[redacted]

1. In the first days of June 1626, the 75-year old don Juan de Oñate died in Guadalcanal, Seville. Death reached this intrepid man thousands of miles away from America and his native Zacatecas, and ~~of course,~~ from the territories of New Mexico, which by the turn of the 16th century he had conquered ~~by the turn of the 16th century~~.[3] Although at first, the presence of this former soldier and governor in the~~at~~ Spanish small town of Guadalcanal might come as a surprise, it becomes much more understandable when we ~~apart our attention from his facet~~ view him not as a conquistador, but~~and~~ look instead at his lesser-known activities as miner and businessman. Oñate had gone all the way to Guadalcanal after being

[1] BNE, Mss/5757, f. 87v - 89 Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera to Count of Peñaranda, "Respuesta Sobre La Provisión Del Gobierno de Panamá," December 22, 1656.
[2] AGI, Patronato 230A, R.3 "Juan Francisco de Montemayor: Ordenanzas de Indios," 1662, fol. 4.
[3] According to Marc Simmons, Oñate perished when he was inspecting a flooded mine which suddenly collapsed, a statement also conveyed by Iñaki Zumalde: Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 194; Iñaki Zumalde, *Los Oñate En México Y Nuevo México* (Oñate, Spain; Zacatecas, Mexico: Ayuntamiento de Oñati; Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas, 1998), 76. However, neither of these authors provides any supporting evidence for such assertion. Therefore, although less romantic, Eric Beerman's affirmation—based upon the study of Oñate's will—that the old conquistador had a natural death becomes much more plausible: Eric Beerman, "The Death of an Old Conquistador: New Light on Juan De Oñate," *New Mexico Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (1979): 311. On Juan de Oñate's troubled conquest and colonization of New Mexico see George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953); Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, 1962); Stan Hoig, *Came Men on Horses: The Conquistador Expeditions of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Don Juan de Oñate* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2013). For a genealogical study of Juan de Oñate and his Basque heritage see Donald T. Garate, "Juan de Oñate's 'Prueba de Caballero', 1625: A Look at His Ancestral Heritage," *CLAHR: Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 129–173.

commissioned by the king to inspect the mines in that region. At that time, he was~~,~~ perhaps~~,~~ one of the richest men in the world~~—,~~ and not as a result ~~because~~ of his endeavors in New Mexico, for which he is best known today. In fact, it was after his involvement in ~~such~~ this troubling (and to many extents, failed) New Mexican enterprise that he returned to Zacatecas, where he resumed his previous business~~,~~ and fully and successfully devoted himself to improving the production of his inherited mines.[4] ~~Zacatecas became~~ During~~in~~ that period Zacatecas became one of the world's major centers of silver production.[5]

2. Therefore, it made perfect sense when, in 1624, ~~for~~ Philip IV ~~to~~ appointed ~~in 1624 Juan de~~ Oñate—who had traveled to Spain to appeal the sentences against him—as *Visitador General de minas y escoriales de España*, the General Inspector of Spain's mines.[6] In selecting him t~~T~~he monarch was not relying on Oñate the seasoned conquistador~~, nor on the~~ or former governor, but on Oñate the expert miner. The goal of such appointment was clear: the crown ~~had decided~~hoped to increase ~~the~~ silver production in the Iberian Peninsula, which in previous decades had stagnated ~~in the previous decades~~. Almost certainly there was no one in Spain with greater direct experience o~~n~~f silver mining than Oñate. ~~Even more interestingly,~~In accepting the position, Oñate requested to bring six Mexican Indians, experts in mining, ~~who would~~to assist him.[7] It is hard to imagine a European team ~~that could~~capable of outmatching the mining experience and expertise of those Native Americans.

Commented [EH1]: the single long dash really works in this instance.

Commented [EH2]: "emerged as"

Commented [EH3]: I thought he returned to run his silver mines? I wonder if you shouldn't include the footnote information about him being charged as governor in the body of the text, assuming that many readers won't have any background on him.

Commented [EH4]: In general, you want to put the important words of the sentence at the end. Here, "stagnated" rather than "previous decades" is the important word you want to emphasize.

Commented [EH5]: why "more" interestingly? You never mentioned that the previous statement was "interesting."

Commented [EH6]: or "Oñate and his Native American crew."

[4] In 1607, faced off against other conquistadores and officials who mobilized against him, Oñate was forced to resign as governor of New Mexico. He was accused of being cruel, despotic and incapable of handling the new settlements. In the following years he was punished by the Crown and was ~~perpetually~~ banished from the New Mexican territories.
[5] For a study of the mining industry in Zacatecas see P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[6] Beerman, "The Death of an Old Conquistador," 307. Oñate was partially vindicated and was monetarily reimbursed by the crown, but the banishment was maintained. Nonetheless, Oñate's recent appointment by the king clearly shows that he had regained royal favor.
[7] Simmons, *The Last Conquistador*, 193; Zumalde, *Los Oñate En México Y Nuevo México*, 75.

3. In this chapter, I will study the major role that the idea of experience played in the ruling and administration of the Spanish Empire, how experience was achieved and transmitted, and how the experience of the mobile officials in diverse locations shaped and validated their actions in other regions. As ~~it has been~~ already said, ~~it was~~ not only ~~that~~ did officials move~~d~~ physically, but ~~there were also several notions of what~~ a good imperial official ~~was ought to do~~ circulate~~ding~~ intensely across the imperial space in other ways as well. Their former services on political matters, military affairs, or economic and financial endeavors, gave credence to their future activities, and served also as a blueprint for other officials who found themselves in similar circumstances, despite ~~of~~ the physical and temporal distance.
4. Officials appointed by the king gained~~E~~ experience ~~was gained~~ on the ground~~,~~ by ~~exercising~~ serving in their ~~the~~ posts ~~in which the officials were appointed by the king throughout the empire~~. Their actual practices of power and authority in multiple ~~locale~~ locations gave these men a profound and direct knowledge of the situation of the Monarchy, and of the peculiar conditions of its distinct regions. The mobile officials knew about the new geographies, peoples and their customs, ~~about~~ new technologies, trade, and routes, ~~about~~ war, and, of course, ~~about~~ the ways to govern and administer the empire.
5. Experience was a highly ~~regarded~~ valued trait in the early modern Spanish Empire. It was common to praise the experience of the officials, or to criticize their lack of it. This was not ~~just~~ mere rhetoric or ~~, nor~~ empty words. The king and his~~the~~ councilors took~~did take~~ seriously the experience of the officials. The monarchy was expected to reward experienced officials, and the king~~he~~ greatly benefited from their vast knowledge. Officials' experience ~~certainly~~ had a great impact on the way the empire was administered. Not only did~~that~~ their experiences benefit~~ed~~ the individuals themselves, who knew better how to respond and

Commented [EH7]: why "the idea of experience" rather than "experience"? Maybe, "I will examine the concept of 'experience' in the ruling…"

Commented [EH8]: how? state this clearly.

Commented [EH9]: what does this have to do with mobility?

Commented [EH10]: when you disentangle and state clearly, it becomes apparent that you haven't really said anything other than: Officials gained experience by serving in their posts. That's fine, but just say it plainly.

Commented [EH11]: geographical borders?

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handle different situations, but also the officials' experience was passed along. Imperial officials translated their tangible experiences into written memorials, reports, and books. These documents, which circulated profusely across the empire, helped to build a shared knowledge of how to effectively govern the many spaces and subjects of the Spanish king.

The Ideal of Experience

6. Experience was, indeed, at the center of the political thought in early modern Spain. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, the most influential 17th century Spanish political writer, devoted a whole chapter__ ~~,~~ or device__ ~~,~~ of his *Empresas políticas* to explain the importance of experience to ~~for~~ good government, and the ways in which experience~~this~~ could be obtained.[8] Just ~~like~~ as with the other emblems, Saavedra Fajardo begins by displaying and explaining an image that conveys his argument (Figure 1). The device's motto is *Fulcitur experientiis*, supported by experience. The figure depicts a Rostral column, a Roman victory column erected to celebrate the naval victories. From a plinth, it emerges a column where the prows of the triumphant ships are mounted. The solid column represents wisdom, which is obtained through "reflexión y estudio," while the prows, "cursadas en varias navegaciones y peligros," signify the experience. ~~Together, these~~ According to the Fajardo, these two attributes together made for a perfect governor. Wisdom referred to the abstract, universal and constant matters; and experience ~~was about the~~concerned unique events~~,~~ and ~~the~~ concrete and particular circumstances.[9]

7. ~~According to Saavedra~~ Fajardo posited that~~,~~ there are two ~~ways to gain~~ types of experience. The first is ~~the~~ personal and directly acquired experience. The second is indirect experience,

[8] Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*, ed. Sagrario López Poza (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), chap. 30.
[9] Ibid., 425–426.

Commented [EH14]: this is too vague and abstract. Give us details.

Commented [EH15]: this strikes me as odd. Basically you're transitioning from something you just said, as if it had been said by someone else and now you're picking up the ball.

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acquired either by the study of History, or by communications with those with direct experience.[10] Therefore, ~~in the end,~~ wisdom, too, is a form of experience. Nonetheless, he asserts that ~~the latter~~indirect experiences are not as persuasive as one's own experiences, which "en el corazón las deja esculpidas el peligro." For instance, he argues that a shipwreck seen from the coast would surely be touching, but nothing compared to surviving one, which would be a major life lesson.[11]

Figure 1. "Fulctiur Experientiis" From Diego de Saavedra Fajardo *Idea de un príncipe cristiano*

8. ~~Concurrently, he~~Fajardo also maintains that the best teachers for a prince are not those with "los ingenios más scientíficos," but those practical men who have "conocimiento y

[10] Ibid., 414.
[11] Ibid., 428.

experiencia de las cosas del mundo".[12] Hence, Fajardo had~~he~~ urged the monarch to rely on officials with actual experience, and cautioned him about leaving the government in hands of those who were too thoughtful and committed to a monastic life. In his writing he~~Saavedra Fajardo~~ argues that they would usually lack any on-the-ground experience and knowledge of practical things, for when ruling they would fail either for being too shy, or too daring.[13] Indeed, for this writer~~,~~ with ~~an~~ ample experience as an imperial official throughout Europe, making mistakes by stepping into action was much more desirable than remaining safe and idle.[14] He affirms, "de los errores nace la experiencia, y désta las máximas acertadas de reinar."[15]

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9. For Saavedra Fajardo, experience was fundamental for officials' good government because it taught them how to behave in different circumstances. Although there is one universal reason, he argues, the spirits of men are varied, and therefore there are many possible paths. The key for successful ruling is in adapting to the nature of the subjects, "como se varían los bocados de los frenos según es la boca del caballo."[16] Not every official could accommodate to every scenario, or to every kind of people. It was up to the king, then, to choose the right person ~~who would fit with each different~~for each situation.[17] This was of absolute importance for Saavedra Fajardo. He urged the monarch to carefully examine the qualities of the officials before appointing them, as he asserted, "más reinos se han perdido por ignorancia de los ministros, que de los príncipes."[18]

[12] Ibid., 227.
[13] Ibid., 426.
[14] Saavedra Fajardo was Spanish ambassador in Rome, Bavaria, the 1636 Diet of Regensburg, and during the signing of the Peace of Westfalia.
[15] Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*, 417–418.
[16] Ibid., 429–430.
[17] Ibid., 432.
[18] Ibid., 433. Likewise he suggested to continue with such vigilance, and permanently cast a wary eye on officials' reports, as many tended to write not what they did, but what they should have done.

10. Counterbalancing his arguments, the author closes his chapter noting that too-experienced officials could also be problematic. If they did not pause to think and ~~to~~ evaluate every given situation, and, overconfidently, jumped into dangerous situations, they would also fail in their government. The king's council, writes Saavedra Fajardo, should be formed by people with great experience as well as by novices, whose fears would ~~help to take precautions and to moderate the most seasoned~~ensure moderation and caution.[19]

11. Saavedra Fajardo's insistence on the value of experience was not unique. A~~ccording to~~ ~~professor~~ Jeremy Robbins ~~contends~~, ~~it~~ the prizing of experience was part of a broader Spanish epistemological trend that emphasized the "arts of perception" as means to truly apprehend the world. ~~According to~~ Robbins argues that~~,~~ 17th century-Spanish thought was defined by two major philosophical currents that were intertwined: Neostoicism and Scepticism~~, which were creatively intertwined in Spain~~. For Robbins, the work of Saavedra Fajardo is the best example of this conjunction, although he contends that this was a general frame of mind—which permeated all Spanish activities, from literature to political theory. In this vein, Robbins ~~also draws a powerful~~ critique~~s against the~~ studies that focus~~ed~~ solely on Northern Europe ~~that have completely overlooked~~while overlooking seventeenth century-Spanish epistemology, forgetting that Spain was the Western most import polity at the time and that it was n~~either~~~~ot~~ idle~~,~~ nor in decline. In fact, contrary to the prevailing opinion, Spanish scientists, philosophers, and political thinkers—like Diego Saavedra Fajardo—were widely read and ~~heavily influenced~~influential on European thought. Likewise, Spaniards fully engaged with the new ideas and concepts, and actively took part on Humanist ideas and fostered its development. In fact, Robbins contends that Spanish empiricism fostered a

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[19] Ibid., 434.

mindset that was receptive to the new science developed by men like Bacon and Locke, and which was built upon experimentation.[20]

12. According to Robbins, while scholars have overlooked Scepticism (mainly because there ~~we~~are ~~not many~~fewer philosophical discussions ~~that facilitate tracing it~~to trace), it truly had a major impact on early modern Spanish thought. Its philosophical "claim that no secure knowledge was possible in any area of human activity, from intellectual disciplines down to simple acts of perception," was widely accepted by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spaniards.[21] Evidently, this was a subversive thought that called~~put~~ into question all possible knowledge. The only certainty unto which people could hold was Catholic faith. Therefore, knowing the truth, and unveiling the treacherous nature of things was mainly a moral activity.[22]

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13. Stoic ideas, thanks mainly ~~thanks~~ to the work of Justus Lipsius and other humanists, became predominant in 17th century-Europe.[23] As part of the Renaissance milieu, classic ideas and authors, mainly Seneca and Cicero, were assimilated into ~~the~~ Christian doctrine, and Stoic moral and maxims became widely accepted. Nonetheless, Neostoicism was an ~~very~~ eclectic movement and ~~it becomes hard to~~ fully definingne ~~or set~~ its boundaries is hard.[24] ~~Of all~~In

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[20] Jeremy Robbins, *Arts of Perception: The Epistemological Mentality of the Spanish Baroque, 1580-1720* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007). The work of Saavedra Fajardo is analized mainly on chapters 3 and 4.
[21] Ibid., 36.
[22] Ibid., 26–37.
[23] For a good balance of the work of Lipsius see Jacqueline Lagrée, "Justus Lipsius and Neostoicism," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition*, ed. John Sellars (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 160–173. For a study of the impact of Neostoicism in European early modern politics see the classic yet still relevant Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Mark Morford studies the impact of Stoic ideas on Lipsius and his circle of pupils, specially on Peter Paul Rubens and his paintings: *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, New Jersey: Pricenton University Press, 1991).
[24] In fact, the same can be said about Stoicism itself, which lacked a coherent and cohesive program. The Stoics originally were defined as those individuals that around the 3rd century BC met at the Painted Stoa, in Athens. Thus, although they had many common views, they also had many disagreements. It was trough the later writings of Cicero and Seneca that a more rounded doctrine emerged. John Sellars summarizes in a nutshell the major claims with which Stoicism came to be identified: "that virtue (*aretē*) is the highest good and is sufficient

Europe, ~~it was in Spain were~~ Neostoicism had its greatest impact in Spain.[25] Seneca was well known to the Spaniards throughout the Middle Ages (perhaps because the philosopher had been born in Cordoba), and by the turn of the 17th century, Stoic ideas such as "the deceptiveness of appearances and of 'common-sense' opinions, the misery and brevity of life, the inevitability of death and the need to prepare for it, and the decrying of 'external' goods in general" were a commonplace.[26] Stoic ideas can be found in the writings of almost any Spanish writer or thinker of that period, ~~among all,~~including Francisco de Quevedo, the most prominent ~~appears as the greatest~~ exponent of Spanish Neostoicism.[27]

14. Altogether, Neostoicism and Scepticism, —argues ~~Jeremy~~ Robbins, — "urged individuals to beware of, and to remove, an excess of credulity."[28] These doctrines emphasized the idea of human fallibility, ~~on~~ the inherent difficulty ~~to~~of discovering the truth of the world, and of its essence. Robbins contends that the question of knowledge and perception was posited by means of the terms *ser/parecer* and *desengaño/engaño*.[29] It was necessary to take distance from the object to know, and to develop proper techniques of perceptual examination for unveiling the truth. In this context of epistemological uncertainty—in which it was

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for happiness (*eudaimonia*), that the soul is undivided and rational, meaning that emotions (*pathê*) are the product of judgments under one's control, and that the cosmos is a single living being, identified with God, of which we are all parts." However, it is also true that the meaning and implications of those maxims have also changed through time. John Sellars, "Introduction," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition*, ed. John Sellars (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 3–4.

[25] The works of Seneca, Lipsius and others circulated profusely in Spain, whether in their original languages or translated into Spanish, and men like the Count-duke of Olivares possessed several of these books. Moreover, Lipsius himself (a Catholic subject of Phillip II) dedicated some of his works to Spanish noblemen such as the Duke of Frïas, and the Count of Fuentes. Henry. Ettinghausen, *Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoic Movement* (Oxford: University Press, 1972), 14. For a comprehensive analysis of the editions and translations of the work of Seneca, and its reception in Spain see Karl Alfred Blüher, *Séneca En España: Investigaciones Sobre La Recepción de Séneca En España Desde El Siglo XIII Hasta El Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983).

[26] Ettinghausen, *Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoic Movement*, 11.

[27] Other major figures of this intellectual current are Baltasar Gracián, Pedro de Rivadeneira, Juan de Mariana, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, and Antonio López de Vega.

[28] Robbins, *Arts of Perception*, 16.

[29] Ibid., 8.

acknowledged the impossibility of full knowledge, and that the world was extremely diverse, albeit ruled by one unique reason—experience acquired a fundamental role.[30] Only through the careful observation and judgment of many particular events was it ~~was~~ possible to know them and draw conclusions. It is important to signal that because of the uncertain and deceptive nature of external appearances, the goal of knowledge was to capture the true essence of things. Therefore, knowledge became a moral enterprise: only by discerning good from bad could~~,~~ the truth ~~could~~ emerge. Catholic doctrine, thus, was taken as the ~~parameter~~ foundation against which reality was measured and interpreted.[31] . . .

Commented [EH27]: events?

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[30] As it will be seen in Chapter Five, these Neostoic ideas also sustained a cosmopolitan culture that hoped to encompass the world's inherent diversity under one logic and reason.
[31] Robbins, *Arts of Perception*, 40.