

States Navy during World War II, and received his first lessons in composition and orchestration from white bandleader Charlie Spivak aboard the USS *Santee*. Following his discharge in 1945, Puente studied music theory, orchestration, and conducting at the Juilliard School of Music in New York.

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, Puente played a key role in the merging of Latin American rhythms with contemporary JAZZ that produced Afro-Latin jazz. In the late 1940s, he formed The Piccadilly Boys, which later became the Tito Puente Orchestra. The group played a major role in promoting the MAMBO craze of the late 1940s. A decade later, Puente helped popularize the chachachá sound. He produced a swinging and danceable style by transforming the music of *charanga* bands—which feature violin and flute—and arranging it for a Latin jazz big-band with saxes, trumpets, and trombones. In the 1970s, when SALSA became popular, he gained a new and younger audience.

Puente released over one hundred albums, an accomplishment rivaled by few musicians of any genre. His recording “Abaniquito” (1949) was a hit single and an early crossover success. In the 1970s, Carlos Santana covered two of Puente’s compositions: “Para los rumberos” (1956) and a hugely popular rendition of “Oye como va” (1963). Puente’s various bands featured many musicians who gained prominence in Afro-Latin jazz, including percussionists RAY BARRETO, MONGO SANTAMARIA, and Willie Bobo; FANIA RECORDS founder JOHNNY PACHECO; and, more recently, saxophonist Mario Rivera, pianist Hilton Ruiz, trumpeter Charlie Sepúlveda, and drummer Ignacio Berroa. Outside of the world of jazz, Puente performed with various Latin music stars, including the Fania All Stars, CELIA CRUZ, and Carlos “Patato” Valdez.

Beginning in the late 1970s, Puente also gained wider exposure in American popular culture. In the 1980s he appeared on *The Cosby Show* and in a stylish and well-received Coca-Cola commercial. He was in Jeremy Marre’s made-for-television film *Salsa ‘79* (1979), and seven years later made his feature film debut with cameos in *Radio Days* (1986) and *Armed and Dangerous* (1986). Puente’s most significant film role was in *The Mambo Kings* (1991), playing a Latin jazz bandleader; he also arranged and performed much of the music on the film’s soundtrack. He received Grammy Awards for *A Tribute to Benny Moré* (1979), *On Broadway* (1983), *Mambo Diablo* (1985), and *Goza mi timbal* (1989).

Puente continued to record and to perform until the very end of his life. In April 2000, he was declared a Living Legend by the U.S. Library of Congress. He died a month later, just weeks after finishing a series of concerts in Puerto Rico with the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra.

James Sellman

Puerto Rico

United States Commonwealth territory and easternmost island of the Greater Antilles.

Puerto Rico exemplifies the complexities of race relations and the use of terminology to describe them. Considered by some as “the whitest of all the Antilles,” Puerto Ricans are usually described as mostly Hispanic, a homogeneous race of mixed people. This concept of the Puerto Rican underestimates the African component, one that has had a significant impact on the culture and ethnic composition of Puerto Rico. The African traditions brought to Puerto Rico were syncretized with the Spanish, the Taíno, and, later, the Anglo-American traditions to produce a rich cultural and ethnic amalgam.

The racial mixture between blacks and whites has shaped the concept of race in Puerto Rico. There has been a growing scholarly interest in the Creole blacks and their importance in the formation of the Puerto Rican society, in contrast to the traditional history that has focused on the actions of the ruling white Creole elite. Traditional United States conceptions of blackness (anyone with some African blood) and whiteness are of limited use in assessing Puerto Rican conceptions of race. The population’s seemingly genial attitude toward race relations in Puerto Rico gives the impression of a society free from racism and prejudice. Yet this idea is proved wrong by the social, political, economic status of Afro-Puerto Ricans.

Native American Presence

The recorded history of Puerto Rico began with the arrival of Columbus on November 19, 1493. Puerto Rico was inhabited by the aboriginal Indians named *Taínos*, who called their island *Boriquén* (or *Borinquén*). Since there is no reliable documentation, estimates regarding the number of Taínos have ranged from the unlikely figure of eight million to the more realistic 30,000. The colonization of San Juan, the name given to the island by the Spanish, began in 1508 when Juan Ponce de León established the first settlement. The Taíno population decreased dramatically during the first period of colonization as a result of the spread of European diseases, various rebellions, and the *encomiendas* system, the regime of forced labor that distributed Taíno Indians among the settlers. Although the Taínos were legally exempted from slavery by royal decree in 1542, rebel Indians were enslaved and exploited by the colonists. By the end of the sixteenth century the Taínos were virtually extinct.

Slavery in Puerto Rico

The first Africans arrived with Columbus in 1493, although the slave trade was not authorized until 1513. Many free blacks, mainly from Seville, emigrated, searching for better opportunities in the New World. They were mainly *ladinos*, or Christianized blacks, who came to serve as domestic servants. In Puerto Rico there were always larger numbers of free blacks than slaves. These free blacks worked in the mines and helped the militia to subjugate the Taínos. They acted individually and moved frequently in search of better work opportunities.

Since the Taíno population was rapidly diminishing, many colonists favored the introduction of black slaves as a substi-

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Provide caption??? Puerto Rican basketball team victory over Canada

tute for the Indian work force. African slaves were initially used to search for gold. Yet during the first half of the sixteenth century the slave population remained relatively small. Only 1,500 enslaved Africans were legally introduced to Puerto Rico from 1536 to 1553. Throughout the seventeenth century the legal trade remained very limited, although an undetermined number of African slaves were introduced as contraband.

In the eighteenth century Puerto Rico's economy remained underdeveloped because SPAIN refused to see the island as anything other than a military outpost. It was not until 1815 that the economic development of Puerto Rico received official support, when Ferdinand VII issued the Real Cédula de Gracias, which liberalized trade, offered incentives for immigrants, and opened Puerto Rican ports to legal commerce. It was also an attempt to "whiten" the island because, at the time, the population was mainly black and mulatto (of African and European descent).

The SUGAR industry became the most important economic activity of Puerto Rico in the nineteenth century. Spain grew more interested in the economic development of the Antilles as a way of regaining control of the mainland. There was a boom in sugar production in CUBA, Spanish Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico, leading to increased slave importation from West Africa. While information on the slave trade to Puerto Rico is incomplete, the available records indicate that SENEGAL, SUDAN, and GUINEA were major sources. The black population was concentrated in the coastal sugar plantations, in places like Mayagüez, Guayama, and Ponce, in the southern region of the island. The number of blacks slaves and free *pardos* (mulattoes) grew rapidly between 1820 and 1840. For example, from 5,037 slaves in 1765, the number grew to 21,730 in 1821. In the 1830s women constituted almost half of the slave population. They were preferred because they could give birth to more slaves as well as work on the plantations. The forced immi-

gration of Africans reached its peak by the 1840s. The 1845 census shows that there were 216,083 whites, 175,000 free coloreds, and 51,265 slaves in Puerto Rico.

Forced immigration rapidly declined primarily because of the inability of Puerto Rican plantation owners, or *hacendados*, to compete against the Cuban slave owners in the international slave market. For example, in 1840 the *bozales*, or African-born slaves, constituted 46 percent of the total slave population in Ponce, the city with the largest number of slaves at the time. By 1872 they represented only 18 percent. The last enslaved Africans who came to the island were relatively young and came from NIGERIA, GHANA, and Zaire (modern-day DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO).

Resistance and the Abolition of Slavery

As in the rest of the Americas, the enslaved population of Puerto Rico resisted the slave system. The first recorded rebellion against European domination in the hemisphere occurred in 1514 and was jointly planned and executed by Taínos and Africans.

Numerous revolts, conspiracies, and individual escapes occurred in different municipalities throughout the island from 1775 to 1873. For example, between 1795 and 1848, twenty-two conspiracies were reported. These acts of resistance occurred mostly in the towns of Guayama and Ponce, where in 1821 the slave Marcos Xiorro revolted without success but achieved legendary status among the slaves. For most slaves, to run away was the only solution to escape from a life of oppressive work and inhumane treatment. For example, slaves were labeled with a red-hot iron called a *carimbo*, used to prevent them from being illegally introduced to the island. They were frequently whipped. Not even pregnant women were exempt; they were forced to lie on the ground with their bellies

in a dug-out hole (designed to protect the unborn slave) and then they were whipped.

The slaves who successfully escaped to the mountains were called *cimarrones*. In Puerto Rico, there were never enough of them to take over the land or proclaim a war against their oppressors. It was common practice for the *cimarrones* to set fire to the cane fields as a means of attracting the militia's attention in order to steal their weapons. Owners controlled and closely watched any slave gatherings. Sometimes the slaves planned conspiracies and revolts when they got together to play and dance *bomba*. They risked being found out by their master/overseer and exposed by other slaves. Colonial authorities encouraged antagonistic relations between slaves by granting liberty to those *cimarrones* who turned in another escaped slave. They also gave freedom and 500 pesos to blacks who reported any kind of slave conspiracy. Some slaves bought their liberty by paying their owner; however, not many could afford to do this. One slave annually was awarded freedom because of good behavior; some bought their children's freedom when they were baptized. Others escaped bondage by committing suicide. Many of them believed their spirit would return to Africa after they died. Other fugitive slaves escaped to HAITI and Santo Domingo. Given the large free black labor force on the island, some slaves tried to escape their bondage by passing as free workers, moving from town to town until they were discovered.

In 1826 Miguel de la Torre, the governor of Puerto Rico, enacted the first regulation for slave treatment, which was inspired by the increasing number of conspiracies. It required the slave owner to feed slaves properly and provide medical aid in the case of acute illness. Domestic slaves had to convert to Catholicism and remain obedient to authorities and respectful

of whites. The regulation imposed harsh penalties for rebellious slaves, including slashing and imprisonment.

In May 1848 Governor Juan Prim adopted the infamous Bando contra la Raza Africana (Proclamation Against the African Race). It was an oppressive ordinance directed against all people of African descent, including free blacks. All blacks were subject to court-martial for any offense. The proclamation also imposed the penalty of "hand cutting" to those free persons of African descent who raised a weapon against whites, even if the aggression was justified. Those slaves found guilty were executed. Harsh prison sentences were imposed on any black who insulted or threatened a white man. The succeeding governor, Juan de la Pezuela, abolished Prim's measures in November of the same year, but rebellions and conspiracies continued.

The system of slavery started to erode in Puerto Rico after the 1850s, with the beginning of Puerto Rico's independence movement. At that time, independence and abolition went hand in hand with political radicalism. Thus the first goal of the independence movement was to end forced labor. The Sociedad Abolicionista Española (Spanish Abolitionist Society) was founded in 1855 by RAMÓN EMETERIO BETANCES and a group of white CREOLES who secretly worked against the institution of slavery. They promised freedom to their slaves if they participated in the revolution. After being exiled in 1867, Betances helped foment the Grito de Lares in 1868, which was the first independence revolt against Spain. Although the Lares revolt failed, it catalyzed the abolition process. Spain was not willing to grant independence to Puerto Rico after Grito de Lares, but it realized that slavery could no longer be maintained in the island. In 1870 the Spanish government passed the Moret Law, which provided for the liberation of children born between 1868



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Puerto Rico (At a Glance)

OFFICIAL NAME: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

AREA: 9,104 sq km (5,324sq mi)

LOCATION: Island east of the Dominican Republic, between the Caribbean Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean

CAPITAL: San Juan (population 1,221,086; 1996 estimate)

POPULATION: 3,885,877 (2004 estimate)

POPULATION DENSITY: 437 persons per sq km (1,135 per sq mi)

POPULATION BELOW AGE 15: 22.9 percent (male 454,908; female 434,555; 2003 estimate)

POPULATION GROWTH RATE: 0.58 percent (2003 estimate)

TOTAL FERTILITY RATE: 2.02 children born per woman (2003 estimate)

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH: Total population: 77.26 years (male 73.27 years; female 81.44 years; 2003 estimate)

INFANT MORTALITY RATE: 9.38 deaths per 1,000 live births (2003 estimate)

LITERACY RATE (AGE 15 AND OVER WHO CAN READ AND WRITE): Total population: 93.8 percent (male 93.7 percent; female 94 percent; 2003 estimate)

EDUCATION: Education is free and compulsory for ages six to sixteen, but there is a high dropout rate. The University of Puerto Rico is the foremost public institution of higher learning on the island. About 25 percent of high school graduates earn a bachelor's degree.

LANGUAGES: Spanish and English

ETHNIC GROUPS: 80.5 percent white (mostly Spanish origin), 8 percent black, 0.4 percent Amerindian, 0.2 percent Asian, and 10.9 percent mixed and other

RELIGIONS: Puerto Ricans are 85 percent Roman Catholic and 15 percent Protestant and other religions.

CLIMATE: Mostly tropical, with some variations depending on elevation and winds. The heaviest rainfall is between May and December. The average lowland temperature is about 78 °F (26 °C), with high humidity that makes the temperature feel higher. Hurricanes are possible between June and November.

LAND, PLANTS, AND ANIMALS: Puerto Rico is mountainous and hilly, with occasional earthquakes. Most people live in the coastal lowlands. Several unnavigable rivers provide hydropower, irrigation, and drinking water. Vegetation includes flowering trees such as the royal poinciana and the African tulip tree. Rare orchids and the Puerto Rican parrot are preserved in the Caribbean National Forest southeast of San Juan. Other animals include lizards, nonpoisonous snakes, mongooses, and many varieties of fish.

NATURAL RESOURCES: Copper, nickel, and potential for onshore and offshore oil

CURRENCY: United States dollar (USD)

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP): \$43.01 billion (2002 estimate)

GDP PER CAPITA: \$11,100 (2002 estimate)

GDP REAL GROWTH RATE: -0.2 percent (2002 estimate)

PRIMARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES: Agriculture, industry, and services

PRIMARY CROPS: Sugarcane, coffee, pineapples, plantains, bananas, livestock, and chickens

INDUSTRIES: Pharmaceuticals, electronics, apparel, food products, and tourism

PRIMARY EXPORTS: Chemicals, electronics, apparel, canned tuna, rum, beverage concentrates, and medical equipment

PRIMARY IMPORTS: Chemicals, machinery and equipment, clothing, food, fish, and petroleum products

PRIMARY TRADE PARTNERS: United States, United Kingdom, Dominican Republic, Ireland, and Japan

GOVERNMENT: Puerto Rico is a commonwealth associated with the United States. The chief of state is President George W. Bush of the United States (since January 2001). The head of government is Governor Sila M. Calderon (since January 2001; popularly elected to serve a four-year term). The legislative branch is the bicameral Legislative Assembly, consisting of the twenty-eight-member Senate and the fifty-one-member House of Representatives (members of both bodies popularly elected to serve four-year terms). The judicial branch includes the Supreme Court, the Appellate Court, and the Court of First Instance (comprised of two sections: a Superior Court and a Municipal Court).

Shelle Summers

and 1870 and those slaves over 60 years of age. Under this partial abolition statute, about 10,000 slaves were set free in Puerto Rico. More than 90 percent of the slaves at this time were *criollos* (Creoles).

On March 22, 1873 slavery was completely abolished, hastened by the economic situation of the plantation owners. The plantation economy in Puerto Rico had declined after 1850. The slave-owning class had neither the infrastructure nor the cash flow of their Cuban counterparts, and most of them were in

debt by the 1860s. Therefore, they were not in an economically viable position to oppose abolition effectively. These factors marked the end of the old plantation system of *haciendas*, characterized by small and midsize plantations owned by white Creoles, and marked the beginning of one of Puerto Rico's worst economic crises. For the former slaves, this period meant the continuation of harsh conditions under an obligatory contract system in which they were paid but had to rely on their owners to survive.

Importance of Free Coloreds on the Island

People of African descent, predominantly free, constituted the majority of the island's inhabitants. The great majority lived restricted lives, with no control over where they lived or worked, no freedom to decide whom to marry, and no access to social institutions. Nevertheless, some managed to secure a rudimentary education; rented or owned land, stores, and houses; and attained important positions. For example, in 1845, reports mentioned Manuel Elías, a free colored silversmith who owned three houses and had three slaves. María Francisca Ferrer owned a house, two male slaves, and saved an impressive amount of money. Also, Micaela Pizarro apparently was in the real estate business and owned slaves. Free people of color used their legal position to acquire some wealth even when they had to deal with racial prejudice. Some inherited property from their masters.

As in the rest of the Spanish America, the free colored men had to serve in the segregated militia. In Puerto Rico, however, they had the right by royal decree to bear arms, even in times of peace, and to protect the island in the event of a slave revolt, an insurrection, or any kind of attack or invasion. These men played a vital role in the defense of the island, especially resisting the English attack of 1797. Apparently, whites were not threatened by the fact that colored men were in charge of defense.

The number of free blacks and pardos increased more rapidly than the number of whites between 1820 and 1840. They suffered more than whites from the consequences of the cholera epidemic that claimed thousands of lives in the second half of the century. They also had to cope, more than whites, with the deterioration of the public health system at the same time. For these reasons, and the fact that the racial classifications changed, the white population in the second half of the century appeared to grow more rapidly. The increasing numbers of those classified as "white" also reflected the fluidity of racial definitions. In a context in which few could claim "purity of blood" and whiteness was the preferred designation, many simply elected to emphasize European ancestry. Under Spanish law, "whiteness" could be purchased, and those who accumulated sufficient wealth paid for an official change in their records.

Free colored people lived in an elaborate caste system, where the degree of whiteness determined their position and possibilities in the colonial society. The stratification of the Puerto Rican society resulting from this system granted the superiority to the whites over the pardos and blacks. The mixture between races was associated with illegitimacy and provided whites with another reason for rejecting blacks. Still, *limpieza de sangre*, or purity (WHITENING) of blood, through marrying a lighter-skinned person, was the way to ascend in the social class structure. Light-skinned people had better economic and social possibilities.

The government always wanted to maintain control over the laboring population, white and black, slave and free. The cholera epidemic also had a great impact on the labor force,

and the number of enslaved people declined. Between 1838 and 1868 the government improved the mechanisms of control by implementing mandatory labor laws that affected all laboring sectors, whites as well as blacks and pardos. All men between sixteen and sixty years old who did not own or rent land were called *jornaleros*, or workers who earn a salary. In 1849 Juan de la Pezuela instituted what is known as *la libreta* (the notebook), which stated that every jornalero had to carry a notebook in which the owner made notes of the worker's behavior. Authorities revised *la libreta* and labeled as "lazy" anyone who was not earning a salary, in which case the worker had to move to another town. This practice often tied the workers to their owner's land and promoted complete dependency.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of blacks in Puerto Rico were "Creole blacks," born and raised on the Island. Creole blacks were better characterized as black Puerto Rican rather than Africans living in a foreign Caribbean island. While preserving many of the African traditions, blacks adopted much of the Spanish culture and were instrumental in maintaining aspects of the Taíno culture as well. Although Roman Catholicism was the only recognized religion, the vast majority of the population practiced syncretic forms, combining Christian images and traditions with African beliefs. There was a paucity of Roman Catholic clergy and other resources (doctors, etc.), a reflection of Spain's general neglect of Puerto Rico. Thus, lay forms of religion were often the only option for the populace.

Puerto Rico in the Twentieth Century

In 1898, just as Puerto Rico was making progress toward autonomy, it was ceded to the United States under the Treaty of Paris, after the Spanish American War. The military governed the island for a short time, followed by a civil government outlined in the Foraker Act, which was approved in 1900. U.S. racial attitudes and race issues then began to affect Puerto Rican life, aggravating the already existing racism on the island, in which the definition of a national identity favored the Hispanic heritage over the African. For example, in 1917, with the imminent participation of the United States in World War I, the Jones Act granted American citizenship to Puerto Ricans, many of whom then had to fight in the U.S. military. Since that time, Puerto Ricans have participated in every military conflict in which the United States has been involved. At first, Puerto Rican males were placed in segregated Negro units. Those Puerto Ricans who considered themselves white were offended by this grouping.

Puerto Ricans who migrated to the mainland at the end of the nineteenth century, and especially after World War I and until the 1940s, underwent a similar experience regarding racial classifications. They were confronted with the fact that the way in which they defined themselves differed from the way in which they were perceived on the mainland. The racial prejudice that came from the years of slavery developed into a concept that equated African heritage with a supposed deficiency of performance, both socially and intellectually. This, in turn,

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clearly affected the development of a national identity on and off the island.

In 1943 Luis Muñoz Marín, who later became the first elected Puerto Rican governor for the Popular Democratic Party when the Commonwealth was established in 1952, passed the first Civil Rights Act of Puerto Rico. Before this legislation, it was common practice to turn away people of color at places that were open to the rest of the public, such as casinos and restaurants. The new act imposed criminal penalties on anyone who denied services to people on the basis of race or color in public places, in businesses, or on public transportation, but the law was not enforced.

The Bill of Rights of Puerto Rico's Constitution was approved in 1952 and included a specific provision prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, or social condition. In 1965 a civil rights commission was created for the purpose of investigating and educating the public and proposing legal reforms on issues of civil rights, including racial discrimination. Under the commonwealth status, the United States Constitution and civil rights laws are fully applicable to Puerto Rico, reinforcing the local laws that existed before federal protections became effective.

Despite these legislative changes, RACISM continued to exist in various forms in the island. For example, in the 1950s the Commission for Civil Rights gathered evidence to prove that Afro-Puerto Rican professors and students were victims of discrimination in the private schools. A correlation exists between race and social class in Puerto Rico. The economic elite in Puerto Rico remains predominantly white, while the Afro-Puerto Rican and mulatto communities are generally associated with substandard conditions and crime. Racial prejudice varies from class to class yet tends to be more evident among members of the upper classes. Such prejudice is also directed against the Dominican undocumented immigrants who come to the island through the Mona Passage, looking for better economic opportunities.

Although the problems of racism are far from being resolved, there is a growing awareness and discussion of the Afro-Puerto Rican situation on both the island and the mainland that have brought many Puerto Ricans of African descent together for the purpose of confronting the issues of discrimination. Scholarly works, such as Isabelo Zenón Cruz's *Narciso descubre su trasero* and José Luis González's *El país de cuatro pisos*, have been essential in rousing awareness. Other important contributions come from Puerto Rican immigrants in the United States who have been deeply influenced by the African American CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. Organizations, such as the Young Lords, who resemble the BLACK PANTHERS of the 1960s; the Unión de mujeres negras puertorriqueñas (Union of Afro-Puerto Rican Women); and the Concilio puertorriqueño contra el racismo (Puerto Rican Council Against Racism), have come forward to take up the cause of people of Afro-Puerto Ricans.

The 2000 U.S. Census was the first in fifty years to classify Puerto Ricans by race. According to that census, over 80 percent of Puerto Ricans define themselves as white, while about 8 percent identify themselves as black. Although many Puerto

Ricans are of mixed ancestry, only 4 percent describe themselves as "mixed-race," and while Puerto Rico is making progress in eliminating racial discrimination, there is still a stigma attached to blackness. For example, one government clerk remarked that when people come to his office to register, "Unless they are really, really black, I put everyone down as white because that helps them later in life."

African heritage is an essential and undeniable part of Puerto Rican culture. It is evident in musical expressions, such as SALSA and the vernacular rhythms of PLENA AND BOMBA, which are also dances; in the language; in the cuisine; and in popular traditions of the island. Afro-Puerto Ricans, such as ROBERTO CLEMENTE, have distinguished themselves in sports. Many political leaders of African descent, such as Pedro Albizu Campos, Ernesto Ramos Antonini, and JOSÉ CELSO BARBOSA, have played important roles in history. In the arts, such musicians as RAFAEL CORTIJO, ISMAEL RIVERA, Rafael Hernández and WILLIE COLÓN; painters JOSÉ CAMPECHE; and writers JULIA DE BURGOS, Luis Palés Matos, and LUIS RAFAEL SÁNCHEZ provide examples of the richness of Afro-Puerto Rican culture.

See also Catholic Church in Latin America and the Caribbean; Colonial Latin America and the Caribbean; Colonial Rule; Racism in Latin America and the Caribbean; Slave Laws in Colonial Spanish America; Slave Rebellions in Colonial Spanish America; Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean; Transatlantic Slave Trade.

Mayda Grano de Oro

Punishment of Slaves in Colonial Latin America and the Caribbean

Infliction of corporal punishment as corrective and demoralizing penalties for individual slaves and as exemplary measures to control other bonded blacks through terror and fear.

Corporal punishment was designed with various goals in mind. Broadly speaking, one could argue that its purpose was five-fold: (1) deter rebellious behavior; (2) instill fear to prevent defiance from becoming exemplary; (3) inculcate the Roman Catholic religion and prevent the expression of African spiritual practices and other forms of resistance to the colonizers' culture; (4) regulate sexual conduct in order to prevent MISCEGENATION and preserve clear-cut socio-racial hierarchies; and (5) sustain the interests of various corporations or elite groups.

Punishment for slaves in colonial Latin America was of two types: de jure (regulated by law) or de facto (according to the custom and will of the slave owners). De jure punishment was established in *cédulas* (legislation issued by the Spanish king), local edicts and orders (issued by the viceroy), and codes. These laws regulated a variety of corporal punishments for slaves according to the types of crimes and their severity. The punishments escalated from whipping to branding to mutilations to death. The normative structure allowed for masters or govern-