

Migratory Movements between Spain and the New World and the Leyes Nuevas: Passengers in both Directions in 1543-1544

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The analysis of passenger traffic from Seville to the New World in 1543-1544, when the Leyes Nuevas were issued, illustrates the dynamics of emigration in a period which hitherto has not been studied. The monarch's legislative intervention affected migration movements in those two years, and so, although in the sixteenth century as a whole there were more Andalusians than any other emigrants, in 1543-1544 there were more Castilians. For the first time in studies on the subject, the composition, origins and destinations of the outward migration flow are presented, together with details of movement from the Indies to Spain in 1544. The comparison between repatriations and expatriations shows that outward migratory flows from Spain to America and the inwards flows from America to Spain were fairly evenly balanced, a situation for which the exceptional events of those years was responsible. Lastly, it is shown that, without any knowledge of the migration balance, it is impossible to evaluate to what extent Spanish emigration to the Indies was a negative factor for the demographic development of those regions, which contributed the most to the peopling of America.

1. Introduction

Although the process of colonising and populating the New World was possible only because of peoples' continuous travelling backwards and forwards, the migratory movements triggered by the discovery of the Americas have hitherto been studied almost exclusively in one direction only: from Spain to America. Thus a lot of research has been published, at least on the sixteenth century, concerning the number of emigrants, where they came from and where they went to, while very little attention has been paid to those

who returned home¹. This is a curious fact, given that it is thanks to Columbus's return that Europeans came to know about the discovery of the New World. And how could trade have developed if merchants did not go backwards and forwards continuously? And how would Seville businessmen have been informed about the possibilities of the American market? And how could the authorities have been acquainted with the requirements of the overseas territories? Lastly, many people who had emigrated to America returned to their home country, either for a visit or to spend the last years of their life there. And so, alongside emigration to the New World, we find an opposite flow returning to the Old World, a return which could be temporary or permanent. Thus the migration flow from Spain to America from the earliest days was made up of real emigrants who intended to settle there, and of people who were going to America for a limited period for reasons of government or trade or some other reason, and, lastly, of those people who were going back to America after a stay in Spain.

By analysing passenger movements from Seville to the New World in 1543 and 1544, the years of the publication and the application of the *Leyes Nuevas*, this article will try to illustrate the characteristics of emigration to America in a period which has hitherto been ignored by historians. We shall try to study the composition, the places of origin and the destinations of the outward flow, and to consider the problems posed by the movement from the Indies to Spain, for which we have been able to reconstruct the entity, the places of departure and arrival for 1544. Most importantly, by comparing the outward flow with the return flow, we have been able to establish an approximate migratory balance, both for Spain and for America; without even an approximate idea of this balance, it is impossible to assess to what extent Spanish emigration to the Indies was negative for the demographic development of those regions which gave the greatest contribution to populating America.

The sources available for the period do not show us which passengers

¹ For the sixteenth century, see Altman I., *Emigrants and Society. Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century*, (Berkeley 1989), pp. 247-284. Altman I., *Transatlantic ties in the Spanish empire, 1560-1620*, (Stanford 2000). For the seventeenth century see Auke P. Jacobs, *Los movimientos migratorios entre Castilla e Hispanoamérica en el Reinado de Felipe III, 1598-1621*, (Amsterdam-Atlanta 1995).

moved to the New World permanently and which for a limited time only, nor is it possible to know why some passengers returned to Spain. Scholars doing research on Spanish emigration to America in the sixteenth century generally consider every passenger an emigrant. Despite the fact that the two concepts are not totally assimilatable, this identification has enabled scholars to throw light on the peopling of America, and so in this article the two terms – passenger and emigrant – will be considered equivalent.

2. The *Catálogo de Pasajeros* and research on Spanish emigration to the Indies in the sixteenth century

Interest in research on Spanish emigration to America was aroused in the 1940s by the publication of the first three volumes of the *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*² This work, based on the lists of passengers who emigrated legally to the new territories,³ constitutes the principal source for research on the migratory flow from Spain to America. And so, even though supplemented by other sources, the *Catálogo* was the basis for Boyd-Bowman's monumental work on the regional origins of the New World *pobladores*.⁴ His research

² Bermúdez Plata C., *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias durante los siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII*, vol. I (1509-1534), vol. II (1535-1538), vol. III (1539-1544), (Seville 1940-1946).

³ Until now, very little attention has been given to illegal emigration: see Friede J., 'Algunas observaciones sobre la realidad de la emigración a América en la primera mitad del siglo XVI', *Revista de Indias*, (1952) 7:49, pp. 467-496, and Jacobs A.P., 'Pasajeros y polizones. Algunas observaciones sobre la emigración española a Indias durante el siglo XVI', *Revista de Indias*, (1983) 43:172, pp. 439-479. Jacobs, A.P., "Legal and Illegal emigration from Seville, 1550-1650", in Altman I., and Horn J., (eds.), "To make America". *European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, University of California Press, (Berkeley 1991), 59-84.

⁴ Boyd-Bowman P., *Índice geobiográfico de 40,000 pobladores de América en el siglo XVI*, vol. I: "La etapa antillana, 1493-1519", (Bogotá 1964); vol. II 1520-1539, (Mexico 1968). A second edition was published in 1985 in Mexico City with the title *Índice geobiográfico de más de 56,000 pobladores de la América hispánica (1493-1519)*.

—, "Regional origins of the earliest Spanish colonists in America" in *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, (New York-London 1956).

—, 'La emigración peninsular a América, 1520-1539', *Historia Mexicana*, (1967), 13:50, pp. 165-192.

—, 'La procedencia de los españoles de América, 1540-1559', *Historia Mexicana* (1967), 17:65, pp. 37-71.

—, "New directions and methods in historical investigation" in *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre historia de México*. Memorias de la 111 Reunión de Historiadores Mexicanos y Norteamericanos ... 1969, (Mexico 1971), pp. 624-629.

—, 'La emigración peninsular a la Nueva España hasta 1580', *Humanitas. Anuario del Centro de Estudios Humanísticos*, (1972), vol. XIII, pp. 341-352.

shows that Andalusia was the native region for most emigrants to Spanish America in the sixteenth century. Always basing their calculations on the *Catálogo*, researchers have attempted to identify the number of people who crossed the Atlantic to settle in America, although until now they have not agreed on a final figure. Ramón Carande⁵ quotes a figure of 21,365 as the minimum number of passengers for the New World between 1509 and 1559. After analysing the figures found in the *Catálogo* for those presumably well-documented years, R. Konetzke⁶ is of the opinion that every year between 2,000 and 3,000 people set out for the New World, making a total of about 300,000 in the whole century.

It is clear that the *Catálogo de Pasajeros* is an important source for studies on Spanish emigration to the New World. But its usefulness is limited by the fact that not every year is recorded, and some years are recorded only partially.⁷ And so studies on emigration and the populating of the New World, based on sources concerning departures from Spain, such as the *Catálogo*, have not considered the flow back to Europe⁸.

A similar line is followed in books that deal with a single aspect of the migratory movement, such as those written by Borges Moran⁹ who studies the emigration of the clergy to America. He analyses only regular

—, "La emigración española a América, 1560-1579" in *Studia Hispanica in Honorem R. Lapesa*, vol. II, (Madrid 1974), pp. 123-147.

—, 'Patterns of Spanish emigration to the New World (1493-1580)', *The Americas*, (1976) 33:1, pp. 78-95.

—, 'Spanish emigrants to the Indies, 1595-1598: A profile', in Chiapelli, F., ed., *The First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old*, vol. II, (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London) 1976, pp. 723-735.

⁵ Carande Tovar R., *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, ed. abr., vol. I, (Barcelona 1975), pp. 24-25.

⁶ Konetzke, R., *Die Indianerkulturen Altamerikas und die spanische-portugiesische Kolonial-herrschaft*, (Frankfurt am Main 1965), p. 70.

⁷ The *Catálogo de Pasajeros* for the period 1509-1559 has some large gaps. There are no data for the years 1518; 1520-1525; 1531-1532; 1543-1547. A rather reduced number of passengers is recorded for the years 1541-1542 and 1548-1553. Furthermore, as a general rule the names of those who were most important for American history are not recorded.

⁸ Viven P.A., Vega P., Oyanburu J., *Historia general de la emigración española a Iberoamerica*, 2 vols. Historia 16, (Madrid 1992). Martínez C., *La emigración española a America (1492-1824)*, Fundación Archivo de Indianos, (Colombres, Asturias 1994). Sanchez Alborno N., "The First Transatlantic Transfer: Spanish migration to the New world, 1493-1810", in Canny N., *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration, 1500-1806*, (Oxford 1994).

⁹ Borges Morán P., *Envío de Misioneros a América durante la Epoca española*, (Salamanca 1977).

clergy travelling at the *Real Hacienda's* expense, without taking into account the laity or the clergy who went to America independently, and he never mentions those who returned to Spain to attend the General Chapters of their order and for all the matters concerning New World evangelisation. Borges Moran's book, like those mentioned above, offers too static an image of the migratory movement. There is no doubt that the colonisation of America was possible only because the Spanish settled in the conquered territories, but colonisation was directed by the political, economic and religious authorities of the mother country who required continuous information obtainable only from those who came back from America.

3. Passengers in 1543 and 1544

The discovery of some passenger lists from 1543 and 1544 held in the *Archivo de Indias* in Seville brings us to the heart of the matter. With the lists of passengers from Spain to America for both those years¹⁰, we can fill a gap in documentation for one of the periods which is not well covered by the *Catálogo de Pasajeros*.¹¹ Similarly, two lists of passengers who travelled back to Spain in 1544¹² show us the other half of the migration flow: the movement back to Spain.

The first list contains the names of those passengers who on 3 November 1543 at Sanlúcar de Barrameda set sail in 49 ships for various destinations in the Indies. This was about 2/3 of the total passenger movements because 72 ships set off from Spain to America that year.¹³ For 1544 we have the passenger lists for 17 ships out of a total of 22 that set sail in July.¹⁴ As far as movement in the opposite direction is concerned, in July 1544 a fleet returned from Santo Domingo, and we have the passenger lists for it. Chaunu mentions 14 ships that returned from Santo Domingo, 11 of which came directly from

¹⁰ The 1543 passenger list is kept in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville (AGI), *Indiferente General*, leg. 1801; the 1544 list in leg. 2048.

¹¹ We refer to the two years 1543 and 1544, not documented in the *Catálogo*. See note 6.

¹² AGI, *Indiferente General*, leg. 2048.

¹³ Chaunu P. and H., *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. II, (Paris, 1955-1959), pp. 348-357.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 364-367.

there and 3 of which stopped off there on their journey from Tierra Firme, Nueva España or Nombre de Dios. The list of the fleet that returned from the Indies in November 1544 names the passengers of about 36 ships, but a total of 54 ships arrived in Spain that year.¹⁵

Neither the 1543 lists nor the 1544 lists listed all the passengers who set sail and whom we know about from other sources. The 1543 list does not mention the first Viceroy of Peru, Blasco Nuñez Vela, and the 50 *criados* he was allowed to take with him, nor does it mention the *licenciado* Cerrato, *juez de residencia* of the Santo Domingo *Audencia*.¹⁶ The names of 9 Franciscan friars and 14 Dominicans mentioned by Borges Moran are omitted¹⁷, as are the 12 friars and 2 bishops found in other sources.¹⁸ In the outward bound passenger lists of 1544, the names of some of the clergy are missing: among them, Bartolomé de Las Casas and dona Maria de Toledo, the widow of Diego Colón, Christopher Columbus' heir.¹⁹ All in all, 48 Dominican friars set sail, and for some of them we know from which monastery they came.²⁰ Borges Moran adds another two Franciscans, but does not specify the number of Dominicans, stating only that they were bound for Guatemala.²¹ If we add these omissions to the total number of passengers in both the outward bound lists for 1543 and 1544, we have a total of 1,055 passengers in 1543 and 630 in 1544. Compared with the number of emigrants Boyd-Bowman gives for the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 368-371. In these two years, crossings to and from the New World took place almost entirely in convoy in order to stand up to possible attacks from French pirates. Because of the war with France, from 9 August 1543 the Casa de la Contratación had allowed only medium-sized and large vessels to cross the Atlantic, in convoys of at least ten ships and escorted by an armed galleon. These convoys set sail twice a year. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

¹⁶ AGI, *Contaduría*, leg. 1050, ramo 1.

¹⁷ Borges Morán P., *op. cit.*, p. 484.

¹⁸ We refer to the registers of the Casa de la Contratación kept in the Archivo de Indias. For the years 1543 and 1544 we have consulted leg. 274 of *Contaduría*.

¹⁹ Giménez Fernández M., *Dos ensayos polémicos sobre los restos de Cristóbal Colón en Sevilla*, (Seville 1954), pp. 120 ss.

²⁰ Martínez J.L., *Pasajeros a Indias*, Madrid, 1983, 235-278. Appendix II includes part of the *Diario del Viaje de Salamanca a Ciudad Real (1544-1545)* by Fray Tomás de la Torre, one of the Dominican friars on board one of the ships of this fleet. Fray Tomás says that a total of 27 vessels, consisting of *navíos grandes*, caravels and a convoy galleon, set sail from Sanlúcar de Barrameda.

²¹ Borges Morán, P., *op. cit.*, p. 484.

period between 1540 and 1559, a total of 9,044 passengers,²² these two years account for more than 18%, a percentage worthy of note because he almost certainly has not taken into account most of these emigrants.

As far as the two fleets that returned to Spain are concerned, no sources have been found that add any further passengers to the ones already listed. In 1544, 579 people returned to Spain, almost as many as set out from Spain to America that year.

A final observation concerns the distribution of passengers on the 102 ships (66 made the outward journey and 36 the journey back to Europe) we are examining. The data at our disposal cast a doubt on M. Möerner's theory that there was a relationship between the ships' tonnage and the number of passengers, a theory on which he bases his calculations concerning the number of emigrants before 1650.²³ Using the Chaunus' data for the number of voyages to the Indies and the average tonnage of the ships, Möerner has calculated that 85,671 people emigrated between 1506 and 1560, and 250,000 by the end of the sixteenth century. However, at least for the 1543 and 1544 voyages, the number of passengers bears no relation to the ships' tonnage.

4. The administration of the American territories and emigration

The list of passengers travelling to America in 1543 shows how the administration of the empire contributed to populating the New World: most posts were filled by personnel from Spain who were almost always accompanied by members of their family or by *criados* (servants or trustworthy family retainers).

The year analysed is without any shadow of doubt atypical because of the many officials who crossed the Atlantic all at the same time (together with their retinue they account for about 10% of all passengers), but it is a year that illustrates this type of emigration very well. These officials went to the New World after the publication of the *Leyes Nuevas*

²² Boyd-Bowman P., 'La procedencia de los españoles de América, 1540-1559', *art. cit.*, 39.

²³ Möerner M., 'La emigración española al Nuevo Mundo antes de 1810. Un informe del estrado de la investigación', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, (1975), Vol. 32, pp. 14-15.

in 1542, Emperor Charles V's most complex and systematic legislation in the government of the overseas' territories.²⁴ As well as establishing the *Consejo de Indias'* tasks and the procedures whereby it was to function, the *Leyes Nuevas* gave instructions for the colonial *Audiencias* and their jurisdiction, founding *ex novo* the *Audencia de los Confines* (Nicaragua and Guatemala), and transferring the Panama *Audiencia* to Lima. The Viceroyalty of Peru was also created and orders concerning public finance were given. Most importantly, measures were taken in the *indios'* favour, abolishing the *encomienda* system. These orders affected passenger movement from America to Spain too, because many people went to Spain to protest about the new laws or for reasons connected with them.

Blasco Nuñez Vela, *Capitán de Armada*, who had distinguished himself in various voyages to the New World, was chosen for the high office of Viceroy of Peru. He appears in our list with a large retinue. There is no doubt that his brother Francisco Velázquez and seven members of his family and servants who are named accompanied him, but the source mentions 50 *criados* whom the Viceroy appears to have taken with him and whom he was not obliged to register.

The judges (*oydores*) of the *Audiencia* which had just been founded in Lima travelled on this fleet of ships: *doctor* Lison de Tejada, *licenciado* Ortiz de Zárate and *licenciado* Álvarez. Lison de Tejada was accompanied by his wife, doña Catalina de Vergara, and Ortiz de Zárate by his wife, dona Catalina de Salazar, and by their three children. An example of the number of people that could travel with an office holder may be seen in Agustín de Zárate's retinue.²⁵ Although he was better known as a chronicler, de Zárate on this occasion was sent to audit the accounts kept by the officials of the Peruvian *Real Hacienda*. His relatives, Polo de Ondegardo, Diego de Zárate and Juan de Bayona, travelled with him, as did Antón and Cristóbal Nieto de Antequera, two brothers who were

²⁴ We have used the edition by Millares Carlo A., *Leyes Nuevas de Indias*, (Mexico 1952), with an extensive introductory study.

²⁵ Data from this source has been more widely studied in Hampe Martínez T., 'Agustín de Zárate: Precisiones entorno a la vida y obra de un cronista indiano', *C. M. H. L. B. Caravelle* (1985) 45, pp. 21-36.

public scribes (*escribanos publicos*), and Juan Antonio Musetti, an Italian, brother of Juan Pedro Musetti²⁶ who was a printer in Medina del Campo, who took advantage of his friendship with Agustín de Zárate to buy and sell books in Peru.

Also on board this fleet were judges from the new *Audiencia de los Confines*, the *licenciados* Diego de Herrera, Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones and Juan Rogel. Diego de Herrera and Juan Rogel are recorded as each being accompanied by a *criado*, but we can be certain that such high-ranking officials had a larger retinue. Other passengers for Central America included the Governor of Nicaragua, Rodrigo de Contreras, with his son, and the *veedor* of Cabo de Honduras, Pedro de Fuentes Mañrique, with two children. There is no mention of a retinue for the three most important officials who went to Mexico, the *oydor* Gómez de Santillana, the *visitador* Francisco Tello and the *contador de cuenta* Gonzalo de Aranda (merely a serving-maid for the *oydor* is listed), but we have reason to believe that many of the passengers listed belonged to their households. The same may be said of the *licenciado* Cerrato, *juez de residencia* in Santo Domingo who does not appear in the passenger list, but whose presence on board is revealed in other sources.²⁷

Some famous people were on board the ships which set sail from Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 10 July 1544. Bartolomé de Las Casas, the principal champion of native Americans' freedom, who was responsible for the clauses on the abolition of *encomienda* in the *Leyes Nuevas*, was going out to be the Bishop of Chiapa (Guatemala), and travelled with 47 Dominican friars.²⁸ Doña María de Toledo, the widow of Diego Colón, the second "Almirante de las Indias", was returning to the New World after having spent several years in Spain to defend her family's rights from the king's attack in the so-called "Pleitos Colombinos". She was accompanied by two priests – *fray* Juan Cabrera and *fray* Alonso de Villasante – and by *fray* Antonio de Toledo, brother of the *Virreyna*. The

²⁶ Hampe Martínez, T., 'Presencia de un librero medinense en Lima (siglo XVI)', *Revista Histórica*, (Lima, Peru) (1983-84), Vol. 34, pp. 103-112.

²⁷ See note 15.

²⁸ See note 19.

mortal remains of Christopher and Diego Columbus travelled with them to be buried in the cathedral at Santo Dominigo.²⁹

5. The return to Spain

It has been stated that many of the passengers who travelled from America to Spain in 1544 did so for reasons connected with the recent legislative measures. Confirmation of this is to be found in the events in Nueva España, where the *visitador* Francisco Tello tried to apply the laws regarding the abolition of the *encomienda*, meeting with resistance on the part of the *vecinos*. The members of the Mexico City *Cabildo* immediately decided to send some people to Spain to negotiate a relaxing of the laws with the sovereign. Those chosen, Alonso de Villanueva and Gonzalo López, set off for Spain on 17 June 1544, accompanied by the provincials of three religious orders: *fray* Francisco de Soto, O.F.M.; *fray* Domingo de la Cruz, O.P., and *fray* Juan de San Roman, O.S.A.³⁰ These people are all recorded in our list of travellers from America to Spain in 1544.³¹ The representatives of the Mexican *pobladores'* interests met firstly with Prince Philip at Valladolid, and then with the Emperor in Germany.³²

Other important people returned to Spain in 1544: the *licenciado* Paz, *oydor* from the abolished *Audencia* in Panama, the *licenciado* Vadillo, *oydor* in Santo Dominigo, Diego de Mercado, *factor* in Peru, and two high-ranking prelates, the Bishop of Cuba, don Diego de Sarmiento, and the Bishop of Santo Dominigo, don Alonso de Fuenmayor who travelled with his brother and a retinue of 15 people. As well as being a bishop, Fuenmayor had also been president of the Santo Dominigo *Audiencia* until the year before, and had been replaced by the *licenciado* Cerrato. His brother, Diego de Fuenmayor, who

²⁹ *Relaciones Históricas de Santo Domingo*. Colección y notas de Rodríguez Demorizi E., 2 vols., (Ciudad Trujillo (Santo Domingo), 1942 and 1945), Vol. I, 91-93. Giménez Fernández M., *Dos ensayos*, *op. cit.*, 82 y ss. Chocano, G. and Colón de Carvajal A., 'Diego Colón, hermano del Descubridor de América: llave para el estudio del ADN colombino, Sevilla, 17 de septiembre de 2002', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* (2003) Vol. 60-1, p. 383.

³⁰ Millares Carlo A., *Leyes Nuevas*, *op. cit.*, LXXIX-LXXXI.

³¹ The list returned with the ship captained by Diego de Lepe.

³² Millares Carlo A., *Leyes Nuevas*, *op. cit.*, LXXII.

travelled with him, had arrived a few months previously with the fleet that set sail from Sanlúcar de Barrameda in November 1543, and perhaps had gone to America merely to accompany his brother back to Spain.

6. The origins of passengers travelling to America

After having mentioned some important people who crossed the Atlantic in 1543 and 1544, we shall now consider the provenance of passengers taken as a whole. The lists indicate the citizenship of most passengers, but not their place of birth. At times the indications are scanty and it is not possible to identify the town, and even cause confusion in the case of similar placenames.³³ There are many passengers whose origin is not indicated at all. Despite the gaps regarding the provenance of the passengers, one surprising fact emerges: in both 1543 and 1544, there was less emigration from Andalusia than from the two Castiles, in contrast with the trend identified by Boyd-Bowman for the sixteenth century when Andalusia was the region of Spain which furnished the greatest number of emigrants to America. Only female emigration from Andalusia in 1543 continued on a larger scale than emigration from the two Castiles. A possible explanation of Castilian predominance in emigration at that time could be that, as we have seen, the administrative personnel who went to occupy their posts after the *Leyes Nuevas* came for the most part from the Castiles. Other explanations could be the drought of 1541-42 and the heavy rain of 1443-44 which damaged harvests in Castile, and so gave rise to more departures for the Indies.³⁴

Among the other regions of Spain, Estremadura stands out with 46 emigrants in 1543 and 63 in 1544, and Leòn with 44 emigrants in 1543 and 33 in 1544. In 1543 all the emigrants from this region were male, but in 1544 there were 6 females from Estremadura and 3 from Leòn. Of the outlying regions, the Basque provinces were the area with most

³³ In the tables we have preferred to make a distinction between unidentified place names and place names which are to be found in more than one region of Spain.

³⁴ Domínguez Ortiz A., *El Antiguo Régimen. Los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias*, Historia de España Alfaguara, vol. III, (Madrid, 1981), pp. 154-155.

emigrants. In 1543, 3 Basque females emigrated, together with 2 females from Galicia, whereas in 1544 emigration from these regions was entirely male.

7. Female emigration

In the two years analysed, a total of 205 women emigrated, 13.8% of the total of 1,480 female emigrants indicated by Boyd-Bowman for the period from 1540 to 1559.³⁵ The greatest problem regarding female emigration is the lack of indications about their place of origin. We are fairly sure that most of those for whom there is no indication of origin came from Andalusia, given the difficulties of long journeys. In 1543, 29 married women set sail: 18 travelled with their husband, 4 were widows and 7 probably went out to join their husband in the Indies. Of these, 15 were accompanied by their children, 34 in all, 14 of whom were girls. Six fathers also emigrated without their wives, but with 11 children, 5 of whom were girls. Lastly, 43 unmarried women emigrated, 6 of whom were accompanied by a brother: most of them were servants, although the passenger list does not reveal this.

In 1544 a greater number of married women emigrated: 32 in all. Seventeen of these travelled without children and the other 15 took a total of 32 children with them, 10 of whom were girls. Eight mothers, including a widow, travelled with 19 children, 7 of whom were girls. A father emigrated with his daughter. Eighteen "single" women emigrated, 2 of whom were widows, and 2 of whom were accompanied by a brother. Lastly, a woman was listed who travelled with her married son.

8. The origin of passengers returning from America in 1544

The majority of passengers who travelled back to Spain were Spanish. Most of them came from Andalusia: 206 out of a total of 579, in other words 35.5%. The second largest group are those whose origin is not given: 174 in all. The other regions do not have such high numbers: there

³⁵ Boyd-Bowman P., "La procedencia de los españoles de América, 1540-1559", *op.cit.*, p. 46.

were 24 passengers from New Castile, 29 from Old Castile, 21 from Estremadura, 3 of whom were female, and 11 from León. Twenty-four passengers, 3 of whom female, were listed as inhabitants of the Indies. There were even more *mestizos*, 31 in all, 14 of whom were female. This makes them the most numerous group of women after those whose origin is not listed and after the Andalusians.

9. Female passengers returning from America in 1544

Apart from the *mestizas* and the black women, all unmarried, who went to Spain, female immigration does not differ from female emigration. There were 20 married women who travelled back to Spain, 9 of whom were accompanied by their children: 17 in all, 6 of whom were girls. Seven women went back without their husband, one being a widow, and were accompanied by a total of 11 children, 10 of whom were girls. Eleven fathers travelled without their wife, but with a total of 17 children, 6 of whom were girls. Three women were accompanied by married children; one married woman travelled without her husband. Lastly, 19 unmarried women went back to Spain. The presence of 4 *moriscas* should be pointed out, one unmarried and another with two little girls.³⁶

10. The migration balance for the regions of Spain in 1544

The migration figures we have for 1544 can be only be approximate. We have no data concerning possible passengers on 5 outward bound ships and on about 16 ships returning to Spain. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that 1544 was a special year because of the publication of the *Leyes Nuevas* which probably prompted a greater than average number of peasants to go to Spain. Nonetheless, it seems of interest to present the data discovered.

As was foreseeable, most regions of Spain had a negative migration balance. In other words, with the exception of Andalusia, the number of

³⁶ The emigration of *moriscos* – Muslims converted to Roman Catholicism – had already been prohibited in 1518, but many continued to go to the Indies as slaves. These four *moriscas* were probably the first to be deported after the decree of 1543.

emigrants was greater than the number of immigrants. The case of Andalusia was exceptional because 206 people returned to the region, whereas 98 left it i.e. a positive migration balance of 108 persons. This was due to the return of 131 Sevillians, i.e. 63.6% of all the Andalusians who returned to Spain. A province-by-province analysis shows that Almeria, Córdoba, Jaén and Málaga had a slightly negative balance, whilst, in ascending order, Granada, Huelva and Seville had a positive migration balance. In only 6 cities do we find both emigrants to the Indies and immigrants from the Indies in the same year. The other 36 villages or towns had either emigrants or immigrants, 16 of them having only emigrants and 20 only immigrants.

It is absolutely impossible to establish why people went back to Spain or how long they stayed there. And so we can have no idea whether these people stayed in Spain for good or whether they went there to settle some business, as was the case of the Mexican *pobladores* who went to Spain to ask the Emperor to relax the rules concerning the *encomienda*. In any case, we believe that these data are useful to show that the flow of people from America to Spain is a phenomenon which ought not to be ignored. And in the migratory flow from America to Spain¹⁵⁴⁴ is an exception, caused largely by the publication of the *Leyes Nuevas*. But this is sufficient to show that the analysis of Spanish emigration to the Indies touches on only part of the migratory movement, and that, in order to calculate the real dimension of contacts between the two worlds, the counterflow back to Spain must be examined.

11. Emigrants' destinations in the New World

Nueva España and the South American continent were the favourite destinations. According to our lists, 627 emigrants went to Nueva España and 672 to the South American continent. There were 152 people who emigrated to Honduras and 151 to Santo Domingo. As far as the regional provenance of these emigrants is concerned, everything that has been hitherto pointed out regarding the overall movement is confirmed: there were more emigrants from the Castiles than from Andalusia in Nueva España, in Tierra Firme and in Panama. However, if female emigration is added, the ratio for Nueva España changes (110 Andalusian emigrants as opposed to

103 Castilian emigrants) but remains the same for Tierra Firme and Panamá (119 Castilians as against 66 Andalusians). These data are for 1543.

The following year there were 41 Andalusian emigrants and 84 Castilian who went to Nueva España, with a female emigration slightly dominated by the Andalusians: 11 women from Andalusia and 9 from the Castiles. However this Andalusian predominance would probably change if those female emigrants whose origin we do not know could be identified. In 1544, 59 emigrants from the Castiles and 44 from Andalusia disembarked in Tierra Firme and Panamá, whilst there were fewer emigrants from other regions of Spain. In 1543, 16 men emigrated from Estremadura to Nueva España and 20 to Tierra Firme and Panamá; in 1544, these figures were 17 and 14 respectively. Eighteen emigrants went from León to Nueva España and 19 to Tierra Firme and Panamá in 1543. These figures were 13 and 15 respectively in 1544.

If we compare these data with those concerning the destination of emigrants during the period from 1540 to 1559, we see that Boyd-Bowman indicates that 6,065 Europeans emigrated to the South-American continent over the twenty-year period. Of these, 2,058 went to Nueva España, 389 to Santo Domingo, 181 to Honduras and Nicaragua and 51 to Porto Rico.³⁷ Although referring to only two years, our lists provide information on a number of emigrants which ranges from 10% of those who went to the South-American continent to 80% of those who went to Honduras and Nicaragua, according to the American scholar's data: a percentage which indicates how interesting the 1543 and 1544 passenger lists are to further our knowledge about the migration movement to the New World.

12. The American provenance of passengers returning to Spain

The American regions which were most involved in the return journeys to Spain were Nueva España and Tierra Firme. We cannot consider the passengers from Santo Domingo as emigrants from there because many passengers stopped off on the island to wait for the fleet that would take them to Europe: the large number of passengers (136) is therefore

³⁷ Boyd-Bowman P., "La procedencia de españoles en América, 1540-1559", *op. cit.*, pp. 56-71.

misleading. The number of Andalusians who set sail from Nueva España (69 people) is noteworthy; 21 *mestizos* was the next largest group. The *mestizas* were the largest group of females to go to Spain, 9 in all, followed by the Andalusian women (6) and by 3 *moriscas* and 3 *negras*. We do not know the provenance of 20 female passengers to Spain.

The Andalusians were the largest group to set sail from Tierra Firme, 61 in all. As far as regional groups go, only passengers whose provenance we do not know numbered more than 10, being 30 in total. Fewer women set sail for the same reasons as in Spain; the voyage from Tierra Firme to Spain was even more unpleasant than that from Nueva España.

13. The migration balance in Nueva España, Tierra Firme and Panamá in 1544

Nueva España's migration balance to Spain is totally positive, with the exception of Galicia, Andalusia and the group of those without any specific provenance. The female migration balance is also positive for all Spanish regions. However, the migration balance concerning the *vecinos* in the Indies or the natives of the Indies, the *mestizos* – excluding the negro emigrants because we do not know where they came from – is negative: more of them went to Spain than came from Spain.

Overall the Nueva España migration balance is negative for the male population (-7) and positive for the female population (+14). It must be concluded that the migration movements balance each other out. The loss of population from Andalusia is recompensed by the entry of people from the Castiles and, to a lesser extent, by that of people from Extremadura and León.

Tierra Firme and Panamá's migration balance is the opposite to that of Nueva España. The male population has a balance of +90 and the female of -14: the balance is negative for females from Andalusia, from Extremadura, for those whose provenance is not indicated and for negro women.

In both regions' balances, it can be seen that Tierra Firme and Panama were more attractive than Nueva España. We note the absence of *mestizos*, mulattos and negros among those passengers travelling from Spain: this would seem to indicate that they stayed longer in Spain, although it could

be that they do not figure in the passenger lists because the lists omitted to mention them.

14. Passengers' professions

There are very few references to the jobs of emigrants and immigrants. In 1543 one *doctor*, 14 *licenciados* and 3 *bachilleres* (2 of whom were clerics) are mentioned: they were going to occupy official posts in the Indies. Then there were 11 manservants (*criados*), 1 serving-woman and 1 wet nurse, while the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela recorded 9 *criados*. The number of *criados* is small, considering the great number of *oficiales reales*. There was a total of 40 clergy, 3 of whom were lay and 37 regular. The data available for 1544 are no less scanty. If we do not take into account the clergy of the Order of Preachers, we know about the jobs of 18 emigrants, 13 of whom were clerics, 1 *licenciado*, 1 *bachiller*, 1 manservant, 1 tailor and a church treasurer. In exchange, there are 82 declarations for the immigrants of 1544. Information about work is so scarce that it is impossible to draw any conclusion on the social make-up of the migration movements in 1543 and 1544.

15. Emigration of the clergy

From the passenger lists of 1543 and 1544, supplemented by other sources kept in Seville, it appears that in 1543 40 clerics set sail for the New World: 2 bishops, 3 priests and 35 friars. In 1544, 63 clerics set sail: 1 bishop, 12 priests and 50 friars. If we consider only the regular clergy, we can see that the data for 1543 differ remarkably from those of Borges Moran:³⁸ he reports only 23 clerics: 14 Dominicans and 9 Franciscans.³⁹ To these, according to the account books of the *Contratación* for 1543 (the *Casa de la Contratación* paid most of the travelling expenses for clergy going to America, at least during the period studied) should be added one friar from the Order of St.

³⁸ Borges Morán P., *op. cit.*, 484.

³⁹ Six of the Dominican friars were going to Nicaragua and four to Santo Domingo in Peru; seven of the Franciscans went to Tierra Firme and two to Mexico (*ibid.*).

Jerome travelling to Santa Marta, and one Dominican and ten Augustinians who were travelling to Nueva Espana. The above-mentioned source also reveals that among the passengers in 1543 there were two bishops who were going to the sees to which they had been appointed a short time previously: *fray* Martin de Calatayud from the Order of St. Jerome who was travelling to Santa Marta with the brother who has already been mentioned, and *fray* Antonio del Valdivieso, a Dominican who was going to be a bishop in Nicaragua and who travelled with six brother Dominicans.⁴⁰

As far as the year 1544 is concerned, Bartolomé de Las Casas' expedition to Guatemala with his retinue has already been mentioned: basing our research on the testimony of *fray* Tomas de la Torre, we have ascertained that there were 47 Dominicans who accompanied the Bishop of Chiapas. However we wish to point out that there were 35 clerics on board the ships of the fleet that sailed back to Spain in 1544. These consisted of 2 bishops, 13 priests, chaplains and canons, and 20 regular friars, among whom were the provincials of the Dominicans, the Franciscans and the Augustinians in Nueva Espana, as has already been stated: the spiritual conquest of America was made possible by people going backwards and forwards across the Atlantic continuously, despite the Spanish monarchy's attempt to discourage the clergy from returning to Spain from America.

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⁴⁰ See note 17.

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TABLE 1. Provenance of passengers going to America from Spain 1543-44 and of passengers returning to Spain in 1544

| PROVENANCE | Passengers to America - 1543 | Passengers to America - 1544 | Passengers to Spain - 1544 |
|---|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| ANDALUSIA | 220 | 98 | 206 |
| NEW CASTILE | 158 | 90 | 29 |
| OLD CASTILE | 143 | 83 | 24 |
| ESTREMADURA | 46 | 63 | 21 |
| LEON | 44 | 33 | 11 |
| LAS VASCONGADAS | 25 | 14 | 8 |
| GALICIA | 8 | 2 | 4 |
| CATALONIA/VALENCIA | 8 | 3 | 1 |
| MURCIA | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| NAVARRÉ | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| ARAGON | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| ASTURIAS | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| CANARIES | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| SPANISH RESIDENTS IN THE INDIES | 7 | 4 | 24 |
| INDIOS | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| MESTIZOS | 0 | 0 | 31 |
| MOORS | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| MULATTOS | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| NEGROES | 4 | 0 | 12 |
| FOREIGNERS | 9 | 3 | 7 |
| UNIDENTIFIED PLACENAMES | 47 | 24 | 11 |
| PLACENAMES FOUND IN MORE THAN ONE REGION | 59 | 63 | 9 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | 264 | 143 | 174 |
| TOTAL | 1056 | 630 | 579 |

Sources: AGI, Indif. Gen. 1801 y 2.048 ; Contaduría 274 ; P. Borges Morán, *Envío de misioneros a América durante la época española*, (Salamanca 1977), p. 484 ; J.L. Martínez, *Pasajeros a Indias*, (Madrid, 1981), pp. 235-278

TABLE 2. Spanish provenance and American destinations of out-going passengers in 1543

| Destination | Honduras and Nicaragua | | New Spain | | Puerto Rico | | Santo Domingo | | Tierra Firme and Santa Marta | | Panama | | Total |
|--------------------|------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|---------------|-----------|------------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | |
| ANDALUSIA | 8 | 6 | 95 | 15 | 2 | 1 | 22 | 5 | 61 | 5 | 188 | 32 | |
| NEW CASTILE | 23 | 8 | 61 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 5 | 46 | 1 | 142 | 16 | |
| OLD CASTILE | 13 | 0 | 39 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 1 | 70 | 2 | 139 | 4 | |
| ESTREMADURA | 6 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 46 | 0 | |
| LEON | 5 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 44 | 0 | |
| LAS VASCONGADAS | 2 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 3 | 22 | 3 | |
| GALICIA | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 2 | |
| CATALONIA/VALENCIA | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | |
| MURCIA | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | |
| ARAGON | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | |
| SPANISH RESIDENTS | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN THE INDIES | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | |
| INDIOS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 1 | |
| NEGROES | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | |
| FOREIGNERS | 5 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | |
| UNIDENTIFIED | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PLACENAMES | 6 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 21 | 2 | 45 | 2 | |
| PLACENAMES FOUND | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN MORE THAN | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ONE REGION | 5 | 1 | 13 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 24 | 3 | 46 | 13 | |
| UNIDENTIFIED | 21 | 5 | 50 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 6 | 132 | 21 | 215 | 49 | |
| TOTALE | 98 | 20 | 331 | 45 | 2 | 1 | 86 | 19 | 415 | 39 | 932 | 124 | |

Sources: AGI, *Indif. Gen.*, 1801; AGI, *Contaduría*, 274; P. Borges Morán, *Envío de misioneros a América durante la época española*, (Salamanca 1977), p. 484.

TABLE 3. Spanish provenance and American destinations of outward-going passengers in 1544

| Destination | Honduras and Nicaragua | | New Spain | | Puerto Rico | | Santo Domingo | | Tierra Firme and Panama | | Guatemala and others | | Total | |
|--------------------|------------------------|----------|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|---------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|------------|-----------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| ANDALUSIA | 4 | 1 | 30 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 83 | 15 |
| NEW CASTILE | 2 | 0 | 42 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 25 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 80 | 10 |
| OLD CASTILE | 0 | 0 | 33 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 31 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 77 | 6 |
| ESTREMADURA | 7 | 2 | 13 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 57 | 6 |
| LEON | 3 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 3 |
| LAS VASCONGADAS | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| GALICIA | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| CATALONIA/VALENCIA | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| MURCIA | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| ARAGON | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| NAVARRRE | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| ASTURIAS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| SPANISH RESIDENTS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN THE INDIES | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 |
| FOREIGNERS | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PLACENAMES | 0 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 3 |
| PLACENAMES FOUND | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN MORE THAN | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ONE REGION | 9 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 61 | 2 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | 4 | 2 | 35 | 28 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 11 | 0 | 48 | 0 | 106 | 37 |
| TOTAL | 29 | 5 | 193 | 58 | 22 | 6 | 36 | 8 | 215 | 5 | 52 | 1 | 547 | 83 |

Sources: AGI Indif. Gen. 2048; J.L. Martínez, *Pasajeros a Indias*, (Madrid 1981), pp. 235-278; P. Borges Morán, *Envío de misioneros a America durante la época española*, (Salamanca 1977), p. 484.

(¹) The other destinations are: Cabo de la Vela, where 2 Castilians are travelling to and Cubagua where another 2 Castilians - a husband and wife - are going to. Not all the friars who accompanied Bartolomé de las Casa reached Guatemala, due to a shipwreck.

TABLE 4. Officials and their retinue among the out-going passengers in 1543

| Destination | Name | Office | Family members | Number of servants |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| NEW SPAIN | Gómez de Santillana | Oidor | 1 | |
| | Francisco Tello de Sandoval | Visitador | | |
| | Gonzalo de Aranda | Contador de cuentas | | |
| AMERICA CENTRALE | Rodrigo de Contreras | Gobernador de Nicaragua | 1 | |
| | Juan Rogel | Oidor | 1 | |
| | Pedro de Fuentes | Veedor | | 2 |
| | Quinones Diego de Herrera | Oidor | 1 | |
| PERU ¹ | Blasco Nuñez Vela | Virrey | 8 | 50 |
| | Licenciado Alvarez | Oidor | | |
| | Ortiz de Zárate | Oidor | 4 | |
| | Lison de Tejado | Oidor | 1 | |
| | Agustín de Zárate | Contador de cuentas | 3 | |
| | Anton Nieto | Escribano | | 1 |
| TOTALE | | | 20 | 53 |

Sources: AGI Indif. Gen. 1801

TABLE 5. American provenance and spanish destinations of return passengers in 1544

| American Provenance/Sex | Cartagena | | Cuba | | Honduras | | New Spain | | Pto. de Los Caballos | | Tierra Firme | | Santo Domingo | | Total | |
|--|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| ANDALUSIA | 3 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 63 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 58 | 3 | 42 | 17 | 179 | 27 |
| NEW CASTILE | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 24 | 0 |
| OLD CASTILE | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 29 | 0 |
| ESTREMADURA | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 18 | 3 |
| LEON | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| LAS VASCONGADAS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| GALICIA | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| CATALONIA/VALENCIA | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| CANARIES | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| SPANISH RESIDENTS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN THE INDIES | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 21 | 3 |
| MESTIZOS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 17 | 14 |
| MOORS | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| MULATTOS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| NEGROES | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 7 |
| FOREIGNERS | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PLACENAMES | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| PLACENAMES FOUND IN MORE THAN ONE REGION | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| UNIDENTIFIED | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 1 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | 1 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 69 | 20 | 4 | 2 | 23 | 7 | 30 | 9 | 136 | 38 |
| TOTAL | 11 | 1 | 19 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 199 | 43 | 14 | 2 | 125 | 19 | 104 | 32 | 479 | 100 |

Sources: AGI Indif. Gen. 2048husband and wife - are going to. Not all the friars who accompanied Bartolomé de las Casa reached Guatemala, due to a shipwreck.

| TABLE 6. Migration figures for Spanish regions in 1544 | | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|
| REGIONS/SEX | Emigrants | | Immigrants | | Migratory balance | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| ANDALUSIA | 83 | 15 | 179 | 27 | +96 | +12 |
| NEW CASTILE | 80 | 10 | 24 | 0 | -56 | -10 |
| OLD CASTILE | 77 | 6 | 29 | 0 | -48 | -6 |
| ESTREMADURA | 57 | 6 | 18 | 3 | -39 | -3 |
| LEON | 30 | 3 | 10 | 1 | -20 | -2 |
| LAS VASCONGADAS | 14 | 0 | 8 | 0 | -6 | 0 |
| GALICIA | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | +2 | 0 |
| CATALONIA/VALENCIA | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | -2 | 0 |
| CANARIES | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | +2 | 0 |
| MURCIA | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 |
| ARAGON | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 |
| ASTURIAS | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 |
| NAVARRRE | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -3 | 0 |
| UNIDENTIFIED PLACENAMES | 21 | 3 | 11 | 0 | -10 | -3 |
| PLACENAMES FOUND | | | | | | |
| IN MORE THAN ONE REGION | 61 | 2 | 8 | 1 | -53 | -1 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | 106 | 37 | 136 | 38 | +30 | +1 |
| SPANISH RESIDENTS | | | | | | |
| IN THE INDIES | 3 | 1 | 21 | 3 | +18 | +2 |
| MESTIZOS | 0 | 0 | 17 | 14 | +17 | +14 |
| MOORS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | +4 |
| MULATTOS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 |
| NEGROES | 0 | 0 | 5 | 7 | +5 | +7 |
| FOREIGNERS | 0 | 0 | 6 | 1 | +6 | +1 |
| TOTAL | 547 | 83 | 479 | 100 | -68 | +17 |

Sources: AGI Indif. Gen. 2048

TABLE 7. Migration figures for Andalusia in 1544

| REGIONS/SEX | Emigrants | | Immigrants | | Migratory balance | | M+F |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|-------------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | |
| ALMERIA | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 |
| CADIZ | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | +7 |
| Jerez de la Frontera | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | |
| Pto. de Sta. María | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | |
| Vejer de la Frontera | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| CORDOBA | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | -5 | -2 | -7 |
| Adamuz | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| Bujalance | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Cabra | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Pedroche | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| GRANADA | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | +3 | 0 | +3 |
| HUELVA | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | +5 | 0 | +30 |
| Al monte | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| Ayamonte | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | |
| Escacena del campo | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| Gibraleón | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| Lepe | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | +3 | 0 | |
| Manzanilla | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | |
| Moguer | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | +7 | 0 | |
| Palos de la Frontera | 0 | 0 | 12 | 2 | +12 | +2 | |
| Trigueros | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | |
| JAEN | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | +2 | 0 | -5 |
| Andujar | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | |
| Baeza | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Cazorla | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | |
| Quesada | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Ubeda | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| MALAGA | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -2 |
| Yunquera | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| SEVILLE | 48 | 13 | 109 | 22 | +61 | +9 | +83 |
| Triana | 3 | 0 | 10 | 2 | +7 | +2 | |
| Alcalá de Guadaira | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Burguillos | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Cazalla de la Sierra | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | |
| Ecija | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Gaudalcanel | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | +3 | 0 | |
| Lora | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | |
| Marchesa | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| Olivares | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | |
| Osuna | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| Umbrete | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | |
| Utrera | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | +3 | 0 | |
| TOTAL | 82 | 15 | 178 | 27 | +96 | +12 | +108 |

Sources: AGI Indif. Gen. 2048

TABLE 8. Migration figures for New Spain, Tierra firme and Panama in 1544

| Provenance/Sex | New Spain | | | | | | Tierra firme and Panama | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|----------|------------|------------|
| | Emigr. | | Immigr. | | Balance | | Emigr. | | Immigr. | | Balance | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| ANDALUSIA | 63 | 6 | 30 | 11 | -33 | +5 | 58 | 3 | 34 | 0 | -24 | -3 |
| NEW CASTILE | 4 | 0 | 42 | 6 | +38 | +6 | 8 | 0 | 25 | 3 | +17 | +3 |
| OLD CASTILE | 18 | 0 | 33 | 3 | +15 | +3 | 2 | 0 | 31 | 0 | +29 | 0 |
| ESTREMADURA | 5 | 0 | 13 | 4 | +8 | +4 | 9 | 2 | 34 | 0 | +25 | -2 |
| LEON | 5 | 0 | 11 | 2 | +6 | +2 | 3 | 0 | 14 | 1 | +11 | +1 |
| VASCONGADAS | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | +3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 10 | 0 | +5 | 0 |
| GALICIA | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| CATALONIA/VALENCIA | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| MURCIA | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ARAGON | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 |
| NAVARRA | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | +3 | 0 |
| ASTURIAS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | +1 | 0 |
| CANARIES | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 |
| SPANISH RESIDENT | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IN THE INDIES | 8 | 1 | 0 | 0 | -8 | -1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | +1 | 0 |
| MESTIZOS | 12 | 9 | 0 | 0 | -12 | -9 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | -3 | -3 |
| MOORS | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| MULATTOS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| NEGROES | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | -4 | -3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -3 |
| FOREIGNERS | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | +1 | -1 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PLACENAMES | 5 | 0 | 6 | 2 | +1 | +2 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 1 | +11 | +1 |
| FOUND IN MORE | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| THAN ONE REGION | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 | +12 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 31 | 0 | +28 | 0 |
| UNIDENTIFIED | 71 | 70 | 33 | 28 | -38 | +8 | 12 | 7 | 11 | 0 | -12 | -7 |
| TOTAL | 201 | 43 | 190 | 57 | -11 | +14 | 125 | 19 | 215 | 5 | +90 | -14 |

Sources: Source : AGI *Indif.* Gen. 2048

problems

