

**Sources for Early American Economy and Society
in the Spanish Archives**

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Introducción

In recent years, perhaps since the bicentennial of the United States, there has been increasing attention from institutions both in Spain and the United States to popularize the Spanish contribution to the history of United States, which had somehow been overlooked by historians. Many of them in the general histories of the United States make scarce reference to Spain while addressing the early years of the history of United States. Among the several efforts to transmit this common history the project *Parallel Histories: Spain, the United States, and the American Frontier* should be noted. It was the result of an agreement between the Library of Congress and the National Library of Spain in February 2000 to establish a bilingual multi-format digital-Spanish-English library site to explore the historical and cultural interactions between Spain and the United States from the 15th century. Its objective is to present important primary source of North America.¹

Later two leading exhibitions titled *Legacy: Spain and the United States in the Age of Independence, 1763-1848*² in 2007, and *El hilo de la memoria: trescientos años de presencia española en los actuales Estados Unidos* in 2008³ continued in the same inspiration. The first one highlighted the close relationship between both countries and the Spanish contribution to American independence, a topic on which there has been some research; and the second showed the historical legacy and heritage transmitted by Spain as a result of a prolonged presence that begun with the discovery of Florida in 1513 and ended when the Spanish left California in 1821.

The tracks are clearly visible in a rich number of place names, despite the processes of translation or transliteration which many of them have been through. Even in places like New Orleans or Baton Rouge where Spanish presence barely reached four decades the Spanish heritage is still very present. The most emblematic buildings of the *Vieux Carre* in New Orleans, such as the Cathedral, the Town Hall, *cabildo*, or the Pontalba buildings date from the Spanish period. In Baton Rouge the original core of the city is known as the "Spanish town", was designed in 1805 by the Spanish governor and maintains the Spanish tracing. Architectural remains in distant parts of the country

¹ <http://international.loc.gov/intldl/eshtml/about/about.html#track1> The project is part of the Library of Congress Global Gateway initiative to build digital library partnerships with national libraries around the world.

² Organized by the National Portrait Gallery, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior de España, the Smithsonian Latino Center and the Fundación Consejo España-Estados Unidos.

³ *El hilo de la memoria. Trescientos años de presencia española en los Estados Unidos*, Sevilla, Archivo General de Indias, 2008.

such as Fort San Marcos in St. Augustin (Florida), the Palace of the Governors of Santa Fe (New Mexico) or the missions spread throughout Texas, New Mexico, Arizona or California also speak of that Spanish past, which is still present in the existence of isolated nuclei of Canary Island culture in places such as Delacroix near New Orleans, as the result of the settlement of colonists of that origin by the Spanish governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Gálvez, in the seventeen seventies .⁴

Likewise, graphic testimony and numerous documents kept in North American, Mexican and Spanish archives evidence this Spanish past. For three centuries millions of documents were generated by ceaseless Spanish officials, who accumulated papers and left infinite materials for scholars as Roscoe R. Hill agreed long ago.⁵ As another American scholar noted, Spain is "to the American historian a country of attractive promise and rich reward".⁶ In this paper I will try to show how certain this assert is trough a rapid reference to the main Spanish sources for North American History.⁷ A quick and previous reference to the extension of the Spanish empire in North America and an overview of the remarkable bureaucratic structure developed by Spain to administrate those territories is needed to understand the logic of the records which are a reflex of their institutional origins.

Brief reminder of Spanish Presence in North America

Much of the territories within the boundaries of the United States, including Florida, Louisiana, Texas, California and a long list of other states were discovered,

⁴ Bibliography is extensive. Among others see: William R., *The Spanish heritage in America*, New York, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, Bureau of Information Pro-España, 1925; Foster G. M., *Culture and conquest: America's Spanish Heritage*, New York, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Antropological Research, 1960; Fernandez-Florez, Darío, *The Spanish Heritage in the United States*, Madrid, Publicaciones Españolas, 1971; Arias, David, *Las raíces hispanas de los Estados Unidos*, Madrid Fundación Mapfre, 1992; Fernández-Shaw, Carlos M., *The Hispanic presence in North America from 1892 to today*, 1999; Cortada, James W., *Two nations over time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977*; Balseiro, José Agustín, *Presencia hispánica en la Florida ayer y hoy, 1513-1976*, Miami (Florida), Ediciones Universal, 1976, or Cardelús, Borja, *La huella de España y de la cultura hispana en los Estados Unidos*, Madrid, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2007.

⁵ Hill, Roscoe R., *Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1916.

⁶ "The Spanish Archives and their Importance for the History of the United States". *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1903*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1904, vol. 1, p. 117. Hill Roscoe, *Sources of American History in Spanish archives, Proceddings of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History*, Washington D.C., 1937, pp. 257-265.

⁷ Of interest although not only relating to the States, Burrus, E. J., "An introduction to Bibliographical Tools in Spanish Archives an Manuscript Collections Relating to Hispanic America", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 35, nº 4, 1955, pp. 443-483. A good discussion of documents in Spanish archives for the history of Louisiana in Light T. Cummins, "Spaniards in Louisiana", and Gilbert C. Din, "Sources for Spanish Louisiana", in Light Townsend Cummins and Glen Jeansonne (eds.), *A guide for the history of Louisiana*, Westport Conn., Wreenwood Press, 1982.

explored and colonized by the Spaniards since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Juan Ponce de León landed on the coast of Florida on April 2, 1513 and baptized place as "Pascua Florida". Vázquez de Ayllón established a colony in what today is South Carolina in 1526, shortly before Pánfilo de Narváez starting from Cuba arrived to Tampa Bay and continued his expedition to the coast of Texas. In 1539 Hernando de Soto also from his base in Cuba arrived explored Florida, Georgia, Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana. Many years before the time when La Salle took possession of those lands for France in 1662, since 1540 Soto and before him Pánfilo de Narváez and Cabeza de Vaca had sailed the waters of the Mississippi.

The Spanish conquest and colonization of Florida did not occur until 1562. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés founded St. Augustin, the oldest city in North America, in 1565, which means forty-two years before the British established the colony of Jamestown in Virginia, and fifty-five before the Pilgrims arrived and settled down⁸. After having being under Spanish sovereignty for more then two hundred years, in 1763 Florida became a British possession in exchange for Havana, which had been seized by the British during the Seven Years War. The majority of the Spanish population left the colony along with many Indians.

Soon after the conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés in 1521 and after the heroic deed of Cabeza de Vaca Spanish authorities promoted from New Spain several expeditions to the north, looking for the passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Baja California was discovered in 1535 and Cortés took possession of La Paz. In 1542 the explorer Juan Rodríguez reached the island of Santa Catalina and San Diego Bay, and later Sebastián Cermeño explored the coast of California up to Cape Mendocino in 1595, followed by Sebastián Vizcaíno. In the early eighteenth century to curtail the possible expansion of the Russian and the British Spain made new expeditionary efforts and encouraged settlements on the northern border, occupying Alta California in 1767. Presidios, missions and towns were founded along the coastline due to the Indian aggression in the interior, such as St. Francisco in 1776. The expansion was based

⁸ Spanish Florida include Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Carolina del North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama y Mississippi and its northern limit in paralel 36° N. Tepaske, John J., *The Governorship of Spanish Florida: 1700-1763*, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1964; An important Spanish contribution in Sánchez-Fabres, Elena, *Situación histórica de las Floridas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII (1783-1819)*, Madrid, 1977. See also Smith, Gen Allen and Hilton, Sylvia L. (eds.), *Nexus of empire: negotiating loyalty and identity in the revolutionary borderlands, 1760s-1820s*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2010 and Sáinz Sastre, M. Antonia, *La Florida en el siglo XVI: exploración y colonización*, Madrid, Mapfre, 2012.

largely on the establishment of missions by the Franciscans after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Spanish were the first Europeans to explore the western coast of the Atlantic, arrived to Nootka in 1775 and took possession of the bay years later. The expedition of Alejandro Malaespina reached Alaska in 1791.

In 1539 Francisco Vázquez de Coronado had left Compostela (Mexico) and ran an extensive territory in search of the rich cities of which news had arrived. He explored the Grand Canyon, toured through Texas and arrived to the region of the Pueblo Indians in Arizona and the great plains of eastern Kansas. Subsequent expeditions were the prelude to the colonization with the first settlements among the Pueblos in the late sixteenth century. In 1610 Juan de Oñate founded Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico. Harassed by the Indians the Spaniards withdrew to El Paso, regaining control of the area of the upper Rio Grande by 1693.

Although the territory had been traveled by Coronado and other explorers like Pánfilo de Narváez in the first decades of the 15th Century, it was not until the last decades of the 17th century that the first missions were established east of Rio Grande. Interest in the region aroused when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi in the early 1680s and founded Fort St. Louis. In 1690s several missions and posts were organized in the Natchez River with not much success. Permanent occupation was undertaken to counter the French expansion from Louisiana in 1721 establishing the presidio of San Antonio and soon some missions, presidios and settlers from the Canary Islands. The possession of Louisiana in 1803 would mark the retrenchment of the east Texas missions.⁹

In other words, the Spanish advance from central Mexico was adding an increasingly distant border space to the Pacific, North and Northeast incorporating the territories of New Mexico and Utah, Colorado California, Texas territories which were gradually explored with subsequent settling of missions, presidios and ranches with populations arrived from Spain and from other colonial territories¹⁰. All these territories

⁹ For bibliography and American Archives, see Cummins, Light Townsend Cummins and Alvin R. Bailey, Jr., (eds.), *A guide to the history of Texas*, New York, Greenwood Press, 1988.

¹⁰ Literature on the Spanish north borderlands is extensive, among others see Bolton, Herbert Eugene, *The Spanish borderlands: a chronicle of old Florida and the Southwest*; Allen Johnson, editor, *New Haven, Yale University Press, 192*, Bannon, John F., *The Spanish borderlands frontier 1513-1821*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970, Weber, David J., *The Spanish frontier in North America*, Yale University, 1992, and *Barbaros: Spaniards and their savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2005 and Stagg, J. C. A., *Borderlines in borderlands: James Madison and the Spanish-American frontier, 1776-1821*, New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 2009.

remained under Spanish rule until the independence in 1821; all of them pertained to the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

The Spanish presence was extended to Louisiana and New Orleans after the cession by France in the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762 as compensation for the loss of Florida to the British. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 recognized the assignment of space located west of the Mississippi River to Spain, passing the eastern bank to England, a great transformation in the political map of North America¹¹. From that moment Spain dominated the entire coast of the Gulf of México from Appalache to New Spain. Perhaps the best-known figure of the Spanish period in Louisiana was Bernardo de Gálvez, who regained militarily Baton Rouge, Natchez and Mobile in 1780 and Pensacola in 1781 in West Florida.¹² The return of East Florida to Spain was recognized by Britain in the Treaty of Paris (1783).¹³ With the regained sovereignty over the Floridas and control over the navigation of the Mississippi River Spain gained control over the export trade from the continental territory.

Once France and Britain were excluded from the vast space, a growing confrontation arose between Spain and the New Republic, focused on the problem of the limits of the Floridas and the navigation of that great waterway, which led to the arrangement of 1795.¹⁴ Later by the Treaty of San Ildefonso, the emperor Napoleon obtained the retrocession of Louisiana but it was not until November 1803 that the its actual government passed to the French. Only a month later, Napoleon sold the territory to the United States, which since the cession claimed as pertaining to the territory ceded by France part of West Florida and Texas. After increasing problems and difficulties at last the Floridas were sold by the Treaty signed by Luis de Onís and John Quincy Adams in 1819 and ratified in 1821. Borders were then set between the States and the

¹¹ Rodríguez Casado, Vicente, *Primeros años de dominación española en la Luisiana*, Madrid, Diana, 1942. Holmes, Jack D. L., *Gayoso, the life of a Spanish governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1965.

¹² Montero de Pedro, José, *Espanoles en Nueva Orleans y Luisiana* Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispánica 1979, p. 37. Spain gave support to the independence of the British colonies, although historiography has not always recognized the fact, because in many occasions it has been written from the point of view of the Atlantic colonies paying no attention to the military episodes of the rivalry between Britain and Spain in the south. See, among many others, Cummins, Light Townsen, "The Gálvez Family and the Spanish participation in the Independence of the United States of América", *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, 32 (206) pp. 179-196.

¹³ Reparaz, Carmen, *Bernardo de Gálvez and the taking of Pensacola in 1781: a Spanish contribution to the independence of the United States*, Madrid, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1993.

¹⁴ *Ambivalent Embrace: America's Relations with Spain from the Revolutionary War to the Cold War*. Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 2000, p. 29.

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/redcsic/Doc?id=10018031&ppg> Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1907.

Viceroyalty of New Spain beyond the Sabina River and Arkansas and to the parallel 42°¹⁵. The treaty confirmed the loss of sovereignty over the territories of Oregon and Nootka and recognized Spanish full possession over California, New Mexico and Texas, lost when the Mexicans gained their independence from Spain in 1821.

Spanish territories in America depended directly of the Council of Castile (*Consejo de Castilla*) as the overseas territories were linked to the Crown of Castile. But soon within the structure of Councils or collegiate organs organized according to their material or territorial jurisdiction existing in Spain a new one was established in 1524, *Consejo supremo de Indias*, to address issues related to the newly acquired territories. With the Supreme Council of State and the Supreme Council of War the new one depended directly from the king¹⁶. In 1604 the Secretariat of the Council was divided in two: one to deal with New Spain the other with Peru. The Supreme Council of the Indies was engaged in organizing the administration and the appointment of competing charges in the Indies, dealt with military and war affairs and resolved all matters raised by the colonial authorities. The Council of the Indies understood in all matters related to the Royal Treasury and controlled the accounts sent by the royal officials through its Accounting Office (*Contaduría Mayor*) and oversaw the accounts of the *Casa de Contratación*, House of Trade, and the Consulates of Seville and Cádiz. Besides its governmental functions, it exercised judicial functions as the supreme instance in civil and criminal matters over Indian affairs. The governmental functions of the Council were exercised over civil and ecclesiastical authorities, due to royal patronage accorded to the kings of Castile by pope Alexander VI in 1493.

The House of Trade depended of the Council of the Indies. Created in 1503 it was the first administrative body shaped for the Indies. Everything related to the entry and exit of people and goods from and to the New World, the dispatch of the fleets, and the reception of funds both for the Crown and the individuals went through the hands of

¹⁵ Fernández de Velasco, Manuel, *Las relaciones diplomáticas entre España y los Estados Unidos: don Luis de Onís y el tratado transcontinental de la Florida 1809-1819*, México, Univ. Nac. Autónoma. F. de F. y L., 1965, and Romero Cabot, Ramón, *Los últimos años de la soberanía española en La Florida: 1783-1821*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, 1983.

¹⁶ Schäfer, Ernst, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias: su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la Casa de Austria*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Educación y Cultura; Marcial Pons, 2003, 2 vols. Escudero, José Antonio, "El gobierno central de las Indias. El Consejo y la Secretaría de Despacho", en Feliciano Barrios (coord.), *El gobierno de un mundo: virreinos y audiencias en la América hispánica*, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Fundación Rafael del Pino, 2004, pp. 95-118.

its officials.¹⁷ The House was moved to Cádiz in 1717 and gradually up to its extinction in 1790 lost its jurisdiction to oversee the India business for the benefit of the *Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho de Hacienda*, many year before the approval of free trade of 1778 allowing several ports of Spain to involve in the trade with the Indies putting an end to the monopoly of Cádiz.

With the arrival of the Bourbons to Spain in 1713 important reforms were introduced in the central administration of the State, such as the creation of the *Secretarías de Estado y del Despacho* of French inspiration to replace the Austrian collegial bodies. The *Secretaría de Estado y Despacho de Marina e Indias* was established in 1714 by Philippe V, along with those of *Estado, Justicia, Guerra* and *Hacienda*, which with diverse modifications in name and competences subsisted during the XVIII century. The new Secretariat of Marina and the Indies assumed the responsibilities of the Council of the Indies on war, finance, commerce and navigation, leaving the Council stripped of many of its functions and reduced to an advisory body with judicial ,and ecclesiastical functions, although it did not disappear until 1834. The *Secretaría de Estado y Despacho de Marina e Indias* was transformed into the *Secretaría Universal de Indias* in 1754 tAfter several changes disappeared in 1790 and affairs of the Indies were distributed among the rest of the Secretariats, succeeding the periods in which the affairs of the Indies relied on a single and specialized secretariat with those in which they were distributed among the different secretariats by matters.

In the discovered territories Spain developed a remarkable bureaucratic structure hierarchically organized under the control of the authorities of the Peninsula. Colonial territories were divided for governmental purposes into vicerealties (*virreinos*) and those into governances or general-captaincies.¹⁸ The viceroy was the key official in the New World. He was the personal representative of the king. He appointed local authorities, organized new expeditions in adjacent areas, established new populations and dictated ordinances, encouraged agriculture, trade and industry and ensured the smooth running of the exchequer, inspecting the activities of the royal officers (treasurer, accountant and factor) and the *cajas reales* functioning in the territory of his

¹⁷ Acosta Rodríguez, Antonio; Adolfo González Rodríguez and Enriqueta Vila Vilar, (coord.), *La Casa de la Contratación y la navegación entre España y Las Indias*, Sevilla, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004.

¹⁸ The viceroys were divided into provinces whose territory sometimes coincided with those of an audiencie; in that case the governor and captain-general himself was president of the court, as was the case of Santo Domingo, with the same functions as the viceroy in his area. Leading the provinces without auidencia there was a governor.

jurisdiction. As commander in chief the supreme command of the army, the fleet and everything related to the fortification and defense depended on him. As vice-patron of the Church, lieutenant of the sovereign, the order of regular and secular clergy and erection of churches also depended on him.

Initially two viceroys were established: one in New Spain and other in Peru, adding in the eighteenth century two more, in New Granada and Río de la Plata. The Viceroyalty of New Spain was established in 1535 shortly after the conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés. All the territories that today form part of the United States were part of it, along with the islands of the Caribbean and Venezuela. The Viceroyalty of Mexico expanded with new conquests and was divided into provinces or governorships. In the late sixteenth century: New Galicia, New Biscay, Low California and Cahuila. North of Rio Grande the governorship of New Mexico was founded in 1598. The province of New Philippines or Texas was created in the mid-seventeenth century to prevent settlements from French Louisiana. The Alta California was not colonized until the eighteenth century¹⁹, and the coast of the Gulf of Mexico was incorporated as New Santander in mid eighteenth century.

From a legal standpoint the Indies were divided into *audiencias*, royal courts which knew of civil and criminal trials, except those falling within the ecclesiastical, military and commercial jurisdiction, which corresponded to the ecclesiastical authorities, the captain general and the Consulate or commercial court. *Audiencias* also had jurisdiction in matters of government, in the sense that they were an appellate body against acts of the viceroy and advised him in certain serious issues. The *audiencia* played both roles in the territory that had been assigned, so the audience was the most important territorial division in the Indies.

The first *audiencia* was founded in 1511 in Santo Domingo²⁰. The territory under its jurisdiction extended as the conquest continued in Mexico and Costa Firme. With the establishment of an *audiencia* in México in 1527 and other in Santa Fe in 1549 the district of the *Audiencia de Santo Domingo* started the decline. After the conquest of Nuño de Guzmán of New Galicia, to the north west of México, in 1547 a new *audiencia* was created in Compostela, removed to Guadalajara in 1560. Later a few more were established adding to a total of fourteen, none of which are relevant to our study, except

¹⁹ Hilton, Sylvia-Lyn, *La Alta California española*, Madrid, Mapfre, 1992.

²⁰ Malagón Barceló, Javier, *El distrito de la audiencia de Santo Domingo en los siglos XVI a XIX*, Ciudad Trujillo, Universidad de Santo Domingo, 1942.

the last ones which were established in Cuba when Santo Domingo was ceded to France in 1795, first in Puerto Príncipe in 1800 and later transferred to Havana in 1808.

The most important for our purposes were the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo and of Guadalajara. The first one because Florida since its discovery and since the establishment of Fort St. Augustine in 1562 came under its jurisdiction until ceded to the British in 1763. Louisiana was also under the jurisdiction of the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo and both territories depended military and politically on the government and general-captaincy of Cuba. After the military occupation by the Spanish, West Florida with capital in Pensacola came under the control of the government of Cuba and the Santo Domingo audiencial district. When East Florida was returned to Spain in 1783 the Floridas and Louisiana formed a general-captaincy independent from the government of Cuba, the captaincy of Louisiana and Florida, which was under the jurisdiction of the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo until 1795, then Puerto Principe and Havana.

Due to its increasing territorial expansion the viceroyalty of New Spain was soon divided into governorates. In addition to the government of New Spain, governorates were created in New Galicia, New Biscay, Coahuila, New Leon, New Santander. New Mexico was constituted as a separate government in 1598 under the direction of Juan de Oñate its first governor and its capital was finally set in Santa Fe in 1610. Texas was under the government of Coahuila until 1722 when it was segregated and formed a new government, extending between Medina and Red rivers, with capital in the presidio of Adaes. The government of the Californias was established in 1767 and its first military governor was Gaspar de Portola.²¹

In 1777 a new military-political territorial demarcation was established in the border regions of northern New Spain: the commandancy-general of the Internal Provinces with capital in Arizpe. It was intended to give a unified military command to the northern provinces, improving their defense and promoting the expansion and colonization of territories threatened by the expansion of Russia, France, the United Kingdom. What today are the northern states of the Mexican Republic (Sinaloa, Sonora, Baja California, New Mexico, New Biscay and Coahuila, to which later were added New Santander and New León) together with California, New México and Texas were

²¹ Fuster Ruiz, Francisco, *El final del descubrimiento de América: California, Canadá y Alaska (1765-1822). Aportación documental del Archivo General de la Marina*, Murcia, Universidad, 1997.

placed under the commandancy.²² Judicial appeals from New Leon and New Santander were carried to the *audiencia* of Mexico, and also from Texas until 1779; from the rest of the Internal Provinces to Guadalajara.

Around the main Archives

In Spain a few large Public Archives concentrate the documents relating to the period of Spanish rule in America. Since the early twentieth century American scholars and cultural institutions so understood and undertook an effort to bring to light all this documentation. From then onwards a series of guides begun to appear still very valuable, such as William R. Sheperd's *Guide for the materials for the history of the United States in Spanish Archives* (1907)²³ out of a project driven by the Carnegie Institution. Since then efforts to obtain copies of the documents in the Spanish archives have not stopped and abundant materials have been reproduced and copies placed in the Library of Congress, and in several institutions in Florida, Texas and California, among others.²⁴

Today Spanish public files are easily accessible to researchers. Access to sources is greatly facilitated by the development of better instruments of description; however, there are enormous gaps and large volume of documents that have not yet been inventoried nor consulted. In recent years the Ministry of Education has been developing a project to popularize the documentary richness of the Spanish Public Archives creating the network called *Archivos españoles en red* (PARES), through which permits free access to catalogs and to thousands of digitized documents, rapidly

²² Haring, Clarence H., *The Spanish Empire in America*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 90-91. Navarro, Luis, *La gobernación y comandancia general de las provincias internas del norte de Nueva España*, Buenos Aires, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales, 1963; Velázquez, María del Carmen, "La comandancia general de las provincias internas", *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 27, N° 2 (1977), pp. 163-176. Gerhard, Peter. *La frontera norte de la Nueva España*, UNAM. México, 1996, Gerhard, Peter, *The north frontier of New Spain*, Norman and London, University of Oklahoma Press, 1993. Jiménez, Alfredo, *El gran norte de México: una frontera imperial en la Nueva España (1540-1820)*, Madrid, Tébar, 2006.

²³ Washington D.C. Published by the Carnegie institution of Washington, 1907.

²⁴ Robertson, James A., *List of documents in Spanish archives relating to the history of the United States, which have been printed or of which transcripts are preserved in American libraries*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1910. Ronald Hilton, *Handbook of Hispanic source materials and research organizations in the United States*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1956; O'Neill, Charles Edwards, "Catalogues and Microfilm: The Luisiana Project of Loyola University (New Orleans) in the Archivo General de Indias", in *Homenaje a Don José María de la Peña y Cámara*, Madrid, José Porrúa Turanzas, 1969, pp. 83-91. This project microfilmed around 140.000 of documents on Spanish Louisiana from the Archive of Indias. Beers, Henry Putney, *French and Spanish records of Louisiana: a bibliographical guide to archive and manuscript*, Baton Rouge; London, Louisiana State University Press, cop. 1989. Clayton Lawrence (ed.), *The Spanish experience in North America: Sources for study in the United States*, Ann Arbor Mi, Ohio State University, 1992.

increasing in number every day.²⁵ Another useful tool for the researcher in Spanish Archives is the *Censo Guía de Archivos de España e Iberoamérica*, an electronic guide and directory of archives which allows the immediate localization of the archives and their collections and at the same time serve as tools for their preservation and the diffusion of the documental patrimony.²⁶

1. *Archivo General de Simancas*

There are three large public repositories which contain immense quantities of documents relative to the history of North America: the *Archivo General de Simancas*, the *Archivo General de Indias* and the *Archivo Histórico Nacional*. Of the three, the one that preserves the oldest documents in general, is the Archive of Simancas.²⁷ It is located in the Castle of Simancas in Tordesillas (near Valladolid), a place chosen for its proximity to the Court. It was created in 1540 by royal decree of Charles V to preserve the archives of the Monarchy, and all the documents that were not necessary for the administration were to be sent to the Archive. Since then papers accumulated there by successive remittances. Most of the documents it holds date from the mid-fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, but you can find subsequent documents. Documents are classified according to the different organs of government and departments producing them and much of the papers refer to the old colonial territories.

The documents relevant to the history of North America are located mainly in the section called *Secretaría del Despacho de Estado*, which was the organ responsible for handling all matters related to foreign policy, later named Ministry of State and today Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With 3,159 bundles (some of them of 2,000 pages) which include, among other things, the reports of the Council of State (*Consejo de Estado*) and correspondence with the diplomatic and consular agents in foreign countries (private, public and reserved), as well as that of foreign diplomats and consuls in Spain. Among the papers of the Secretariat of State the series under the title *Negotiations of England and Embassy of England*, contains the papers emanating from

²⁵ <http://pares.mcu.es/>

Romero de Castilla y Perosso, Francisco, *Apuntes históricos sobre el Archivo General de Simancas*, Madrid, 1873. Francisco Javier Álvarez Pinedo, F. Javier y José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, *Los archivos españoles, Simancas*, Barcelona; Madrid, Lunweg, Ministerio de Cultura, 1993.

²⁶ <http://censoarchivos.mcu.es/CensoGuia/historia.htm>

²⁷ Romero de Castilla y Perosso, Francisco, *Apuntes históricos sobre el Archivo General de Simancas*, Madrid, 1873. Francisco Javier Álvarez Pinedo, F. Javier y José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, *Los archivos españoles, Simancas*, Barcelona; Madrid, Lunweg, Ministerio de Cultura, 1993.

the Spanish Embassy in London. Of interest is the correspondence of the ambassador Prince of Masserano to the Secretary of State Marquis of Grimaldi (1763-1777) and to Count of Floridablanca (1777-1798) in several bundles with details of the revolt of the British Colonies and Spanish position, where Masserano gives his views on the economic situation of North America²⁸. For the years previous to the revolution correspondence goes back to 1747, sent by Wall and Escarano. Among the papers of the Spanish Embassy in London, there are several bundles of documents referring to Florida from 1783-1794 relating to the establishment of the British in Florida and the extension of British commerce in the Gulf of Mexico (8135-8137).

Correspondence of Spanish Embassy in France, 400 bundles, ranging from 1705 to 1789 contains information over the cession of Louisiana in 1762, and holds the correspondence of Count of Aranda, the Spanish Charge d'affaires in Paris from 1773 to 1787 with Grimaldi and Floridablanca. Aranda had an important roll inclining Spain to intervene in favor of the colonies in revolt.²⁹ Apart from a Manual inventory of the papers dating from the time of their remission to Simancas in 1826, William Sheperd gives a quick insight of their content. Papers of both embassies relating to the United States have been catalogued a few years ago.³⁰

The series *Secretaria del Despacho de Guerra*, which contains the documentation generated by the Secretariat of War, created in 1705 assuming most of the competitions of the former Council of War The series has a group relative to America, in which files follows a territorial arrangement; those arranged under Cuba, Florida and Louisiana and New Spain are the most important. Florida and Louisiana papers running from 1779 to 1807 (bundles 6912-6932) include correspondence on the

²⁸ Some correspondence of Masserano has been used by Morales Lezcano in "Diplomacia y política financiera de España durante la sublevación de las colonias inglesas en América: 1775-1783", *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 26 (1969), pp. 507-568.

²⁹ Joaquín Oltra y María Ángeles Pérez Samper, *El conde de Aranda y los Estados Unidos*, Barcelona, Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1987.

³⁰ For this series see Paz, Julián and Ricardo Magdaleno, *Secretaría de Estado: Documentos relativos a Inglaterra (1254-1834)*, Madrid, 1947. In 1973 the Commission of Cultural Exchange between Spain and The United States of North America agreed to proceed to the accomplishment of an inventory of existing historical funds in the Spanish Archives relative to the relations between both countries and especially during the years of the independence of British Colonies. Fruit of that initiative was a series of 14 volumes inventorying documentation that direct or indirectly refer to this war, including the wide period from 1750 to 1820 and which today constitute a valuable instrument of access to the sources. One of the volumes by González Repesa, María Francisca, et al., *Documentos relativos a la independencia de Norteamérica existentes en lo archivos españoles V. 1. Archivo General de Simancas. Secretaría de Estado de Inglaterra (Años 1750-1820)*, 2 vols., 1976, lists documents from bundles 6915-8829 and 8250-8322, includes 4,981 references. V. 2 *Secretaría de Estado. Francia (Años 1774-1786)* deals with bundles 4593 to 4634 and 21 books of correspondence dating from 1774 to 1778, and presents 1,408 references.

revolt of Louisiana in 1769; documents on the conquest of Mobila and the British posts along the Mississippi, described by Bernardo de Gálvez; the conquest of Pensacola; treaties with the Indians Chacta and Chicacha in Natchez in 1792 over Nogales and negotiations with the Choctaw, Chicachá Talapuches, Alibamones and Cherokees a friendship and warranty treaty in 1793; judicial proceedings relating to Louisiana uprising prompted by some North American bandits in 1795 and many other items.³¹

Records belonging to New Spain (6952-7050), running from 1748 to 1802, hold correspondence of the commanding general of the Internal Provinces (1785-1800) and the governors of Coahuila and the Californias. The group includes correspondence concerning the province of Texas, 1782-1800, specially that of the governor Manuel Muñoz. Finally the records of the group Cuba also contain information, relative to the insurrection of Florida in 1795 an French prisoners etc, but you can even find correspondence relating to the war with France in the Buenos Aires group. Correspondence. Although most of the correspondence deals with military questions, there are also pieces relating to commercial activities.

There are also service sheets, following the same geographical organization. Louisiana and Florida 1787-1799 (7291-7292) and New Spain (7270-7279), as well as inspection on various locations including Louisiana and New Spain.

2. *Archivo General de Indias*

Archive of the Indies was established by order of Carlos III advised by his illustrated councilors. Juan Bautista Muñoz who was commissioned in 1777 to write a General History of the Indies soon felt the need to have the documents relating to all those territories together and suggested to the president of the Council of the Indies, José de Gálvez gathering all those that had to do with the government and administration of the Indies. The *Casa Lonja* of Sevilla, a sort of merchant exchange built in the sixteenth century for those engaged with the India trade, was chosen for the purpose. The building a work of the royal architect Juan de Herrera, was declared World Heritage by UNESCO in 1987. The first documents from Simancas arrived in 1785, remittances kept arriving both from Simancas and directly from the *Consejo de Indias* and later from *Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho de Indias* and from the subsequent

³¹ Alarios Trigueros, Milagros y Represa Fernández, María del Camino, *Documentos relativos a la independencia de Norteamérica existentes en los archivos españoles V. XI Archivo General de Simancas. Secretaría de Guerra: Florida y Luisiana (años 1779-1802)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1985.

overnment agencies involved in overseas governance. The archive holds the most important collections for colonial history on the whole Continent, 43.000 bundles installed in eight linear kilometers of racks, with approximately 80 million pages of original documents that allow to get into the day to day life of more than three centuries of history³². In opinion of professor Lewis Hanke “Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Archive is its seemingly inexhaustible resources”.³³

Most of the documents in custody in Indias originated in the activity of the Council of the Indies, whether in its role of government, the administration of justice or that of control of the Treasury. It is divided into 14 or 15 sections a few of which have papers of interest for North American history. Section I *Patronato* is a factitious selection formed with documents from Simancas, which archivists at the time considered most relevant to the history of colonization, Much of the stuff dates from the sixteenth century³⁴. It contains documentation on discoveries, expeditions, conquest and pacification (1486-1685); explorations to Florida (1527-1609) a bundle, and to the Californias (1595-1685), two bundles. There are some papers on the governance of Floridas (1559-1593), with documentation of the time of Juan Ponce de León, and plenty of material on St. Augustine with correspondence of their governors with the viceroy of New Spain from 1581 to 1692.³⁵

Section II gathers the papers from the *Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias* (Office of the Controller) overseeing and approving the accounts submitted by the House of Trade, the Consulate, the armies and fleets and of the Council itself, and also those submitted by the various viceroyalties and their judicial divisions, arranged geographically according to financial sections o *cajas reales*. It consists of 1,956 boundles, from 1514. By a mistake of the archivist the last group of accounts of the *Contaduría* from 1760 onwards were sent to Section of *Gobierno* of the Archive and

³² Torres Lanzas, Pedro, y Germán Latorre y Setién, *Catálogo: cuadro general de la documentación*, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, 1918; Torre Revello, José, *El Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla: historia y clasificación de sus fondos*, Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1929, and Peña y Cámara, José María de la, *Archivo General de Indias, Guía del visitante*, Valencia, 1958. See also Aiton, Arthur S. “The archive General de Indias”, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 4/3 (1921), pp. 553-567.

³³ P. 94, “Viceroys, Archivists and Historians”, in *Homenaje a don José María de la Peña y Cámara*, Madrid, Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1969, pp. 93-103.

³⁴ Torres Lanzas, Pedro, *Catálogo de legajos del Archivo General de Indias. Secciones primera y segunda: Patronato y Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias*, Sevilla, Tipografía Zarzuela, 1919.

³⁵ An account of its content in Fundación Histórica Tavera: *Guía preliminar de fuentes documentales etnográficas para el estudio de los pueblos indígenas de Iberoamérica*
<http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/tavera/espana/indias/patronato>.

distributed among the groups of files that build that section according to geographical content of the documents (see further).

The section contains the accounts of the *cajas reales* of New Spain, sent by the Cajas of Guadalajara from 1559 to 1742, and those of St. Augustine from 1563 to 1763 (25 bundles). These papers are a source of very detailed information on the economic life of these territories and everyday American life, prices, flows of money, financial distress... One can follow the arrival of the silver sent from New Spain *situado* to Florida and later to Louisiana, a transference of funds which was pivotal to the defense and administration of those economically underdeveloped areas of the Spanish empire. As every expense is accounted for one can get information on costs caused by the expeditions such as the one promoted by Miguel de Aguayo governor and captain general of Mexico to Texas between 1719 and 1722.³⁶

The documents produced by the Council of the Indies in exercising its function of Supreme Court of Justice for the Indies between 1516 and 1760 is located in two different sections: *Justicia* (1515-1664) and *Escribanía de Cámara* (1522-1761). Documents in the first one came from Simancas in 1785; the second, directly from Consejo de Indias in 1790, but both sections contain exactly the same type of documentation. Court documents of the Council from 1761 are preserved in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (see further). Both series contain the legal proceedings connected with suits taken on appeal to the Council of the Indies by the different *audiencias* and their dependent American courts or districts. The documents are divided into cases between parties promoted by the prosecutor or by private individuals, *residencias*, (judgment to which a government was surrendered once finished the performance of his post or official reviews), *visitas* (information on the actuation of an organism or an official) and commissions. These types of documents, which can be very voluminous, exceed the purely judicial sphere. The testimonial documentation accompanying offers much light on other issues, since it is largely private and particular.

There are several bundles of lawsuits and *residencias* of the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo and lawsuits, *residencias* and commissions of the *audiencia* of Guadalajara.

³⁶ Torres Lanzas, Pedro, *Archivo General de Indias. Catálogo de legajos del Archivo General de Indias. Sección segunda: Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias*, 1921, Sevilla, Zarzuela. For the case of Pensacola see Coker, William S., *The financial History of Pensacola's Spanish Presidios, 1698-1763*, Publication of the Pensacola Historical Society, IX, 1979, and Tepaske, John J., "La política española en el Caribe durante los siglos XVII y XVIII", *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*, Madrid, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1983, pp. 72-73, for a brief account of the *situados*.

One can find the official review of Menéndez de Aviles in 1577 or Francisco Gómez de Coronado, governor of New Galicia, 1544-1545; Pedro de Ibarra, governor of Florida 1610-1617; Andres Rodriguez de Villegas, governor of Florida, 1633-1635 and the following governors up to 1748³⁷. Similarly, there are lawsuits substantiated in the House of Trade, abounding those concerning masters of ships in claim of amounts for trips to Florida or payment of salaries for various services.

One of the most interesting sections is the Archive is section of *Gobierno* with 18,422 bundles. It consists of the papers of government produced by the Council of the Indies and later by the *Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho de Indias*. It contains all the papers of government of America from the origins till the early nineteenth century and includes half of the papers in the whole archive³⁸. The documents are orders, appointments, resolutions, reports, letters and memoranda and documentation drafting the Councils resolutions. The holdings of the section are again divided into 14 groups one for each of the 13 audiencial districts and one called *Indiferente General*. Those belonging to the districts of Santo Domingo and Guadalajara are obviously of most interest to North American history, but the Audiencia of México group also has plenty of documents on North America.

The group of Santo Domingo, with 2,691 bundles preserves documents for the history of St. Augustine from 1539 to 1700 (224-235) and Florida since 1615 to 1759 (833-867). The first group was sent from Simancas and the second directly from the Council of the Indies but the documentation is similar. A third shipment was sent in the nineteenth century with documents from the Council of State (since 1760) and from the *Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho de Indias*: Florida 1570-1604 (2528) and Florida and Louisiana related to Government and Grace and Justice 1598-1850 (2529 -2602),

³⁷ Peña y Cámara, José María, *A list of the Spanish residencias in the Archives of the Indies 1516-1775 Administrative, judicial review of colonial officials in the American Indies, Philipppines and Canary Islands*, Washintgon, The Library of Congress, 1955. A good referente to this series in Lázaro de Escosura, Pilar and Falia González Díaz, in *El hilo de la memoria, op. cit.*, pp. 48-52.

³⁸ Peña y Cámara, José de la; Ernest J. Burrus, S. J. Charles Edwards, *Catálogo de documentos del Archivo General de Indias (Sección V, Gobierno. Audiencia de Santo Domingo). Sobre la época española de Luisiana*, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, Loyola University, 1968, 2 vols. Includes the catalogue of 148 bundles (2528 to 2689) about 140,000 written pages relating to a great variety of aspects in 6,382 references. See also Medina Encina, Purificación, *Documentos relativos a la Independencia de Norteamérica existentes en Archivos Españoles: I: Archivo General de Indias. Sección de Gobierno (años 1752-1822)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Asuntos Culturales, 1977, 2 vols., with 2,232 entries from some 83 bundles scatered entre numbers 891 and 2,505 of Audiencia of Santo Domingo, and goes throug other 69 bundles already included in Peña Cámara's, *Catalogue*. Also lists 16 bundles from the Audiencia of Guadalajara group.

Treasury 1593-1831 (2603-2652) War an Marine 1592-1817 (2653-2664) Consulate and Trade 1768 to 1817 (2665 to 2670), Ecclesiastical 1598-1808 (2671-2674).

This documents are real orders, inquiries to the Council and Council rules on various subjects, as well as official correspondence with the authorities of Florida (1568-1780), and Louisiana: Unzaga, Gálvez, Miró, Carondelet, and with intendentes on different topics, where one can find information for the most varied aspects of social and economic life, from applications by the neighbors of Pensacola to have teachers sent in 1796 to records on the establishment of street lighting in New Orleans that year or detailed accounts of the Royal Hospital of Florida from 1781 to 1791 registering every single item consumed, prices, food rations.³⁹

The group holds abundant information on demographic aspects, registers or lists of residents living in Louisiana (2595 Santo Domingo),⁴⁰ settlements of different populations: peoples from Málaga and other Spanish regions such as the Canary islands, Catholics from the British colonies, French families, all of it result of population policies undertaken to develop agriculture and industry. There is also information of interest for the study of the growth of slave population under Spanish rule, with references to slave imports yet not very studied;⁴¹ documents relating to Indian policies

³⁹ Irene Wright expressed the vast sweep of the documents conserved in this section in this terms:

“Letters of Governors, Accountants, Priests,
Of Captains, Indian Chieftains, Wives!
Who reads these records through sees north to Canada-
That "Frozen Land"-and finds Marquette, canoeing south
On mighty waters of an unknown stream.
Port Royal, Charleston, Jamestown, Augustine-
Here their beginnings told.
Half hid in sand, there lies
The wreck of La Salle's ship.
Who reads, hears arrows whistle, feels the whir
Of good Toledo steel; sees Indians skulk,
Creeping at dawn to storm the palisades
Of unremembered posts on river routes and shores:
"My Governor, send help! We are surrounded,
Our munitions gone. Send help. "-
Sweated and torn, it lay against the heart
Of a bold friar, acting courier-
A scrap of paper here, that cry
Rings down the centuries: "Send help! Send help!"

These are the Archives of the Indies. This, The earliest history of your Florida”, “The Archives of the Indies at Seville”, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 6/1-3 (1926), pp. 5-8.

⁴⁰ See Acosta, Antonio, *La población de la Luisiana española (1763-1803)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1979. He provides an analysis of the population and the census records and shows the immense potential of these files.

⁴¹ Mido Hall, Gwendolyn, *Africans in colonial Louisiana: the development of afro-creole culture in the eighteenth century*, Baton Rouge, La, Louisiana State University Press, cop. 1992. See Andreu Ocariz, J. J., *Movimientos rebeldes de los esclavos negros durante el dominio español en Luisiana*, Zaragoza, 1977.

such as the Natchitoches⁴² and to Indian trade, with copies of letters of William Panton and their contracts for furnishing supplies to the post of Pensacola; relations of Panton and McGillivray and other houses with commercial business with the Indians. There are abundant documents relating to general commerce and the attempted by Spanish authorities to close access to markets in Louisiana to British and American trade.⁴³ One can find files on economic activities, such as setting of a factory for rigging and rope and request of free imports of hemp by Elis Winters of Kentucky, the setting of mills for economic development, agricultural, farming and ranching progress. Amounts of documents on land grants, files relative to the evacuation of Florida in the early eighties by the British, damages caused by the fire of 1788 or by the Mississippi floods, provisions of ecclesiastical bishoprics, letters and records of the bishops, councils (cabildos) and individuals are some of the documents to be found in this series.

There are accounts of the royal treasury of Florida for different periods 1784-1795, of Pensacola, Mobila 1780-1823, and public expenditure in both territories; files on paper currency and its consequences from 1786 to 1789, trade and smuggling, and different ways to increase tax revenues, overall debts incurred by the local treasury by lack of monetary flow from the beginning of the war to 1784. This are, in fact, the documents of the series of *Contaduria* erroneously placed in *Gobierno*. In short, all sorts of materials that can serve as a basis for the study of social and economic transformations operated in Louisiana and the Floridas under Spanish rule.⁴⁴

The group of Guadalajara has a vast set of relevant documents. Covering the years 1533-1832 it is formed by 592 bundles.⁴⁵ Contains the documents concerning all territories included in the Audiencia of Guadalajara jurisdiction most of them pertaining to the Internal Provinces: Alta California, Arizona, Texas and New Mexico. The fact that in some of these territories a great deal of local files were destroyed during the

⁴² Cortés, Vicenta, *Historia de los indios del sureste de los Estados Unidos durante la Segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*, PHD, Madrid 1956, written using this papers.

⁴³ Pablo Tornero Tinajero has studied the Florida trade with the United States in *Relaciones de dependencia entre Florida y los Estados Unidos (1783-1820)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1979.

⁴⁴ Aspectos de interés en el uso de esta documentación en Romero Cabot, Ramón “La sociedad floridana a través de los documentos”, in *Fuentes para la historia social de la Florida española (1600-1763)*, Madrid, Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano para la Cooperación Cultural y Educativa, Fundación España en USA, 1987, pp. 73-88. See also Acosta, Antonio, “Las bases económicas de los primeros años de la Luisiana española (1763-1778)”, in *La influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*, Madrid, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1983, pp. 331-380.

⁴⁵ García López, M^a Belén, “Los Fondos Documentales de la Audiencia de Guadalajara en el Archivo General de Indias”, *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, Guía del investigador americanista, 2010. Puesto en línea el 14 junio 2010. URL: <http://nuevomundo.revues.org/59941>. Consultado el 20 agosto 2012.

revolt of the Pueblo Indians and the withdrawal of the Spanish to El Paso in 1680 and that under the occupation of United States for several years archives were abandoned make the documents that were sent by Spanish authorities to Spain and Mexico of inestimable value.

The group is particularly rich in diaries of the Spanish voyages and expeditions to the North West coast from 1602 to 1758, and Spanish efforts to seek a foothold in California in the seventeenth century and also for the progress of Spanish advances and projects of colonization, the founding of presidios, missions and towns in Alta California, 1760-1787, Coronado expedition from Baja California to the mouth of Colorado River, expeditions to San Francisco Bay, Escalante expedition from New Mexico to Utah, expedients of the occupation of Gila, Colorado Country, or Anza expedition of 1774. It holds the correspondence of Viceroy Bucarely from 1766 to 1777, with Alejandro O'Reilly and Bernardo de Gálvez governors of Louisiana; reports on the situation of Internal Provinces by the commandant Teodoro de Croix (1781-1782), specially in relation to Indian warfare not only in Sonora and New Biscay but the entire Californias and Texas; a great deal of materials on Apache wars in Coahuila and Texas; notices on economic progress in those regions relating specially to mining districts, like appraisals of gold and silver mines, 1712-1722. Bundles 55-62 contain letters and records of the bishops of Guadalajara, 1547-1700, and there are files on missions in California, 1767-1775.⁴⁶

The group holds important volume of documents and accounts from the Real Hacienda of Guadalajara, 1764 to 1819, which bear upon the economic development of the frontier provinces. There are also accounts of the Royal Treasury of Rosario, Alamos, San Blas and California from 1773 to 1794 and from Internal Provinces, 1779-1782, proceeding obviously from the *Contaduría*.

In the Section of *Gobierno* the group of Mexico also holds documents of interest, such as the ones relating to the invasions of Apache Indians and their surrender, and establishment of presidios and missions in Texas, 1863; missions of the Franciscans in San Diego and other places, 1790-181; liquidations of accounts and sales of lands

⁴⁶ The best instrument of access to the these files is Chapman, Charles E., *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1919. He describes more the n 6,250 documents, corresponding to a total of 207 from Section of *Estado* and *Gobierno* (Audiencias de México and, specially Guadalajara). See also Chapman, Charles E., "Description of Certain Legajos in the Archivo General de Indias", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, I/2 (May 1918), pp. 209-230, I/3 (August), pp. 352-371). The archive of the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara is in the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco "Juan José Arreola", <http://www.bpej.udg.mx/catalogo>

belonging to the missions of California, 1766-1806; accounts of the expedition to Pensacola, 1781-1785; fortifications of Bahía del Espíritu Santo, 1684-1705 or on pacification and population of the coasts of the Mexican Gulf, 1736-1775.

Section of *Gobierno* also contains a group *Indiferente General* which holds documents that don't concern a specific territory, but to all the Indian provinces in general. One can find, for example, three bundles of documents relating Juan de Miralles, the Spanish agent friend of Washington,⁴⁷ and Francisco Rendón, also agent and future intendant of Louisiana (1780-1785); wartime dispatches and correspondence of Bernardo Gálvez on war preparations with details on weapons and fleets; relations of merits and services of military and civil in Texas, California and Florida, 1597-1832. It also contains much information on various expeditions in Texas and California as well as capitulations with explorers to discover and populate, 1508-1605, like those of Ponce de León for the discovery of Florida, Hernando de Soto, Menéndez de Avilés and others.⁴⁸

The section called *Papeles de Estado* has documents from the *Secretaría de Estado*, which had authority in foreign relations. It is composed of 105 bundles, again divided according to the geographical area or audience to which the documents refer, adding a group *América General*. In the group of Santo Domingo there are 19 bundles of documents for the Floridas and Louisiana. It consists of correspondence of the government of Louisiana and West Florida, the governor of East Florida and some other authorities to the Secretary of State (1791-1817) dealing with all sorts of topics. For example, documents relating to projects of the Society of South Carolina on the Yasu Rive, immigration in Natchez, in 1791, revolt of slaves in 1795; remission of flower from United States to Havana, 1795-1797.

The Audience of Guadalajara (1686 to 1818) holds papers relating expeditions to California, correspondence of Fray Junípero Serra, and documents on Californian missions.⁴⁹ It is the records of Audiencia of Mexico which contain an important group

⁴⁷ See "La era Miralles. El momento de los agentes secretos", in Garrigues López-Chicheri, Eduardo (coord.), *Norteamérica a finales del siglo XVIII: España y los Estados Unidos*, Madrid, Fundación Consejo España-Estados Unidos, 2008, pp. 143-169.

⁴⁸ References to some of these bundles in Medina Encina, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-60.

⁴⁹ Bermúdez Plata, Cristóbal. *Catálogo de documentos de la Sección Novena del Archivo General de Indias. Vol. 1. Series 1ª y 2ª: Santo Domingo, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Luisiana, Florida y México*, Sevilla, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949. In 1930 Irene A. Wright described this section in *Descriptive Lists of Documents Relating to the History of Louisiana and Floridas in the Papers of the Audiencia de Santo Domingo*. A copy in the Library of Congress. See also Medina Encina, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-65.

of files relating the South West, such as the reports of José de Galvez to viceroy Bucarely, 1771-1773 on the conditions of the Internal Provinces; correspondence of the viceroy of New Spain, the ambassador in Russia and the commander of the Internal Provinces, 1773-1829 on a variety of items: freedom of commerce between the provinces of Louisiana and Texas; expulsion of foreigners from Spanish territory, 1717-1721; North American ships in San Blas, High California and Veracruz; French expedition against Florida and Louisiana in 1791-91, among many others.

The group *America General*, 1700-1838, (86-105) is composed of the Secretaries of State's correspondence with ambassadors to Spain and Spanish representatives abroad. There are files on Russian expeditions from 1761-1775; Correspondence from the Spanish legation and consuls in United States relative to Texas (1829-1836), and there are abundant papers to study the war of independence of the British colonies and the Spanish participation.⁵⁰ Also contains diplomatic correspondence relating the independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.

Section de Ultramar holds some documents of last years of the Council of the Indies (most of the series), of the Secretariats of State and later Departments in charge of the Indias administration up to the creation of the Department of Overseas (*Ministerio de Ultramar*) in 1863. The name of the section refers to the organism that realized the remittance of the papers to Sevilla in 1887, though the documents do not correspond to this organism but to his predecessors. With its 880 bundles is the continuation of section of *Gobierno* from 1605 to 1868. The documentation is divided territorially. The Santo Domingo group contains documentation of Florida and Louisiana from 1717 to 1822, (bundles 506 to 513). There is a group of 180 bundles *America General*, where one can also find documents relating to North America. The files of the Havana Company are located here. This company had the monopoly of commerce with the colonies, and the contract of providing supplies to the presidio of San Agustín since its creation in 1740, having the compromise to transport every year of a number of families from the Canary islands. These files provide an insight into the long and complex activity of the Company and its conflicts with the authorities of St.

⁵⁰ Spanish historiography has recently produced works on the contributions though financial help and provisions of military equipment even before entering in war with Britain in 1777. The pre-1779 loans were given to the rebels directly by Gardoqui & Sons of Bilbao house, or taken in the form of arms and supplies from Havana shipped up the Mississippi from New Orleans

Augustine, and relationships with other business houses like Walton. Files for the Company can be found also in *Gobierno* (Santo Domingo).⁵¹

Casa de Contratación is the section which holds the papers produced by the activity undertaken by the House of Trade. It consists of almost 6.000 bundles with content related to all the activities of the House: those related to the trade and sending of goods between Spain and America; to the organization and control of fleets and of the navigation, and the control of the "passengers for the Indies", the civil jurisdiction in all cases related to companies of trade, navigation, freights with the Indies⁵².

One can find the registers of the departure of ships and arrival to Florida 1622-1779. The files of the House of Contracting allow to follow to the detail shipments of objects that annually were transported to the Spanish possessions, particularly to the port of New Orleans. In the same way, a series of passengers to the Indies, 1500-1790, permits to find the records of the travelers displaced to the diverse zones of the current North America, constant although not very abundant towards the Florida up to its transfer to Britain and very scarce afterwards. Numbers to New Mexico, California and Texas in the 18th century are very few, which means that migration to those areas came from other parts of the empire⁵³. A group of papers on missions relates to the Franciscans in Florida from 1610-1770 and Jesuits in California from 1620-1766. There are documents on goods of the deceased for Florida from 1562 to 1626 hardly any from New Mexico and California. There is an important bulk of files in relation to expeditions, of Narváez, Avilés, Soto and many others, with details on accounts, munitions provided etc. Also contain judicial autos or sentences for the XVI and XVII centuries. In 1790 when *Casa de Contratación* disappeared some of its functions were assumed by the *Juzgado de Arribadas*. This section has materials on missions in Florida and New Spain, 1717-1793; correspondence of Florida and Louisiana, 1717-1822 and accounts of the Infantry Regiment of Louisiana 1793-1805.⁵⁴

Papeles procedentes de Cuba, is a collection of documents formerly in the *Archivo General de la isla de Cuba*. It offers, in words of Hill, the finest opportunity for research in the United States History, specially for West Florida and Louisiana. When

⁵¹ Ventura Reja, José, *Abastecimiento y poblamiento de la Florida por la Real Compañía de comercio de La Habana, Actas del Congreso de Historia de los Estados Unidos. Universidad de la Rábida, 5-7 julio de 1976*, Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Madrid, 1978, pp. 113-129, uses *Gobierno*, Santo Domingo.

⁵² Torres Lanzas, Pedro, *Catálogo de legajos del Archivo General de Indias. Sección tercera: Casa de la Contratación de Indias*, Sevilla, Centro Oficial de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla, 1921-1922, 2 vols.

⁵³ Lázaro de la Escosura, Pilar, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁵⁴ Lázaro de la escosura, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Louisiana was handed to France in 1803, its archives were taken to Pensacola and from there to Havana on the eve of the cession of the Floridas to United States in 1819, although some of this records related to the sovereignty of the ceded territories and property rights should have been transferred according to the Treaty terms. Later, in 1884 Spanish government ordered the Cuban Authorities to transfer those documents to the Archive of the Indies along with files produced by the Spanish administration in Cuba. Around 1889 thirteen shipments arrived in Sevilla.⁵⁵ Many of the series of West Florida and Louisiana are complete, as the treasury reports or the correspondence of the governors and intendants of Louisiana, nearly half a million documents and 461 account and letter books. It is impossible to give an account of the documents included in this series of more than 954 bundles for Louisiana and the Floridas, ranging from 1580 to 1821, most of them from the eighteenth century. The *Descriptive Catalogue* of Hill details thousands of documents.

There are three groups of papers relating to the United States: *West Florida* (1720-1824) bundles 1-282 and 2322-2327, includes the correspondence of the governors of Louisiana with the captain general of Cuba, Secretary of Indias, the viceroys of New Spain, Louisiana bishops and consuls of Spain in America. Also holds correspondence of the commanders of Mobile and Pensacola and of the intendant of Louisiana. Accounts of the Treasury and of the Royal Store (*almacén*) of Pensacola, Treasury files of New Orleans and Pensacola (complete from 1783-1790) post of Nogales and Hospital of Pensacola, correspondence of the intendants of Louisiana and West Florida *revista* of the troops and militia of Apalache and Pensacola, files on civil, criminal and military cases.

The second group *East Florida*, bundles 283-478 and 2317-2321, include accounts of the Treasury of St. Agustin (complete from 1784-1821), Royal Store and

⁵⁵ For the history of these documents see Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. XVI-XXIV. See also *Catálogo de los fondos cubanos del Archivo General de Indias*, Madrid, Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América, 1929-1983 (Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-américa; VII, XII). Also Reyes Siles, Saturnino. *Documentos Relativos a la Independencia de Norteamérica existentes en Archivos españoles V. II Archivo General de Indias. Sección papeles de Cuba: correspondencia y documentación oficial de los gobernadores de Luisiana (años 1777-1803)*; V. VII. *Archivo General de Indias. Sección papeles de Cuba: Correspondencia y documentación oficial de varias autoridades de Luisiana y de las dos Floridas (años 1778-1817)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1981, and V.IX *Archivo General de Indias. Sección papeles de Cuba: correspondencia y documentación oficial de autoridades de Luisiana y Florida Occidental (años 1764-1819)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1986. The first one lists documents from bundles 1-40: the second from 41 to 100; the third from 101 to 149. For the papers left in Havana and still in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba see Marino Pérez, Luis, *Guide to the materials for American History in Cuban Archives*, Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1907. For the papers left in Havana and still in Archivo Nacional de Cuba, p. 78.

Hospital of St. Augustine; lists of *revistas* of troops at St. Augustin; correspondence of the accountants of St. Augustin; accounts of officials of San Vicente Ferrer, San Juan and Isla Amalia;⁵⁶ records of imports and exports through the customs of St. Augustin; records of Spanish settlers removed to Cuba in 1763; Treasury files of St. Augustin, New Orleans and Pensacola, and Royal store and Hospital of St. Augustin.

East Florida had a strategic and military importance and its life revolved around the needs of the presidio, with scarce exploitation of local resources needed to receive the supply to maintain the population and the fortifications of San Marcos or Apalache and the papers of this group give information on wages, prices of goods, workers, reports on the public works and their cost. Structure, arrival and distribution of the *situado*, economic and commercial activity of the population of Fort St. Augustine, demographics data, difficulties due to lack of money and poverty existent, the legal trade with Cuba and illegal trade, indigenous rebellions. There are plenty of the materials to reconstruct the day by day life in the presidio.

The third group *Louisiana and New Orleans*, bundles 488 to 706 and 2335-2346, contains accounts of the Treasury of New Orleans (complete 1776-1805), custom-house, office of the controller, and royal store of New Orleans. Also correspondence of the intendants of Louisiana and West Florida with the Secretary of Finance, governor of Louisiana, New Orleans and counters of Pensacola, mayor of Havana, Court of Auditors of Havana, commandants of Pensacola and Mobila, treasury officials of Pensacola, customs officials of New Orleans and commandants of the posts of Louisiana; accounts of the store guards (*guarda almacenes*) of Natchez, Nogales, Placaminas, Mobila and New Madrid. Records of the hospital of New Orleans Royal Orders, militias, service records of officials of Louisiana, and documents relating to the city of New Orleans.

The files are very rich in information for the economic history of the whole province. There are abundant documents to study commercial relations with Britain, British and Spanish colonies, the exports from New Orleans and later from Mobila and to other ports of the empire, especially to Havana, such as tar and riggings needed for the naval construction in the shipyards of Havana and the boards for the manufacture of sugar boxes. Files on the commerce of tobacco with Cadiz and Mexico or documents relating Pantón & Company, their commercial activities and their manifest of cargoes shipped by them can also be found. Also materials on the supplies for various posts, fur

⁵⁶ The importance of these files to reconstruct the economic life of East Florida was shown by Tornero Tinajero in *Relaciones de de dependenci, op. cit.*

shipments and vessels entering the Mississippi. The series contains records on commerce between different ports of the States and Spanish ports, and detailed information on the products on board. The main ports at the beginning of the century were La Coruña, Cádiz, Málaga, San Sebastian. As the studies of Lucena Salmoral show using the series of Indias. There are also records of the Intendancy of New Orleans, created in 1766, on budgets of the province, arrival of *situados* from New Spain or the selling of British properties in Pensacola and Spanish evacuation from Natchez when ceded to the United States.⁵⁷

Besides this exhaustive documentation from Louisiana and Florida, the section *Papeles procedentes de Cuba* includes documentation of the general-captaincy of Cuba, containing correspondence of the governors of Louisiana from 1764 and with the governors of Florida since 1783, also abundant correspondence with other authorities relating to military, political and economic issues. There are thousands of letters exchanged between Cuban governors with Ulloa, O'Reilly, Unzaga, Gálvez, Miró and others.

Finally a brief reference to the section of *Mapas y Planos* of the Archive, which is a factice one, the result of a systematic breakdown of documents from various sections.⁵⁸ It gathers figurative materials (cartographic, iconographic or graphic), and special documents nonfigurative either of textual character or samples and non-textual objects (textiles, scrap, metal, etc.). The section contains maps and plans of cities, fortifications and land grants of different geographic areas of the United States. Only for Florida and Louisiana, especially the latter, there are 245 maps and plans containing among others one of the houses of the seamanship in the port of New Orleans in 1801, of school projected in the district of Illinois in 1794, the oldest plant of Fort St. Augustine in 1580, the plans for the first Appalachian hospital in 1791, the limits of the Cherokee with the British in the eastern slopes of the Mississippi in 1793 or the map of

⁵⁷ "El comercio de los Estados Unidos con España e Hispanoamérica a comienzos de la presidencia de Madison: 1808", en *Actas del Congreso de Historia de los Estados Unidos. Universidad de la Rábida, 5-7 julio de 1976*, Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Madrid, 1978, pp. 171-241. The case of Río de la Plata is shown by Silva, Hernán Asdrubal, "Relaciones entre Estados Unidos y el Río de la Plata entre 1776 y 1810", *Actas del congreso de Historia de los Estados Unidos. Universidad de La Rábida, 5-9 de junio de 1976*, Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Madrid, 1978, pp. 152-167.

⁵⁸ Torres Lanzas, Pedro, *Relación descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, etc. de México y Floridas, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla, 1900 (Imp. de El Mercantil). 2 tomos and González, Julio, *Catálogo de mapas y planos de La Florida y La Luisiana*, Archivo General de Indias, Madrid, Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, Archivos y Museos (Ministerio de Cultura), 1979.

El Real de Minas sent in 1799 by the American Mosse Austin showing the grantee of a square league of mining land.

3. *Archivo Histórico Nacional*

The National Historical Archive is one of the most important repositories. The foundation of the archive was due to the initiative of the Royal Academy of History, which obtained an order from the government to deposit in its library the documents pertaining to the suppressed monasteries which belonged to the State. The en collection of papers was enlarged with successive consignments of the papers belonging to the military orders, ecclesiastical bodies and of the central organs of the State administration became obsolete and extinct with the reforms of the first decades of the nineteenth century. The series *Consejos suprimidos* contains some documentation belonging to the Council of the Indies that was not forwarded in its day to the Archivo de Indias.⁵⁹ These documents remained in the Council when it made shipments to Simancas and were subsequently sent to National Archive because of the lack of space in Indias. They belong mostly to the Secretary of the Council and the Escribanía de Cámara and are a continuation in time of the series *Justicia* and *Escribanía de Camara* of the Archive of Indias (see above). It consists then of appellations of the Casa de Contratación the Consulate of Cadiz,⁶⁰ and ultimately against sentences of the American audienciass. Altogether 1,325 bundles (20157-21482) with 2,800 records, but with little documentation currently inventoried.⁶¹

The content is varied. Among the lawsuits of Havana one can find cases such as the one against Juan Bautista Noyant, one of the leading figures of the revolution that occurred in Louisiana in 1768 whose property was seized, 1784-1785 (20854) or the case against William Bowles who attempted to revolt Florida against Spain, 1786-1792 (21067). Disputes between merchants in New Orleans or Philadelphia for debts, seizure of goods or funds, as the case of Honorato Fortier, of the commerce of New Orleans, claiming payment of the expenses incurred by the frigate *Victoria* in the Port of Nantes with the tobacco shipped in Louisiana on account of the Royal Treasury, 1794-1795

⁵⁹ Altolaquirre y Duvalé, Ángel, y Adolfo Bonilla San Martín, *Índice general de los papeles del Consejo de Indias*, Madrid, 1923-1926, Tip. de la "Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos", 4 vols., González Palencia, Ángel, *Extracto del catálogo de los documentos del Consejo de Indias conservados en la Sección Consejos del Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, 1920.

⁶⁰ Rodríguez Vicente, Encarnación, *Apelaciones de la Casa de Contratación y Consulado de Cádiz ante el Conejo de Indias. Inventario de la documentación existente en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid*, catalogues bundles 20197 to 20278.

⁶¹ Virreinato of New Spain, 25 bundles. Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 185.

(20833). One can also find some *residencias* of the governors of Louisiana, as Luis de Unzaga, 1785-1791 (20900) Carondelet (1797-1801); Esteban Miró 1796-1808 (20927 and 21055) or of other authorities as the governor of Pensacola, Arturo O'Nelly and his ministers and officers 1796-1802 (21225), or José de Orue and Gorbea, chief accountant of the province of Louisiana (21056).⁶²

But the most important section for American history is *Papeles de Estado*. Contains the documents generated by the Secretariat of State. The series continues the *Papeles de Estado* of Simancas and Indias. These papers range from 1500 to the middle of the nineteenth century, but most of the documents date from the eighteenth century. The group holds 8,754 bundles and 1,036 books. They include several series of diplomatic correspondence concerning different issues of the new Nation such as the one of the charge d'affaires, minister plenipotentiary and various Spanish consulates with the Secretary of State in Madrid notifying the events that occurred in the American territory. This series begins in 1785 and extends to 1833, provides information through the almost daily reports on political and diplomatic aspects, also on aspects of social and economic life of the United States.⁶³

The series *Embajadas, legaciones y consulados* (3,040 bundles) includes the diplomatic correspondence of the Embassy of Spain in the United States (3882-3902 and 5537-5568) spanning dates from 1740-1852. Initially Spain established a legation in the city of Philadelphia, and Diego Gardoqui was appointed charge d'affaires in October 1784 through 1789. The series contains his correspondence with the secretary of State the Count of Floridablanca (1777-1788)⁶⁴. It deals with many different aspects and navigation of the Mississippi, the question of Kentucky since 1784, the action of the Georgians against Natchez, or the accounts and bills of Gardoqui & Sons for their

⁶² The Archive has a section of *Diversos*, which contains a series of documents of the Indies. See Pescador del Hoyo, M^a del Carmen, *Archivo Histórico Nacional. Documentos de Indias. Siglos XV-XIX. Catálogo de la serie existente en la Sección de Diversos*, Madrid, 1954.

⁶³ For the content of this series see *Índice general de la sección de Estado*, Madrid, Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1973. A brief account, in Shepherd, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-53. The best is Gómez del Campillo, Miguel, *Relaciones diplomáticas entre España y los Estados Unidos según los documentos del Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1944-1945, 2 vols. Lists 9.600 documents from bundles 3882 to 3902 dating 1737-1819, including correspondence and expedientes. From the same author "Madrid Archives, Chronological Statement of Papers and Documents Relative to Louisiana in the National Historical Archives of Madrid (1740-1832)", *Louisiana Historical Society Publications*. IV (1908), pp. 121-144, and León Tello, Pilar, *Documentos relativos a la independencia de Norteamérica existentes en los archivos españoles*, III, 1 *Archivo Histórico Nacional. Correspondencia diplomática (años 1801-1820)*, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, 1976, Continues Campillo's catalog started in 1763, and adds bundles 5630-5641, 1801-1816, correspondence of Spanish Embassadors in the States during the two first decades of the XIXth century.

⁶⁴ Fernández y Fernández, Enrique, "Esbozo biográfico de un ministro ilustrado. Diego de Gardoqui y Arriquirbar (1735-1798)", *Hispania*, vol. 49, N^o 172 (1989), pp. 713-730.

supplies to the Indians, negotiations for the arrangements of limits between the United States and the Viceroyalty of Mexico⁶⁵. But much of the correspondence deals with commercial issues and the problems of smuggling⁶⁶. Special attention requires the correspondence of the Spanish plenipotentiary Luis de Onís from 1809 to 1819.

Within the series are also State documents addressed to the Secretary of State from the American plenipotentiaries in Madrid and consuls in several Spanish cities to solve various issues raised. For example, damages to American ships and commerce by long quarantines imposed by Spanish authorities in America, for example, in Florida and in the ports of Spain. But you can also find documentation on the United States among the papers of Spanish diplomats in other countries, such as Russia, given the interests of that country on the northwest coast of the United States, and especially Spanish embassies in London and Paris.

Apart from the correspondence and sets of reports on very diverse themes, the *Papeles de Estado* includes a subseries of documents relating to Louisiana and Florida⁶⁷. The group holds papers relating to the encroachment of French colonists from Louisiana over Texas and New Mexico dating back to 1712 and 1717, and correspondence of the Viceroy of New Spain on the subject for the years prior to the transfer of the territory to Spain. The cession by France, the politics of Spain during the insurrection that followed, dealings with the Indians then and afterwards, the scheme of adventurers and land speculators, the movement of western emigration and the relations of Louisiana with the trans Appalachian settlements of the United States. The collection embraces the correspondence concerning the cession of Louisiana, the latter settlement of boundaries between Louisiana and Florida, the encroachments of United States in the Florida region and the sale in 1819. The internal history of both Florida and Louisiana get a share of the series. It includes correspondence of the governors of Louisiana and St. Augustin on government and administration affairs, fisheries, shipping, taxes and duties, aspects related with vessels, arrivals, cargoes, pillaging, arrests, court cases,

⁶⁵ Samuel Flagg used this collection for his book *Pinckney's treaty: America's advantage from Europe's distress, 1783-1800*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1973, as did Whitaker, Arthur Preston, *The Spanish-American frontier, 1783-1795: The westward movement and the Spanish retreat in the Mississippi valley*, Gloucester, Peter Smith, 1962, used this series.

⁶⁶ Fulton, Norman in his study has focused in the commercial relations of the Floridas and evidences the importance of the series for economic history of the area. See *Relaciones diplomáticas entre España y los Estados Unidos a finales del siglo XVIII: relaciones económico comerciales*, Madrid, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Sección de Historia de América, 1970.

⁶⁷ Bundles 3882-3883, 3885, 3889, 3891-3893 y 3897 and 5537-5568 (1740-1852).

embargoes, prison of American subjects, protests against American intromission in Spanish territories and diverse disagreements.

Documents of the *Sección de Estado* were accompanied by several maps that were removed, as in Seville, and organized in as *Mapas de la Sección de Estado*. It has 50 maps of North America, including one on the territories acquired by the Virginia Yasou Company and South Carolina Yasou Company, dated in 1790, one of the south east with the lands of the Cherokees and the agreed limits with United States and England, sent by the governor baron of Carandélet in 1793, one of the confederation of Indian tribes of the Appalachian; a map that represents the new establishments of Kentucky, Cumberland and Franklin, or a map representing the zones of New Orleans destroyed by the fire of 1794, with a note about its extension or the one representing the treaty by which the Indians Chicaca ceded to Spain the barrancas de Margot on the Mississippi sent by Gayoso de Lemos governor of Natchez in 1793.

Other Archives and Libraries

Although these are the most important public archives with a large mass of documents for American history, there are other public repositories of interest. The *Biblioteca y Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores* holds an important group of manuscripts on the American Southwest. The origins of the collection go back to the Library-Cabinet created by the secretary of State Manuel Godoy. Among other documents, it has eleven volumes of records on the limits between Louisiana and Texas from 1610 through 1807, compiled by the Mexican historian José Antonio Pichardo under the royal decree of May 20, 1805. The documents contains descriptions of the first missionary establishment in the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* in the province of Texas in 1610, testimony of the founding of the mission of Juan Bautista del Rio Norte in 1701, with stories about the region of Texas and the customs of their inhabitants, their properties until 1807 and other information materials on various series of important dates for the reconstruction of everyday life in the cities, presidios and missions of the border, Adaes, Cuartelejo, Our Lady of the Pillar and some correspondence of de Croix, Bucarely or Riperdá among many others.

The Ministry of Foreign Office also has an archive dating back to the time of the creation of the *Secretaría del Despacho de Estado* in 1716⁶⁸. The series of

⁶⁸ Elisa Carolina de Santos Canalejo, *Guía del Archivo General del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores*, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1997.

correspondence with embassies and legations, keeps dispatches, letters and telegrams from Spanish ambassadors, plenipotentiaries and consuls and foreign representatives in Madrid. Documents previous to 1834 approximately were sent either to Simancas or to the Archivo Histórico. The papers relating to the United States range from 1831 to 1931 (bundles 1464 to 1491). There is also some correspondence with consulates, such as Charleston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Francisco, New York or Savannah. The documents of the Spanish representation in Washington, from 1778 to 1981, however, were sent to the General Archive of the Administration in Alcalá de Henares.

The *Real Academia de la Historia* also has quite a few documents scattered through its four or five collections of Americana: Juan Bautista Muñoz, 145 volumes; Mata Linares, 123, Garcia Figueroa, 32 and Boturini, 32. Salazar y Castro Collection contains information about the problem of limits between Louisiana and Texas between 1804 and 1809 (vol. II, fols. 5-86). That Royal Academy also contains 225 volumes from the Jesuits.⁶⁹ The series is related to the one that exists in the Histórico Nacional, Section *Clero* with 1012 bundles and 780 books, where it is possible to find some materials relating to their activities in North América.

Biblioteca Nacional is also an important research center. It has its origins in the Royal Library formed by order of king Felipe V in 1716. Converted into a National Library funds were added to the original by purchase, donation and incorporation of State owned collections. The section of manuscripts has a group relating to America, and holds some for North America specially Louisiana and Florida, among others "Papers relating to the expedition of Alejandro O'Reilly to New Orleans, and other documents on Central America, 1769-1784". It holds some volumes under the name "Documents for the History of Louisiana" (1769 through 1787), with papers of Bernardo de Gálvez. One can find references to prices of buildings belonging to the Crown in New Orleans; meetings and gifts with the Indians, effects and supplies needed by the people of Louisiana, the production for sale and the need to facilitate trade with Spain and Havana, timber and tobacco trade; propositions of commerce of the Uchice Indians with Spanish possessions; orders to the governor on meat supply. Reports of Arturo O'Nelly and Esteban Miró on the ruinous state of some forts of Louisiana;

⁶⁹ Rodríguez Moñino, A., *Catálogo de los documentos de América existentes en la Colección de Jesuitas de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1949, Legajos 3575-3596 y 7206-7337. Cuentan también con documentación de los jesuitas el Palacio Real y la Biblioteca Nacional. Existe finalmente el archivo privado de la Compañía de Jesús *Archivum Historicum Provincia Toletanae. Soc. Jesu.* in Alcalá de Henares.

propositions of a Bask and a French company for capacity, to promote the progress, settlement and defense of Louisiana, among hundreds of other items.⁷⁰

The *Archivo General de la Marina "Álvaro de Bazán"* is a national archive, created in 1948 as a unique historical archive to collect all archives of the Navy. It is placed in the Palace of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in Viso del Marqués (Ciudad Real), built in the XVI century and declared National Monument in 1931. The Archive custodies many of the papers produced by the different State institutions which have managed the Navy and maritime activities since late eighteenth century. Thus, it houses the Secretariat of State of the Navy after 1783, the Ministry of Marine nineteenth and the various ministries that succeeded it. It also has some of the documentation generated by the various agencies with jurisdiction in the maritime peninsula and the colonies of Ultramar⁷¹. Documents previous to 1783 are in the Archive of Simancas, and the part that is considered of a mayor historiographical and testimonial value was sent to the *Museo Naval*.

Documents useful for the history of North America can be found in various sections, such as *Curso y presas*, which holds everything to do with American ships captured and trialed for various reasons, indemnities; ships sacked by American privateers in the Antilles (2079-2187); files on North American schooners praised since 1793 in the coasts of Spain; requesting authorizations, as the case of the Spanish consul in Charleston in 1818, to arm privateers in the United States with the object of reprising Spaniards in power of the United States in 1818, to arm in New Orleans a small privateer "La hermosa criolla" or the one captained by Peter Gilbert among many other cases.⁷² In section *Expediciones a Indias*, with 80 bundles dating from to 1784-1839 there is information on maritime expeditions sent to Pensacola during the British blockade of 1806, and sending troops and supplies to Florida from Havana on several occasions, as well as the aid requested by the governor of Havana for shipment to Pensacola and Florida in 1817.⁷³

⁷⁰ Paz Espeso, Julián, *Catálogo de manuscritos de América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, Tip. De Archivos, 1933. <http://www.bne.es/es/Colecciones/Manuscritos/index.html>

⁷¹ Vigón Sánchez, Ana María, *Guía del Archivo General de la Marina Don Álvaro de Bazán*, Madrid, Instituto de Historia y Cultura Naval, 1985. Can be seen in http://www.portalcultura.mde.es/cultural/archivos/INSTRUMENTOSDEDESCRIPCION/Archivo_1095.html

⁷² Guillén, Julio, F., *Índice de la Sección de curso y presas, 1784-1838*, Madrid, Archivo General de Marina Don Álvaro de Bazán, 1953-1954.

⁷³ Guillén, Julio, F., *Independencia de América. índice de los papeles de las expediciones de Indias, 1807-1817*, Madrid, Instituto Histórico de Marina, 1953 and *Índice de los expedientes y papeles de la sección de indiferente del Archivo Central de Marina 1730-1794*.

The *Museo Naval* of Madrid has a collection of 1,031 manuscripts and over 6,000 nautical charts, maps and plans and 2.000 manuscripts. Part of the documents were collected by Martín Navarrete, who in 1785 was commanded by the secretary of State of Marine to locate and reproduce documents relating to maritime expeditions, gathering more than 2.500 copies confronted by Navarrete himself.⁷⁴ The Museum holds files on most of the maritime and continental expeditions carried by Spain in the New World, and most of the many that took place in North America, with hydrographical news, descriptions of the land, commerce, missions and towns. The collection of maps forms part of the *Depósito hidrográfico* created in 1770 to guarding and re-producing the nautical charts planes and other material assembled in the scientific expeditions of the Spanish Navy in the possessions of America and Asia and to promoting the study and knowledge of the hydrography for use of all the navigators.⁷⁵

The *Servicio Histórico Militar y Museo del Ejército* was established in 1988.⁷⁶ Among its sections are of interest those dealing with overseas, with the captaincy-general of Cuba and the Philippines, gathered in 1,634 bundles. It also holds cartographic resources, some of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Related to this Archive is the *Archivo General de Segovia*, which also has a section of overseas with 1,053 bundles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is a section of 900.000 personal files of the Army to lesser extent of the Navy related with all the territories of the Crown.⁷⁷

After Independence

Once Spanish sovereignty in the territories that today form North America came to an end, sources in Spain are fewer in volume. Both countries maintained diplomatic relations, very tense at times, whose study has been approached by many historians of different nationalities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, holds the papers for the history

⁷⁴ Guillén, Julio F., *Índice de la colección de documentos de Fernández de Navarrete que posee el Museo Naval*, Madrid Instituto Histórico de Marina, 1946, and *Repertorio de los MSS. cartas, planos y dibujos relativos a las Californias existentes en este Museo*, Madrid, Publicaciones del Museo Naval, 1932.

⁷⁵ Martín-Merás, Luisa y Rivera, Belén, *Catálogo de Cartografía Histórica de España del Museo Naval*, Madrid, Museo Naval, Ministerio de Defensa, 1990, and González, F.J., Martín-Merás, L. y Cano, J.M., *La Dirección de Trabajos Hidrográficos (1797-1908)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa 2003, 2 vols. There is a database: Cartografía Iberoamericana (CARHIBE), del Centro de Documentación del Ministerio de Defensa.

⁷⁶ *Guía del Servicio Histórico Militar y Museo del Ejército*, Madrid, 1993.

⁷⁷ *Archivo General Militar de Segovia. Índice de expedientes personales*, Madrid, CSIC, 1959-1963, 9 vols.

of this relations, much of which deal with commercial relations and the negotiation of commercial treaties⁷⁸.

Given the economic weakness of Spain, its insufficient industrialization and lack of financial means, there were no investments after Spanish disappearance from the area. Economic relations between both countries were mainly commercial and concentrated on several commodities. Spain became an important consumer of cotton from the southern United States sued by the industry of Catalonia. The other main product was tobacco from Kentucky and Virginia, which was consumed in State factories in Seville and other cities. Files on this traffic can be found in Archivo Histórico Nacional, in the section of *Hacienda* among the files of the *Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla*, today ceded to Archivo de Indias. Other products imported by Spain were foodstuffs and flower, exported from Philadelphia and then re-exported to the Spanish Antilles to deceive the commercial prohibitive duties that Spain was imposing to this North American product in her colonies, reserving the markets to the national output.

American fleet was of critical importance to procure the much of the trade between Spanish ports and trade from Spain to her colonies was also carried by American vessels. Some materials on the commerce and maritime traffic can be found can be in local Archives of the port cites in the papers of several merchant firms. Such is the case of Juan de la Trueba papers, deposited in the Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo in Santander. In the reconstruction of commercial relations, shipments, acquisition of American vessels information can be found in local Archives such as *Archivo del Real Consulado de Santander*, *Archivo de Protocolos de Santander* (notarial protocols) all in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santander*.⁷⁹ Similarly provincial records of places such as Cádiz, Coruña, Barcelona might hold similar documents.

Anyhow after independence relations between Spain and the United States focused in the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean.⁸⁰ Commercial relations had been increasing since the end of the eighteenth century, when traffic with neutral powers was authorized, and grew fast until the United States became the consumer of the 80% of Cuban sugar. Although literature on the interests of United States and Cuba have been

⁷⁸ See Béquer, Jerónimo, *Historia de las relaciones exteriores de España durante el siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1924.

⁷⁹ Barreda, Fernando, *El comercio marítimo entre los Estados Unidos y Santander (1778-1829)*, Santander, Editorial Cantabria, 1950.

⁸⁰ Still one of the best Portel Vila, Herminio, *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España*, La Habana, 1938-1941, 4 vols.

object of attention, still Spanish collections hold unexplored papers for the period. The most important repository is the section of Ultramar of the *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, with 6,087 legajos and 885 books. The series holds the documentation transferred in 1900 by the *Ministerio de Ultramar*, when it disappeared after the loss of the last colonies. It was created in 1863 but the series holds the paper of the agencies which proceeded in managing overseas business from approximately from 1833. It is the continuation of the series of the same title in the *Archivo General de Indias* (see above).

All this papers permit the reconstruction of the social, political and economic history of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.⁸¹ The documents for each territory are divided into Government, Finance, Grace and Justice and Fomento. In all them it is possible to find information on the United States and their commercial and political interests and to trace the activities of North American citizens in all those territories all along the century. There are inventories of the records for Puerto Rico in five volumes published by M^a Teresa de la Peña Marazuela, in the case of Cuba and the Philippines one must still use the registers books kept by the officials of the Ministry. Anyhow much of the collection is currently being digitalised and an important volume of the documents can be seen in the already mentioned PARES network.

⁸¹ There are five volumes with the inventories of the records for Puerto Rico, published by M^a T. de la Peña Marazuela, in the case of Cuba one must use the registers books with the entries by the officials of the Ministry.