

Contraband Trade Through Trujillo, Honduras, 1720s-1782

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ABSTRACT

Throughout much of the eighteenth century Trujillo, Honduras, served as the major entrepot for contraband trade between the Spanish in the Audiencia de Guatemala and the British, who had settled on the Mosquito Shore. Trujillo's large, protected bay with access to the interior provided the Spanish and British with a prime site to conduct the illegal exchange. Indigo and cattle were the main items traded, exchanged mostly for British textiles. Trujillo's hinterland included most of Honduras, El Salvador, and parts of Nicaragua. Until 1782, when Trujillo was reoccupied, the Spanish were nearly powerless to stop contraband trading.

INTRODUCTION

During the 18th century, Trujillo, Honduras, flourished as an entrepot for contraband trade between Central Americans, both Spanish and mestizo, and the British, who had settled at Black River on the Mosquito Shore and in Jamaica (Figure 1). The Spanish core tried to control trade through restrictive practices, but the Central American periphery disregarded the laws, and its citizens resorted to contraband. Through contraband trade Central Americans avoided excessive taxes and paying the many middlemen with whom they had to deal, both of which made many legal exports unprofitable. The nearby British settlements and the increased demand for Central American products during the incipient years of the Industrial Revolution, combined with Spain's lack of funds and manpower to stop contraband, resulted in a freewheeling trade of illegal goods. Trujillo, with its excellent bay and access to the interior, was in a nearly ideal situation to serve as a meeting place and breakbulk point for British and Spanish *contrabandistas*.

During the sixteenth century exports of gold, cacao, silver, and indigo provided only brief periods of prosperity for Central America (Pérez-Brignoli 1989). By the end of the century, Central America already showed signs of the upcoming economic downturn that characterized the seventeenth century, a period of increased isolation and stagnation (MacLeod 1973; Pérez-Brignoli 1989). In Europe throughout the seventeenth century the Spanish were occupied with rebellions in Portugal and Catalonia, as well as with the Thirty Years War, and they did not have the resources to help Central America. As the region became more isolated throughout the seventeenth century, rather than trying to rely on exports, its economy reoriented toward supplying regional markets. Yet external trade did not completely disappear, because Central America still relied on Spain for wine and oil for religious ceremonies, tools and equipment for mining, and mercury to process silver. Spanish naval power, however, had severely declined in the Caribbean, especially after 1640, and the risks to trade became greater as piracy increased.

Throughout the Caribbean, pirates presented a threat to Spanish shipping, especially to the treasure fleets carrying the riches of Mexico and Peru (Pérez-Brignoli 1989). Bases throughout the Caribbean provided the pirates, mostly English, French, and Dutch, with safe havens from which to attack Spanish shipping (Galvin 1991) (Figure 2). In these safe havens the pirates could also rest, repair their ships, and take on fresh supplies. From the safe havens in the western Caribbean, especially the islands of Providence and Roatan, the Cabo de Gracias a Dios, and Belize, the pirates also attacked Spanish settlements in Central America. Jamaica, captured by the English in 1655, was another base [end p. 45] regularly used by pirates and it became a major center for contraband goods shipped to Central America during the next century (Floyd 1967; Pérez-Brignoli 1989). Pirate attacks throughout the seventeenth century also were partly responsible for the decline in shipping to Central America and an economic depression. The Treaties of Madrid of 1667 and 1670 outlawed piracy between Spain and England, and ships of one nation were prohibited from sailing to ports of the other nation (Floyd 1967). However, English ships began to regularly enter Spanish ports to trade under the guise of Article X of the Treaties, which gave ships the right to enter a port of the other country when the ship was in trouble or needed help, such as during storms. By the 1680s, the merchant interests in Jamaica began to suppress piracy, gradually building trust between English and Spanish smugglers (MacLeod 1973). Throughout the seventeenth century the English also increased their cutting of logwood in Belize, which led to more shipping in the Gulf of Honduras and came to complement smuggling (Consejo de Indias 1743; Floyd 1967; Naylor 1989; Pérez-Brignoli 1989).

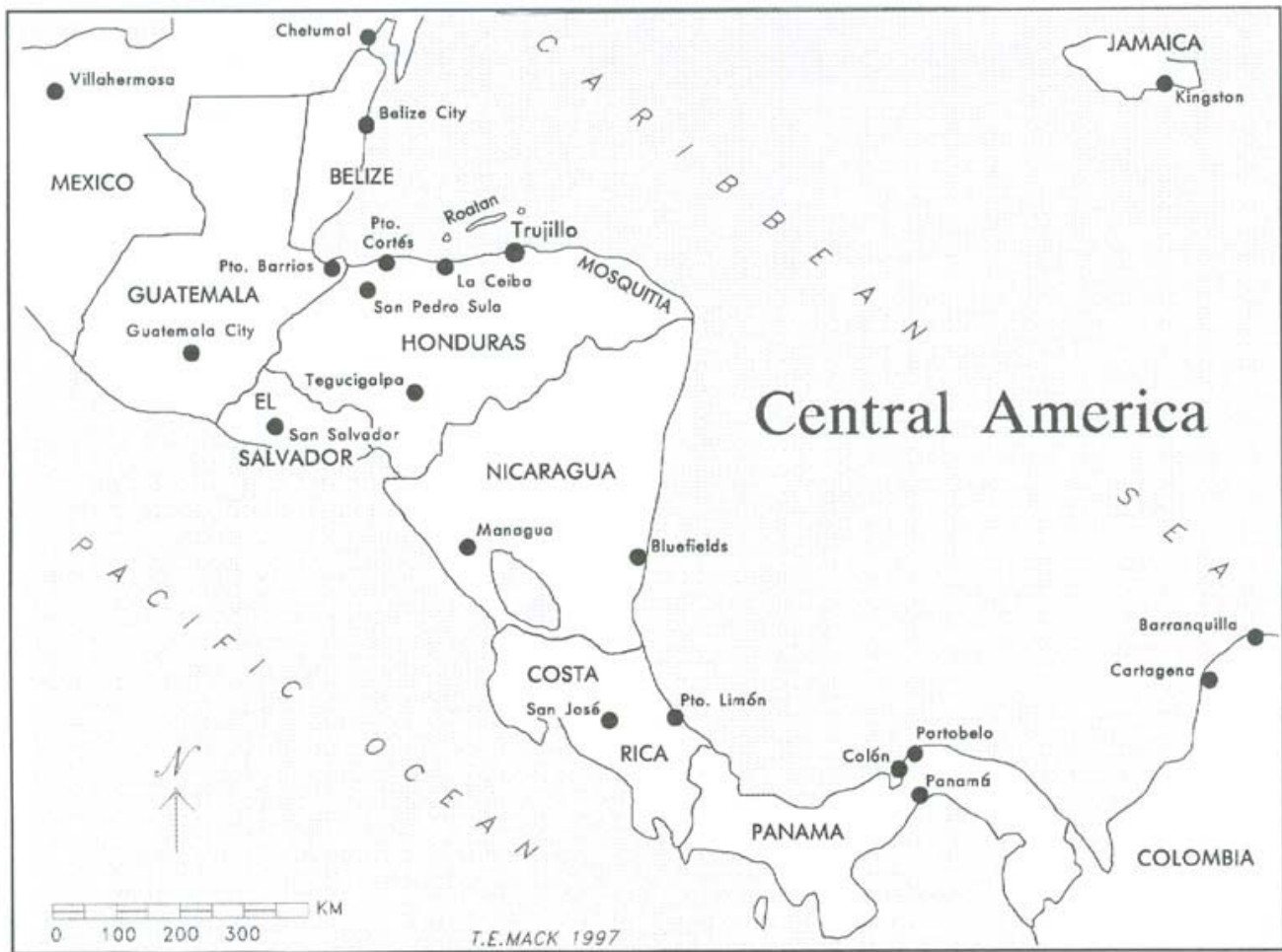


Figure 1. Honduras and the Mosquito Coast

The Spanish commercial system levied heavy taxes, and citizens at all levels tried to avoid paying them throughout the colonial period (MacLeod 1973). Undeclared and illegal goods were secreted aboard official fleet vessels with only the legal cargo reported on the manifests. Many ships also stopped at unauthorized ports to trade directly with the residents. In Central America, private citizens, military officials, *alcaldes mayores*, church officials, and several governors of Honduras reportedly took part in contraband trade (AGI 1745a, 1745b; MacLeod 1973; Wortman 1982). In his report on contraband along the Costa Norte de Honduras, Josef Estevez Sierra wrote, "All the people of that land support themselves by trade with the English" (Sierra 1776:46). The King complained that contraband trade hurt the treasury so badly that they did not have sufficient funds to pay for the protection of colonies from enemies engaged in smuggling (Real Orden [end p. 46] in smuggling (Real Orden 1740). It is likely that the *contrabandistas* preferred not to be protected against their own profitable, but illegal, activities.

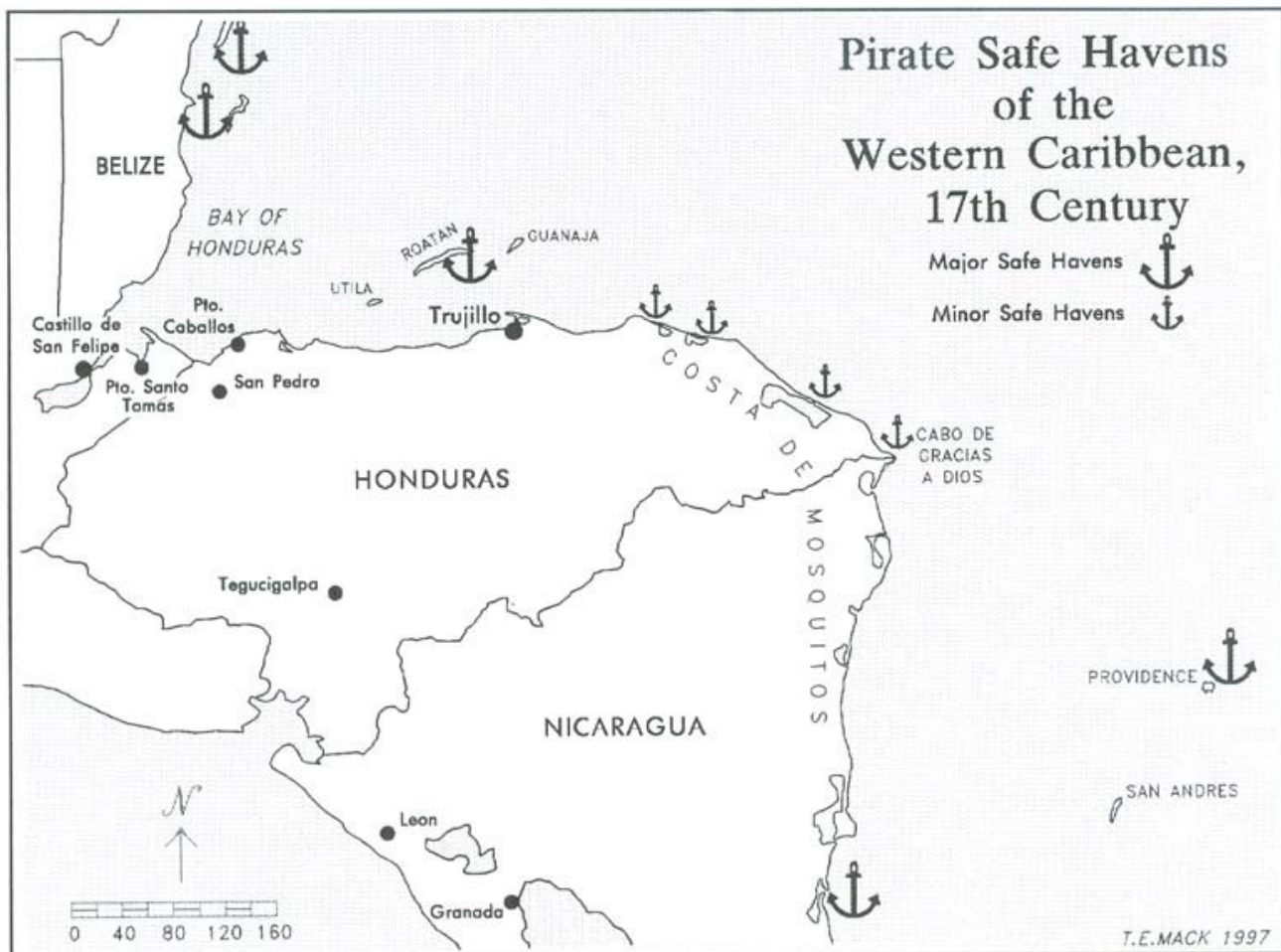


Figure 2. Pirate Safe Havens in the Western Caribbean, 17th Century.

The informal English settlements in Central America became important smuggling centers, especially in the eighteenth century. The Treaty of Madrid of 1670 recognized all lands then currently occupied by the English in North America and the West Indies as their possessions (Dawson 1983; Floyd 1967). The English later claimed that the Treaty included the settlements in Belize and the Mosquito Coast, a claim the Spanish never recognized. The English had begun to trade with the Miskito Indians at Cabo de Gracias a Dios at least by 1633, beginning the English-Miskito alliance. As the Industrial Revolution began, the demand in Britain for indigo dye from Central America increased, especially after the general expansion of the world economy in the 1730s (Thoves and Arana Salazar 1746; Wallerstein 1989; Weaver 1994, Wortman 1982). The British settlement at Black River on the Mosquito Shore became a major center from which to conduct illegal trade with the Spanish during the 1700s. Several smaller British settlements on the Mosquito Shore also served as trading sites, but mostly with the Zambos Mosquitos, the loyal allies of the British, without whose protection and allegiance the trade would have been impossible to carry out (Dawson 1983; Diez Navarro 1744a; Floyd 1967, Naylor 1989).

TRUJILLO AS A CONTRABAND ENTREPOT

During the eighteenth century, Trujillo was well situated for the increasing smuggling activity along the Caribbean coast. Founded in 1525, Trujillo served as a port to ship gold from the interior to Spain (Cereceda 1530, 1533; Pedraza 1544, 1547; Salcedo 1526; Saldaña 1525; West 1959). The gold hinterland lasted until around 1550, by which time most of the easily removed gold had been mined and [end p. 47] the indigenous labor had declined drastically (MacLeod 1973; Truxillen 1550; West 1959). Sarsaparilla and cattle hides replaced gold as the major export items throughout the next eight decades, but even though large amounts were shipped out from Trujillo they failed to bring riches to the city (Antonelli and Quintanilla 1590; López de Velasco 1575; MacLeod 1973; Vázquez de Espinosa 1629). In the 1630s and 1640s, both Dutch and English pirates repeatedly attacked Trujillo, with Spain nearly powerless to stop such attacks (Butler 1639; Jackson 1643; Laet 1644). The city's decline began shortly afterwards, and the 1683 census reported the city as completely abandoned (Castro y Ayala 1683). The people of the town had moved inland to the Agwln Valley to escape pirate attacks and had established their own, unauthorized settlements, with many

living in homesteads quite a distance from each other, much to the dismay of the province's officials (Ayala 1698; Manrique 1702). Although officially abandoned, Trujillo soon became a busy contraband entrepôt.

As early as 1718, Spanish citizens met British traders at Trujillo, and contraband activity began increasing through the 1720s (AGI 1725). By 1737, the anchorage called Puerto Nuevo or Puerto Escondido, at the end of the spit that forms the bay where the modern port of Puerto Castilla is located, was in regular use by British ships because of the refuge the site afforded from the rough, open seas (AGCA 1752, 1778; Diez Navarro 1758; Rivera 1737) (Figure 3). During this period, the frontier between the Spanish and the British/Zambos-Mosquitos ran through Trujillo Bay, the lower Aguán Valley, and the Agalta Valley, continuing with the general frontier between the Spanish settlements and indigenous settlements in western Olancho (Diez Navarro 1744a; Ferrandiz 1770). At Trujillo, British goods were unloaded from ships and placed directly on mules that carried them to the interior. Trujillo also served as a single break-of-bulk point, rather than the mouth of the Río Aguán where goods would have had to be unloaded onto lighters, carried over the bar that blocked the river's entrance, and then unloaded at the shore and packed onto mules.

Contrabandistas used three trade routes that focused on Trujillo (Figure 4). Two routes connected the port with its contraband hinterland, and the third served as a connection to its foreland at Black River, and hence Jamaica and Britain. The first road ran through the valley of the Río Aguan, extending over 160 kilometers into the interior and running roughly west-southwest, and served as the direct route between the coast and Yoro (Thoves and Arana Salazar 1744b). Trujillo, however, is separated from the Aguán Valley by a mountain range that ends a few miles east of the port. Rather than go around the mountains, the road to the Aguán Valley first ran a few miles west from Trujillo along the beach to the Río Mojuaguay and followed this small river up into the mountains (Diez Navarro 1744b; Sierra 1776). "Part of the road is mountainous, and covered by trees ... " and it ran through a saddle that forms the lowest elevation in the mountains (Diez Navarro 1744a: 8v). The road continued down the other side of the mountains along the Río Higuerito, a route still used by *campesinos* today.

After the trail left the mountainous terrain, the route turned westward toward Sonaguera, the closest village to Trujillo. The main occupation of the 30-35 mulatto residents of Sonaguera was smuggling; all were supposedly fugitives from justice and, "worse than the Zambos Mosquitos, they are pirates, thieves, and murderers" (AGI 1764; Franco 1759:2). Marcos Reyes, a mulatto from Sonaguera, told an undercover investigator that he and many of the other residents had learned English as children because they had so much contact with the British smugglers (Sierra 1776). From Sonaguera the road continued along the northern side of the Aguán Valley to San Jorge de Olanchito (AGI 1764). The contraband route continued westward and passed through Yoro, at the head of the Aguán Valley, then crossed the Montañas de Yoro and on to San Juan de Sulaco (AGI 1745b; Thoves and Arana Salazar 1744b). The Indians of San Juan de Sulaco claimed that they had to help move the large amounts of contraband that regularly passed through their town for Ramón de Baide, governor of Honduras (AGI 1745a). From Sulaco the road may have divided into two routes passing through the villages of Tapale and Guarabuquí, before joining other roads in the interior of Honduras (AGI 1745b). Most contraband between Trujillo and Comayagua likely passed along this route, and some trade from Tegucigalpa also went through the Aguán Valley on its way to the coast.

The second route into the hinterland connected Trujillo with Olancho el Viejo in the Olancho Valley. The British and other foreigners opened a new road from Olancho el Viejo, the present-day village of Boquerón, that ostensibly passed through the Agalta Valley to Trujillo (AGI 1745a). Documentation for this route is sketchy at best, and details have so far been lacking in the primary documents. Unlike the Aguán Valley, the Olancho is an interior upland valley, and in order to reach the coast the route had to cross at least the Sierra de Agalta. The road from **[end p. 48]** Trujillo may have crossed the sierra and then traveled along the floor of the Agalta Valley, another upland valley in the interior, to continue along the valley floor of Olancho. There may not have been just one road, because a number of villages had roads that connected with the coast, but they may have followed the general route along the floors of the Olancho and Agalta valleys (AGCA 1769). The villages of Agalta, Jano, Mineral de Cedros, and Yocón all are mentioned in primary documents for their contraband activity with Trujillo (AGI 1745a,b). There is also some evidence that *contrabandistas* opened new roads to Trujillo from the Olancho settlements.

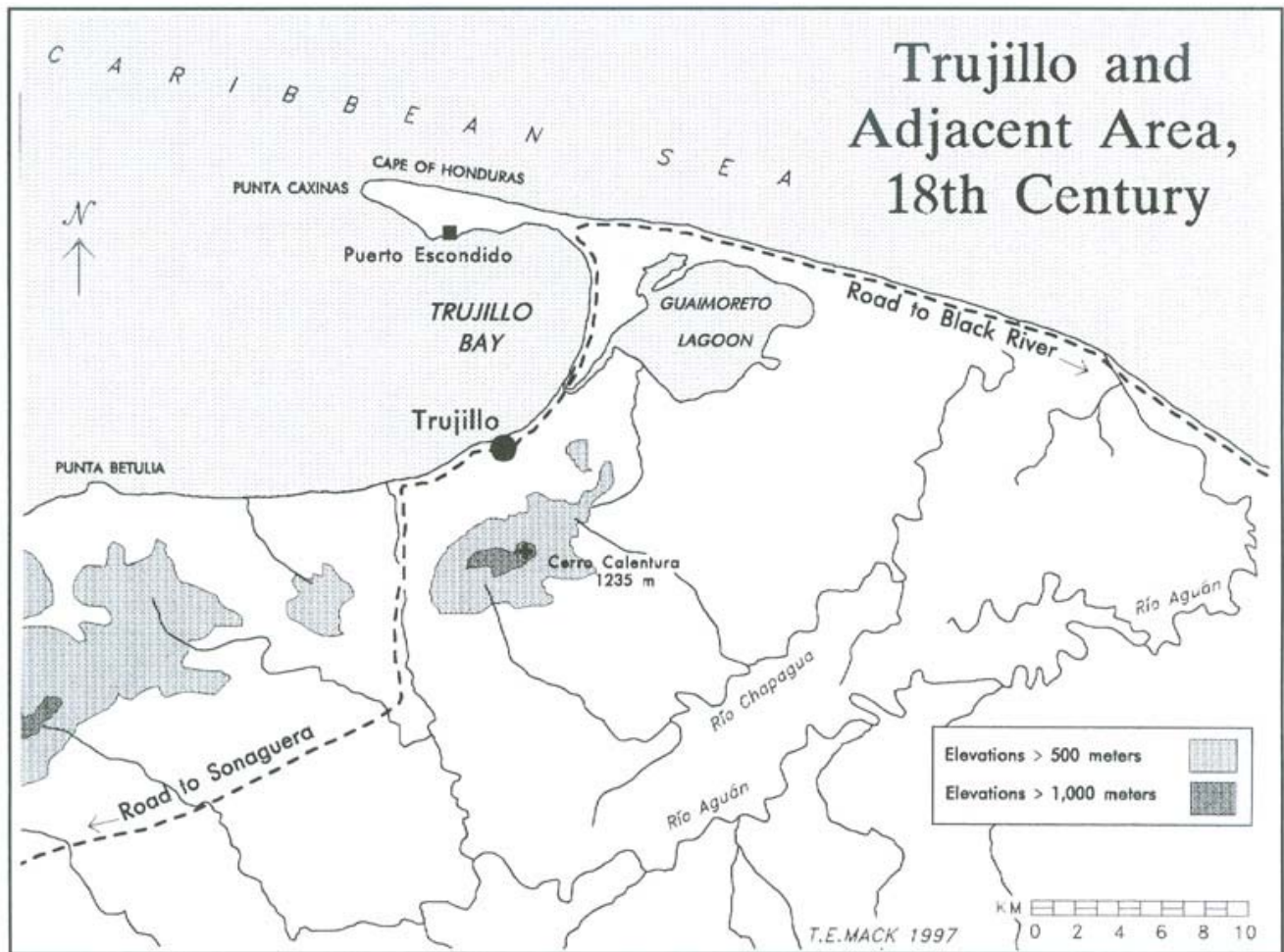


Figure 3. Eighteenth-Century Trujillo and Adjacent Area.

The third route from Trujillo was the overland connection to the contraband foreland at Black River. The route started by the ruins of the old city, ran eastward along the beach, and crossed the mouth of Guaimoreto Lagoon. Then it followed the beach around the bay to cut across the spit, probably near where it narrows to its smallest width to avoid swampy ground to the northeast of the lagoon (AGCA 1778; Sierra 1776). The trail ran eastward along the beach, with canoes and pitpans at the Ríos Aguán and Limón to facilitate crossings. At Punta de Piedras Gordas, also called los Peñones Grandes, the road left the beach for a short diversion inland. To cross the obstruction at Peñones Chicos, the route went either into the sea, but only to a depth of the middle of the leg, or over the rocks and through the forest (Sierra 1776). The route passed through Seri-Bor (Ciriboya), where an Englishman ran a sugar mill at his hacienda, and continued to Río de Sacrelay (Sangrelaya?), crossing the Barra de Cric at an easy ford no more than chest deep. One route from the ford went along the beach to Black River and the other apparently ran inland, but the primary documents lack details. Occasionally, contraband traveled by ship between Trujillo and Black River, usually with loading and unloading taking place at Puerto Escondido (AGCA 1778; AGI 1725; Diez Navarro 1758; Rivera 1737). [end p. 49]

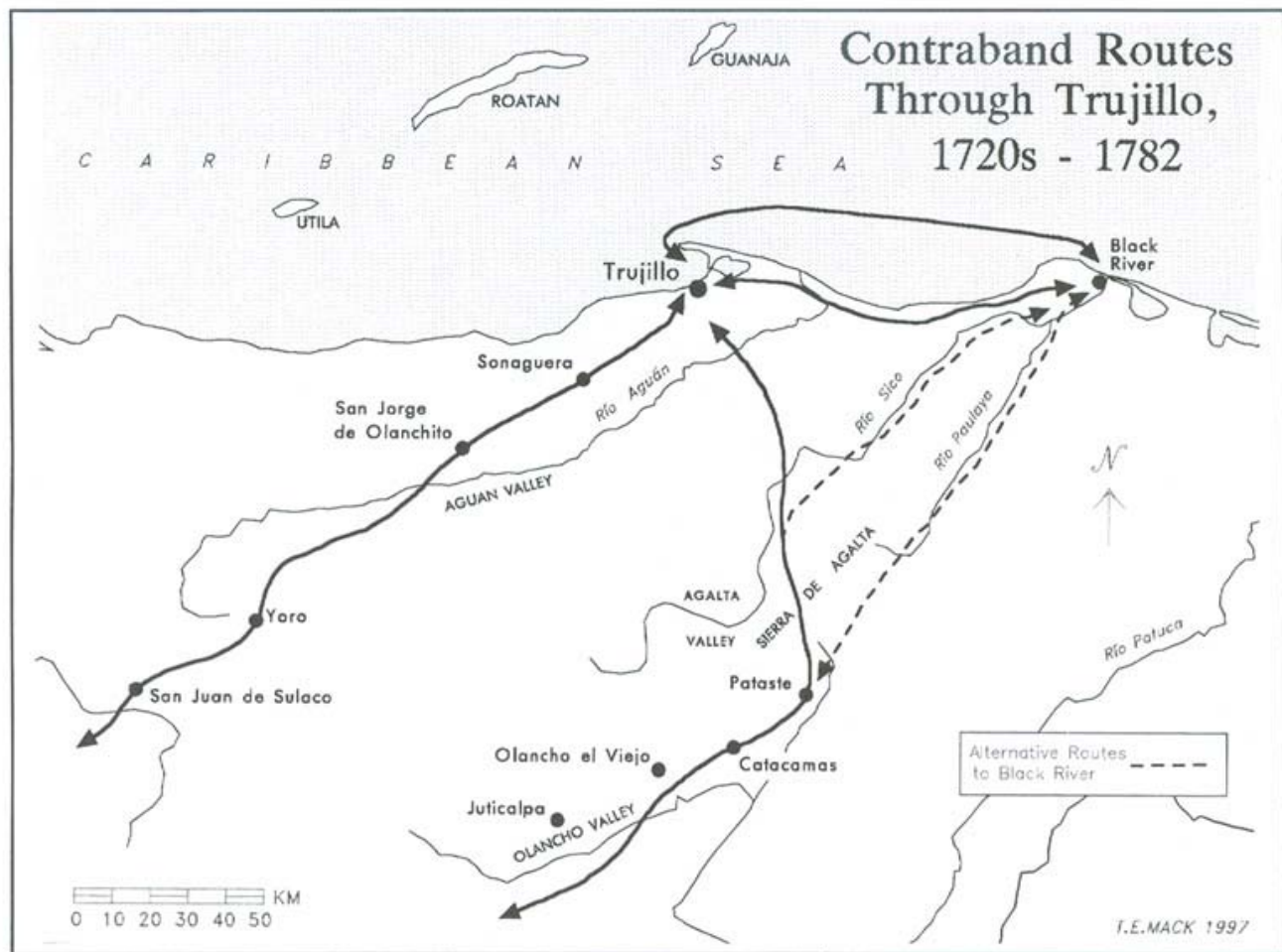


Figure 4. Contraband Routes through Trujillo, 1720s-1782.

These were not the only contraband routes in Honduras at the time, although Trujillo served as the prime entrepôt for such trade. Two other routes connected Black River to the Spanish settlements. One passed through the Agalta Valley, the frontier between the Spanish and several indigenous groups, and must have run along the Río Sico, although no details have been found on the exact location of the route (Ferrandiz 1770). The other route is better documented, having left Catacamas towards Pataste, on to the Guampú, and then down to the Río Paulaya (AGCA 1769; Ferrandiz 1770). *Contrabandistas* also used other river valleys in Honduras to trade with the British, including the Ríos Ulúa, Chamalecon, Leán, Negro, and Patuca, all of which provide thoroughfares for illicit commerce between the coast and the interior (Diez Navarro 1758; Floyd 1967). None of these other routes seems to have served such a large hinterland or handled as much illegal trade compared to the contraband that passed through Trujillo.

TRUJILLO'S CONTRABAND HINTERLAND

Trujillo had an extensive export and import hinterland for contraband trade (Figure 5). The Spanish traded mostly primary products for British textiles and clothing (Rodríguez 1745). British goods imported through Trujillo to the import hinterland included cloth, clothing, linen, hats, wine, almonds, raisins, spices and other items (AGI 1744). Items in demand by the British from Trujillo's export hinterland included gold, silver, indigo and logwood, the four most desired products, the first two for their worth as specie and the second two for their use as dyes in textile manufacturing (Diez Navarro 1744a; Thoves and Arana Salazar 1746). Also in demand by the British were cattle, cacao, sarsaparilla, balsam, and hides. Many export products that were smuggled out through Trujillo came from the Aguán Valley. [end p. 50]

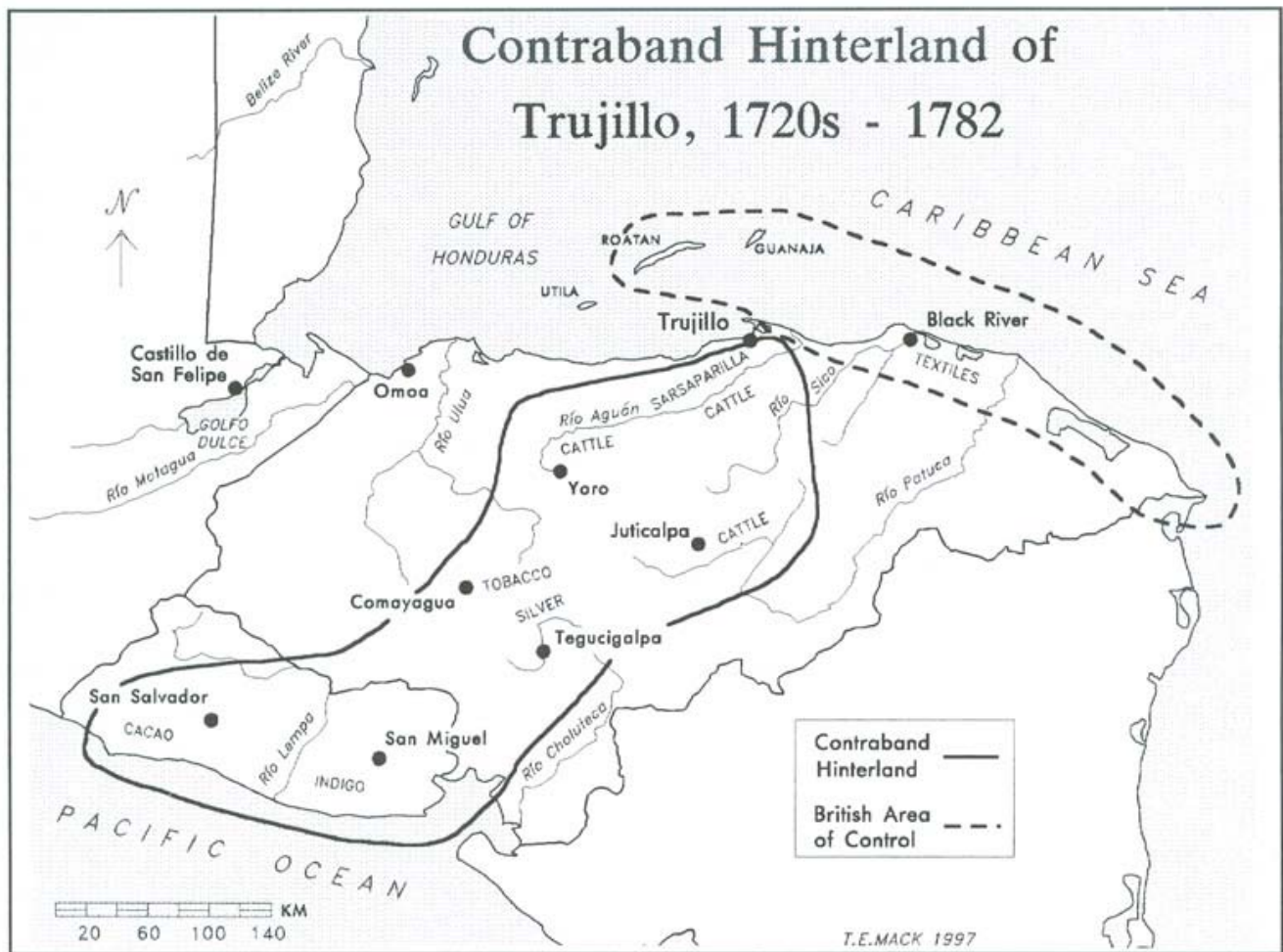


Figure 5. The Contraband Hinterland of Trujillo.

The people of Sonaguera supplied mules, horses, hides, and a large number of cattle for the contraband trade (AGI 1744, 1745b, 1746a, b; Diez Navarro 1744a). The cattle from Sonaguera, however, may not have been raised there, having originated from farther up the valley (AGI 1745b; Sierra 1776). Cattle also came from further up the Aguán Valley at Olanchito (AGI 1745a,b). The savannas along the lower Aguán Valley provided fodder for the large number of grazing cattle, including those brought for the express purpose of smuggling to the British. For a number of years the British even maintained a ranch in the savannas to the east of Guaimoreto Lagoon for holding cattle before they were taken to Black River (AGI 1745a). At one time the Spanish reported two to three hundred mules and horses, five houses, forty cargo-carrying harnesses, and a large number of cattle kept by the British at Guaimoreto (AGI 1746b). It is unclear if any cattle were raised at this ranch, or if it was only used as a holding area. Sarsaparilla was another major product for smuggling that came from the Aguán Valley, mostly from the lower and wetter sections (Sierra 1776). The residents of Sonaguera also sold food products, including plantains and chickens, to passing ships that stopped in Trujillo Bay (AGI 1746a). Illegally imported goods found in the Aguán Valley included cloth, clothing, food, spices, and other miscellaneous products (AGI 1744).

A large amount of illegal trade came from up the Aguán Valley. Cattle from Yoro was traded at Trujillo for British clothing (AGI 1745a). At one point in 1745, three separate parties of cattle drovers left Yoro for Trujillo with a total of 400 head (AGI 1745b). The Valle de Locomapa, connected to the upper Aguán Valley, also was well known for trade with the English through Trujillo. Haciendas in the valley at Guare, Locomapa, and San Roque produced a large number of cattle, many of which were traded through Trujillo. An oversupply of cattle, largely from the Aguán Valley, drove down the price the [end p. 51] British paid for cattle from an initial ten pesos per head to six pesos and four reales (AGI 1745b).

Spanish officials knew that the contraband trade with the Olancho Valley through Trujillo was enormous. Illegally obtained foreign goods were openly traded in Olancho el Viejo (AGI 1745a). Cattle from Olancho traveled by way of the road opened by the British to Trujillo. Silver was an important trade item from Olancho to the British, through Trujillo. In Juticalpa, investigators

discovered eighteen *cargas* of textiles and clothing from England. The primary documents have few details on the types of items and the amounts that were smuggled, but all indicate that there was substantial illegal trade through the Olancho Valley connected through Trujillo. Much of Trujillo's contraband trade passed through Tegucigalpa and Comayagua. Indigo, silver, gold, sarsaparilla, and other goods reportedly came from Tegucigalpa, reported to have the major portion of the trade, and Mineral de los Cedros (AGI 1745b; Diez Navarro 1744a). From Comayagua came salt, cacao, necklaces, hammocks, tallow, lard, deer hides, and other, unspecified goods (AGI 1745b). Illegal British goods were plentiful in both Comayagua and Tegucigalpa, and often were sold in the open. During Semana Santa in 1745, the wife of the governor of Honduras received a ring from a *contrabandista* who was trading openly in Comayagua (AGI 1745a).

The contraband hinterland for Trujillo extended even to Nicaragua and El Salvador. Cacao and maize are specifically mentioned as products brought from the city of Leon to the port (Diez Navarro 1744a). Indigo, however, was the main trade item, coming largely from El Salvador (AGI 1745b; Diez Navarro 1744a). Mule trains carrying indigo were said to pass continuously and in public view from San Miguel along both the major routes to Trujillo (AGI 1745b). People from San Miguel traveled to Black River and traded indigo for British textiles (Sierra 1776). In Nicaragua and San Salvador British goods sold openly, often coming from Trujillo (AGI 1745a; Diez Navarro 1744a).

Some information on prices of contraband goods is available. The British paid eight reales per pound for indigo in 1745, but later in the period traded clothing for the dye rather than cash (AGI 1745b; Sierra 1776). That same year Spanish silver sold for ten reales and gold for sixteen pesos per ounce (AGI 1745b). Sarsaparilla sold for two reales per pound, and hides went for three or four reales each, the price depending on quality and size (Sierra 1776). The British paid twenty-five pesos for large horses, when available, and resold them in Jamaica. The British also asked for mules, but apparently there was little or no surplus of the animals for trade. Cattle initially sold for 10 pesos per head, but dropped to six pesos four reales (AGI 1745b). In 1776, cattle taken by the Spanish directly to Black River brought twelve pesos, but only six or seven if sold in Trujillo (Sierra 1776). The cattle herders received twelve to eighteen pesos for delivering cattle to Black River, and six to eight pesos for delivering letters. Beef rarely sold for more than one-half real per pound in Black River, and enough cattle and other provisions were smuggled to the British settlement that fresh food was available on a daily basis.

Plans to Stop Contraband along the Costa Norte

After the War of Spanish Succession and the initiation of the Bourbon reforms in the first part of the eighteenth century, Spain began its attempts to stop contraband along the Costa Norte, although real efforts would not start until the renewed expansion of the world-economy around 1750 (Pérez-Brignoli 1989; Wallerstein 1980). As early as 1738 Pedro de Rivera y Villalón, the Presidente de Guatemala, recognized that bases of operations were needed along Central America's Caribbean coast to stop contraband and, ultimately, to expel the British from the region (Floyd 1967; Rivera 1737). The coast was largely unoccupied by the Spanish from Portobelo northward to Chetumal. Original plans included forts at Trujillo and on Costa Rica's Matina Coast, but there was no engineer in the audiencia to take charge of the project (Consejo de Indias 1740, 1741; Rivera 1737). Luis Diez Navarro, a twenty-five year veteran of service in Africa and of the siege of Gibraltar in 1726, and with experience in building forts at Cádiz, Spain, and San Juan de Ulúa, Mexico, left for Guatemala in 1742, after completing the new mint in Mexico City (Floyd 1967). Diez Navarro went on to carry out the only complete survey of defenses for Central America during the colonial era (Diez Navarro 1744a).

Diez Navarro (1744a) immediately discounted the Castillo de San Felipe in the Golfo Dulce because of its distance from the coast, the ruined state of the fort, and the need for ships to transfer cargo to lighters to cross the bar of the Río Dulce. For the northern part of the Caribbean coastline, he focused on Trujillo and Omoa. Diez Navarro (1744b) found many problems with Trujillo as a base of operations. [end p. 52] The port was simply too far from both Santiago de Guatemala, the capital of the *audiencia*, at 268 leagues, and Comayagua, the capital of the Provincia de Honduras, at ninety-five leagues. He also reported that one fort could not defend the large bay, thirteen kilometers wide at its largest point, and wrote that for this same reason neither would the British attempt to fortify Trujillo Bay. Enemy ships could sail into the bay in full view, and yet be out of cannon range. The Zambos-Mosquitos also could easily have cut off any support by land to a fort at Trujillo, simply by travelling up the Río Aguán. Diez Navarro also cast doubts on the loyalty to the Spanish crown of the mixed-blood residents of Sonaguera, San Jorge de Olanchi to, and Olancho el Viejo, the towns closest to Trujillo and said to be thoroughly corrupted by the contraband trade. During his survey the British were building a fort on nearby Roatan, constructed largely with stone and bricks taken from the ruined fortifications at Trujillo (AGI 1742, 1745b). The British occupied Roatán from 1742 to 1749, and again from 1779 until their dislodgment in 1782 (Davidson 1974). The Spanish feared the settlement on the island would become 'like another Curayao,' the center for Dutch contraband in the southern Caribbean (Thoves and Arana Salazar 1744a). Diez Navarro (1744a) feared that any fortifications at Trujillo would have been surrounded by the British and Zambos-Mosquitos at Roatán and Black River.

Diez Navarro (1744a) found Omoa to be the most secure, cleanest, and most tranquil port on the entire coast of Honduras. Omoa was close to Santiago de Guatemala and Comayagua, as well as to the Golf Dulce. There were plenty of cedars and other trees to provide materials for any ships in need of repair, and all the work could be done under the protection of cannon fire

from the fort because the bay was small enough. He envisioned the fort at Omoa serving not only as a base of operations against the *contrabandistas* and the British, but also attracting settlement and increased trade for the area. His plan for a fort was revised in 1752 by a special military committee that recommended a much smaller and inexpensive structure (Floyd 1967; Hasemann 1986). In that year construction began on the complex now called the Recinto El Real, an early structure with barracks, warehouses, offices, a chapel and other rooms. Construction on the principal fort and defensive structure, the Fortaleza de San Fernando de Omoa, did not begin until September 1759 (Hasemann 1986). Delays, funding problems, and changes in the plans plagued construction, so the fort was still incomplete twenty years later when it was captured by a British force on October 20, 1779. By that time the fort at Omoa was itself something of a center for contraband trade, and one commander even took part himself in occasional smuggling operations (Floyd 1967). The fort ultimately proved ineffective in stopping the contraband trade that flowed through Trujillo and other points along the Caribbean coast.

CONCLUSION

Spanish forces finally reoccupied Trujillo in 1782 to stop contraband and halt any possible territorial advancement by the British. In 1786, through various treaties, the Spanish gained possession of Black River from the British. Although the heyday of contraband trade came to a close, smuggling still continued but on a much smaller scale. During much of the eighteenth century, however, the Spanish remained nearly powerless to stop the contraband trade, particularly when the people of this peripheral backwater of the empire made their own economic fortunes through smuggling.

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RESUMEN

Durante mucho del siglo XVII, Trujillo, Honduras, se sirvió el papel de entrepôt para la mayoría del contrabando entre los españoles en la Audiencia de Guatemala y los británicos quienes colonizaron la Costa de Mosquitos. La Bahía de Trujillo, grande y protegida de los vientos y con acceso al interior, facilitó a los españoles y británicos con un sitio casi perfecto para conducir el tráfico ilícito. Los productos más importantes en el contrabando fueron tinta añil y ganado, intercambiados por los textiles británicos. El traspáis de Trujillo incluyó la mayoría de Honduras, El Salvador y partes de Nicaragua. Los españoles volvieron a ocupar Trujillo en 1782, pero antes de este año fueron casi impotente para suprimir el contrabando. **[end p. 56]**