von Mentz, *Trabajo, sujeción y libertad en el centro de la Nueva España: esclavos, aprendices, campesinos y operarios manufactureros, siglos XVI a XVIII* (México: CIESAS, 1999), particularly chapter 4
20. The following paragraphs are mostly based on Ida Altam, *The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524–1550* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010) and Luis Pérez Verdía, *Historia particular del Estado de Jalisco. Desde los primeros tiempos que hay noticia hasta nuestros días* (Guadalajara: Tip. De la Escuela de Artes y Oficios del Estado, 1910, 3 vols.).
21. For the city council's petition to import enslaved Africans, see Thomas Calvo, *Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII. Población y economía* (Guadalajara: CEMCA-Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 1992), 144; for the mention of Africans in sixteenth-century Guadalajara, see Arturo Chávez Hayhoe, 'La esclavitud', In *Lecturas históricas de Guadalajara II. Sociedad y costumbres*, eds. José María Muriá and Jaime Olveda (Guadalajara: INAH-UDG, 1991), 15.
22. On the Portuguese traders in seventeenth-century Guadalajara, see: Stanley M. Hordes, 'The Crypto-Jewish Community of New Spain, 1620-1649, a Collective Biography' (Tulane University: PhD dissertation, 1980), 49–50, 96–98 and Irma Eugenia Vizcarra y Miguel Claudio Jiménez Vizcarra, *Noticias biográficas contenidas en las partidas de entierro del primer libro mixto de Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano de la ciudad de Guadalajara, 1634–1667* (Guadalajara: Sociedad de Historia, Genealogía y Heráldica de Jalisco, 1975) available online <http://www.museocjv.com/publicacionesmcjv.html> retrieved March 2016. On the Japanese merchants see Thomas Calvo, 'Japoneses en Guadalajara: "blancos de honor" durante el seiscientos mexicano' in *La Nueva Galicia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de Jalisco-CEMCA, 1989); and Melba Falck and Héctor Palacios, *El japonés que conquistó Guadalajara: la historia de Juan de Paez en la Guadalajara del siglo XVII* (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara, 2009); on the Filipino slaves see: Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

23. Calvo, *Guadalajara y su región*, 47–52.
24. In a sample of 5,864 baptisms of Afro-Mexicans from all the parishes of Guadalajara between 1777 and 1822, only 3.3% of children were enslaved at the moment of baptism.
25. Calvo, *Guadalajara y su región*, 52 and Rodney Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la independencia. Estudio de su población según los padrones de 1821–1822* (Guadalajara: UNED, 1983), 139, and ‘Race and Social Stratification: A Comparison of Working Class Spaniards, Indians, and Castas in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1821’, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 2 (May 1988): 215, 240. Future studies will examine the role of Afro-Mexicans in the construction of citizenship and ideas about equality in Guadalajara.
26. An analysis of the first book of sacramental records of the Sagrario parish of Guadalajara reveals that Afro-descendants were 35.1% of all people baptized in the city between 1599 and 1631, confirming that there is indeed a vacuum in the notarial sources during this period, rather than the absence of Afro-descendants during the formative years of Guadalajara.
27. For studies of the slave market in colonial Mexican cities, see for Veracruz Patrick J. Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), chapter 2 and Gilberto Bermúdez Gorrochotegui, ‘Esclavos negros e ingenios azucareros en Jalapa: 1580-1640’, *La Palabra y el Hombre* 122 (April-June 2002): 117–26; for Central Mexico, Pablo Miguel Sierra Silva, *Urban Slavery in Colonial Mexico: Puebla de los Angeles, 1531–1706* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chapter 4 and Seijas and Sierra, ‘The Persistence of the Slave Market’; for Michoacán María Guadalupe Chávez Carbajal *Propietarios y esclavos negros en Valladolid de Michoacán, 1600–1650* (Morelia: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 1994); for San Luis Potosí, Ramón Alejandro Montoya, *El esclavo africano en San Luis Potosí durante los siglos XVII y XVIII* (San Luis Potosí: Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí, 2016).
28. Calvo, *Guadalajara en el siglo XVII*, 50–52.
29. Montoya, *El esclavo africano*, 249; Seijas and Sierra, ‘The Persistence of the Slave Market’, 9–10 and Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz*, 32–33 and 172, respectively. Scholars have noted this pattern using other sources like marriage records: for example Proctor, *Damned notions of Liberty*, 60. The pattern observed in Guadalajara is also consistent with Colin Palmer’s findings on the slave trade to Mexico, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570–1650* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 15–18.
30. Seijas and Sierra, ‘The Persistence of the Slave Market’, 11–13; Montoya, *El esclavo africano*, 244–51; Maira Cristina Córdova Aguilar, ‘Procesos de convivencia de negros, mulatos y pardos en la sociedad de Oaxaca: siglos XVII y XVIII’, Mexico: Ph.D. Dissertation, UNAM, 2017, 102–103; Carroll, *Blacks in colonial Veracruz*, 32–33; Chávez Carbajal, *Esclavos y propietarios*, 98; and Pablo Peña Vicenteño, ‘Esclavitud y libertad de la población africana en el Chiapas colonial (1540-1640)’, Mexico: B.A Thesis, UNAM, 2007 96–97, respectively.
31. AIPJ, Escribanos, José Antonio Calleja, 1, 255v–256v.
32. AIPJ, Escribanos, Juan Sedano, 1, 72r-v. and 87, respectively.
33. AIPJ, Escribanos, Diego Pérez de Rivera, 4, 52r-v. and 74r-v. respectively.
34. AIPJ, Escribanos, Diego Pérez de Rivera, 8, 109r-v; and Diego Pérez de Rivera, 10, 167v-168v, respectively.

35. For Asian slavery in colonial Mexico, see Seijas, *Asian Slaves* and Deborah Oropeza, *La migración asiática en el virreinato de la Nueva España: un proceso de globalización (1565-1700)* (México: El Colegio de México, 2020).
36. Thomas Calvo, 'Concubinato y mestizaje en el medio urbano: el caso de Guadalajara en el siglo XVII', in *La Nueva Galicia en los Siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. Thomas Calvo (Guadalajara: CEMCA-El Colegio de Jalisco, 1989), 65–75.
37. Montoya, *El esclavo africano*, 244–51. Note that the increasing numbers of 'afro-mestizos' during the seventeenth century is consistent with the figures presented by Aguirre Beltrán for Nueva Galicia and New Spain as a whole, *La población negra*, chapters 11 and 12.
38. Ben Vinson III, *Before Mestizaje: The Frontiers of Race and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 82.
39. María Elena Martínez notes that the term ladino was originally used in medieval Spain to refer to Muslims and Jews who were Hispanicized to the point of being indistinguishable from 'authentic' Spaniards. *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011), 161.
40. See, for example, Jack Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans. The Language of Race and the Evolution of Black-Red Peoples* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 181; Robert C. Schwaller, *Géneros de gente in Early Colonial Mexico. Defining Racial Difference* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 105, 124, 130–31; Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 77.
41. The author devotes a long discussion to the origins and different usages of this term: see generally Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*, chapters 5 and 6.
42. Schwaller, *Géneros de Gente*, 125–26, has found a negra amulatada in 1593; Vinson, *Before Mestizaje*, 82–86, documents several compound calidades beginning in the 1620s; see also Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra*, 166–70.
43. AIPJ, Escribanos, Hernando Enríquez del Castillo, 1, 6.
44. AIPJ, Escribanos, Hernando Enríquez del Castillo, 4, 208r.
45. It is important to note that the term chino in seventeenth-century Mexico was applied only to people of Asian descent and not to the calidad designation that would emerge later in some places to refer to people of African ancestry. See Jonathan Israel, *Razas, clases sociales y vida política en el México colonial, 1610–1670* (México: FCE, 1980), 82.
46. AIPJ, Escribanos, Miguel Tomás de Ascoide, 4, 142r-v; Miguel Tomás de Ascoide, 2, 186v-187v; Nicolás del Castillo, 2, 145r-146v; and José Antonio Calleja, 2, 123r-v, respectively.
47. AIPJ, Escribanos, Diego Pérez de Rivera, 11, 77v-78r; and Pedro Agundiz Zamora, 1, 19r-v, respectively.
48. Calvo, *Poder, religión y sociedad*.
49. In arguing this I am thinking about, for example, the 'mulatto escape hatch' posited by Carl N. Degler's classic study, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relation in Brazil and the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).
50. Águeda Jiménez Pelayo, 'Una vision sobre la esclavitud en la Nueva Galicia a fines del periodo colonial', *Estudios del hombre* 6 (1997), 148.
51. For example, David Eltis and David Robinson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 59–67.
52. For enslaved people's prices in Central Mexico, Seijas and Sierra Silva, 'The Persistence of the Slave Market', 15–18.

53. AIPJ, Escribanos, Diego Pérez de Rivera, 4, 79v; and Miguel Tomás de Ascoide, 4, 166v-167v.
54. AIPJ, Escribanos, Tomás de Orendain, 1, 11v-12r, 12r-v, 19r-20r, and 50v-51r, respectively.
55. AIPJ, Escribanos, Diego Pérez de Rivera, 4, 51r-v; Diego Pérez de Rivera, 5, 106r-v, 107r-v, and 109v, respectively.
56. AIPJ, Escribanos, Diego Pérez de Rivera, 2, 117; Diego Pérez de Rivera, 1, 94 and 154v, respectively.
57. Antonio Morelos, 1, without numbering; and Diego de la Sierra, 7, 136v-137r.
58. Jiménez Pelayo, 'Una visión sobre la esclavitud', 148.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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