

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xv

PART ONE | INTRODUCTIONS

1.	Conclusions: A Century of Historiography	3
	The Internet: The New Challenge, 4. U.S. Scholars and First Research on Gracias al Sacar, 5. The Search for Documents: Lanning and King, 7. Spaniards and Spanish Americans on Gracias al Sacar, 12. The Konetzke Documents, 13. Whitening: The 1960s and 1970s, 14. Venezuelan Connections: Santos Rodulfo Cortés, 19. The Caste versus Class Debate, 21. Gracias al Sacar: Identity and Latin American Racism, 22. Common Misconceptions, 24. Finding the Gracias al Sacar: Reverse Engineering in the Archives, 25. First Answers, Additional Questions, 29	
2.	Introductions: Alternative Approaches	35
	Methodology: Emic and Etic; Processual Analysis, 36. Gracias al Sacar: A Comparative Perspective?, 39. Contexts 1: Vocabularies of Change, 42. Contexts 2: Vassals, Justice, Reciprocity, Inconveniences, 56. Etic Considerations: Public, Private, Passing, Honor, 60. The Actors, Paper Flows, and Chains of Command, 65. Chronologies: Linear, Frozen, Atlantic, Traditional, 75	

PART TWO | LONG TIME

3.	Interstices: Seeking Spaces for Mobility	81
	Introduction, 81. Movement from Slave to Free, 84. Free Wombs: Ending Bondage for the Next Generation, 90. Slaves and the Attachment of White Privileges, 96. Freeborns:	

	The Society of Castes, 99. 1620s–1700: First Movements toward Whiteness, 104. Continuities after 1700: Tribute and Militias, 113. 1700: Attaching White Perquisites, 118. Conclusions, 121	
4.	Connections: Genealogical Mathematics Introduction, 124. Mulatta and Parda Women, 127. Mulatto and Pardo Males, 131. White Females with Pardo Males, 136. Results: Baptismal Certificates, 138. Alternative Paths, 142. Conclusions, 146	124
PART THREE WHITENING: PRECURSOR CASES		
5.	Benchmarks: Commoditizing Whiteness, Cuba and Panama Introduction, 151. Cuban Surgeons: First Precedents, 1750s and 1760s, 152. Panamanian Notaries: Further Precedents, 1760s and 1770s, 166. The Smoking Gun Case: Panama, 1786, 171. Conclusions, 175	151
6.	Balances: Weighing the Prices of Full Whiteness Introduction, 177. First Petitions for Total Whiteness, 179. Guatemalan Efforts: Bernardo Ramírez, 185. Reapplications, 192. Conclusions, 196	177
7.	Exceptions: The Venezuelan Cluster Introduction, 198. First Applications, 200. Venezuelan Exceptionalism, 205. Protest Letters to the King, 214. The Audiencia Investigates, 218. White Petitions, 221. Cámara Indecisions, 226. Conclusions, 232	198
PART FOUR THE WHITENING GRACIAS AL SACAR: 1795–1814		
8.	Opportunities: Whitening, the First Year, 1795–1796 Introduction, 237. The Ayarzas: A Test Case, 238. The First Applicants, Responses, Whitenings, 244. The Ayarzas Revisited, 251. First Judgments and Whitening Policy, 253. Caracas Reactions: The Cabildo and Audiencia Respond, 255. Conclusions, 265	237
9.	Dissentions and Discords: 1796–1803 Introduction, 269. Madrid: Conflict over Whitenings, 270. Free Pardos Strike Back: The Pardo Guild of Caracas, 274. Madrid: First Enforcements and Caracas Complications, 277. The Caracas Establishment Strikes Again, 281. Madrid:	269

	Applications, Tensions, 281. The Don Issue, 284. Gracias al Sacar: 1801 Version, 287. Lima Is Not Caracas, 289.	
	Conclusions, 293	
10.	Denouements: 1803–1806	297
	Introduction, 297. The Office of Fiscal under Stress, 298. Local Responses to Whitening Decrees, 300. Putting Whitening to the Test, 305. Alternative Interpretations: Bishop and Governor, 309. Caracas Resistance, 312. The Council of the Indies: Rebukes and Retreats, 315. Conclusions, 320	
11.	Recalibrations: The 1806 “Mystery” Consulta; the 1808 Viaña Consulta; and the Cortes, 1806–1810	323
	Introduction, 323. Mystery Consulta: The Background, 324. The 1806 Mystery Consulta and the Establishment, 327. Mystery Consulta and Policy toward Pardos and Mulattos, 330. Mystery Consulta and Influence on Whitening Policy, 333. The Viaña Consulta, 1808, 340. Subsequent Events, 344. Conclusions, 345. The Whitening Gracias al Sacar: Overtaken by Events, 348	
12.	Evolutions: Vassals to Citizens?	352
	Introduction, 352. September 24 to October 15, 1810: Are Spain and America Equal? Are Spaniards and Americans Equal?, 354. December 16, 1810 to February 7, 1811: The Lurking Problem of the Castas, 359. The Constitution of 1812: Who Are Spaniards? Who Are Citizens?, 365. American Delegates Continue Support for Casta Citizenship, 376. Intervention of the Mexican Consulado, 379. Casta Compromise, 381. Lima Responses, 382. Conclusions, 386	
PART FIVE CONCLUSIONS		
13.	Retrospectives: Tidbits, Chunks, and Conclusions	391
	Introduction, 391. Methodologies: Alternative Digital Strategies, 392. Whitening: Direct Outcomes, 394. Alternative Paths, 395. Variable and Ambiguous Outcomes, 401. Conclusions and Processes, 410. Contexts: Traditions, Time, Patterns, Genealogy, Locality, 411. Actors: Castas, Royal Officials, Local Elites, 412. Chronologies: Long, Linear, Frozen, Atlantic, Traditional, 417. Conclusions, 420	
	<i>Appendix A: Archival/Printed References to Whitening Cases</i>	425
	<i>Appendix B: Dates of Service, Vacancies, and Experience of Fiscals for Peru and New Spain (Mexico)</i>	429

X CONTENTS

<i>Notes</i>	431
<i>Bibliography</i>	489
<i>Index</i>	521