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Research Note

Alcalde vs. Mayor: *Translating the Colonial World*

In studying the nuances of any legal term from the colonial period in Latin America it is always good to have recourse to the *Siete Partidas*, the compilation of royal law promulgated, and some say written, by the famous thirteenth-century Castilian monarch, Alfonso X, often called "The Wise." As it was put in the *Siete Partidas*:

> *Y por ello dijo Aristóteles que si los hombres hubiesen entre sí verdadera amistad, no habrían menester justicia ni alcaldes que los juzgasen porque la amistad les haría cumplir y guardar aquello mismo que quiere y manda la justicia.*[1]
>
> And that is why Aristotle said that if men were to have true friendship among themselves, they would have no need for justice nor *alcaldes* to judge them, because friendship would make them fulfill and comply with the same things that justice would require and demand.

It is quite clear from this seminal statement that the alcalde was some sort of judge in Spanish royal law. Yet in recent years some scholars have begun to use the English word 'mayor' as a fit translation for the word. This essay seeks to explore the meaning and connotations of the term *alcalde* as used in colonial Latin America and to explore that usage in an effort to better understand the semantic shift over time.

Everyone is familiar with the difficulty of translation. For many words there is no simple one-to-one equivalent. At best we deal in close approximations. From the moment the first Spaniards arrived in the New World, they had to confront issues of translation. Similarly, scholars whose mother tongue is different from the language of the region they study must devote long hours to becoming comfortable in the new language. In our work and writings we all

1. *Siete Partidas*, Partida IV, Título 27, ley 1.

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strive to depict events in a manner consistent with the broad environment in which those events occurred. This problem is exacerbated when dealing with times far distant from our own, such as the colonial period. The word *alcalde* carried its own rich context in colonial places and times, which can exacerbate the difficulty of its translation.

The word is of Hispano-Arabic origin, clearly indicated by the prefix *al-* that adorns many such words; the prefix derives from the definite article. The Hispano-Arabic word in turn derived from a precise Arabic origin, *qāḍi*, meaning judge.[2] The word appeared in the first edition of the dictionary of the Real Academia Española de la Lengua in 1726, and the definition provided at that time was fairly simple and concise: "the person constituted in the office of judge, to administer justice in the town in which he holds jurisdiction."[3] After this entry, and two examples of the word in context, the dictionary listed 18 different types of alcaldes in 16 separate entries. The common element among all of them was that each referred to a judge of some type. Some were judges in the King's household (*alcalde de casa e corte*); others served in high courts of justice (in the *audiencia,* as *alcalde del crimen*); and others served in rural areas with various functions (among them, *alcalde de la Hermandad, de la Mesta, mayor*). The *alcalde ordinario*, or common (ordinary) judge, served in a local municipality.

In 1884, the Royal Academy listed a principal definition different from that of judge. In that year, the 'judge' wording was replaced by "President of the governing council of each village or municipal district, charged with implementing its decisions; proclaiming orders for the good order, health, and cleanliness of the population; and caring for everything relative to the city police."[4] Clearly, this more recent definition describes a position that is administrative within the context of a municipal corporation and at the same time represents a membership role in a municipal council, which approximates the American institution of mayor.

THE *ALCALDE* COMES TO THE NEW WORLD

The legal code applied in colonial Latin America was equally clear in the set of meanings it attached to the word *alcalde*. Indeed, the *Recopilación de leyes*

2. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 22nd ed. (Madrid: Editorial Espasa Calpe, 2001), p. 93.

3. "La persona constituida en la Dignidad de Juez, para administrar justicia en el Pueblo en que tiene la jurisdicción." *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española* (1726 edition), p. 176, http://buscon.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUILoginNtlle [accessed October 18, 2012].

4. "Presidente de la ayuntamiento de cada pueblo o distrito municipal, encargado de ejecutar sus acuerdos, de dictar bandos para la buena orden, salubridad y limpieza de la población, y de cuidar de todo relativo a la policía urbana." *Nuevo Tesoro* (1884 edition) p. 44

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(1681) is replete with references to alcaldes: 43 laws related to *alcaldes del crimen*, 38 to *alcaldes ordinarios*, four to *alcaldes mayores*, three to *alcaldes de indios*, two to *alcaldes de la Mesta*, and one each to *alcaldes de la casa de la moneda*, *de pesquerías de perlas*, and *de la Hermandad*. The legislation included in the *Recopilación* makes it quite evident that each of these alcaldes was a type of judge.

The multiplicity of *alcaldes* in both the dictionary and the *Recopilación* indicates a clear need to make some order out of this chaos. By the sixteenth century, there was a general rule in Spanish governmental theory that judges needed to be lawyers (*letrados*).[5] If they were not, the cases they heard could be appealed to a court in which the judges *were* lawyers. There were essentially three layers of government in Spain, and each was associated with alcaldes who had specific functions.[6]

Kingdom	Audiencia alcaldes del crimen
Province	Gobernadores alcaldes mayores
Municipality	Cabildo municipal (town council) alcaldes ordinarios alcaldes de la Hermandad (Mesta)

The lowest level of government, that of the town or city, ruled the immediate confines and surrounding hinterland. Its jurisdiction spread out into the countryside until it ran into the jurisdiction of another legal entity. Towns and villages in early modern Spain, and in her colonies in the New World, held the right to first-instance jurisdiction over many legal cases arising within their territories, embodied in the *fuero*. This circumstance created the need for judges to resolve those cases. In the New World, however, towns and cities were collected into larger territorial jurisdictions governed by a local magistrate. While those magistrates might have a variety of titles (*gobernador*, *alcalde mayor*, *corregidor*), their functions were similar. They collected local taxes, enforced royal law, and heard a limited number of lawsuits in their jurisdiction. The districts headed by magistrates were, in turn, collected into kingdoms. For the kingdom, there was a high court of appeals, the audiencia, which received many cases on appeal from the lower courts, but also had first-instance jurisdiction in many cases.

5. Mario Góngora, *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America*, Richard Southern, trans. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 86.

6. Throughout this essay I have done some generalizing in order to better focus on the unique features of the colonial *alcalde*.

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To add to the confusion of terminology, there were judges called *alcaldes* at each of the three levels. At the kingdom level, the *alcalde del crimen* was a judge in the criminal court of the *audiencia*.[7] These justices were seen as the lesser members of the royal court, with the *oidores*, or judges of the civil court, having more prestige and power. At the provincial level, the *alcalde mayor* was one of the local magistrates occupying the central level of the hierarchy. The *alcalde ordinario* was the local municipal court justice. While the royal alcaldes del crimen were letrados, the provincial alcaldes mayores and alcaldes ordinarios generally were not.

The alcaldes del crimen on the royal audiencias were the highest criminal judges in the New World. Not all courts had alcaldes del crimen, especially in the smaller regional audiencias. In those arenas, criminal cases were heard by the oidores.[8] In the superior audiencias like Mexico and Lima, there were generally four alcaldes del crimen, whose decisions could not be appealed except in extraordinary circumstances. The court generally heard cases on appeal from the cities and from the local magistrates, although even the avenues to such appeals were highly restricted.[9] The court had some first-instance jurisdiction: that is, it was the first court to hear a case in criminal complaints that arose immediately in the locale of the court, generally within about five leagues and in cases deemed especially serious.[10] Cases involving natives were sent not to the alcaldes del crimen but to the civil court, and eventually in some jurisdictions to a special Indian Court.[11]

At the middle or provincial level of the colonial judicial hierarchy, the *alcalde mayor* was for all intents and purposes identical to the corregidor and gobernador: all three were merely local magistrates. They did not need to be lawyers, although the magistrate appointed to serve the district of a major city such as Mexico or Lima might well be a lawyer. This distinction was important among local magistrates. The vast majority served in rural areas where the native population predominated; those magistrates came to be called *corregidores de indios*. The crown reserved the right to appoint the local magistrate, but in the

7. In the audiencia of Nueva Galicia, at least at the outset, the justices held the compound title of *oidor alcalde mayor*. The title indicated that while they were high court justices, they were lesser in authority than the justices in Mexico City. John H. Parry, *The Audiencia of New Galicia in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. 35–37.

8. John L. Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), p. 127.

9. *Recopilación de las leyes de Indias*, Libro 2, Tít. 17, ley 3.

10. *Recopilación*, Libro 2, Tít. 17, ley 21 (June 23, 1571).

11. *Recopilación*, Libro 2, Tít. 17, ley 28 (May 28, 1527); Woodrow Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 77–78

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sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the viceroy or local audiencia president appointed them.[12] On the other hand, the corregidor who governed the territory of an important Spanish city such as Mexico City or the mines of Potosí was frequently called a *corregidor de españoles.* These magistrates were most commonly appointed by the crown, in keeping with their significant power and authority, but by the mid-seventeenth century many of the local magistracies came to be sold at auction by the colonial government. The logic ran that since there were many equally qualified applicants for each position, one consideration for the final appointment would be the amount of money the successful applicant might be interested in giving to the crown.[13]

As noted earlier, the principal function of these local magistrates was administrative. They collected taxes and tribute, regulated commerce in their district, and supervised forced labor of the natives under the systems of *repartimiento* and *mita.* They investigated crimes that occurred outside the jurisdictions of legally established towns and cities. The magistrates did have first-instance jurisdiction for some cases in their district, although they could not intervene in cases heard in the municipal courts.[14] In those instances where the magistrate had to serve as a local judge, he was required to appoint an assistant who was a lawyer.[15]

Unlike the town *regidores* who came to enjoy permanent seats on the town council (*cabildo municipal*) the various judges (*alcaldes*) of the council were elected annually by the councilmen, usually on January 1.[16] By the seventeenth century, the regidor seats had come to be sold by the crown, but the office of alcalde was not. This distinction helps to demonstrate the distinction between the administrative nature of the office of regidor and the judicial nature of the office of alcalde, since under Spanish practice judicial offices generally were not subject to sale.[17] Furthermore, the alcalde continued to be elected to office by the local town council, not appointed by the crown.

On most Spanish town councils there were two types of judges: the municipal judge (*alcalde ordinario*) and the rural judge (*alcalde de la Mesta,* or *alcalde de la Hermandad*). At least in Mexico, there was a system whereby a person

12. Góngora, *Studies*, pp. 94–95 and following; *Recopilación*, Libro 5, Tít. 2, ley 1.

13. John H. Parry, *The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies Under the Hapsburgs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 1–4.

14. *Recopilación*, Libro 5, Tít, 2, ley 14 (September 22, 1560).

15. *Recopilación*, Libro 5, Tít. 2, ley 37 (November 20, 1569, and seven additional occurrences).

16. *Recopilación*, Libro 5, Tít. 3, ley 1 (1537). In addition, there is an extensive bibliography on the inner workings of the town councils in the Americas. For Mexico, a useful study is Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *El gobierno de la ciudad de México en el siglo XVI* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1982), p. 69.

17. Parry, *Sale*, pp. 49, 59–60.

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appointed as an alcalde de Mesta one year would become an alcalde ordinario the next. In native town councils there were generally only two alcaldes ordinarios, and they had two functions: on the one hand they were municipal judges, enforcing local laws; on the other, they had the ceremonial function of serving as presiding officer of the town council, under certain circumstances. In general, an alcalde mayor or corregidor was the presiding officer of the town council in his area of residence, be that a Spanish town or native community, but in towns and villages that lacked an alcalde mayor or corregidor, the senior alcalde ordinario presided over the council.[18] As part of the Spanish colonial system, the institution of the town council was imposed onto native communities. Native villages came to have the same essential offices, regidor and alcalde, initially selected by the Spanish and later elected by the outgoing council in annual elections.[19] As a result, in most native communities one of the two alcaldes might serve as the presiding officer of the council.

In colonial New Spain, scholars looking at native villages have uniformly described the alcalde as the judge of the first instance for the municipal court. Frequently, that officer also enjoyed some significant administrative duties. For example, in colonial Cuernavaca, in central Mexico, such alcaldes functioned like lieutenant governors of the native community, taking censuses, managing property rental, administering the land owned by the community, serving as police officers, and collecting different types of taxes and tribute.[20] James Lockhart in his mammoth study of the Nahua, emphasizes the judicial role of the alcaldes in native villages, whom he described as "first-instance judges who ex-officio sat with the council as full voting members," although lower in status that the town councilmen, the regidores.[21] Studies of the Mixtecs, and of the towns of Coyoacan and Culhuacan, have all agreed on this function of the native alcalde in New Spain.[22] Uniformly, scholars studying New Spain have either left the term *alcalde* in Spanish, or translated it as 'judge.'

18. Góngora, *Studies*, p. 100; José María Ots Capdequi, *El estado español en las Indias*, 3rd. ed. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957), p. 69; and Porras Muñoz, *El gobierno*, pp. 71–72.

19. John Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru Under the Hapsburgs* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954), pp. 231–232 and following.

20. Robert Haskett, *Indigenous Ruler: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), pp. 104–106.

21. James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 35–37.

22. Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 192–193; Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacan: Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519–1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 55–61; and S. L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580–1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1986), p. 39. Haskett, Terraciano, Horn, and Cline all did graduate study with James Lockhart, so it might not come as a surprise that they agree on this point. But at the same time all four drew heavily on native documentation and derived their conclusions from those data.

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Some scholars, principally studying Peru, have used the terms *alcalde* and mayor interchangeably in discussing the native municipal council. These studies look at the broad sweep of the colonial period. Looking at the sixteenth century, Ann Wrightman, in her work on *forasteros* in colonial Cuzco wrote: "Political control of the parish officially was vested in the Indian alcaldes, or mayors."[23] Similarly, Karen Spaulding, discussing the Toledan reforms in Peruvian native communities wrote: "The key figure in the Indian town council (*cabildo*) was the village alcalde, or mayor, in charge of general administration."[24] Yet, other scholars looking at the use of *alcalde* in the early colonial period have chosen either not to translate the term or to explain that it meant a judge. N. David Cook, in describing the same institution at approximately the same time as Spaulding, but limiting it to the Indian cabildo in the Colca Valley of southern Peru, wrote: "There were to be two *alcaldes*" (chief executive officers, similar in function to magistrates).[25] Yet in none of these works is there an explanation as to why the term *alcalde* was translated as 'mayor.'

In the Maya regions and Central America, the term has received a slightly different treatment. On the native side, the office of alcalde had no clear counterpart in pre-contact Maya life, thus making it a uniquely colonial office.[26] Writing of this office, scholars have attested to its predominately judicial role. Nancy Farriss reported that the term *justicia* was essentially interchangeable with *alcalde*.[27] On a slightly different note, Christopher H. Lutz in describing the Spanish town councils of colonial Central America chose to refer to the two types of alcalde found there as "mayor and vice mayor, the two highest elected officials," without discussion as to why he made that characterization. This is additionally curious since Lutz noted the overlap between that office and that of the corregidor, whom he described as "magistrate"—to the extent that they frequently were the same person.[28]

23. Ann M. Wrightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The* Forasteros *of Cuzco, 1520–1720* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 16.

24. Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 216.

25. Nobel David Cook, *People of the Volcano: Andean Counterpoint in the Colca Valley of Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 85.

26. Matthew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550–1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 68–69.

27. Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 232.

28. Christopher H. Lutz, *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541–1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), p. 16.

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EMERGENCE OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE

By the late eighteenth century a somewhat different tradition had emerged in municipal councils in native villages, particularly in Peru. Because the alcalde could serve as the presiding officer of the council in the absence of the gobernador, which in many instances was the local *cacique* (or *kuraka*), the *senior alcalde* increasingly came to take on administrative tasks in addition to the judicial ones. In some native villages the hereditary *cacique* ceased to be a member of the community, either because of marriage to a Spaniard (which meant that succeeding rulers were mestizos of varying degrees of native ethnicity), or because a cacique or gobernador was imposed from outside the community. Thus, as a result of a variety of mechanisms, the day-to-day leadership of the native municipality came to fall to the elected judge, the senior alcalde.[29] Scholars writing in English have had recourse to the term "Indian mayor" to describe this alcalde, who sat on the native town council.

Several scholars studying late colonial Perú translate the term *alcalde varayok* as "Indian mayor."[30] Yet this is not entirely accurate—the native official did embrace increasingly administrative responsibilities but he retained his judicial powers also. In fact the term '*varayok*' is a Quechua adaptation of the Spanish term '*vara*'; judicial officials were designated by their right to carry a staff of justice, a vara.[31] Consequently the term *alcalde varayok* is doubly insistent on the judicial role of the official: the alcalde is a judge; only justices can carry the vara. Yet neither is that identification entirely accurate: since the principal role and function of the official continued to be judicial, the official was in fact a municipal judge who exercised administrative functions. In regard to those functions, a better description might be "ruling magistrate." Nonetheless, the essential function of the Indian alcalde, even in Peru on the eve of independence, seems to have been a judicial one that took on administrative overtones.[32]

29. Christine Hunefeldt, *Lucha por tierra y protesta indígena: las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre colonia y república, 1800–1830* (Bonn: Bonner Amerikanische Studien, 1982), pp. 30–36. This pattern has been described in a variety of works. In each case the details of the emergence of the alcalde as executive officer differ, but the outcomes are strikingly similar. The acquisition of executive responsibilities by the alcalde in native villages in eighteenth century New Spain also seems to have occurred, but has been less well documented. Yanna Yannakakis, personal communication, January 25, 2012.

30. Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1840* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 62–63 and following; Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 25. Serulnikov also uses the term 'Indian mayor' to describe the *alcalde varayok*.

31. The third definition for 'vara' in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* of the Real Academia is: "Bastón que por insignia de autoridad usaban los ministros de justicia y que hoy llevan los alcaldes y sus tenientes [a staff that ministers of justice used as a symbol of their authority and which today *alcaldes* and their assistants carry]," 22nd. ed. vol. 2, p. 2270.

32. John Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru Under the Bourbons* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), pp. 193–194.

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A look at the use of the word 'mayor' in English can further assist in clarification. The 2011 online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a mayor as:

> The head or chief officer of the municipal government of a city, borough, etc., now usually elected by local councillors or citizens (but appointed by central government up to the middle of the 19th cent. in most European countries), and serving as chairman of the council, chief executive officer, and now freq. also as an agent of central government charged with certain public responsibilities.[33]

While the archaic forms of the word made some reference to judicial authority, it is clear that in the present-day English of the OED a mayor is an executive officer with purely administrative responsibilities.

By the time of the Wars of Independence, the term *alcalde* had begun to shift in its meaning. The 1812 Constitution of Cádiz, which sought to provide a constitutional system for Spain and her overseas colonies in the face of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, charts this change. Throughout the document the terms *juez* and *magistrado* appear when specific reference is made to judicial positions. The term *alcalde* remains as a descriptor of a member of the municipal council. The shift of powers documented in the Andes now became manifest on a larger scale. In Title VI, Chapter 1, Article 309, the Constitution declared:

> For the internal governance of the villages there will be councils composed of an *alcalde* or *alcaldes*, the councilmen, and the financial agent, and presided over by the political leader where there might be one, and in his absence by the alcalde, or by the first one appointed between them if there be two.[34]

The Constitution of Cádiz, then, makes clear that the role of the alcalde had shifted, from purely judicial to one which also had executive authority. It would be incorrect to assume that a person holding this office was anything other than a judge who also presided over the municipal council. While an argument might be made for calling this official a 'mayor,' the position still lacked most of the administrative responsibilities generally associated with that office.

A study of the office of alcalde in colonial Latin America clearly indicates that its nature was judicial and not executive. As a result of the ceremonial function

33. Definition for 'mayor, n.,' OED Online, Oxford University Press (December 2011), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/115320?redirectedFrom=mayor [accessed October 18, 2012].

34. "Para el gobierno interior de los pueblos habrá ayuntamientos compuestos de alcalde o alcaldes, los regidores y el procurador síndico, y presididos por el jefe político donde lo hubiere, y en su defecto por el alcalde o el primer nombrado entre éstos, si hubiere dos," http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/c1812/12260843118006070754624/index.htm [accessed October 18, 2012]. This passage applied to both peninsular and New World contexts, although the *jefe político* position was found only in the Iberian Peninsula. In general the local magistrate, or *subdelegado* by this period, would be the colonial equivalent.

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of the alcalde within the town council, the office took on some responsibilities typically associated with an executive officer. The Spanish Constitution of 1876 provided for an executive office designated as alcalde: "In towns there will be *alcaldes* and councils. The councils will be named by the residents upon whom this law confers that right."[35] As a result of this trend, which began in the late eighteenth century and culminated in the late nineteenth, the office of alcalde came to be associated with the office of mayor in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Yet in the end, Charles Gibson probably stated the case best in his essential book *Spain in America* when he wrote: "*Alcalde* is frequently translated as mayor in Spanish textbooks in the United States, but this is quite meaningless for the ordinary Spanish American colonial town, which had a council but no mayor."[36]

CONCLUSION

When the Latin American republics began their own political development following independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, they still had close linguistic ties to the metropolis. As a result of the changing value for the term *alcalde* in Spain, a similar transition occurred in the New World, as new political ideas and governmental institutions developed there. As the young republics moved to representative assemblies and popularly elected municipal governments, the term *alcalde* did indeed come to signify not a judge but rather the chief officer of a municipal council. Yet in the colonial period, *alcalde* meant first and foremost a judge. After examining the innumerable occurrences of the term in the historical literature of the last 50 years, it seems that its translation as mayor has occurred not because of the essential nature of the office, but because in the modern world the term *alcalde* is used where in English one would say mayor. Future scholars of the colonial period would be well served if they considered very seriously the essential function of the office before simply translating the word to a modern equivalent. The default translation for *alcalde* in the colonial period should be 'judge.' If a scholar opts to use something else, the decision should be accompanied by a solid explanation as to why that choice was made.

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35. "Habrá en los pueblos alcaldes y Ayuntamientos. Los Ayuntamientos serán nombrados por los vecinos a quienes la ley confiera este derecho." http://es.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitución_española_de_1876 [accessed October 18, 2012]. The 1876 constitution was far less precise in defining offices and responsibilities, but it was expected that the implementing legislation would provide those.

36. Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 97.

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