Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography 16

MIGRATION IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA

In this collection of innovative essays an international team of contributors provides theoretical, methodological and substantive empirical analyses of a long-neglected topic in Latin American research. Covering places as varied as Bolivia and Costa Rica, and ranging in time from the sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth century, the studies will attract the attention of all Latin American specialists. They provide conclusive evidence of the ubiquity of migration in the early modern period, challenging views of immobile peasants held in the grip of static colonialism. They show that to migrate was one of the most important means of coping with Spanish colonialism. The essays are written from a multi-disciplinary perspective and thus provide data and interpretations that are novel and represent important new contributions to colonial Latin American studies. They address the basic questions of who migrated, why did they migrate, how can one interpret migration fields, what role did economic opportunity or ecological conditions play, and not least, what was the impact of migrants on non-migrant communities in both rural and urban areas.

The picture that emerges is one of colonial Spanish America in continual flux: spatial mobility was no less pronounced than social/racial change.

DAVID J. ROBINSON is Dellplain Professor of Latin American Geography at Syracuse University, New York

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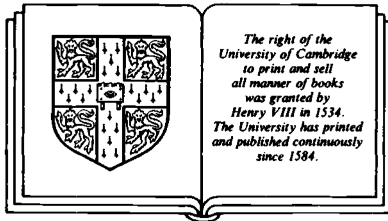

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Preface

The majority of these essays originated from a Dellplain symposium, entitled "Migration in Colonial Latin America," held at Syracuse University in October of 1986. On that occasion eight of the present contributors presented papers, and six other persons provided comments, criticisms, and suggestions. All of the foreign guests and their American hosts enjoyed the luxury of continuous discussion, both during the formal sessions, and even more vociferously over meals and drinks, usually late into the night.

The symposium's members then migrated to Boston to participate in a special session under the same title, during the national meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. At the new locale three other papers were presented, and the symposium participants were able to benefit from the many questions and comments that were forthcoming from a wider, multidisciplinary audience. We all left Boston quite determined to hear, read, and speak no more of migration for several weeks!

In these essays, the authors deal primarily with internal migration within colonial Spanish America. Only occasionally is the migration to and from that continental region mentioned. But internal migration is here established as a fundamental and highly significant component of socio-economic development. Each author brings to the topic new data, new interpretations, and new insights from widely differing colonial contexts and disciplinary perspectives. Whether the migrants are adolescents migrating for schooling, rural laborers searching for jobs, or Indians fleeing the burdens of tribute payment . . . all demonstrate the fact that to migrate in the colonial world was often a necessity. Since resources, and opportunities, were spatially noncontinuous, one simply had to shift from one place to another. Place-making, and re-making, thus became essential ingredients of the colonial enterprise, as did the race mixing and social interaction that migration permitted and indeed stimulated.

In assembling these essays, many of them greatly modified in the light of our experiences during and after the symposium, I have had the usual

invidious task of selecting, editing, and rejecting. To those whose papers could not be included here, my apologies, but also my thanks for the benefits of your oral and written contributions. The papers of three young historians, presented at the American Historical Association national meeting in 1987, and all dealing with aspects of colonial migration have made excellent additions to the present collection. Their work represents a significant advance at the research frontier of historical investigations. All three should have been invited, of course, to the Syracuse symposium but, as is too often the case, one can only learn from one's mistakes.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the following for their time, patience, attention, and most of all for their critical comments, both during the sessions at Syracuse and after: William Mangin, María Luíza Marcílio, James L. Newman, Nicolás Sánchez Albornóz, and Michael M. Swann. I also owe a considerable debt of gratitude to my graduate student colleagues who so graciously and capably assisted me with the organization of the symposium: Rosa Benavides, Brian Long, and Marie Price.

Preparing this manuscript for publication has, as is usual, indebted me to many people. First, I would like to thank Marcia Harrington for her excellent work in preparing all of the graphics included in this volume. Few who were at Syracuse will forget the 3 × 4 meter map that she had prepared of colonial Mexican local jurisdictions, and which is reproduced here at one-hundredth of its original size in Figure 1.2. Her skills at creating art from little more than doodles still amazes those who work with her. To Michael Kirchoff of the Cartographic Laboratory at Syracuse University, my thanks for all his help in ensuring that little but vital things always get done on time.

I alone am responsible for the translations of chapters 7, 9, 13, and 14, all of which were presented and submitted in Spanish. I am grateful for the confidence in me that their authors have demonstrated, for none will have seen the final editions until they receive copies of this book.

The entire financial support for this venture into the mostly uncharted territory of colonial migration was provided once again from the Dellplain Program in Latin American Geography at Syracuse University. I have also again to thank Robert G. Jensen, chairman of my department, for his unstinting encouragement and personal support.

This collection would not have seen the light of day in its present form had it not been for the interest shown by Alan Baker, editor of the Cambridge Historical Geography Series. I am most grateful for his support and assistance with steering the volume through the Press. Those who have worked with Cambridge University Press know of its excellent staff: in this case it is a pleasure to be able to thank Margaret Jull Costa for her expert editorial assistance with the manuscript, and Richard Fisher for all his help with transforming the manuscript into a book.

Finally, I sincerely hope that the product of this congerie of colonialists, all

fascinated by the patterns and process of migration, will stimulate others to extend the paths that we open up here, to search for new sources of data, and to enjoy as have we, the delights of historical-geographical research. If geographers, historians, and anthropologists share their concepts, methods and insights, it cannot but improve the range and quality of our understanding of the complexities of the Spanish American past. To all the contributors, *amigos todos*, my sincere thanks for your support and interest in setting up a new signpost along the trail of those in search of past population movements.

D.J.R.
Syracuse

1

Introduction: towards a typology of migration in colonial Spanish America

DAVID J. ROBINSON

Introduction

Migration was a ubiquitous phenomenon in colonial Spanish America. Wherever, and whenever one looks, one finds evidence of a spatially mobile society. Yet anyone attempting to study the process of migration will immediately confront a host of conceptual, methodological, technical, and terminological problems that probably explain why so relatively few have undertaken migration studies. In the same way that anyone leaving his proper, and fixed, place in colonial Spanish America immediately became socially suspect, so too anyone moving from one colonial jurisdiction to another creates major problems for the historical researcher.[1] Yet historical population movements are too important to be neglected, or to be allowed to deter research. Migration was one important way in which the very colonial world of Spanish America was created. The diffusion of Spanish immigrants throughout the continent,[2] spreading among other things their gospel, diseases and world view, triggered a migrational response on the part of the aboriginal Indians, only parts of which are we now able to outline in sketchy fashion.[3] Invasion and immigration for whites often meant retreat, and emigration for Indians. For the newcomers their "opening" of the continent resulted in a necessary "closing" of aboriginal worlds, the initiation of cultural assimilation or rejection, racial mixing, the onset of market economies and new trade patterns – in short a new phase in the development of social and spatial structures and processes throughout the continent.

Yet if migration was ubiquitous in colonial Spanish America, it was also highly differentiated. Each and every individual migrant moved for specific, and for us still obscure reasons. In the light of the past research, and the essays that are presented below, I shall attempt to typologize colonial migration, as a first step towards a better understanding of this most complex process. In so doing, of course, it will not be possible to cite all studies that have been undertaken that deal with migration, and I shall also attempt to

minimize overlap in citations with the authors of the other essays presented here. One of the most interesting aspects of preparing an overview of colonial migration is the discovery that almost every study concerned with colonial Latin America published in the past, be it on administrative structures,[4] the Church,[5] landholdings,[6] taxes,[7] population fertility[8] – all have some component or other related to migration. For all colonial analyses that involve people, or their relation to the land, the economy, or the society in which they lived, necessarily deal with their movements in space and time. Since everybody moved some distance during their lives, all colonial populations should theoretically be included in our analyses. Yet, of course, such a reality lies beyond our research reach at the present time. Only those who left a trail of evidence, or crossed boundaries important enough to be noted in the documentation of the time, or created serious problems for those charged with maintaining colonial rule, are recoverable. The many millions of migrants thus have to be represented by the few thousands that we can extract from the opaque colonial records. A most significant question has to be kept in the forefront of our minds as we thus interpret the analyses which follow: to what extent is it possible to establish at this point in time the representative nature of those migrants that have been studied to date? The consequences of that question should, I would argue, stimulate us to think in the broadest possible terms in relation to migration. If we are able to define the overall dimensions of the phenomenon of colonial migration, then at least we may be able to see how far we have come, and just how far we still have to proceed with our investigations. We need to think carefully about the nature and consequences of colonial migration, both from the viewpoint of the migrants themselves as well as the society at large in which they lived, and also the indirect and longer-term effects of shifts in population distributions. In that sense, colonial population migration is one of the most important historical antecedents in contemporary Spanish America.[9] One has only to examine a map of the current distribution of ethnic populations to understand that the colonial movements have been of enduring significance.

The contexts of colonial migration

Significant though migration was during the colonial period in Spanish America, its study poses major problems. As Mitchell has observed "the analytical obduracy of the phenomenon [migration] lies in the disjunction between the act of movement and the range of widely diverse circumstances which lead to it."[10] In short, the millions of individual decisions to migrate from one place to another, have somehow to be reduced to meaningful regularities of behavior. Though the first (and by no means easy) task is that of establishing the frequency, rate, direction and pattern of such movements, the fundamental issue is to attempt to answer the question of why regular

patterns of migration existed. The evidence for such regularities will be presented below, but here it is necessary to emphasize the importance of attempting to explain patterns of related individual migrations. We would also do well to remember that the patterns themselves, if we are careful enough in our analyses of the factors that underlie them, may turn out to be epiphenomenal.

In response to such problems, social scientists have developed several strategies of investigation that may help us in our study of the specific contingent conditions of colonial Spanish America. I shall not consider here the many general models of migration that have been developed by geographers, economists, demographers and others, since those have recently been analyzed.[11] Instead, several general approaches that will inform our considerations of colonial migration will be outlined.

The first of these is what one may call the "social field" approach[12] Here, the migrant is viewed as a member of a network of socio-economic linkages that acts as a set of constraints, or opportunities, that may promote or restrain the probability of migration. The migrant's decision is not viewed as an individual act, but rather as a socially-conditioned response to a set of circumstances. And obviously such circumstances varied in time and space. For the colonial migrants these networks would include those of kinship and god-kinship, relations between employer and employee, relations to supra-family cultural groups, such as *ayllus*, and communities, and of course the bonding with places, both sacred or merely beloved. What this frame of reference allows one to consider is the significance of the social context in which the potential migrant is embedded. We are not suggesting the applicability of notions of social physics, with individuals acting as social atoms. Rather the analogy here would be the individual as a constituent element of a cellular social structure, receiving and donating time, energy, friendship, love, loyalty, and material products. This approach stresses the web of social linkages that located each and every potential colonial migrant in a position relative to his or her neighbor.[13] The decision to move was thus one that was not to be taken lightly since it involved significant personal, familial and social costs. For this approach to be operationalized it will be evident that we need to know a great deal more about the social linkages in colonial society than is presently available.

A second approach adopts a more structural conceptual frame, arguing that any decision to migrate is based upon fundamental goals, for example, survival in the face of perceived risk, the desire to accumulate wealth, the achievement of social or self-ascribed status, and the need to maximize socio-economic opportunities. Since most populations resided within fairly constant settings that included natural resources, an economy, a social structure, communications, and administrative-legislative controls, the ability of individuals to achieve their goals was affected by such variable factors as

government policies, prices, access to land and employment, extreme natural (and man-made) events, the diffusion of technology, and the rate of economic and environmental change. The significance for us is that all of these factors were themselves spatially, temporally and socially variable. People in colonial Spanish America were confronted with a spatially fragmented opportunity/risk structure or surface. Since only the most powerful members of society could control, or even gain access to resources of many types over a wide area, necessarily, the individual or basic migrational entity had to resolve a set of complex calculations. Would it be better to move to escape taxation? Would a better job be available in the distant city? Would one be able to "lose" one's ethnic stigma by migrating to a region where the population in general was much darker-skinned? Would one's chances of economic opportunity be improved by risking the move to a newly-opened frontier zone of agriculture or mining? And, of course, the answers to all these and many other questions had to be judged within the context of one's relative social position. Was there somebody to help at the potential destination? Would a move have to be permanent, with the consequent loss of community membership, derived social status and that most valuable asset, land?

What this approach demands is a knowledge of those basic structural entities – the patterns of economic activity, the natural resource base, the system of communications available – that will permit us to better judge the cause of decisions to migrate, and equally significant the effects of migration. Unfortunately the knowledge available for most of colonial Spanish America, even in those microregions to which considerable attention has been paid, is still minimal. One has only to ask simple questions to realize how little we still know: how far would one have to travel from one's home to reach the nearest town of more than 5,000 inhabitants? How many times per month did travellers (merchants, muledrivers, etc.) reach the *haciendas* or *ranchos* of the Mexican *bajío*, or the mines of Nueva Vizcaya?[14] What were the patternings of landuse in Mendoza, Concepción, Caracas, or Morelos, and how did they affect regional labor demand?[15] How far did one have to travel to receive news of slave prices, or new royal legislation? Did one's community have the services of a priest, or could one depend at least upon a periodic visit to register long-buried bodies, baptize full-grown "infants," or marry parents?

These are all realistic issues in the context of colonial Spanish America, and seriously affect our ability to understand the key variables that must have affected the many decisions to migrate. Until we learn much more about the particularities of the spatial patterning of Spanish colonialism, our attempts at interpreting migration will be at best desultory.

Another approach in migration analysis is that of adopting the micro-view of the migrant, to attempt to understand migration through the experiences

of individuals, rather than to make deductions from the patterns derived from aggregate analyses. Here, the task is that of tracing individuals through their life-cycle in colonial space-time.[16] Like death, migration only exists after it has taken place, and thus the researcher is immediately confronted by the limitations of *post facto* analysis. Since we cannot know of the thoughts of those who considered the possibility of migration, and then took no action, even though they would have been an invaluable comparative study group, we thus have to confront the issue of how we are to select our individuals to study. Some might wish to proceed on the basis of a randomly selected migrant population, truly representative in a statistical sense. Others, more concerned with the richness of interpretation that may be derived from unrepresentative cases, might eschew statistical propriety and go for well-documented examples.

Another method would be to select ideal-types, and use each one of those to represent a social group. One can think of many such ideal-types: the young male immigrant to the colonies looking for a job and/or a rich widow;[17] the black slave escaping the injustice of his master;[18] the humble Indian lured to the prosperous mining camp;[19] the bored bureaucrat waiting to be transferred from a minor civil jurisdiction to a "civilized" post in a large city; the devout priest following a pattern of postings from village to village;[20] the adventurous *mestizo* traveling far and wide to hide a criminal record; the young maiden of high social status sent to live in a large house in one of the major cities of the colonies;[21] the Indian *cacique* moving on to a Spanish-held hacienda to reap the benefits of his social status and ability to control those less fortunate; the free *mulato* who decides to simply take off and explore for new agricultural lands in a frontier zone; the over-worked and over-taxed Indian who abandons his community to escape into unoccupied and uncontrolled territory, there to establish his own new, isolated subsistence farm;[22] the wealthy merchant who moves throughout the colonies negotiating loans, purchases, contracts, who has residences or contacts in dozens of towns;[23] and finally the drifter, the *vagabundo*, for whom there is no home, but rather the continual harassment of officials who enquire as to his race, his origins (as if he would tell!), and his past, but are never concerned with his future.[24] These, then, are just some suggested ideal-types that might well repay collective and more systematic study.

Types of colonial migration

Any analysis of colonial migration must take into account three critical dimensions: space, time, and the characteristics of the migrants. In attempting to understand such complexity it may be helpful to view these three dimensions in graphical form (Figure 1.1). In this diagram, we plot on three axes (thus grossly reducing multidimensionality) space, in the form of types

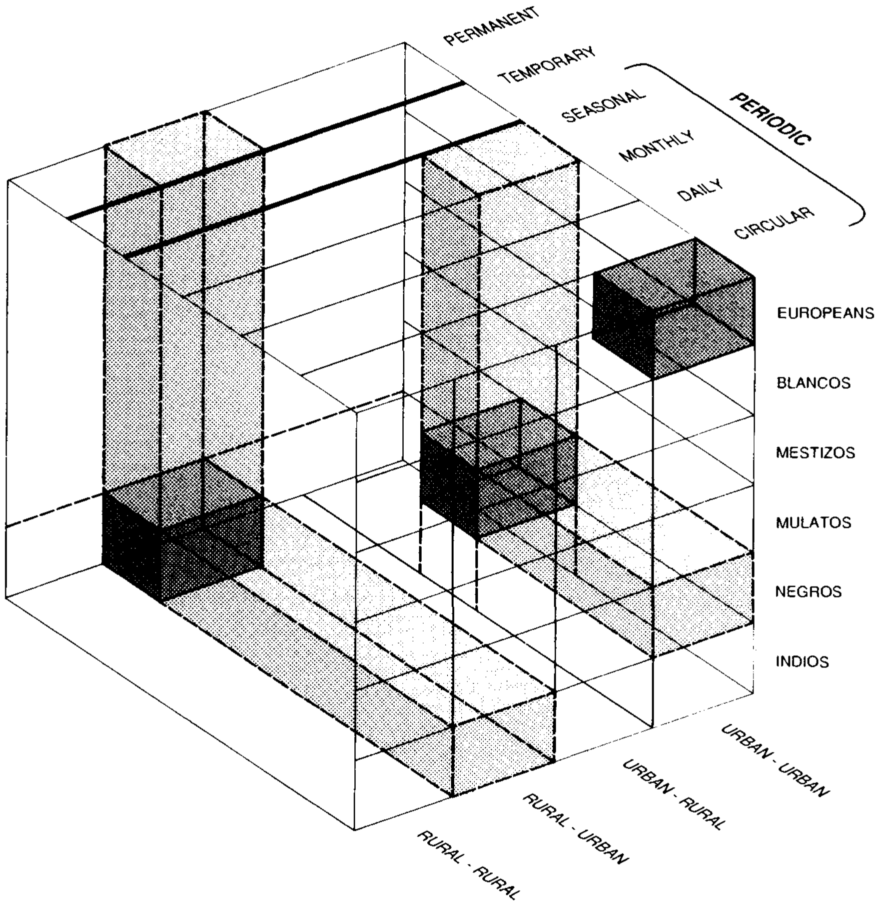

Figure 1.1 A matrix of colonial migration

of movement between settlements; time, in the form of temporal durations of migrant moves; and the characteristics of migrants, here only shown in simplified classes of racial types.

It should be apparent, however, that even within the confines of such a simplified schema, the theoretical types of migration that await study become numerous and exceedingly complex. The graphic isolates within the matrix three selected types of migration. The first is that of Europeans moving from one urban place to another in a circular fashion, classically the pattern of, say, a trader or merchant, or imperial official. The second identified group is that of negroes who also move between urban centers, but on a seasonal basis. These might well be representative of black slaves moved between the households of a wealthy colonialist. The third group identified are Indians

who are moving from rural to urban areas on a permanent basis: these could be found in large numbers all over Spanish America, especially in the later colonial period when, as Morse has perceptively observed, the colonial world became one of centripetal tendencies.[25]

If the migration matrix presented in Figure 1.1 serves any purpose it is, perhaps, that of forcing us to examine the nature of the dimensions represented along the margins of the cube. How can we adequately subdivide colonial space, time and individuals? Here, it will be evident I am suggesting that space is best thought of not in terms of linear distance (i.e. how far did a migrant move), but rather in a comparative systemic manner. If we wish to understand colonial migration as a process, I suggest that using the structure of the settlement system may be the best way of categorizing space. Here, therefore, the four migration options are between various combinations of rural and urban locations. Immediately, and quite properly, we have to consider if we yet are able to classify Spanish American colonial settlements in any such neat order. The answer, unfortunately, is a resounding no: very few regions have studies that identify with any technical rigor, the categories of settlements in which most of the population lived.[26] Of course, as might be expected, many will wish to debate the exact meaning of "urban" and "rural" in the context of the colonial world, and so it should be.[27] Surely the time has come to replace the formalism of *ciudad, villa, pueblo, rancho, hacienda, lugar, sitio,* etc., with some more constructive and functional meaning? Until that task is undertaken it will be difficult for us to be able to judge the significance of migrational moves in any directional and functional sense.

Beyond the minimal characteristics that need to be ascertained for each settlement type there remains the equally important task of determining the interconnections between settlements. Anyone who has been forced to use straight-line distance measurements in calculating migration patterns will surely have wondered exactly which way migrants really moved. Yet for Spanish America at large there are few analyses of colonial routeways and trails.[28] Even the official royal roads (*caminos reales*) have yet to be mapped, and anyone with a minimal knowledge of the physical geography of the region will realize that mules and horses, to say nothing of *llamas* and porters, could easily avoid these taxed trails. But if information and contacts used by migrants were established at regional fairs, or the local towns, then we have to know who walked along which routes, and who was at least likely to meet whom.[29]

Similarly one would expect that in the urban component of the settlement system, hierarchical order was very significant. To be in contact with the highest colonial authorities meant a very limited selection of migration destinations, normally the viceregal/*audiencia* capitals. But again, one has to remember that the colonial system of settlements evolved over a considerable

period of time, and that what we may identify as a patterning of functional central places in the eighteenth century, might have little meaning for the seventeenth. Since each and every region of Spanish America enjoyed its particular pattern of historical development, we shall generalize only at our peril.

The use, in Figure 1.1, of the terms urban and rural is also meant to suggest much more than the relative location of a migrant in a settlement. To move from one rural area to another rural area, or from an urban place to a rural zone, usually meant that one was shifting from one economic order to another. The "rural" in this sense meant a set of labor arrangements, a social world relatively distinct from that of the city.[30] Each of the spatial categories that one might wish to subdivide within, or add to, the matrix, should force one to consider in much more realistic terms, the empirical realities of colonial Spanish America.

If the categorization of colonial space poses problems, so too does colonial time. In Figure 1.1, the periodicity of migration is divided into relatively crude blocks of time. It is important to note that most migration studies now exclude circulation (i.e. migration that results in a return to an origin) from consideration within the strict purview of migration, but here are included all potential forms of migration to allow for a more comprehensive appreciation of the phenomenon.[31]

It can be seen that the first, and most important, division is that between migration that is permanent, and migration that is of some temporary form. Exactly what "permanent" and "temporary" mean, however, in the colonial context, remains to be investigated. It is important to note that in considering such concepts we are forced once again to reflect on such notions as "home," "residence," "belonging," "settling down," and being an "outsider," a "stranger," a "*conocido*" and the like (see McCaa below). For if time is to have meaning in our analyses it surely has to be conceptualized within the colonial context. As yet we do not know how long one had to live in a community to be socially "accepted," yet probably hundreds of thousands of migrants survived that experience. We do not know how long one could be "absent" before one lost one's community rights and duties. Such questions are essential in understanding the migration process for migrants undoubtedly were conscious of their social position and obligations at both their origins and destinations.

The periodic forms of migration shown on Figure 1.1 represent no more than a selection of possible types: the shift of workers to care for animals or special crops affected by the seasonality of climate;[32] the monthly trips to the large market center to pick up information or visit a friend or relative;[33] the daily round of visits to the local marketplace, or out to the fields;[34] the visits extending over several weeks or even months that took a travelling-salesman or a muledriver through a whole region, finally to return home.[35]

Like colonial time and space, the characteristics of the colonial population, the potential and actual migrants, also pose significant problems for the student of migration. Clearly each of the cells in Figure 1.1 that represent racial groups, first have to be divided by sex, and then again by age, and then, some would argue, by social class. We might add experience, occupation, family context, social rank, and political power to the list. In so doing, of course, what we again highlight is the superficiality of much of the research that has been completed on colonial Spanish America, and this includes, perhaps more than any other authors, those who have undertaken migration analysis! The debates on the social meaning of race and status definition in the colonial period continue,[36] and until they have been resolved in a more satisfactory fashion it is difficult to see how one can usefully interpret migrant characteristics as significant parameters in understanding the process of migration. Equally significant, however, may be the category migrant itself. One might properly argue that distinctive migrant cohorts (e.g. the first generation of Spaniards in Peru;[37] the survivors of the famines of the 1780s in central Mexico;[38] the pioneer settlers of sixteenth-century Soconusco[39] etc.) would each have a set of significant collective characteristics. Perhaps migrational participation should be considered as an important social variable?

What is certainly clear is that even the crude racial types depicted in Figure 1.1 had significance in colonial Spanish America. To be European (i.e. not born in the colonies to European parents) differentiated one from all others, and represented in colonial society the apex of the social order. One's status, wealth, dress, residence, family, even form of speech, placed one in a social position from which one could often quite literally look down upon the rest of the population.[40] Not that there were no poor Europeans, there were, but the fact is that being European and poor, and being non-European and poor, were significantly different states, the former promising considerable opportunity, the latter almost none. To be white (*blanco*), also placed one in a social rank well ahead of the mixed races (the mestizos, the mulatos – the *castas*), even though by the late-colonial period one's "whiteness" might be challenged.[41] As race-mixture proceeded, the colonial authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, became ever more preoccupied (at least on paper) with proper classifications.[42] To be black, whether the full black of a recently-arrived African slave, or the black of a person whose ancestors had lived in the colonies for six generations, and had mixed with Indians and white, still placed one at a disadvantage in the race-conscious world of colonial Spanish America.[43] To be an enslaved black meant that one's world was that defined by one's master. One could not move without his or her permission. Unfortunately, in the essays which follow little detailed attention is devoted to the black slave as a distinctive component in the migrating population. One explanation for this omission is the fact that to date very few studies

have been undertaken of the forced movement of black slaves, and only a handful of the escaped slaves (*cimarrones*) who established their communities well beyond the reaches of colonial authority.[44] Of the migratory moves of free urban blacks very little is known.

In contradistinction, "Indians" loom large in the essays which follow here, in part because they were numerically the largest population group of the colonies. Since they became first, the providers of the basic necessities of life for the Spanish immigrants, and their production was able to be rapidly converted to the benefit of the newcomers, and second, since they became the principal labor force of the Empire, control over them represented one of the central concerns of colonial administration. The aboriginal peoples were initially differentiated into complex hierarchical social orders before, as Stern so correctly asserts "the local peoples ... finally became Indians,"[45] their social and political systems undermined by homogenizing Spanish colonial rule.

What we also know, however, is that in the face of their new colonial situation (for many Indians had suffered under the colonialism of the Incas or Aztecs), many of them were more than able to meet the challenge of the new culture, whether it be by adapting to the new social order, or adapting the new economic order to their own ends. The skills of the Indian chiefs (*caciques, kurakas*) in negotiating within their new context has only recently been appreciated.[46] Of the millions of other Indians who were not swept away by the European-introduced diseases, we still know relatively little. Yet one thing is very clear: migration from adversity, or to opportunity, became one of the most important "solutions" for colonial Indians.[47]

One must note, of course, that Spanish American colonialism contained within it policies of racial segregation. As early as 1536 the *ordenanzas de población* of Peru prohibited Spanish persons from staying more than two days in an Indian village, a similar prohibition being enacted three years later in New Spain. As the "white" colonial towns grew in size it was common to find purely Indian suburban settlements (*barrios*). And the indigenous Andean social units, the *ayllus* (each divided by moiety) were reconstituted into territorial villages and townships.[48]

In our interpretation of Spanish American migration we must not forget the coercive basis of colonialism. Forced migration, be it to newly-created and located townships, or to the mortal mines of the altiplano, affected millions of Indians. They had no migration decision to make – it was made for them by bureaucrats in the metropolis or provincial capital.[49] That is yet another key dimension that has to be included in the matrix outlined in Figure 1.1.

The migration process

All studies of migration in colonial Spanish America have to overcome the significant technical difficulties of analyzing such a complex phenomenon. Not least of these problems stems from the fact that to be a migrant a person had to have moved across a jurisdictional boundary and resided there long enough to be registered, either in a census or in some ecclesiastical ritual (baptism, marriage, burial).[50] Time and space thus again enter the scene. If one considers the variations in the sizes and shapes of colonial jurisdictions, one immediately notes the variable probability of becoming a migrant, not by one's actual move, but by the fact that the direction in which one moves, and the location of a jurisdictional boundary might well determine whether one becomes an "official" migrant. To demonstrate this probability effect, the minor jurisdictions of late-colonial Mexico have been mapped (Figure 1.2).[51] This map shows three categories of colonial space. First, in solid black are represented those areas within which if one travelled more than 50 km. in any direction from within one jurisdiction, one would cross a boundary and thus automatically become a migrant. The shaded area represents the same concept, but now extending the minimum distance to be travelled to 100 km. In any region of Mexico represented by the white area on the map one would have had to travel more than 100 km. in some direction to become a migrant. The effects of the colonial data units should thus cause us all to take great care in speaking of, and comparing "migration."[52] One can see that the dense settlement net of portions of central New Spain significantly increased the probability of migration rates being higher than average – it was almost impossible not to become a migrant in that area, as long as one stayed sufficient time to be registered. It is for this reason, if for no other, that one should attempt to standardize migration types by linear distance, removing these boundary effects once the data have been processed.[53]

Yet another major obstacle to identifying migration paths is presented in both census and parish register data: the very large number of migration origins listed. Often for one parish one has to locate, with rudimentary colonial (and modern) cartographic sources, hundreds of placenames. And, of course, the wider the net of origins, the more difficult it is to distinguish between duplicate names, and to locate deserted colonial settlements.[54]

The reverse problem often presents itself in the case of urban populations. In these cases the data are not available or specific enough to allow one to monitor intra-parish moves.

Yet another problem relates to terminology. As will be noted in the chapters below, as the regional societies of colonial Spanish America evolved, each developed a lexicon of terms for individuals on the move (*huídos*, *vagamundos*, *ausentes*, *vagabundos*, *vagos*, *forasteros*, *malentretenidos*, *fugados*, etc.), individuals who did not move (*residentes*, *originarios*,

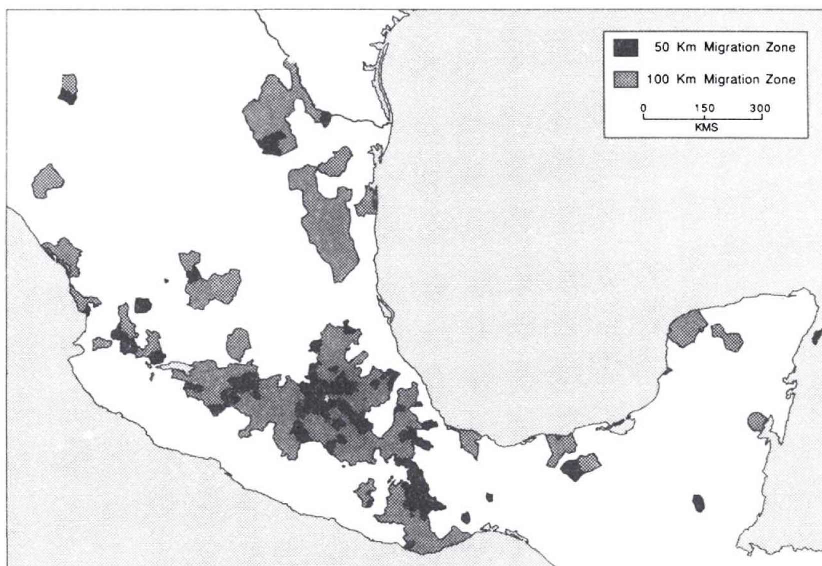

Figure 1.2 Migration zones in colonial Mexico

vecinos, etc.), and individuals who were variously hired or coerced into labor (*arrendatarios*, *inquilinos*, *agregados*, *gañanes*, *mitayos*, etc.). The problem becomes one of correlating one group with another. It is evident, for example, that *forastero* (a person who had migrated from his original community) did not mean the same in all regions of Spanish America, and that the term probably also had different meanings at different points in time.[55] One thus has to take considerable care to distinguish the contextual meaning of these colonial terms.

Another significant set of technical problems in colonial migration analysis lies in the nature of the source materials. The unsuspecting investigator might, at first, be impressed by the range of materials available for individual parishes or census tracts (often data richer than anything until the national censuses of the 1950s). Yet if one is interested, for example, in net migration (the balance between immigrants and emigrants), then the majority of parish studies are virtually useless since they cannot control for those who left. To calculate such a measure requires the "closure" of a relatively extensive block of parishes. Then one is dealing with literally thousands of cases, with obvious consequences for data processing.[56] Suffice to say, however, that of the many demographic analyses that have been completed on colonial Spanish America, the majority in the past completely ignored the effects of migration, or assumed that their populations were closed. One can, I would suggest, hardly accept that argument any longer. If the essays below do

nothing else, they demonstrate that migration was often the rule, rather than the exception, in colonial Spanish America.

The causes of migration

Though all of the essays which follow offer specific reasons for the migration on which they are reporting, it may be useful to typologize the basic causes, and examine their spatial consequences in a more schematic form.

With respect to forced migration it is evident that there were several causes for such population redistribution. The first was the re-settlement of Indians into new villages (see chapters 2, 3 and 12 below on *congregaciones* and *reducciones*) where they could theoretically be protected from avaricious Spaniards, converted to Catholicism, as well as being utilized in the economic enterprise of colonialism.[57] Yet another forced move was that triggered by the mission friars, bent as they were on capturing natives (often literally) to convert to Catholicism.[58] The hundreds of mission villages, many now abandoned – from the Jesuits in the Guaraní, to the Franciscans in central California – speak eloquently of the success of this process.[59] Yet another forced migration was that of Indian and more especially black slave labor to work on coastal or riverine plantations.[60] Yet others were forced to migrate to urban areas to provide domestic help in the residences of the powerful and wealthy.

By far the most significant forced migration, however (see chapters 3 and 5 below), was that which forced hundreds of thousands each year to work in the silver and mercury mines of the freezing highlands of Bolivia and Peru.[61] Rich Spaniards could boast at being worth a *potosí*, by the late-seventeenth century, but the price paid by the conscripted Indian labor force was enormous.

Voluntary colonial migration can be divided into several types. The first resulted from the attraction of other places – people were lured by future possibilities of faster if riskier progress (see Figure 1.3). The towns, the bigger the better in most cases, were always a magnet for migrants (see chapter 10 below), representing as most of them did the seat of power, and containing most of the scant services provided in the colonial world.[62] If one wished to become educated then one almost had to migrate out of a small town or from a rural area (see chapters 7 and 9 below). If one wished to make contact with important people, the colonial authorities, then one normally had to move to them; they rarely returned the favor.

The silver mining strikes (*bonanzas*) provided yet another attraction to those wishing to risk time and energy (see chapter 8 below).[63] The sudden rise to significance of many mining townships (as well as their equally rapid demise) speaks of the role of migration, migration which could depopulate nearby villages for decades. The success of these ventures, their longevity,

Figure 1.3 Theoretic patterns of migration in colonial Hispanic America

and the distribution of financial benefits flowing from them often either perpetuated almost permanent miner migrants, or soon persuaded many to return home or elsewhere.

Probably the most important cause of migration, at least in terms of the number of voluntary migrants involved, was the shift into the labor force of the colonial agricultural estates, be they haciendas, *hatos*, or ranchos.[64] The diffusion of market mechanisms, of capitalism and all that implies, into rural areas has attracted the attention of scores of historians, and most research demonstrates that the demand for labor was inexorably provided by attracting Indians, free blacks, and the motley crowd of mixed races. For the new laborers this often resulted in short-term benefits, and long-term disadvantages.[65] But whether it be on church lands or those ever more rapidly occupied by private individuals, access to some form of compensation (either monetary, or permanent credit) provided a great attraction for many. It also often meant protection from one's debtors, from the law, or from persecution by one's previous employer.[66] The new estates were thus first conceived of as sanctuaries, only later taking on the face of yet another form of oppression (see chapters 14 and 6 below). In the late colonial period population increase provoked further migratory movements of those who hungered for land, and who had to abandon their villages to search for it on the ever-distant frontiers of settlement, be they in the forest or on the upland slopes.[67]

The converse to attraction was the rejection of their homelands, their home villages, and their local societies by many in the Spanish American colonial world. Many, of course, had much to escape from – the tribute collector, his ally the rapacious cacique, the sanctimonious and repressive priest, the scolding wife or intolerable mother-in-law, the demanding father-in-law, and last, but not least, justice.[68]

To these normal circumstances we must add the periodic natural and man-made disasters that provoked rapid and often great migrations. Earthquakes,[69] floods, droughts, food-shortages,[70] epidemics[71] – the list is long. We tend to forget that the past has witnessed many such disasters, each of which produced dramatic population shifts.

The spatial implications of all of these migrations was to redistribute population selectively, by sex, occupation, age, and other characteristics. The consequence of such moves meant significant change for those areas that were losing population. There is no reason to believe that the past was any different from the present: the best, the brightest, the risk-takers, the entrepreneurs, the young – they all left first. In the Andean world, where topography adds a third dimension, migration patterns were even more complex as individuals and groups of families shifted both vertically as well as horizontally (Figure 1.4).[72] From the high *puna* above 4,000 m. to the warm valleys and the sub-tropical *montaña*, migrants had many destinations

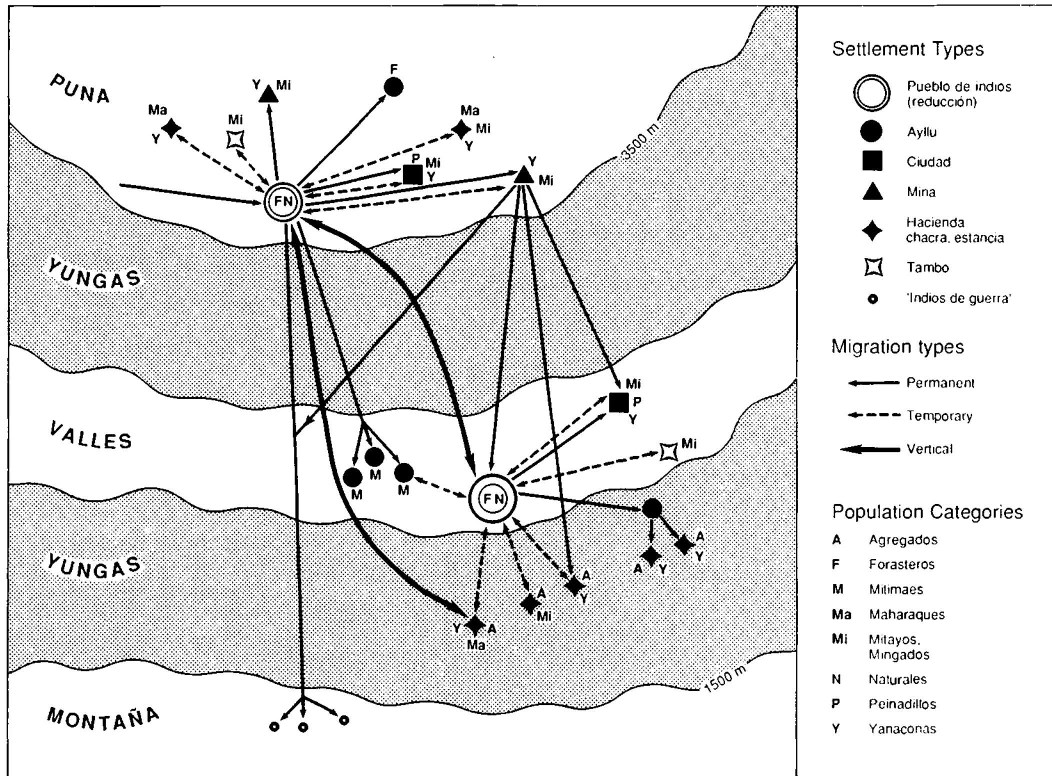

Figure 1.4 Patterns of migration in colonial Andean America

from which to choose. The results of all of these complex moves produced population mixtures that we are only just beginning to comprehend.

Conclusion

The last decade has witnessed major advances in the analysis of migration in colonial Spanish America. We can now count on a series of studies that examine in great detail both the composition of the migrating population, as well as the directions, rate and periodicity of the migratory flows.[73] We may also note the utility of a scalar approach to colonial migration, recommended a decade ago.[74] From the micro-level analysis of individuals and family units (see chapters 11 and 8 below), through meso-level studies of communities and regions (see chapters 6 and 4 below), soon we may be able to understand much more of migration at the macro-scale of sub-continental areas. Slowly and surely there is emerging the outline of a pattern of Andean migration,[75] though we still need more details of the ecological variation that so typified that region.[76]

The process of migration too, is also now better understood, although there may be more holes in our fabric of understanding than cloth. A decade of work on marriage-migration, for example, now allows one to compare distinctive populations by race, occupation and age.[77] With sufficient parallel work by our colleagues in social history we may soon be able to place the role of searching for a mate or spouse on a firmer footing.[78] The more career analyses that we have, of many types of occupations, not just the histories of the rich and famous, the more we shall be able to integrate the details into a general picture of spatial mobility.[79] We now know far more than we used to concerning the role and significance of that often forgotten other half of past populations – the women of colonial Spanish America. Their mobility, like their contemporary counterparts, has come as a surprise to many.[80]

One thing is very clear: migration was an essential feature of colonial Spanish America. To migrate was to alter one's circumstances, either for better or worse. To migrate was to overcome the fragmented territorial partitioning of resources and opportunities. To migrate was, to be characteristically colonial, to participate fully in a world continually undergoing shifts and changes. For most mobility was essential to succeed, and for many to survive.

2

Indian migration and community formation: an analysis of *congregación* in colonial Guatemala

GEORGE LOVELL AND WILLIAM R. SWEZEY

Who fails to settle fails to conquer properly.

Francisco López de Gómera (c. 1552)

Compared with Mexico and Peru, the colonial experience in Central America, period by period, place by place, remains elusively beyond our knowledge. General works such as those by Murdo MacLeod and William Sherman serve effectively as important frames of reference, but neither scholar would claim his contribution to be anything more than a foundation upon which further research must be built.[1] MacLeod in particular recognizes this, emphasizing that "research on colonial Guatemala has hardly begun."[2] Declaring the field to be "almost limitless," he identifies unequivocally the priorities of future research: "One should begin by establishing the geographical context and by putting people into it."[3] Our intent in this chapter, and the larger work it precedes, could not be worded more succinctly.[4]

The geographical context we wish, if not to establish, at least to explore, is the area of Spanish dominion known in the mid-sixteenth century as the "términos y jurisdicción" of Santiago de Guatemala.[5] Today, such a territorial unit would embrace the Republic of Guatemala, excluding the northern department of El Petén, with some overspill east into El Salvador and west into Chiapas (Figure 2.1). Not the environs of the colonial capital itself but how place arrangements within its jurisdiction came into existence form the focus of inquiry.[6] People may be put into this geographical context a number of ways. The way we choose to project them, Spaniards as well as Indians, is by looking at how each adapted to the other during the complex process of population movement and community formation referred to as *congregación*. Not until a historical geography is reconstructed in the same painstaking fashion as the work of Peter Gerhard on Mexico will the argument we present of how people made "places" in colonial Guatemala assume greater or lesser validity.[7]

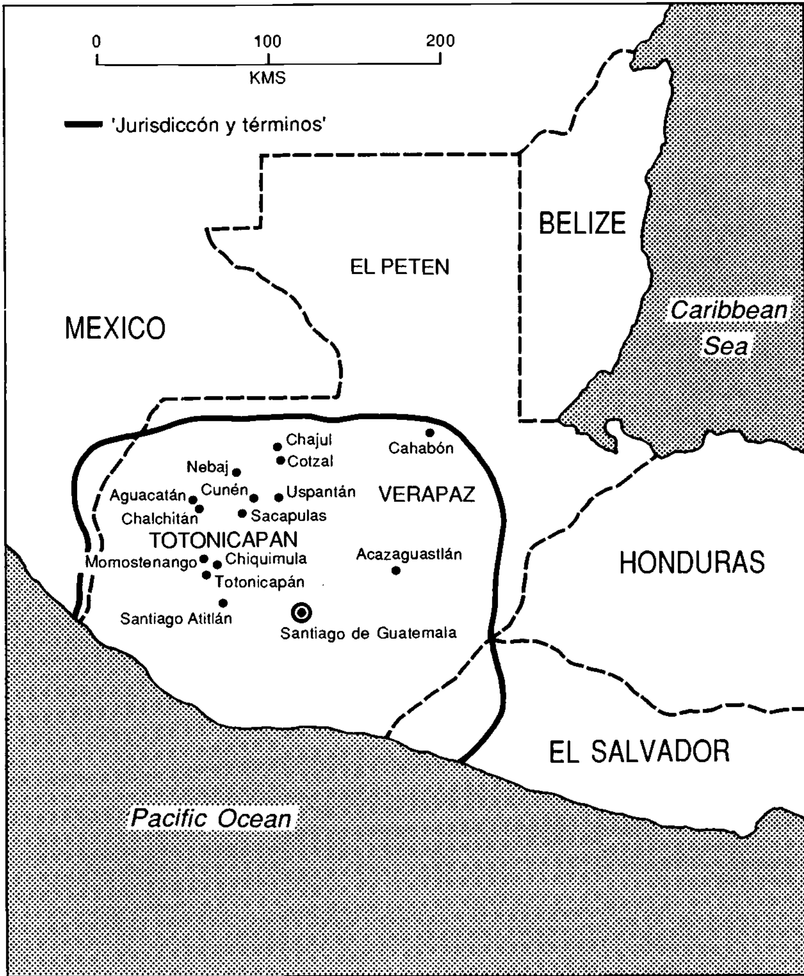

Figure 2.1 *Jurisdicción y términos* of Santiago de Guatemala

Place, space and community in highland Guatemala

The argument we present may be stated, twofold, as follows: first, important socio-spatial continuities link preconquest, colonial, and contemporary Maya communities in Guatemala; and second, the dynamics of congregación are of vital significance in understanding how Indians maintained identity and affiliation with old places after being moved to, and acculturated in, new ones.

Our ideas are perhaps best developed by working from the known to the less known, from the clearer lines of the present to the hazy shapes of the

Table 2.1 *Municipios and their population range, 1973*

Department	Number of Municipios	Population range
Alta Verapaz	14	3,500–62,000
Baja Verapaz	8	5,500–21,500
Chimaltenango	16	3,000–33,000
Chiquimula	11	5,000–39,000
El Progreso	8	3,000–17,500
Escuintla	13	5,500–75,000[a]
Guatemala[b]	17	3,500–42,000
Huehuetenango	31	3,000–30,500
Izabel	5	14,000–53,000
Jalapa	7	4,500–45,000
Jutiapa	17	3,500–54,500
Petén	12	500–16,000
Quezaltenango	24	1,500–66,000
Quiché	18	2,500–46,000
Retalhuleu	9	2,500–40,500
Sacatepéquez	16	1,000–26,500
San Marcos	29	2,500–33,000
Santa Rosa	14	3,500–29,000
Sololá	19	500–25,500
Suchitepéquez	20	1,500–37,000
Totonicapán	8	4,000–52,500
Zacapa	10	1,500–34,500

Notes: [a]The upper figure is the combined population of what is now Tiquisate and Nueva Concepción.
[b]Heavily-urbanized Guatemala City and Mexico not included.

Source: Francis Gall, *Diccionario Geográfico de Guatemala* (Guatemala: Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 1978), 4 vols.

past. The *municipio*, or township, is universally accepted as the key socio-spatial unit in Guatemala, especially in the highland region of the country. Sol Tax, in a classic paper now 50 years old, deserves much of the credit for bringing the characteristics of municipios to the attention of a scholarly audience.[8] He was in no doubt as to why the concept of municipio is important. Municipios, he contended, constitute "the basic ethnic divisions and cultural groups into which the country is divided," and ethnographic research "must begin with studies of the cultures of individual municipios."[9] In Tax's day, Guatemala was made up of 353 municipios, some 290 of which lay in the highlands. Lowland municipios, then as now, run larger in area but are usually less populous than those of the highlands. Tax reckoned that

most highland municipios were between 100 to 250 square kilometers in extent, with populations ranging from 1,000 to 5,000.[10] Today, 22 departments administer 326 municipios, most of which are still to be found in the highlands, but with populations now considerably in excess of the minimum and maximum limits encountered by Tax (Table 2.1).

All municipios contain a *cabecera*, or township center, which generally bears the same name as the municipio itself. The cabecera is usually the hub of community life, whether the inhabitants of the municipio actually live there or in surrounding *aldeas* (villages) or *caseríos* (hamlets). Tax identified two main municipio types: "town nucleus" (clustered settlement) municipios and "vacant town" (dispersed settlement) municipios. Most residents of "town nucleus" municipios live in the cabecera and walk from their homes to outlying fields in order to perform the labor essential for the maintenance of agricultural holdings. In contrast, families living in "vacant town" municipios are very much rural based, residing near or adjacent to their fields and having occasion to visit the cabecera only infrequently, perhaps to attend market or register a birth, marriage, or death. When the term "*pueblo*" (literally "people" or "town") is used to denote origin or identity, it can mean cabecera but it may also refer to the entire collective unit known as municipio.[11]

Tax lived and worked in the highlands of Guatemala long enough to be convinced that "progress in the study of Guatemalan ethnology depends upon a prior recognition of the municipios as the primary (and possibly final) ethnic units in which it is involved."[12] From the standpoint of contemporary scholarship, what is striking about Tax's discussion of municipios is its failure to address the question of how they originated. To be fair to Tax, this oversight was not a trademark peculiar to his research alone. In the Mesoamerican context, most anthropology was (as is a great deal still) practiced as if history were irrelevant. Grappling with the ethnographic past, what another generation was to call ethnohistory, figured only marginally in the scheme of things. Tax's paper drew, in the fashion and training of the times, almost exclusively on field observation. Indeed, one of his three footnotes, none of which refer to an archival or printed source, informs the reader that his analysis is "based on sixteen months' field work."[13]

Serious contemplation, if not explicitly of municipio origins, then at least about Maya cultural evolution in general, begins with a landmark essay published by Oliver La Farge in 1940.[14] Since then the issue has been addressed by a number of scholars, not without generating marked differences in interpretation. La Farge openly admitted that his formulation was based on little ethnohistorical research, was derived mostly from his own knowledge of one remote part of the Maya realm, and was best considered "guesswork" to be challenged and refined than truth to be defended and upheld.[15] His reasoning suggested that a good many features of contempor-

ary Maya culture emanate more from the events and circumstances of the nineteenth century than those of the colonial period. La Farge's depiction has been supported, recently and strongly, by the work of Robert Wasserstrom in Chiapas, where Maya communities "remained quite homogeneous in both their internal structure and their position within the colonial order. Only after independence, it seems, and in fact toward the end of the nineteenth century, did such towns acquire the distinct ethnic identities which later fired the imaginations of anthropologists."[16]

In contrast to these views, Charles Wagley has speculated that the municipio may represent nothing less than "a continuation of the basic societal unit of preconquest society."[17] From Chiapas, Wagley's speculation is bolstered by the findings of George Collier, who argues that Maya communities there "endured as ethnic entities throughout the colonial period to modern times, often with significant continuities in their internal organization."[18]

Perhaps the most celebrated reflection on Maya cultural evolution is Eric Wolf's notion of the closed corporate peasant community, put forward first as a theoretical postulation and later fleshed out impressively in narrative, empirical form.[19] Wolf sees contemporary Mesoamerican communities as having originated, under conditions of cultural refuge, from a fusion in the course of the seventeenth century of indigenous and European mores. He argues that such communities evolved so as to guarantee "a measure of communal jurisdiction over land" and in order to "restrict their membership, maintain a religious system, enforce mechanisms which ensure the redistribution or destruction of surplus wealth, and uphold barriers against the entry of goods and ideas produced outside the community."[20] The closed corporate peasant community is viewed not so much as "an offspring of conquest" as the creation of "the dualization of society into a dominant entrepreneurial sector and a dominated sector of native peasants."[21] While the socio-spatial characteristics of the closed corporate peasant community obviously have undergone "great changes since the time it was first constituted," Wolf contends that "its essential features are still visible."[22]

For Carol Smith, the concept of municipio and the notion of closed corporate peasant communities are closely linked, if not synonymous. She writes:

> In the western highlands the classic form of the closed corporate peasant community gradually emerged around the municipio. The municipio was not an indigenous institution, nor did it closely resemble any indigenous institution. It was a colonial administrative unit – the lowest level political unit and the unit subject to tribute and labor levies. The municipio was also the lowest level unit in which the Spanish clergy operated. As many have noted, then, this community, centered on the municipio, was a novel structure, meeting the needs of both the colonial administration and the peasants subject to that administration.[23]

Table 2.2 *Towns founded in the sixteenth century by regular and secular clergy*

Type of clergy	Towns founded by 1555	Towns founded by 1600
Dominicans	47	82
Franciscans	37	108
Mercedarians	6	42
Secular clergy	5 (?)	104
Total	95	336

Source: Adriaan C. Van Oss, *Catholic colonialism: a parish history of Guatemala, 1524–1821* (Cambridge University Press, 1986) 43.

While Smith clearly acknowledges the importance of municipio, she observes also that their emergence "did not eliminate other, more elementary, units" known as *parcialidades*.[24] Smith advances the idea of municipio being comprised of several parcialidades, which she defines as "endogamous kindreds holding rights to corporate property and usually ranked in relation to each other."[25] She suggests further that parcialidades were "rarely recognized by the colonial or other Guatemalan states" and that, as social units dating back to preconquest times, they experienced throughout history "a more stable existence" than did municipios.[26]

Towards reconciliation

A review of this literature, with its perplexing mix of complementary, overlapping, and contradictory points of view, calls for a critical rethinking of the processes that shaped Maya place, space, and community. All the above arguments, it seems to us, have varying degrees of applicability and merit. All explain or illuminate certain basic patterns of Maya settlement and culture. No one single argument, however, can possibly fit every case of how Maya communities were forged. What is needed, we think, is greater attunement on the part of scholars to the temporal and geographical specificity of their research. We neither eschew grand theorizing nor advocate narrow empiricism. What we do champion is attention to detail and disposition towards measured but meaningful generalization: good regional geography, Carl Sauer once observed, is finely representational art.[27]

The term "municipio" may have come into circulation during colonial times, but its adoption as formal administrative rhetoric dates primarily from the early nineteenth century.[28] It belongs principally not to imperial but to independence parlance. The municipio, therefore, was not a "colonial

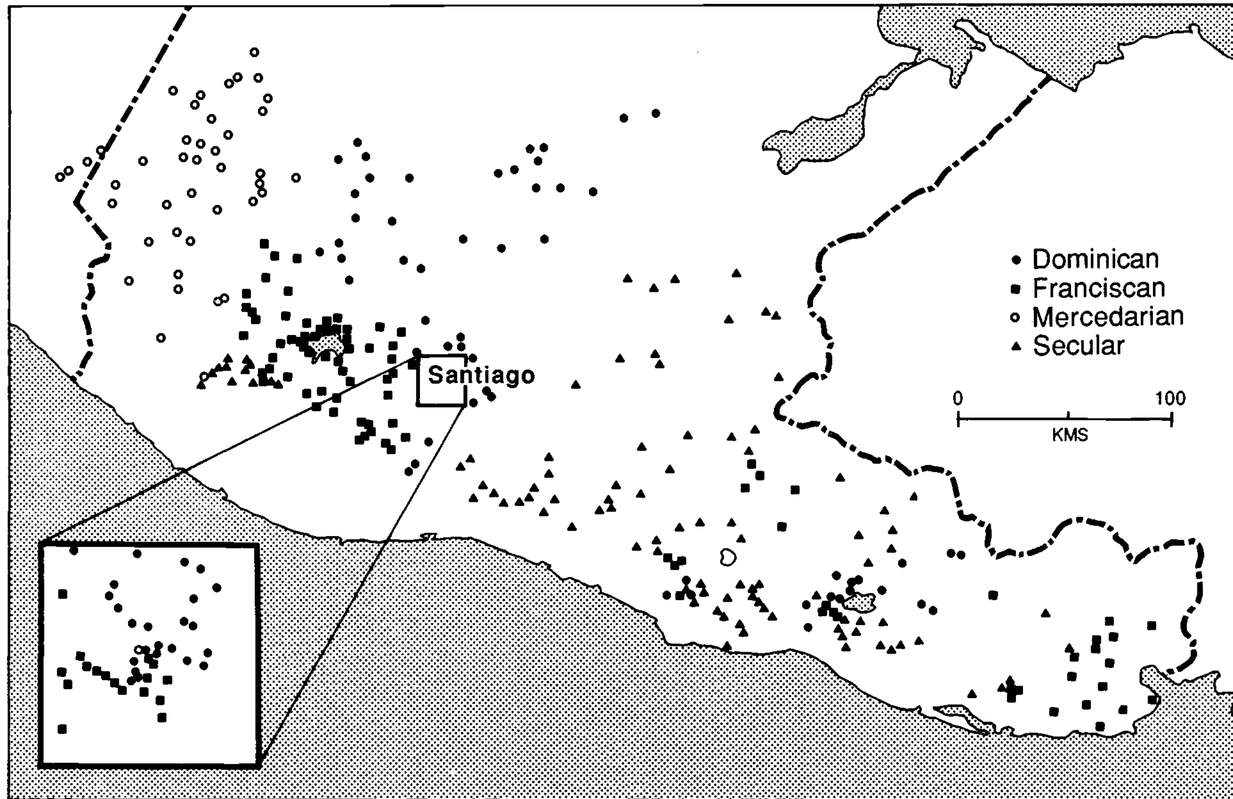

Figure 2.2 *Pueblos* administered by regular and secular clergy (*c.* 1600) (after van Oss, 1986: 47)

Table 2.3 *Tribute assessments for the "términos y jurisdicción" of Santiago de Guatemala, 1549–1551*

Total number of assessments	170
Number of pueblos or encomiendas	151
Pueblos or encomiendas that are present-day municipios	95
Pueblos or encomiendas that are settlements (aldeas or caseríos) within present-day municipios	13
Pueblos or encomiendas in present-day El Salvador	14
Pueblos or encomiendas in present-day Chiapas	6
Disappeared pueblos or encomiendas	12
Unknown pueblos or encomiendas	11

Source: Alonso López de Cerrato, *Libro de tasaciones* (Archivo General de Indias: Audiencia de Guatemala), 128.

administrative unit" as Carol Smith suggests. During the colonial period what we identify today as municipios were called "pueblos de indios" or simply "pueblos," "Indian towns" or "towns" in the collective territorial sense defined earlier.[29] Most of these "towns" were founded as units of settlement in the sixteenth century by members of the regular and secular clergy engaged in the evangelizing mission of congregación (Table 2.2 and Figure 2.2). Adriaan van Oss has estimated that "by 1600 more than three hundred towns and villages had been founded and subjected to the Church, representing about two-thirds of all towns founded during the entire colonial period."[30] He records 95 "towns" in existence by about 1555 (Table 2.2). However, a well-known archival source – the *tasaciones de tributos*, or tribute assessments, compiled between 1548 and 1551 by President Alonso López de Cerrato – suggests that this number was probably closer to 150 (Table 2.3).

Further scrutiny of the Cerrato tasaciones reveals two important geographical correlations relevant to our discussion. First, throughout the 170 assessments the term "pueblo" is equated with *encomienda*, the latter being a system of taxation by which means individual Spaniards or the royal treasury received tribute, in goods and services, from designated Indian communities.[31] Recipients, known as *encomenderos*, traded encomiendas and made deals relating to their worth as if they were capital investments.[32] While theoretically the encomienda had nothing to do with land or landholding – it was designed to function as a fiscal not a territorial element of empire – in the realm of actual practice encomiendas soon became place realities as much as tax realities. People lived in them, raised families in them, grew crops and tended animals in them, made salt and wove cotton cloth in them, and moved back and forth from highland ones to lowland ones in order to meet Spanish demands for cacao. Encomiendas, then, were real places, not just pensions or rewards scribbled on pieces of parchment.

Table 2.4 *Maya depopulation in sixteenth-century Guatemala*[a]

Year	Denevan[b]	Lovell, Lutz and Swezey[c]	Sanders and Murdy[d]	Solano[e]	Zamora[f]
c. 1525	2,000,000	2,000,000	500–800,000	300,000	315,000
c. 1550		427,850		157,000	121,000
c. 1575				148,000	75,000
c. 1600				195,000	64,000

Notes: [a]For full bibliographical references, see endnote 33. Evidence from the material cited in this note in part indicates that native population decline in highland Guatemala continued well into the seventeenth century, after which time downward trends were slowly then dramatically reversed. Several lowland areas, however, especially along the Pacific coast and around the Bay of Honduras, were emptied of their contact populations within two or three generations. If the estimates of Denevan and Lovell, Lutz, and Swezey are correct, then it took over four centuries for the Maya of Guatemala to recover from the demographic collapse precipitated by Spanish conquest.
[b]Estimate is for the territory of the present-day republic of Guatemala.
[c]Estimate is for southern Guatemala, defined as the area of the present-day republic of Guatemala excluding the northern department of El Petén, with some overspill west into the Mexican state of Chiapas and east into the republic of El Salvador.
[d]Estimate is for highland Guatemala only.
[e]Spatial basis of estimate unclear.
[f]Estimate is for western Guatemala, specifically the colonial jurisdiction known as the *alcadía mayor* of Zapotitlán. Neither eastern Guatemala nor the northern Petén district are included in these estimates.

A second correlation is significant. Of the 150 pueblos or encomiendas that conform to the 170 assessments made by Cerrato, almost 90 percent of those identifiable as Guatemalan "towns" are today municipios (Table 2.3). Place names often differ in spelling, but present nomenclature is recognizable in past variations. Archival evidence thus indicates that, especially for the western highlands, most contemporary municipios may be traced back at least to the encomiendas parceled out as colonial privileges in the mid-sixteenth century by President Cerrato. When population, in the nineteenth century, began sustained recovery from the demographic impact of conquest (Table 2.4) and then later began to grow in size dramatically, Guatemalan law made it possible for any inhabited place with 200 people or more to qualify for municipio status.[33] This development occurred during a period when neocolonial desires to transform Guatemala into a "coffee republic" triggered unprecedented seizure of Indian land and led to intensive exploitation of Indian labor.[34] Municipios created or reconstituted in this way – that is, in response to demographic pressure and state intrusion – may be why La Farge and Wasserstrom favor the nineteenth century over preceding ones

as the crucial period in community genesis. Certainly by the time the first national census was conducted, in 1880, a total of 323 municipios had come into existence.[35]

It is possible, therefore, to correlate municipios, primarily nineteenth-century republican inventions, with pueblos held in encomienda, sixteenth-century colonial creations with distinct geographical characteristics. But what guided imperial logic to create pueblos the way it did? Might preconquest Guatemala have affected what pueblos in colonial Guatemala came to look like and how they operated as social communities? Answers to these questions, and further elaboration of the debate outlined earlier, lie in unraveling the dynamics of congregación.

Congregación and community in colonial Guatemala

For imperial Spain, the conquest of America entailed moral responsibility for the victor as well as political subservience for the vanquished. If the latter were to be subjected completely, then the will of the former must be reflected in the adoption of cultural imperatives. The conqueror devised, for the conquered, intricate schemes of acculturation by which means undesirable indigenous ways would be replaced by more acceptable European conventions. Spanish victory in Guatemala, however, did not always produce the kind of refiguration imperial policy needed.

By about 1540, following military operations carried out during the preceding two decades, the establishment of Spanish hegemony placed the Maya under increased pressure to conform to imperial designs and expectations. A fundamental element in the Hispanic vision of empire was to organize space and control population movement by the founding of towns and villages. Begun during the 1540s under the aegis of the Church, congregación brought together scattered Indian groups of often no more than a few households enticed or coerced from their old mountain homes and resettled in pueblos built, wherever possible, in accessible valley terrain.[36] The language of this enterprise at times borders perilously on the romantic, as the following extract from the Laws of the Indies illustrates:

> With great care and particular attention we have always attempted to impose the most convenient means of instructing the Indians in the Holy Catholic Faith and the evangelical law, causing them to forget their ancient erroneous rites and ceremonies and to live in concert and order; and, so that this might be brought about, those of our Council of [the] Indies have met together several times with other religious persons ... and they, with the desire of promoting the service of God, and ours, resolved that the Indians should be reduced to villages and not be allowed to live divided and separated in the mountains and wildernesses, where they are deprived of all spiritual and temporal comforts, the aid of our ministers, and those other things which human necessities oblige men to give one to another; therefore ... the viceroys,

presidents, and governors [are] charged and ordered to execute the reduction, settlement, and indoctrination of the Indians.[37]

Church may have formed the spiritual centerpiece of this forced migration, but congregaciones were not created solely to Christianize and civilize heathens; they also helped Crown officials or private encomenderos collect tribute, and functioned as centralized reservoirs of labor that could be drawn upon for a variety of purposes. A pueblo, asserts Severo Martínez Peláez, was in a certain sense a prison.[38] Of all the ventures jointly conducted by the Church and the Crown, few more than congregación reflect the symbolic interplay of the cross and the sword.

How many people took part in the related migration is difficult even to estimate. The Cerrato tasaciones, carried out while congregación was still in progress, indicate which pueblos had been founded in 1548–1551 and what goods and services Indians living in them were required to provide. As a demographic source, however, these tasaciones are highly problematical. Among other deficiencies, about one-fifth of all pueblos do not contain any record of the tribute-paying population they supported, and the pueblos that do contain this information have figures rounded-off in units of five, ten, or twenty.[39] The statistical precision and wealth of social detail that characterize tasaciones undertaken only ten years or so later are conspicuously absent.[40] Conservatively, at least 40,000 to 50,000 Indian households, perhaps a quarter of a million people, must have been involved in moving from one location to another over the preceding five or six years.[41]

That Indians *had* to be moved, either by persuasion or by force, was something the myriad factions within the colonial regime could all agree upon. Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians bickered first with each other and then lobbied in unison against the secular clergy for rights of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[42] Led by Bartolomé de las Casas, the monastic orders opposed the exploitative manner in which encomenderos, especially during the early years of conquest, treated Indians "entrusted" to their charge, and called repeatedly on the Crown to regulate and monitor the terms of encomienda.[43] All parties concurred, however, that the rewards of conquest – whether souls to baptize or cacao beans for barter or trade would be collectively maximized only if changes were made to patterns of native settlement and social organization.

The political, social, and domestic arrangements Spaniards encountered upon arrival in Guatemala are now reasonably clear in outline, even if the fine details of place variation await patient and versatile research. Morphologically, settlements were considerably more dispersed than nucleated, with a tendency for what little urbanization as had developed to be limited to defensive, hilltop sites not in the least conducive to Spanish notions of civilized town life.[44] Unlike Mexico, where Aztec authority prevailed over

large territories and assorted peoples, in the Guatemalan highlands no single, incumbent Maya state awaited the incursion of Pedro de Alvarado. On the contrary, upwards of a dozen small but tenacious polities, most of them fairly autonomous and linguistically distinct, existed side by side under conditions of flux that made conquest as protracted as it was arduous and uncertain. From research conducted on the Quiché Maya, the first and probably most subtly-organized nation to succumb, we have evidence of a social structure that was "a complicated integration of rank, descent, territoriality, hierarchy, and quadrachotomies."[45] Within this social structure, one unit – the *chinamit* – has emerged as more important than any other in understanding how "congregated" Indians successfully engaged in what Nancy Farriss called "strategic acculturation."[46]

Chinamitales, referred to by Spaniards as parcialidades or *calpules*, have been identified by Robert Hill and John Monaghan as exhibiting four main socio-spatial characteristics: first, they held land and other natural resources (water, forests, salt wells) as a corporate unit, with members occupying a shared and well-defined territory or space; second, each chinamit was an endogamous group, with membership based on birth in the group; third, members of chinamitales assumed collective responsibility for individual actions or deeds; and fourth, members of a chinamit took part, according to their sex, in group-defined economic specialization.[47] According to Hill and Monaghan, several contiguous chinamitales together constituted a large unit known as an *amag*, which anthropologist G. Z. Borie has depicted as "representing the social group's conceptualization of their corporate universe ... seen in terms of a shared belief system, and shared revered places."[48]

Like Hill and Monaghan, we feel the importance of the chinamit or parcialidad to have been underestimated considerably. Focusing on the parcialidad, to employ the Spanish designation, allows us to examine the successes and failures of congregación as, first, a process of directed cultural change and, second, a process of migration and resettlement. Such a focus also enables us to question the universality of Wolf's portrayal of the Mesoamerican peasant community as "corporate" and "closed."

Unfamiliarity with the discrete nature of parcialidades often resulted in several of them being brought together by zealous missionaries to form a single pueblo. Once gathered at the site of a congregación, however, unrelated parcialidades often preserved their aboriginal identity by continuing to operate socially and economically as separate components rather than merging to form a corporate body. Far from the harmonious entities colonial legislation promoted, many a pueblo forged by congregación turned out to be a mosaic of parcialidades that touched but did not interpenetrate, that coexisted but did not always cooperate. In the province of Totonicapán alone, a seventeenth-century source records nine pueblos being made up of

Table 2.5 Pueblos *and* parcialidades *in Totonicapán,* c. *1683*

Pueblo	Parcialidades	Tributaries
Totonicapán	San Francisco	320–329[a]
	San Marcos	—
	San Geronimo	—
	Pal	—
Chiquimula	Santa María	120–129[a]
	San Marcos	24
Momostenango	Santiago	224
	Santa Catalina	50
	Santa Ana	40
	Santa Isabel	38
Aguacatán	Aguacatán	64
	Chalchitán	91
	Comitán	4
Sacapulas	Cuatlán	84
	Tulteca	45
	Bechuazar	42
	Acunil	48
	Magdalena	8
Cunén	San Francisco	114
	Magdalena	6
Chajul	San Gaspar	64
	Ilom	30
	Uncavav	9
	Box	3
Cotzal	San Juan	20–29[a]
	Chil	10
	Cul	28
Nebaj	Santa María	76
	Cuchil	26
	Osolotan	16
	Salquil	10–19[a]

Note: [a]This manuscript was badly burned in a fire in the archive earlier this century. Those figures marked [a] indicate that the last numeral was so charred as to be illegible, or has completely disintegrated. In four instances, therefore, only an estimate can be made of the tribute-paying population of the *parcialidad.*

Source: Archivo General de Indias, Contaduría, 815.

some thirty-one parcialidades, each of which was assessed individually for purposes of taxation (Table 2.5). Scores of other pueblos in Guatemala were organized internally in this same fashion, too many not to undermine Wolf's assertion that parcialidades, some of which survive to this day, "remain the fascinating exception to the general rule that territoriality in one community and common participation in communal life have long since robbed such units of any separatist jurisdiction they may at one time have exercised."[49]

Closer examination of the characteristics of one specific pueblo throws into even sharper relief just how different the outcome of congregación could be from what clergy and bureaucrats originally had in mind. The case of Sacapulas may not be representative, but it is instructive.

Sacapulas, today a municipio in the Department of El Quiché, lies on the south bank of the Río Negro or Chixoy, a river to the north of which rise, covered in thorny chaparral and cactus, the front ranges of the Cuchumatán highlands. Archaeological investigations undertaken by A. Ledyard Smith show the Sacapulas area to have been occupied on the eve of Spanish conquest in typical protohistoric fashion. Several fortified hilltop sites, the home of the elite, defended from outside attack the land around and below, where the common people lived, hunted, and farmed.[50] These sites, Hill and Monaghan demonstrate, may be associated singly or in combination with a particular amag or certain parcialidades.[51]

Contradictions in the documentary record make it difficult to determine exactly when Sacapulas came into existence in its early colonial form. Francis Gall, citing the *Popol Vuh*, tells us that Sacapulas was once called Lamak or Tuhal and that, prior to the Spanish conquest, it lay some 28 kilometers northeast of its present location at a place called Magdalena.[52] Warfare and destruction, another source informs us, resulted in people being displaced from Magdalena and relocated, some time after 1530, in four different pueblos: Chalchitán, Cunén, Uspantán, and Sacapulas.[53] Writing in the eighteenth century, Francisco Vázquez claimed that Sacapulas and "many other" pueblos were founded, from 1545 on, by the Franciscan missionary Gonzalo Méndez.[54] Another eighteenth-century chronicler, Francisco Ximénez, mentions that Méndez was responsible for "converting to the Catholic Faith" two groups that later formed part of the pueblo of Sacapulas – the parcialidades San Francisco and Santo Tomás.[55] Fray Gonzalo worked throughout the sierra country until about 1553, when Dominicans asserted their spiritual hegemony by building a convent at Sacapulas that served as the administrative center for all Dominican proselytism for the next hundred years.[56]

As an encomienda, Sacapulas was shared in two equal parts throughout the sixteenth century (Figure 2.3). Our earliest official record of encomienda is 1534, when Antón de Morales exchanged his right to half the tribute of Sacapulas for one-half that of Acazaguastlán, a pueblo lying some 200

1/2 — Sacapulas	— 1/2
↓	↓
Juan Paez (before 1549)	Antón de Morales (1534 or before)
↓	↓
Alonso Paez (1549 or before)	Cristóbal de Salvatierra (1534)
↓	↓
Pedro Paez de Ardon (1611 or before)	Diego de Salvatierra (after 1555)

Sources: Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guatemala 41 and 128; Justicia 285 and 301; and Patronato 57-3-1 and 68-2-3.

Figure 2.3 *Encomienda* succession in Sacapulas

kilometers to the east.[57] In President Cerrato's time, Cristóbal de Salvatierra and Alonso Paez each received tribute payments, mostly locally-produced salt, from 80 heads-of-household, indicative of a total population of around 800.[58] The two encomenderos did not get on well either with each other or with Cerrato. Their complaints against Cerrato had to do with the measures he took to curb encomendero abuses. Salvatierra, described in one document as a "drinker of blood," was a vociferous critic of the reformist President, and Paez claimed that Cerrato's intervention had decreased the worth of his share of Sacapulas, along with that of three other pueblos, to a meager 150 pesos each year.[59] Prior to the Cerrato reforms, Indian tributaries were required to haul loads of salt from Sacapulas 100 kilometers south and east, over rugged terrain, to Santiago de Guatemala, where their encomenderos resided. This service was eventually replaced by an annual levy of fourteen *xiguiples* of cacao.[60] Meeting this demand, however, also entailed a long and exhausting trek, for the main cacao source closest to Sacapulas lay in the *tierra caliente* of Suchitepéquez far to the south.

The most striking feature about Sacapulas as a congregación was its marked and persistent heterogeneity. Passing through in 1631, Captain Martín Alfonso Tovilla observed:

> The pueblo of Sacapulas is divided into six parcialidades, each of which constitutes a unit known as a calpul. When the missionaries congregated them, as each had only a small population, they brought four or five to each pueblo in order to create a larger [settlement]. In this way each parcialidad maintained the name of the place it came from. And the lands that they possessed they still cultivate today in order to grow corn and cater for their other bodily needs.[61]

Over a century and a half later, Tovilla's observation is validated by Andrés Henríquez, then the parish priest of Sacapulas. In connection with a

Table 2.6 Chinamitales *and* parcialidades *in the pueblo of Sacapulas*

Preconquest chinamit(ales)	Colonial parcialidad(es)
Ah Canil, Ah Toltecat, and Uchabajá	Santiago and San Sebastian[a]
Beabac	San Pedro[a]
Coatecas	San Francisco[a]
Zacualpanecas	Santos Tómas[a]

Note: [a]These parcialidades exist today, by the same name, as barrios or *cantones* (neighborhoods or districts) within the town center or the surrounding countryside.

Source: Diccionario Geográfico de Guatemala (3:130), 1980, and Robert M. Hill II and John Monaghan, *Continuities in highland Maya social organization: ethnohistory in Sacapulas, Guatemala* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) 63–75.

complex court battle over land rights and boundaries, Henríquez testified in 1786 that the parcialidad known as Magdalena "like the other five of this pueblo was, and were, small settlements congregated by royal order to form the pueblo of Sacapulas."[62] By sifting through archival records that relate to Sacapulas, Robert Hill and John Monaghan have been able to correlate preconquest chinamitales with congregated parcialidades that functioned as distinct intra-community units throughout the colonial period, and beyond (Table 2.6).

The earliest evidence we have of congregación at Sacapulas not bringing about the cultural "melting pot" envisioned by imperial design dates from 1572, when the six parcialidades split, along amag lines, into two rival factions Hill and Monaghan identify as "foreigners" and "natives." At issue, primarily, was equal distribution of the pueblo's horse herd, but other related concerns soon emerged. Three "foreign" parcialidades – the Coetecas, Sitaltecas, and Zacualpanecas – lobbied for (1) division and control of community funds; (2) the right to elect their own civil representatives; and (3) legal recognition that the lands they were moved from still belonged to them.[63] Concessions on all counts illustrate that Indians learned early how to operate successfully in the legal world of the conqueror. Equally important is the fact that the colonial regime could, and did, accommodate such refiguration, even though it conflicted with other objectives.

The supremacy of parcialidad over pueblo at Sacapulas continued throughout the seventeenth century, with each social group responsible for paying its own tribute.[64] So long as the correct amounts were furnished on schedule, allowing tribute to be paid by parcialidad probably mattered little to Spanish recipients. Much more problematical, however, was the arrangement whereby land was held and operated by parcialidad. When, towards the

Table 2.7 *Indian landholdings at Sacapulas*

Parcialidad	Location of holdings	Approximate extent of holdings	Tributaries (1794)
San Pedro	North bank of Río Negro, across the river from the pueblo	81 *caballerías*[a]	67
Santiago and San Sebastián	South bank of Río Negro (including salt-works) adjacent to the pueblo	72 *caballerías*	141
San Francisco	To the west of land held by Santiago and San Sebastián, predominantly on the south side of Río Negro	78 *caballerías*	98
Santo Tomás	To the west of land held by San Pedro, predominantly on the north side of Río Negro along both banks of Río Blanco	121 *caballerías*	60

Note: [a]A *caballería* is a land measure of roughly 42 hectares.

Source: W. George Lovell, *Conquest and survival in Colonial Guatemala: a historical geography of the Cuchumatán Highlands, 1500–1821* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 127.

end of the colonial period, population began to grow, it was inevitable that land disputes would take on a parcialidad versus parcialidad dimension.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century was a time of sustained internal feuding at Sacapulas, with each parcialidad seeking to maximize its control over land in the immediate vicinity of the pueblo (Table 2.7). Spanish attempts to resolve the conflict only exacerbated it, since certain proposals ignored completely traditional divisions and allocations. Particularly controversial was the proposal to redistribute resources so as to place the salt works owned by parcialidades Santiago and San Sebastián within the confines of the *ejido* and thus at the disposal of their neighbors (Figure 2.4). This plan was not well received by the people of Santiago and San Sebastián, who entered into litigation (in the end successfully) to guard the salt works against all encroachment, but especially from parcialidad San Pedro.[65] The parcialidad San Francisco also became embroiled in a long legal tussle with Santo Tomás, primarily over efforts by the latter to limit the access of the former to fertile irrigable land in the Río Negro valley.[66]

Wolf's "corporate" delineation of community, then, clearly does not fit the splintered case of Sacapulas, nor that of other Guatemalan communities founded as congregaciones or *pueblos de indios* after the Spanish conquest. Elías Zamora is most articulate on this point, and considers that "pueblo and

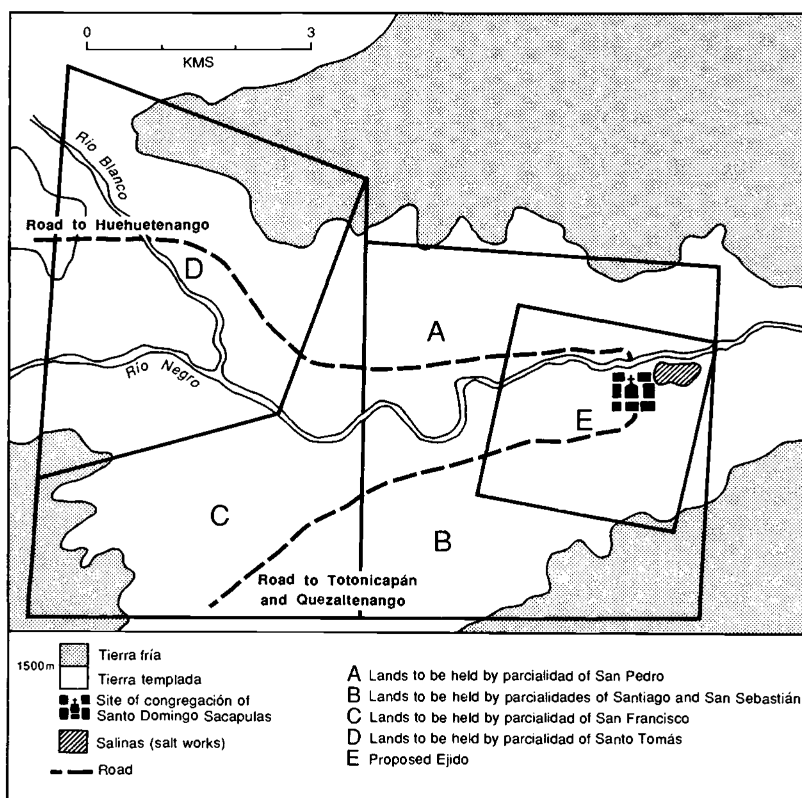

Figure 2.4 Proposed division of Indian landholding at Sacapulas in the late-eighteenth century

community were not analogous concepts. In most instances, parcialidad descent structures defined the limits within which each Indian perceived community to lie, considering members of other descent groups as strangers even though they all lived in the same pueblo."[67]

Just as notions about the corporate nature of community need to be refined, so also does our thinking on how "closed" pueblos must have been as operational units. On the Pacific piedmont especially, pueblos were associated with *estancias* or *rancherías* considered an integral part of the community, where perhaps only a few families resided permanently.[68] All pueblos, under colonial law, were entitled to a communal allocation of land called an ejido. As well as working ejido land near the pueblo, however, Indians returned to plant fields farther away in the hills and mountains near the settlements they had been moved from. Tovilla commented on this migration when he passed through Sacapulas early in the seventeenth century, but the movement back and forth must, by then, have been long-

established practice. Returning to grow corn in traditional milpas not only made good agricultural sense. It also served to lessen the impact of acculturation in a new place while reaffirming an important bond with the old. Few Spaniards understood return migration in this way or saw it as something that eventually might redesign the countryside more along preconquest than conquest lines. Two exceptions were the Dominican friars Tomás de Cárdenas and Juan de Torres, who were involved first-hand at Sacapulas in the actual process of congregación. Their eyewitness account is worth examining in detail.

On 6 December 1555, Cárdenas and Torres wrote to King Charles V from the Dominican convent at Sacapulas to express their views on a number of issues. Uppermost on their mind were the tremendous obstacles working against effective congregación. They speak first of difficulties imposed by the environment, mentioning that "this part of the sierra, being so rugged and broken, caused us to encounter settlements of only eight, six, or four houses tucked and hidden away in gullies and ravines where, until our arrival, no other Spaniard had penetrated."[69] Discovery earlier that year of "a large quantity of idols, not in any way concealed but displayed in full public view led the friars to wonder about the commitment of neophytes either to Christianity or to town residency." Indians, they contend, populate such out-of-the-way places so that "nobody can reach them or disturb their evil living."[70] As for those who allege that congregación shifts Indians from one place to another against their will, Cárdenas and Torres observe somewhat caustically that "there is no sick person who does not find the taste of medicine bad."[71] In this regard, Indians "are like children who do what they like, not what is good for them."[72] If, at times, the tone of the friars is sober, paternalistic, and self-absorbed, so also is it compassionate and insightful. Nowhere do Cárdenas and Torres come closer to understanding native resistance to congregación, or reflect more poignantly on what connects people and place, than when they remark "among all these Indians there is not one who wishes to leave behind the hut passed on to him by his father, nor to abandon a pestilential ravine or desert some inaccessible craggy rocks, because that is where the bones of his forefathers rest."[73]

The friars then implore the King to dismiss the criticisms voiced against Licenciado Alonso de Zorita, whose efforts to impose responsible government over Sacapulas and surrounding pueblos during his tour of inspection nine months earlier they praise and support.[74] Encomenderos were circulating rumors, the Dominicans claim, in order to sabotage Zorita's commendable work. They single out, in particular, encomendero outrage at Zorita's resolution that Indians be given a year's reprieve from paying tribute while they construct new houses and plant new fields in and around the pueblos to which they are moved: "to the encomenderos, a year without tribute seems intolerable."[75] Cárdenas and Torres insist that, at least to their knowledge,

no ruthless excesses were being perpetrated by Spaniards against Indians in the Sacapulas region. The friars do hint, though, that without judicious control of Spaniards, who "in these parts live for worldly interests," the long-term success of congregación would be endangered by causing Indians to flee newly-established settlements to escape oppression.

The letter written by Cárdenas and Torres is suffused with an almost premonitory sense that the lifework they have chosen, and the vision it promotes, will be plagued throughout by compromise, setback, and failure. Theirs was not an unfounded presentiment. Fifteen years after Cárdenas and Torres penned their letter the native leaders of Santiago Atitlán wrote to Philip II complaining that, on "estancias" belonging to the pueblo, there lived "rebellious Indians who wish to remain outside our authority and who disobey our orders concerning what tribute should be paid."[76] The years between 1575 and 1578 saw "many Indians" near Santiago de Guatemala "move out, in hiding, from one place to another" rather than pay not just their own tribute but be made to pay also that part "owed" by deceased relatives.[77] Around this same time we have several reports that mention the virtual disintegration of congregación in parts of the Verapaz, where "parcialidades and entire families leave to live idolatrously in the mountains."[78] Two sizable pueblos – Santa Catalina and Zulben – had been abandoned almost completely by 1579, only five years after the Bishop of Verapaz himself had supervised the process of congregación. At Cahabón, Indians allegedly gave up civilized life to join unconquered Lacandón and Chol-Manché tribes in pre-Christian barbarism on the other side of the frontier.[79]

Calls by the authorities to re-congregate such wayward folk met with few positive results. Indians drifted away from the pueblos they were supposed to inhabit back to places they and their ancestors came from. The drift was triggered and sustained by an interplay of cultural preferences, ecological sense, and material circumstances. Involuntary settlement almost guaranteed later desertion by those unconvinced in the first instance of why they should move. Residency in or near a pueblo brought with it an array of obligations some Indians obviously thought best to escape: attending church, learning Spanish, paying tribute, providing labor, working in domestic service, or acting as human carriers. Flight to the countryside was also a common reaction when pueblos were struck by disease, as happened throughout the colonial period, sometimes with devastating impact.[80]

If it is difficult to estimate the numbers involved in the centripetal thrust of congregación, it is impossible to approximate (for whatever reason) how many took part afterwards in the decision to leave. Certainly by the late seventeenth century, centrifugal movement had been of sufficient intensity that Fuentes y Guzmán could write with persistent exasperation of "wild" or "uncivilized" or "fugitive" Indians occupying secluded areas some distance

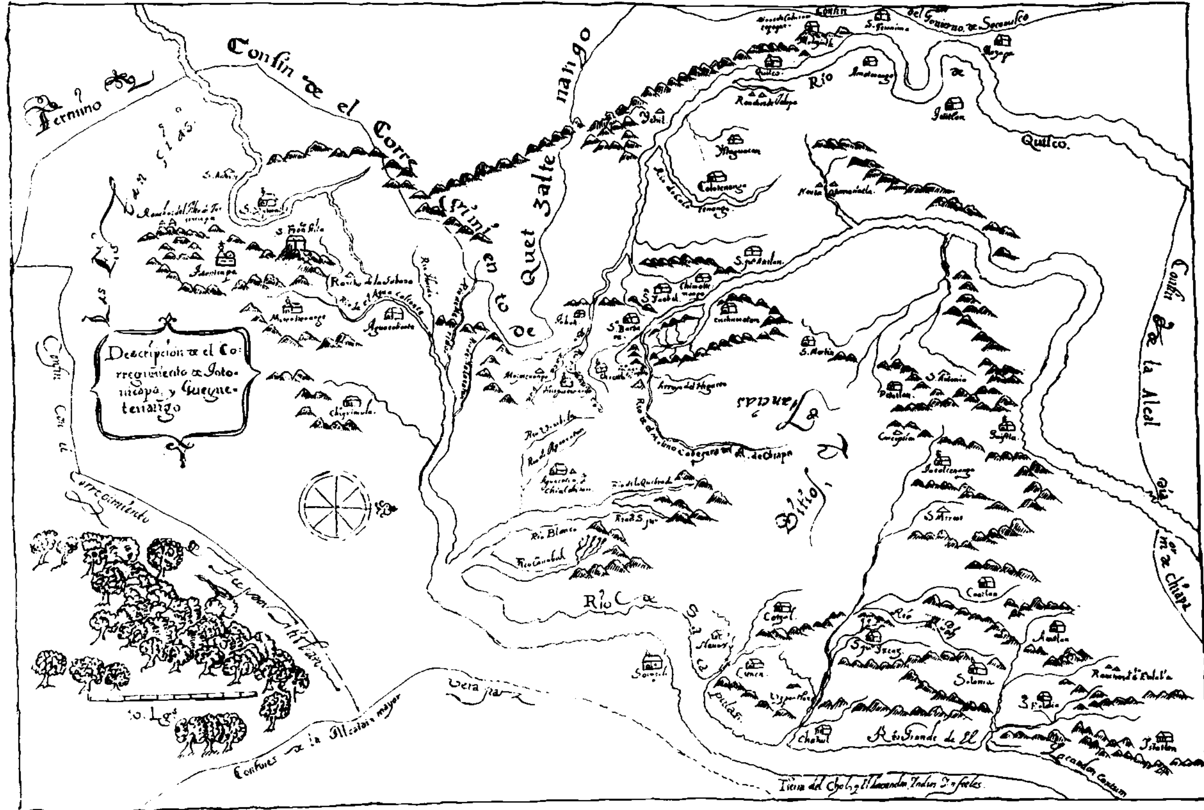

Figure 2.5 A seventeenth-century depiction of the *corregimiento* of Totonicapán and Huehuetenango

from congregaciones.[81] When he drew a map of the Corregimiento of Totonicapán and Huehuetenango, Fuentes y Guzmán saw fit not only to depict some 40 pueblos de indios; the chronicler also represented numerous satellite "ranchos" where Indian families lived – either with or without official sanction – considerably removed from the clutches of encomenderos or the sermons of missionaries (Figure 2.5).[82] Natives in these remote places could better evade taxation or resort to the idolatrous ways Cárdenas and Torres called "evil living." Movement away from congregaciones created center–periphery place arrangements that, with the passage of time, Sol Tax would eventually designate "vacant town" municipios. What he called "town nucleus" municipios may be regarded, if they have colonial roots, as settlement units in which out-migration was more temporary than permanent but within which movement, whether to plant fields or trade for cacao, still occurred. Geographically, then, colonial Maya communities in Guatemala were fluid and dynamic, not static or fixed. Nor were they always clearly defined, either on paper or in the field. Physically and symbolically, their foci may have been identifiable – as in Fuentes y Guzmán's map – in the form of church towers around which lay Christian burial grounds. But their edges were blurred and dissolved into more open, pre-Christian horizons.

Conclusion

Even a cursory tour, of the western highlands in particular, reveals in Guatemala an arrangement of towns at the centre of which the presence of a Catholic church is usually conspicuous. Closer inspection shows certain towns where Indians predominate to be internally sub-divided according to subtle criteria of language, dress, occupation, ceremonial activity, or place of residence. Where Ladinos, people of mixed Spanish and Indian descent, are the dominant town inhabitants, the surrounding countryside is invariably populated by Indians living in more dispersed units of settlement. This pattern of "town nucleus" and "vacant town" municipios was very much in evidence when, earlier this century, Sol Tax and other anthropologists were busily engaged in ethnographic field work. Important findings emerged from the research of Tax and his collaborators, but the issue of origins was overlooked.

Although the impact of a different kind of conquest, the past decade from 1977, has altered significantly the relationship between people and place, still much of what is visible today in the cultural landscape of Guatemala reflects at work the hand of imperial Spain, and indigenous reaction to it, centuries ago. Through congregación, hundreds of pueblos de indios were created that formed the embryo of future municipios. These "Indian towns" came into being as "congregations" of displaced people who were resettled, by force if necessary, so that the goals of empire could be more readily attained. Pueblos

were not just where Indians were supposed to become Christians. They were also encomiendas, tribute rewards for the Crown and for privileged Spaniards. While congregación operated, at many levels, as a powerful instrument of Hispanization, Indians resisted acculturation either by flight or by re-grouping within pueblos around preconquest affiliations referred to by Spaniards as parcialidades. Many of these parcialidades survive today.

Colonial pueblos were often heterogeneous communities that functioned, internally, quite differently from the way postulated by Eric Wolf. Most certainly, as the work of Ann Collins on Jacaltenango nicely demonstrates, Wolf's model of the Mesoamerican community is still a valid construct to uphold.[83] But the "corporate" nature of community must be examined critically, pueblo by pueblo, and no longer be accepted as a general proposition. So also, at least geographically, must the "closed" dimension of community be reappraised, for the nucleation inherent in congregación was followed soon after by a process of dispersal in which preferences for rural not town life were reasserted. In re-populating the countryside, the parcialidad once again figured prominently, this time as the key to social identity at the village or hamlet level.[84] Maya communities in Guatemala, in the present day as much as in colonial times, thus may best be regarded as adaptive organisms capable of responding to invasion and domination in ways that ensure meaningful group preservation.

3

Migration in colonial Peru: an overview

NOBLE DAVID COOK

Several years ago Rolando Mellafe wrote an introductory article on "The importance of migration in the Viceroyalty of Peru." In that essay, the Chilean scholar cogently argued that migration was one of the most significant, and generally unrecognized forces in Latin American history. "We could even affirm that the basic characteristic of colonial Hispanic American people was geographic mobility for there was constant movement of people in all senses of the term."[1] Social scientists who have examined the evidence in the years following Mellafe's brief seminal article have been equally impressed by both the volume and importance of migration in the Andean region of South America.

The colonial era in Andean America is a fascinating period and place for the student of migration to concentrate investigation. There are all the key ingredients that interest the curious scholar: the complex migratory situation in the late Inca period; the arrival of an alien and outside force, that was itself divided into a series of independent elements; the introduction of Indian auxiliaries from other sectors of the New World; and finally, the movement of blacks who were either slave or free. Each migratory element was complex. For example, not only did blacks vary in status, free or slave, but their origin and socio-economic background were diverse as well. Likewise, the Spaniards were not just from Andalusia and Estremadura, but also Castile, Galicia, Navarre, and from other parts of a peninsula that was characterized by sharp regional, cultural, and linguistic differences. Further, other Europeans emigrated to the Indies: Portugal, Flanders, Germany, Naples, Genoa, and Greece contributed their share. Of course, there were the territories that were most closely associated with the Spanish monarchy, but there were other foreigners as well, although they were not as numerous. By the end of the sixteenth century, there was even a sizable number (about 180 of a total Lima population of 13,000) of migrants living in Lima, who originated in the Orient. The Spanish Philippines and Portuguese Macao were represented, and there were some immigrants from coastal cities of mainland China.[2]

My purpose in this essay is to briefly review what is known of migration into the colonial Andean world; to develop a tentative typology for further systematic study of the phenomenon; to provide an overview of the types of migrants and migration; and finally, to suggest topics relating to migration that deserve much future scrutiny of social scientists. It is my hope that this exploratory exercise will stimulate others to examine the subject of migration in the colonial Andean context.

Background

The history of America is, in its broadest sense, the history of migration. The first Americans were migrants, Asians, who moved across the Bering Straits onto the North American continent. Generation after generation of their descendants migrated, from one locale to another, until almost all sectors of the western hemisphere were occupied. Archaeologists keep pushing back the date of the first permanent settlement in the Andes of South America. A site near Ayacucho in the central Peruvian Andes may have been occupied as early as 24,000 BC. It is possible that this date will be projected even earlier in time, as investigation continues in the region. Although occasional contact between Old World peoples and the Americas may have taken place, the contact was sporadic, and had little consequence.[3] The Columbus discovery of 1492 ended the isolation of the North and South American continents. The explorer's return to the Caribbean Sea in 1493 involved a migratory wave of some 1,500 Europeans. By 1513, two decades after the first landing by Christopher Columbus, the Caribbean had become a Spanish lake. The older native American population structure was in a state of collapse; Europeans and a slave force of largely African origin were occupying island sites ideal for the production of cane sugar, and were carefully exploring nearby coastal areas of the mainland.[4]

The Andean venture was a continuation of the general process of European migration, from well-developed settlements in the circum-Caribbean. Important for the movement along the western coast of South America were the bases that were established on the isthmus of Panama: Nombre de Dios (1510) on the Gulf side, Panama on the Pacific (1519). Spanish exploration and settlement of the Andean region by land from the eastern coast of the South American continent, from the Río de la Plata estuary, were not feasible at this point in time, for, as a general rule, overland travel was much more dangerous than sea voyages. On the other hand, the promising sea lane from east to west via the Straits discovered by the explorer Fernando Magellan (1519, but not generally known until 1522, after the remnants of his original fleet returned to Spain), was not to be a regular route from Europe to the Pacific coast of South America until the nineteenth century, with the advent of steam-powered vessels. Contrary winds, currents,

and vast distances, posed obstacles too great for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sailing vessels to overcome.[5]

As Spanish explorers migrated southward along the western coast of South America from Panama, they encountered permanent indigenous settlements, and learned that there had been contact, probably continuous, between various ethnic groups linking the Andean heartland with Mesoamerica. It is evident that some products were regularly exchanged in the pre-Columbian era between the two continents. The exact mechanism of trade is not fully understood. It might have been at short distances, and involved ceremonial gifts, and gift exchanges. Or, it could have been more organized and widespread. Migration was by land and sea. The Pizarro reconnaissance forces in the 1520s described encounters on the Pacific Ocean with large balsa sailing rafts, commanded by people who were by dress obviously from coastal Ecuador or north coastal Peru. They carried on these rafts a variety of animals, plant products, and items that could be used for trade: jewelry, pottery, and luxury cloths. The vessels plied the Pacific coast because of the requirements of interregional trade or exchange. The native Americans probably wanted feathers, semi-precious stones, and certain prized shells that could not be acquired further south.[6]

Further evidence of pre-Columbian exchange in the northwestern Andean region is to be found in the movement of smallpox, during the great first American pandemic of 1519, southward from the isthmus of Panama. In a slow, yet nonetheless continuous fashion, this disease was probably transferred from original sites of infection via normal short-range exchanges. Smallpox reached the central Andean highlands by about 1524, several years before the first Europeans were to set foot in the region.[7]

The Andean World the European entered was not a static, closed world, but a world in which there was much movement and change. The view of a closed system is found in some of the accounts of an idealized Inca Empire, an empire that had many similarities in the minds of those who were describing it, with the Roman Empire. The concept of the Roman world permeated all aspects of Renaissance thought. From art to architecture, from city planning to jurisprudence, from history to the ideal of the centralized bureaucratic state, Rome left its imprint on the mind of sixteenth-century European intellectuals. Yet if Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, and other historians created in their minds an ideal and stable Inca state, one that was an equal, or at least a rival of ancient Rome, they did so at the cost of obfuscating a complex reality.[8] In one important sense the Incas were similar to the Romans: they were conquerors. Just a few decades before the Spaniards reached the Andes, the Inca tribe burst out of its original core of settlement, in the area near and around Cuzco, and either by military force, or by skillful diplomacy, subjugated first neighbors, then more distant rivals, and finally, established a structure that extended northward into southern

Colombia, and southward to the Araucanian frontier of Chile. The finishing touches of that expansion were taking place just as the Spaniards were establishing a base at Panama. Tribal and ethnic unit after ethnic unit was quickly conquered, and integrated into a broader political and economic structure. The Chancha, the Lupaqa, the Collagua, the Mochica, the Chachapoya, the Cañari, were all absorbed, yet retained part of their own social identity. The amalgam was complex, there were many cultural-linguistic entities that composed the final mix. The two principal linguistic families, Quechua and Aymara, were made up of dozens of dialects. Along the north Peruvian coast many spoke dialects of Mochica, but there were in all many distinct languages spoken, and many distinct ethnic-cultural identities, with unique pottery styles, woven fabrics, dress, and lifestyles. The Inca attempt to establish Quechua as a lingua franca was a policy similar to the Roman in establishing Latin as the official language.[9] The Inca Empire was created by migration, by soldiers, and by emissaries on the move. Migration was not by an Inca ethnic unit alone. The number at the Inca core, as the process of expansion was under way, was too small to support the policy of imperial expansion. Expansion was made possible only by the adherence of other ethnic units to the same policy. The bond was accomplished first by arranging marriage and shared rule, thus linking ethnic lines; and second, by the mixture of ethnic groups by a policy of migration.[10]

Migration always existed in the Andean world. Part of the movement was associated with the herding of native American camelids. Pastoralists by nature are migrants, whether they tend flocks of sheep on the plains of Estremadura and Castile, or llamas and alpacas on the Andean grasslands. The migratory patterns of the Mesta in Spain have been well-studied, perhaps because the migration was at such great distance, because the Mesta was tightly organized to protect its own interests, and because of the group's impact on the local populations who happened to be in the way of migratory flocks. Migration of pastoralists in the Andes has been studied less perhaps because there is little colonial documentation, the Peruvian process is far more complex, short-range, and is so closely tied to the requirements of local ethnic units.[11]

As societal units evolved in the Andean World, there seems to have been a premium placed on access to as many ecological niches as possible. Ideally, the smallest unit had access to agricultural plots, some of which could be used for potatoes, ocullo, quinua, others for maize, others ají, and coca. The ethnic unit might also have a handful of alpacas of llamas, and access to puna land above their permanent settlements. Members might have rights to a salt mine that could be worked for one week per year, or a fishing or *guano* site that could be exploited for a period of weeks. The foci of natural resources might be scattered over a region of 40 or 50 kilometers, sometimes even more. The group, or a set of individuals in that group, migrated to and from

that site according to a regular calendar that was recognized by all the societal groups that shared that particular natural resource. Movement was constant in the Andean world. In that fashion, should a natural disaster befall the unit, it is unlikely that all production would be destroyed, and the unit would be able to survive. Those who study even contemporary agriculture are struck by the amount of time that is often spent in getting from one place to another. That migratory pattern has existed for generations.[12] The people of the *urinsaya* sector of the village of Yanque in the Colca River valley, for example, walk, often with livestock, some twenty minutes down a canyon, cross a bridge, then climb some thirty minutes upward to their small agricultural terraces. The members of the urinsaya probably spend at least two hours daily during the agricultural season commuting to and from their fields.

There were, in the late Inca period, several types of migrants: whole communities of *mitmacs* who had been forced to move from one locale and settle in another, either because they had been part of a unit that had resisted Inca polity and were therefore sent into other areas to reduce the core area of resistance to Inca authority, or because they were supportive of the Incas and were being transplanted into an area of rebellion. These mitmac colonies were generally of a few hundred families at most, but they were scattered over vast geographic expanses, often far distant from their home territory. There were also the Inca warriors, who travelled large distances to carry out state policy. These warriors might be Incas, or belong to other ethnic groups. Theirs was not a permanent, standing army, but consisted of groups of warriors called up on a quota basis as the exigency demanded. The purpose of migration was fulfillment of state policy, and the migrants returned home after their task was accomplished. We lack good evidence on this subject, but it is highly unlikely that a significant number of warriors remained in a place they conquered and ever became integrated into that ethnic unit. In addition to the warriors, there were those drafted each year to work on major construction projects. The most spectacular of these was probably the fortress of Sacsahuamán, on a relatively level stretch of land above the city of Cuzco, a massive structure that absorbed a seasonal labor force of some 40,000 over a decade-long period. But there abounded hundreds of smaller yet vital projects: the construction of suspension bridges; building of *tambos*, or way stations; the erection of *colcas*, or storehouses, in some cases, whole cities dedicated to the storage of grain and other products; mining; and perhaps the cultivation of coca on the eastern slopes of the Andes, in the *montaña* region. Other migrants were the *yanakuna*, the retainers, or the private servants of the Inca or the bureaucracy. Another group consisted of members of the local elite, the *kurakas*, part of whom were absorbed into the Inca group. Kuraka children were sent to Cuzco for training. Some remained, and married into the Incas, others became warriors or administra-

tors. Although migration was extensive, one must not assume that it was as simple and easy to move about in the late Inca Andean world as it was for European migrants in the United States during the nineteenth century. Such was not the case. Native ethnic groups retained their local costume, so one group could not be confused with another. As people moved about, one knew their origin by their appearance. And people did not migrate unless there was a valid reason that coincided with state needs, as defined by the Inca elite.[13]

In the late 1520s, a new element was introduced into this equation: the Europeans, along with their Indian auxiliaries, usually from Mesoamerica, and their African slaves. Numerically there was no match between the handful of outsiders and the millions of native Americans. But in technology, at least in military technology, the Europeans were far superior. The onslaught was sudden. Serious military conquest began in 1533. By 1538 the first stage was over, native resistance and rebellion had ended in failure. But then the outsiders fought among themselves, in a conflict that was for the European invaders far bloodier than the conquest of the Inca Empire had been. The major stages of this conflict lasted from Francisco Picarro's assassination in 1541 to the victory of Pedro de la Gasca in 1549, but with subsequent uprisings such as that led by Francisco Hernández Girón in 1554. There was a second major native American rebellion associated with the Inca leader Tupac Amaru, based on the montaña region northeast of Cuzco, but that revolt was crushed by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s.[14]

The impact of the first Europeans on Andean society was much greater than their true number would seem to warrant. Only a few thousand migrated to the Andean world in the sixteenth century, at least according to the officials, and as recorded in the meticulous work of Boyd-Bowman. Those few thousand, with the help of Indian allies who were only too ready to rise up and throw off the yoke of Inca rule, were able, with clearly superior military technology, fortuitous disease, and luck, to conquer an empire of several million subjects.[15] The Spanish removed the Inca hierarchy, and replaced it with a foreign one. The colonial regime was an amalgam of native and European. Titles were European and fit within the framework of the political structure of the Spanish Empire. Yet the base rested on an Indian labor force, and that force was organized along lines that were predominantly native. Mediating between the conquering outsider and the Indian commoner were the Andean kurakas, who made the new system function, albeit not equitably.[16]

Andean migration

As is the case in the study of migration in all places, Andean migratory patterns can best be understood in terms of first immigration, then emigra-

tion, and finally internal migratory movements. Although the principal variables are easy to describe, the equation quickly becomes complex as one attempts to bring other variables into play: who exactly is migrating, what is their age, does gender play a significant role, if so, in what fashion, what is the incidence of migration for each of the major racial types, then the countless possible mixtures? When the element of time is taken into account, the study of migration becomes even more complex. Further, what is the relationship between migration and the ecological resource base: is resource depletion always followed by emigration? What of the impact of technology and technological breakthroughs on these factors? In all migration, what is the role of forced, often state-directed movement, versus private, or individual movement?

Part of the complexity of Andean migration is the complexity of the geographical framework. The Andean world is one of contrasts (see Figure 3.1). There are places where one can stand and draw an imaginary circle with a radius of only 100 kilometers, and encompass tropical rain forests, glaciated peaks where the ice never melts, deserts where it may not rain for several years, and all types of intermediate climates and topographies. The region may be divided into three major sectors: coastal, highland, and tropical lowland. But each region can be divided, then subdivided further. There are sharp differences as one moves southward, further from the equator. There are few places on the globe where such diversity can be found in so small a territory.[17]

One must be cautious and not presume to be able to answer all the questions that have been posed immediately. In the present essay one can only present key issues, and sum up the current state of the research and make modest suggestions for systematic future investigation into the phenomenon of migration. First, what are the fundamental focal points that continuously attracted migrants, of all types?

Continuous magnets attracting migrants

1. Coastal agriculture

Migrants here were African slaves, who replaced native Americans, Indians who descended from the upper stretches of the coastal valleys, or simple European farm laborers. One can discern at least five principal areas of economic growth, each with its own formula for socio-economic advancement: sugar, cotton, wheat, vegetable farming, and wine production. The last three probably provided the greatest economic opportunity for the lower segments of society. Sugar, and to a lesser extent, cotton, required massive original capital outlays. This was less true of grapes, because it was probable that the land was used for other purposes until the vines were mature enough

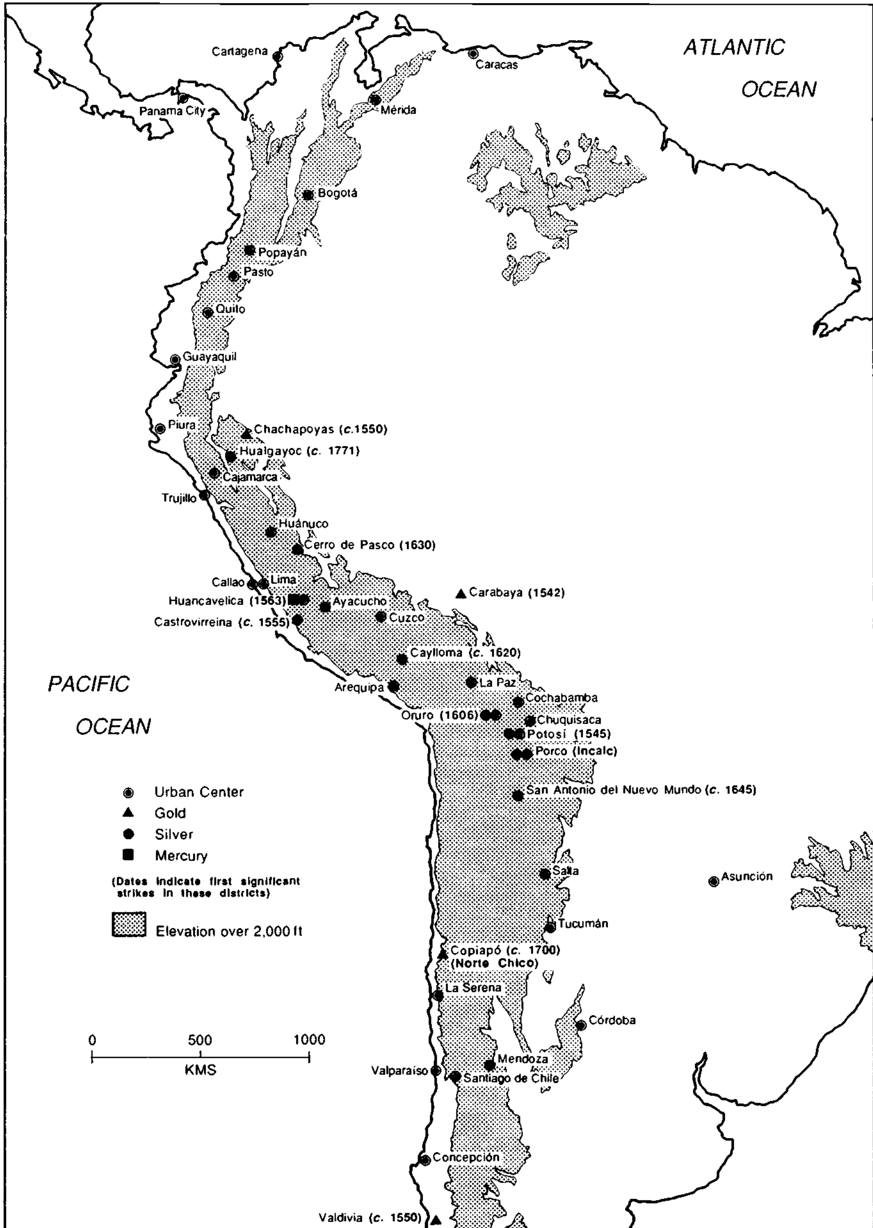

Figure 3.1 Colonial Andean settlements

to bear fruit, then produce wine. The coastal plantations, especially the cane and cotton ones, became by the 1550s, and retained into the nineteenth and perhaps twentieth centuries, a preeminence in Peru's economy.[18] Coastal estates expanded concurrently with coastal native population collapse. Due to a complex mixture of factors, Indian population of the coast fell at a much more rapid rate than in other Andean ecological zones. The rapid depopulation opened up substantial amounts of land to Europeans. Most of that coastal land was already under careful irrigation; plots were highly fertile.[19] At first, there was too small a foreign population to exploit the lands. European animals were introduced, quickly disrupting native terrace and irrigation agricultural systems. Overall productivity along the coast probably fell sharply in the first decades after the foreigners arrived. By the 1550s and 1560s a transition had taken place. Spanish urban administrative centers had been established along the coast, and had grown enough to stimulate a significant demand for products. Trujillo, Saña, Lima, Ica, Cañete, Moquegua, and an Arequipa that replaced Camaná were some of these centers. Trujillo, Lima, and Arequipa were the most important. Commercial irrigation agriculture was first and foremost based on sugar cane. The technology was already well-developed, first in the Canaries off the African coast, then as introduced into the Spanish Caribbean. The same technology and labor structure was used along the Peruvian coast as in the Caribbean. Here too, the Indians were replaced by African slaves, who had a much higher resistance to diseases that decimated the native American. There is probably a significant, although as yet an under-studied link between commercial and plantation families on Hispaniola and coastal Peru.[20] Cotton was another of the coastal products that quickly became important in the colonial economy. The cotton, and cloth prepared in the local *obrajes*, or cloth factories, filled a local and export market. But in addition to the substantial profits to be made in sugar cane and cotton, there were three other significant sectors of coastal agriculture: wheat, grapes, for wine, and vegetables, for the local urban markets. Centers of vegetable production were, of course, situated as close as possible to the urban markets they were going to service. For Lima the principal areas of vegetable gardening were concentrated in the Pachacamac Valley, the Cañete to the south, the middle Rimac to the east, and the Canta and Huarua Valley to the north. Wheat, because it was more easily transportable, could be shipped from valleys further away. By the seventeenth century, there had developed a substantial export of wheat to the Peruvian markets from centers in Chile. Wine production was, of course, specialized and closely linked to the local soil and climatic factors. Ica, Pisco, Camaná, Arequipa, and Moquegua, all to the south of Lima, took part in this sector of the economy. Whereas sugar and cotton tended to be dominated by the plantation form, with generally imported slave laborers being the key to production, wheat, vegetable, and wine production could,

and often was, in smaller units. Wine estates in Ica, for example, could be profitably operated by an agro-entrepreneur with a handful of slaves, Indian wage laborers, and contracted Spaniards (*peninsulares*, creoles, or even *mestizos*) functioning as overseers. Control of vegetable, or garden farming varied, some being in the hands of native Americans, who might cultivate, with kin, their own plots, carry the goods to market, and sell them. Kurakas and their relatives regularly engaged in this economic activity. They had access to land, and could organize and control native labor groups.[21]

2. The colonial administrative centers

The colonial administrative centers, no matter where they were located, grew and grew with relative speed. Only when an error of judgment was made in the original choice for settlement might an administrative site languish. That took place only rarely in the colonial period. The case of Camaná, which was unhealthy, supporting malaria and perhaps yellow fever, is an example of an error on the part of the Spanish bureaucrats. Here, as elsewhere, a second settlement was made, and the original site abandoned. Arequipa was the substitute, and it succeeded in spite of its own peculiar environmental hazards. Some colonial administrative centers grew more rapidly than others. Lima, the City of the Kings, perhaps grew most rapidly of all the administrative centers. The capital grew rapidly in spite of negative climatic factors. The fog, or *garúa*, is characteristic of the middle Pacific coast of Peru for practically six months each year. Settlement further to the north or the south would have provided a more benign environment, yet that was not to be the case. Once Lima had been occupied, it was not to be abandoned. The reason for Pizarro's choice of the Lima site is probably the existence of nearby Pachacamac, an important religious shrine that attracted pilgrims from throughout the central Andes. The major Spanish administrative centers in the Andean region can be quickly enumerated: Guayaquil, Trujillo, Quito, Cajamarca, Lima, Huamanga, Cuzco, Arequipa, La Paz, and further to the south, Santiago and Concepción. There was a tendency, almost from the first, for the prominent centers to grow most rapidly. Lima grew at a much more rapid pace than its rivals, in fact, none could approach it as a capital city. By the end of the colonial era there was already a clear imbalance between the capital cities of districts and their hinterlands, an imbalance that is accentuated in the modern era.[22]

3. Mining centers

The colonial mining centers usually developed in regions where the pre-Columbian urban thrust had only evolved weakly. Mining centers were entirely dependent on their hinterland. Many mining towns were at very high

elevations, in excess of 4,000 meters. This elevation is high enough to elicit certain responses of the human body to compensate for an inadequate oxygen supply and also to influence, in a complex way, the impact of infectious disease, childbearing, and other aspects of human health. Silver-mining cities were usually at high elevations. At the other end of the scale, the centers of gold production were of a different nature. A number of the gold mining centers, many of which were based on placer techniques, were situated at relatively low elevations on the eastern Andean slopes. This was not a propitious area for city building, precisely because of the danger of disease, both endemic and epidemic. None of the bases for gold mining was permanently prosperous, and most were abandoned by the end of the colonial regime. The important mining centers include: Huancavelica, Potosí, Castrovirreina, Oruro, Caylloma, Carabaya, and Cerro de Pasco.[23]

4. Highland haciendas

Highland haciendas grew in part to supply local mines and administrative centers. Their growth followed patterns of the local economy, and for most of the colonial period were dependent on larger economic forces. Haciendas were not independent centers for economic growth until perhaps the mid-eighteenth century. The production of foodstuffs and clothing was of key importance for the evolution of the highland estates. Heaviest and most accentuated development of the highland haciendas probably took place in the following (in possible order of relative importance): Cuzco, Huamanga, Cochabamba, Cajamarca, Tarma-Jauja. As one moved outward from the key areas of economic growth, the haciendas tended to become less and less dynamic, smaller, and in production more of a subsistence nature. The primary labor force attracted to the haciendas were the native Americans, followed by the mestizos, who probably acted as intermediaries, as majordomos.[24]

5. Transportation and trade centers

Karen Spalding has recently argued that "The colonial economy can be described in terms of a line running from Lima, capital of the viceroyalty of Peru, through the mercury mines of Huancavelica, source of the mineral used to reduce the silver ore, through Cuzco to the mines of Potosí in the Bolivian highlands. Along that line, Spanish settlement was denser and the integration of the native American population into the colonial system more thorough than in areas that were more peripheral to the colonial economy."[25] This thesis deserves verification. Certainly, few true independent transportation centers developed in Peru. In the north, Nombre de Dios on the Gulf, and Panama on the Pacific coast, were true transportation centers, and full only

during the semiannual market cycle. In Peru proper, a city linked only to transportation is difficult to pinpoint, with Callao as a notable exception to this generalization. Yet one could consider Callao as part of a broader Lima-urban economic entity. On the north coast, Olmos served as a center for the setting up of mule trains for travel southward, via the land route rather than the sea. Further south Lima and, of course, Pisco and Arequipa's port of Islay, served the function, and Juli and Tucumán were also important. The question of trade cities, or urban settlements based on the exchange of commodities, in the Andean region is one that has long intrigued scholars. In the pre-Columbian era widescale commerce was probably weakly developed. Most exchange was associated with the ethnic units. The concept of multiple access to resources, based on the proximity of various ecological niches and the wide range of products meant that most groups had access to all the basic products they needed for subsistence. Only a few products were exchanged at wider range. Systematic study of trade and trade centers for the early colonial era needs to be done. But there seems to be no equivalent in the Andean region of the trading or merchant class of Middle America: the *pochtecas*. The coastal fisherman of Chincha, according to María Rostworowski, did exchange products at wider range. But these may be exceptional. Modern market centers exist in the Andean zone. These include Cajamarca, Huancayo, Pisac, Juliaca. Could there have been no colonial equivalent? That seems unlikely, given what we know of the persistence of cultural characteristics in the region. But serious investigation into trade centers must be undertaken before we can postulate an answer to this question.[26]

6. *The eastward movement*

There seems to have been a relatively continuous eastward drain of population during the colonial era. All sectors of the population were involved in this drift. In no small measure it represented the flight of some elements to escape the controls and rigors of the structured highland and coastal lives. The Indians, as we shall later see, moved to escape *mita* service and tribute. Part of that movement was eastward. Yet there was more than escape in this easterly drift. All elements probably participated from the time of the first exploratory movements of the conquistadores. The unknown resources of the montaña and upper Amazon basin always seemed to beckon searchers of fortune. The Carabaya and Chachapoyas gold sources represented what was thought to be possible for others. The region was vast, it extended the whole distance along the eastern edge of the *cordillera*, and into the interior as far as the indistinct frontier with Portuguese Brazil. The territory was larger than that of the highlands and coast. More than precious metals was available. The sector of Moyobamba and Chachapoyas could be used for horse and cattle production. The problems confronted were tropical disease, difficult

communications, and the unsubdued tribes who inhabited the eastern lowlands. On the southeastern frontier, in what is now Bolivia, the Chiriguanos posed a permanent threat to all settlers. Unfortunately, we know little of the eastward drift because of the paucity of documentation. Those who escaped went beyond the official record-keeping role of bureaucrats and clergymen alike. However, sex ratios of some eastern Indian *repartimientos* indicate movement to the lowlands.[27]

Types of migration

1. Seasonal migrations

(a) Traditional Andean migration Traditional Andean patterns continued in the colonial era. They include migration from highlands to coast for fishing; migration to salt mines; migration to the shores of Lake Titicaca, or other important highland lakes, for fishing and fish preservation; migration to collect guano, especially important for agricultural productivity in the south coastal sector; migration from highland communities to the *puna* with the camelids; temporary migration to lowland plots for ají, and at times, coca production.[28]

(b) The transportation factor In a certain sense, transportation of silver was a seasonal affair. Silver production was not continuous year-round, but varied significantly from one month to another. Key for silver extraction was an adequate mercury supply. Mule trains carrying the substance travelled during relatively dry weather, when it was easiest to cross streams and rivers; at the period of heavy rainfall, transportation was very difficult.[29]

2. Forced migration

(a) Indian slaves and servants The forced migration of native Americans was particularly pervasive in the early colonial period. In the first decade, for example, there was a sizable contingent of Indian slaves from Nicaragua involved in the Peruvian venture. In the latter decades of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, there were substantial numbers of young Indians taken in "just wars" along frontiers, especially in Chile, although the Chiriguan province also provided young native Americans of this type.[30]

(b) Black slaves Forced migration of black slaves has received serious scholarly scrutiny. Frederick Bowser has pointed out the chief characteristics of this migration. The process continued to the end of the colonial period. The slave trade involved the importation of healthy young male workers for

the coastal plantations, and for some mining, especially gold placer mining, and household slaves, male and female, who were usually better educated, many having special skills, and finally, artisans, particularly blacksmiths, but also leatherworkers, and carpenters. Some black artisans were able to save enough capital to purchase their own freedom. We have no evidence that any were able to return to their native homeland during the colonial period.[31]

(c) The traditional mita The subject of the mita has been examined by many scholars, including Enrique Tandeter, Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, and more recently, by Jeffrey Cole and Peter Bakewell. Native migration if anything was stimulated by the Spanish colonial regime, in all chronological stages of the evolutionary process. Some *mitmac* entities, forcibly moved in late Inca times, took the opportunity of the early conquest period to return to their native lands. Other groups, often enemies of the Inca, closely associated themselves with the Europeans, became their allies, and travelled with them: these groups included the Cañari and the Chachapoyas, and the Chanchas as well. Some retainers of the Incas, Yanakunas, found it expedient to associate with the Spaniards, as servants at times, as artisans at others. Silver and goldsmiths were of special importance to the Europeans and were quickly brought into the new economic order. They lived in European households, or often in new Spanish urban settlements. The Spanish borrowed directly the Inca system of the forced draft labor party, the mita. The mita involved migration for the Spanish dependants as it had in Inca times, but now, under the Spanish colonial regime, the period of labor, and the percentage of the local labor force required to participate, was gradually expanded. Each Spanish colonial city had its *mita de plaza*, under which native Americans were required to present themselves according to an established formula to hire themselves out for useful works projects. Unfortunately, in some cases, it was necessary to travel great distances to reach the city where the worker was required to present himself. But work in the mita de plaza was generally less burdensome than other forms of the mita. The worst, all observers agreed, was in the mines, especially the mercury mines at Huancavelica, the major silver mines, such as Potosí, and secondarily, Castrovirreina, and in the seventeenth century, Caylloma. Another mining area particularly detested, and dangerous, was the gold placer mining region in Carabaya, where low elevation work in an extremely humid environment, filled with poisonous insects, snakes, and other deadly animals, wrought havoc on Indian health. Local mita projects, such as the building, maintenance, and repair of bridges, were less a burden and more in keeping with earlier practice. Yet not all mita labor was inherently onerous and dangerous in the colonial era. There existed stringent regulations involving the time of labor, payment for travel to and from the site, and so on. The system was not based on choice, but on

the commands of the central authorities. Forced labor, not free, is the key phrase.[32]

(d) The reducciones One special form of forced native American migration should be mentioned: the *reducciones.* The native American settlement pattern was one of dispersal. Groups of people tended to concentrate in small clusters, of a dozen or two extended family units, often called *ayllus,* consisting of a population of up to perhaps 150, at the upper level. These clusters, or hamlets, were scattered throughout an area, with many in a single valley. Rarely did the indigenous Andean population unit exceed 10,000 people. The Europeans found these clusters of small populations to be very difficult to administer. Key functions of the new foreign regime were religious indoctrination, political control, and tribute assessment and collection. A group of 150 was not optimal for religious instruction. At first, missionary clerics and friars were spending much time travelling from one place to another. They advocated settlement of people into large population units, in the neighborhood of 2,000 inhabitants, at least, for the purpose of conversion and indoctrination. The clergyman could remain in a single locale, or travel to a small number of local churches, to do the religious work that was expected by the Church. Although discussed and advocated from as early as the 1540s, the settlement policy of reducciones did not become official government policy until the 1570s, under the administration of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. At this point the native pattern of settlement was disrupted. Old houses were destroyed to keep the people from returning to their original homes after the colonial bureaucrats had withdrawn to their administrative centers. The policy was not exactly a reservation policy as established in the nineteenth century in the United States. The Anglo officials who helped establish the reservation policy had little interest in the creation of a series of urban centers to act as a focus for control. They merely wanted separation between a white European settlement and an Indian one. Toledo's settlement policy was resisted, but passively for the most part. The defeat of the neo-Inca state under Tupac Amaru, and the brutal elimination of its leadership, came simultaneously with the settlement policy. Repression was a reminder of what could happen to the native American should resistance shift from passive to armed insurrection.

One of the most significant consequences of the Toledo settlement policy was increased mortality. Population units were multiplied tenfold in size. Population densities increased in this fashion, and epidemic disease spread more rapidly. The population centers created from this forced migration were artificial. They were administrative and religious centers, convenient for the extractive role of the colonial bureaucracy, not necessarily the people who inhabited them. What is perhaps surprising is the persistence of these Renaissance examples of town planning. Many towns created during this

period still survive, although few are larger than when founded in the 1570s. Although the resettlement policy of Toledo was a policy of forced migration, in this case the forced movement involved only kilometers; it was short distance, not the vast distances that other forms of migration might involve. The policy was not Andean alone; the Spanish concentrated natives into settlements wherever they could throughout the Indies. The subject has not received the scholarly scrutiny it deserves. Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos is coordinating an international group based in Mexico. In Peru the most serious attention to the subject to date is that of Alejandro Málaga Medina.[33]

3. The evolution of the forastero

One significant aspect of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's Indian legislation dealt with labor for the major mining mitas, labor that was much demanded by the sixteenth-century mining interests. Mining centers were assigned a quota of the Indian tributary force, to provide mine labor for a specified period of time each year. Usually one-seventh of a local Indian population was expected to contribute their work. The natives thus employed often did the worst, the most dirty and dangerous, of the mining tasks. These chores were usually detested by the native American. Yet there was a major weakness in the Toledo legislation: Indians were exempt from the mita service if they were *forasteros*, that is, if they were emigrants from their home provinces (*corregimientos*). In order to avoid contributing in the local mita labor draft, the Indian often emigrated. The Indian emigrant lost status, he or she lost affiliation with a local ayllu unit, the very foundation of the Andean social order. Yet the Indian who migrated, who thereby diminished his social status as well as losing land rights in the communities from which he had fled, was exempt from service in the mining mitas. The advantages of becoming a forastero must have been significant in some locales. The mining mita requirement in the seventeenth century was especially onerous. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz has argued that in Upper Peru, in corregimientos subject to the Potosí mita, the forasteros may have exceeded the local, or original population. He cautions against assuming massive depopulation, since the *originario* population, not the forastero, was usually counted by the colonial officials. The solution to this problem remains unanswered, and deserves further scrutiny.[34]

Types of migrants

1. European immigrants

European migration to the Andean region began with the Pizarro *entrada*; its volume varied, as well as the origin of the migrants. In the early years, a

considerable portion of migrants were already established in the Indies, with a majority probably having lived in the Caribbean sector. They were those who had not been successful in establishing a permanent place for themselves in Central Mexico, which came under exploitation in the previous decade. When news of the riches of Peru, as exemplified by the ransom of the Inca ruler Atahualpa, began to flood into the settled islands and coastal sectors of the Caribbean, then Spain itself, migration accelerated. A strong flow probably continued throughout the early conquest and Civil War period. Although mortality was high, one man's loss was another man's gain. The potential for wealth, the primary motivating factor, was high, as long as one survived and did not join the losing side too often. The discovery of the "mountain" of silver, Potosí, stimulated continued migration as the wars were coming to a close. The mercury amalgamation, or *patio* process, of extracting the silver from the ore, came in time to revive population levels as the best ores were being depleted. And of course, Potosí was just one, although the most famous, of many mines discovered in the Andean region. Mineral exploitation continued to be the basic force in the Andean economy throughout the colonial period. Other sectors of the economy were geared to the support of mining; the hacienda for food production, the *obrajes* for cloth, the vineyards for wine, and so forth. There would have been settlement of the Andes by the Spaniards even without mining, but the settlement would have been much less dense. Several factors concerning European migration deserve closer examination.[35]

(a) Regional origin The regional origin of European migrants may provide distinctive local cultural patterns. Significant variations in dialect, dress, diet, even architectural style occur in the Iberian peninsula. Peter Boyd-Bowman has done a systematic study of regional origins of migrants in the New World, for the sixteenth century. Clearly, the south of the peninsula dominates during this period. At the same time Ida Altman has examined in detail immigrants from the area of Estremadura. Her work on the Ovando family of Cáceres, many with close ties to the Peruvian venture, is of special interest, and serves as a type of study that might be beneficial for some other regions. The importance of regional ties should not be underestimated. If Potosí, for example, had been dominated by Galician migrants, it would be expected that they would have left an indelible imprint on the local society of the mining city. Are the distinctive balconies of Lima the result of the influx of large numbers of migrants from Andalusia? Large variations are to be expected over the colonial era. There would be patterns of emigration, based on modifications in the economic structure of the peninsula. Yet the study of regional migration is difficult. Use of the registers of the Casa de Contratación in Sevilla may indicate the place of last significant residence, not the place of origin. For example, one Juan Vela might be recorded as a resident

of Triana, although he could have moved to the banks of the Guadalquivir from Cuéllar some fifteen years earlier. Parish registers are more apt to give the place of origin, or baptism, but parish registers are dispersed, and especially incomplete before the second half of the seventeenth century. The exception is in the major administrative Spanish centers, places such as Lima, Trujillo, Arequipa.[36]

(b) Socio-occupational factors involving European immigration Certainly the relative rank in Spanish society, as well as the occupation of the migrant deserve careful examination. What is the proportion of miners, merchants, craftsmen, *hidalgos*? James Lockhart has broken fertile ground in this regard, but there have been few systematic studies of occupational factors in migration to the Andean area in years subsequent to those investigated by Lockhart. As that researcher found, occupational patterns are probably best discerned from one of the more difficult historical sources to use: the notarial records. The notarial records abound; they survive from almost all locations from an early period. The parish registers tell little of occupations; the contracts witnessed by the scribes frequently mention the occupation of the contracting parties. There is ample documentation to conduct this type of research, but the task is laborious.[37]

(c) Long-range chronological factors One of the most valuable studies of European migration to date is that of James Lockhart; his study encompasses the years prior to 1560. Yet it is clear that early colonial migration may have been of a special type, not necessarily to be replicated throughout the following three centuries. One of Lockhart's principal studies is solely of the age cohort of Cajamarca, the men who participated in the sharing of the treasure of the ransom of the Inca ruler. His broader work encompassed only the period from 1532 to 1560. This is the first thirty years of a colonial era that extends for practically 300 in the Andean area. Systematic study of European migration needs to be done for the entire colonial period. One would like to be able to correlate the long-term economic cycles on the peninsula to migration to the Andean region. How solid was Spain's line of emigrants, the Castile, through Estremadura and into Andalusia strip? When did this sector cease to play, if indeed it did, a role as the major source of migrants? At what point in time did emigration from the periphery accelerate, and how was it distributed? Was this new emigration different from that of the earlier colonial period? Were socio-occupational reasons for emigration different for those who moved to the Andean world in the late eighteenth century?[38]

(d) Migratory patterns of Europeans in the Andes After the Europeans reached the Andean world, where did they settle, how frequently did they

move, to where, and why? We have a rare glimpse of native American migration in the Indian census of Lima of 1613 that does provide answers to these questions, but up to now there is no equivalent single source for the analysis of the movement of Europeans. Such a study is useful, and should be undertaken, but the source material is fragmentary. Again, the research could be based on notarial records, but the task is not an easy one.[39]

2. European emigration

Movement of Europeans to South America, although not well studied, has at least elicited some scholarly investigation. The converse, the return of the Spaniard to his homeland, is virtually ignored, with the exception of the recent work of Ida Altman, who has studied the impact of those returning to the Spanish city of Cáceres, in the early colonial era. It is evident that the return passage is of vital interest. Why did some choose to return to Europe, what did they do with the wealth that they had acquired in the Indies, if indeed they had been successful, and what impact did they have on the society of Spain? Were there long-term variations in emigration to Spain, and if so, what? This type of investigation would be difficult, although it can be done, using predominantly the notarial and the parish registers.[40]

3. Asian immigrants

In the nineteenth century, large numbers of Asians, the Chinese at mid-century, and the Japanese at the end of the century and at the beginning of the twentieth, migrated to Peru. Yet in the colonial era numbers of Asians could be found along the coast of South America. What is the relationship, if any, between the colonial and the nineteenth-century movement from Asia to Peru? Are there special characteristics of this migration, occupational or sexual, that deserve further examination?[41]

The gender issue in migration

1. Migration of European women

The volume and periodicity of female migration to the Andean world is critical for an understanding of the process of the transfer of Hispanic culture. This subject has not yet received the systematic attention that is required. Luis Martin's work on women in colonial Peru is helpful, but really stimulates one to ask the more important questions. What are the annual ratios between male and female migrants to the Andean world? What are the long term patterns in migration of women? Then, what of marriage patterns in the Viceroyalty? What percentage already came married; what portion

came under an agreement to marry once in Peru; was there a tendency for people from the same villages or cities in Spain to marry in Peru? We assume probably, but what is the frequency? What role did women play in socio-economic mobility in the colonial Andes?[42]

2. The native American female

Much investigation needs to be done on the role of the woman in native Andean society. What little is already known indicates that her role was substantial, probably much greater than her European sister during the colonial era. Andean society stresses reciprocity, for each attribute there is a counterpart. The cosmos is seen in halves, two essentially equal complementary parts. The Andean woman inherited and transferred property. She tilled the fields. She engaged in commerce. And she migrated either with her husband, or separately. The colonial *visitas* abound with *solteras*, single women. Many are listed as migrants. Lima had its share of native American women according to the census return of 1613. Recent articles by Irene Silverblatt and Ann Wightman illuminate some aspects of female migration, especially in the southern Andes of Peru and Bolivia.[43]

Conclusion

Rolando Mellafe established a tentative typology for the study of migration in the Peruvian context. He argued that there were several key foci of migration. His five areas of permanent attraction were: coastal plantations; highland plantations at medium altitudes (1,000 to 2,000 meters); lower level highland type plantations (zero to 1,000 meters); Indian lands and communities at medium altitudes; and small towns of Indians and mestizos. The present overview leads to the conclusion that Mellafe's typology is of only limited utility as an explanatory tool of the socio-economic complex of Andean migration during the colonial era. It is true that the first focal sector postulated by Mellafe, coastal agriculture, acts as a substantial and relatively permanent magnet for migrants. The other four areas Mellafe delineates are at best misleading, and at worst, inaccurate.[44]

The areas that continuously attracted migrants are perhaps best classified as: first, the coastal plantations; second, the Spanish administrative centers; third, the mining centers; fourth, the highland haciendas that supported both administrative and mining centers; and fifth, the eastern, or montaña region. The attraction of each of these depended on short-term economic cycles, and longer term variations in the ecological base. The mining centers were perhaps the most volatile. The history of Potosí is increasingly told, and the major trends are now relatively clear. Much the same may be said for the mercury mining center of Huancavelica. Other mining centers have been less

well examined. There were several types of migration: forced and free; seasonal and permanent. Further, various categories of people migrated: Europeans, Africans, native Americans, and those of mixed background. All age groups migrated, but it is likely that the adult able-bodied working age population did most of the travelling. Furthermore, both males and females migrated. Much research needs to be undertaken before all aspects of female migration are known, but it is clear to all that the impact was substantial, for all elements of the population.

Rolando Mellafe's implied call for closer study of the nature and impact of migration on the history of the New World issued several years ago has not elicited the response he probably desired. In the study of migration, the colonial period lags. Much solid work has been done on nineteenth-century migration to the Americas, especially to the United States, Canada, Brazil and Argentina, and to a lesser extent Venezuela, Uruguay, and Mexico. Of course, the heavy flow of migrants during the nineteenth century helped to determine the speed of economic growth of the various nations, and helped to establish their peculiar cultural characteristics. By contrast, students and scholars have not flocked to the field to pursue the theme of colonial migration. We may wish to ask ourselves why has this been the case? There is no single answer to that question. Perhaps scholars have deemed other issues more pressing and in need of study, as is the case of the nineteenth century. Or perhaps the basic sources that are fundamental to the history of colonial migration are especially tedious to use: the parish registers, the censuses, and the notarial records. Yet the other articles presented in this volume, and work done at recent conferences, indicate that the lacunae may not continue forever. People are surmounting the difficulties of the research material; the consequence can only be a more complete understanding of the population dynamics of the colonial era.

4

Migration processes in Upper Peru in the seventeenth century

BRIAN EVANS

Since the pioneering work of Rolando Mellafe[1] which is now nearly twenty years old, the extent and importance of migration in the Viceroyalty of Peru during the colonial period has been noted, and a considerable amount of additional work has been accomplished by various scholars.

As regards Upper Peru, the various writings of Sánchez Albornóz,[2] Evans,[3] and Cole[4] have all dealt with various aspects of the topic. The scale of the movement, its origins and causes, the general directions of migration, and some of the consequences are generally understood, and we can at least estimate the numbers involved. A summation of these findings will be provided here, but the major thrust of this paper is to attempt to answer some of the specific questions that arise over the actual processes of migration, and to suggest directions for further research.

First, it may be useful to summarize and expand on some of the points on which there is general agreement. We have two major points of reference in any discussion of population developments in seventeenth-century Upper Peru. The first is that of the *Visita General* of Viceroy Toledo taken in 1575, the second that of the *Numeración General* of Viceroy Palata, conducted in the years 1683–1686. The first presents us with the following population picture (Table 4.1).[5]

While the *Tasa* provides no systematic details, it is assumed that the overwhelming majority of the population were *originarios*, although mention is made specifically of *yanaconas* in La Paz and of various groups of *mitimaes*.

In contrast, the *Numeración General* shows a distinctive distribution (Table 4.2).

Whatever the shortcomings of the *Numeración General*, some of which are discussed below, it is fairly clear that in the century that had elapsed since Toledo's time, some dramatic changes had occurred. First, and at first sight surprising, the total population of Upper Peru had not declined significantly, if indeed at all. In contrast, however, there had been a most dramatic

Table 4.1 *Population distribution in Upper Peru, 1575*

A Province	B Number of tributaries	C Provincial population as % of total	D Total population	E Tributaries as % of total
Pacajes	9,477	20.2	49,042	19.32
Sicasica	3,407	6.8	16,556	20.58
Omasuyu	5,690	10.4	25,214	22.56
Larecaja	2,555	4.8	11,701	21.83
Paria	7,717	13.9	33,711	22.89
Carangas	6,254	10.9	26,344	23.73
Cochabamba	3,180	6.2	15,076	21.10
Chayanta	5,759	12.5	30,400	18.94
Porco	3,743	7.4	17,935	20.86
Yamparaes	1,861	3.1	7,520	24.75
Tomina	531	1.2	2,886	18.40
Mizque	1,230	2.6	6,319	19.46
Total	51,404	100.0%	242,704	21.18%

Source: Tasa de la Visita General de Francisco de Toledo, 1974, xxxix–xlii.

redistribution of the population. This had been in detail a complex process, but the salient and interlocking features can be summarized as follows. First, areas which Toledo had made liable to the *mita* of Potosí had almost always lost population, whereas provinces not liable had had sometimes dramatic increases. Second, there had been a general southward drift of population, undoubtedly connected with the fact that many *mitayos* (especially those from the more distant provinces around and north of Lake Titicaca), did not return home after doing their service, but settled at or near to Potosí. Third, there was a tendency to move from the *altiplano* to the lower elevations of the *yungas*.

Taken together these movements had transformed the distributional patterns (Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). Some provinces (Pacajes, Carangas, Mizque) had lost more than half their 1575 populations. Others in contrast (Cochabamba, Tomina, Larecaja) had doubled or trebled their numbers. If we look at the more detailed level of individual *repartimientos* or *pueblos*, then, as expected, the variations are even more dramatic.

The colonial authorities were, of course, well aware of the scale, causes, and general direction of migration.[6] They clearly understood that, as Toledo had made only the originarios of certain "affected provinces"[7] liable for mita and full tribute obligations, an Indian could avoid the burden either by (a)

Table 4.2 *Population distribution in Upper Peru, 1683–1686*

Province	Number of tributaries	% of total	No. of tributaries in 1683 as % of number in 1575
Pacajes	3,615	7.0	38.1
Sicasica	4,494	8.7	131.9
Omasuyo	4,903	9.5	61.5
Larecaja	7,177	13.9	302.0
Paria	2,748	5.3	35.6
Carangas	2,579	5.0	41.2
Cochabamba	6,466	12.6	202.3
Chayanta	7,732	15.0	134.2
Porco	5,775	11.2	154.3
Yamparaes	1,415	2.6	76.0
Tomina	1,196	2.3	225.2
Mizque	530	1.0	43.1
Tarija	1,325	2.6	Not comparable
Pilaya/Paspaya	1,515	2.9	Not comparable
Total	51,470[a]		

Note: [a]This figure does not include the totals for La Paz, allegedly 353, but see later discussion, Oruro (1,851), and Potosí (5,557). If we do, the grand total is 59,231.

fleeing to an area not liable to mita, or (b) assuming a non-originario status. In fact these two lines of escape were closely connected.

After over thirty years of indecision and increasingly acrid debate occasioned by the continuous fall in the number of mitayos, Madrid finally decided that the only solution would be to hold another general census, and the new Viceroy Palata was, in 1680, charged with making it a major concern of his administration.

The findings of the present study are all based on the surviving returns of the *Numeración General*, and thus, without undue repetition of what has already been published,[8] it may be helpful to comment briefly on the structure of the census, and its strengths and weaknesses.

In essence La Palata planned a census of modern type. Theoretically it demanded that all individuals should be enumerated where they actually resided on 1 October 1683. Every Indian, and not just tributary males, was to be listed with the following information: (a) names, (b) age, (c) civil status and family, and (d) place of origin, if different from the place of residence.

The prime purpose of the census, stated repeatedly,[9] was the need to count people where they actually resided in order to force the *forasteros*, yanaconas, and other categories of Indian to assume equal burdens with the originarios. Yet the format[10] recommended was so complex, and even

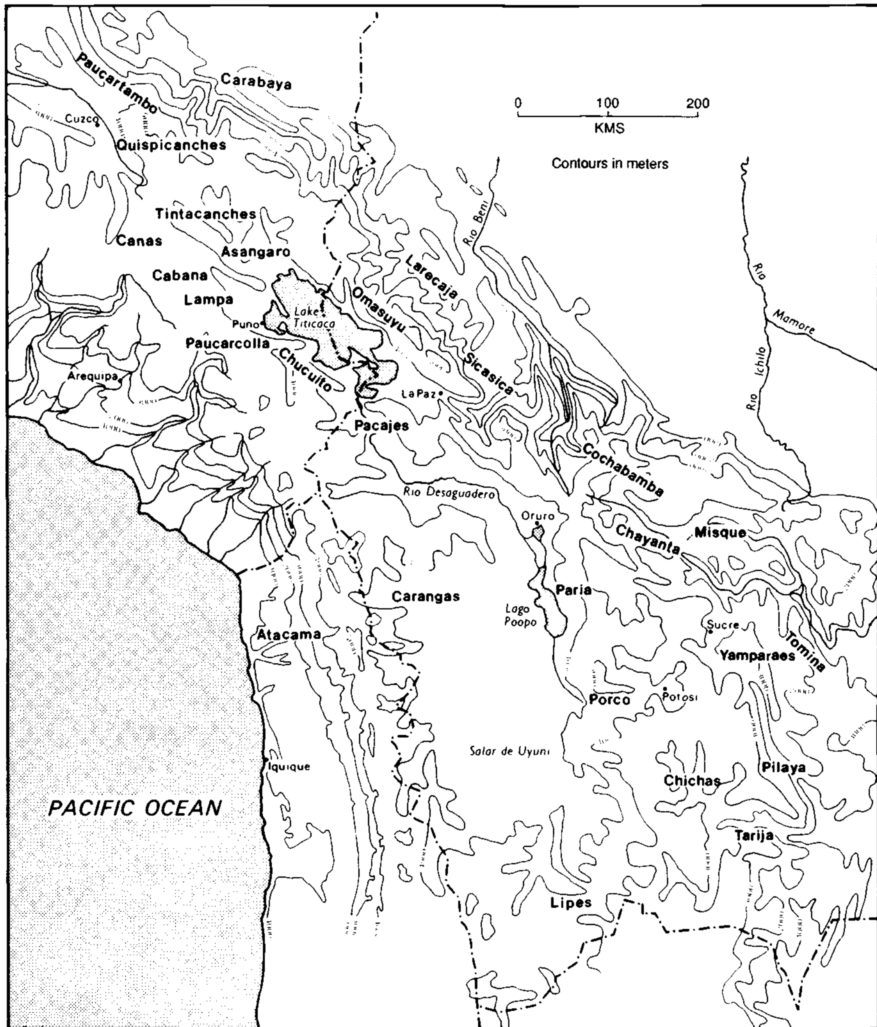

Figure 4.1 Seventeenth-century provinces in Upper Peru

contradictory, that it almost guaranteed that the end results would be liable to error and difficult to interpret.

The Indians were to be entered in one of eight books according to their status. In the first were all originarios and their families present on the day of registration. In the second were the absentees whose whereabouts were known. The third contained the names of absentees who had "disappeared." The remaining five books were to contain the various classes of "migrants." First came those classed as forasteros (Book 4). La Palata understood this

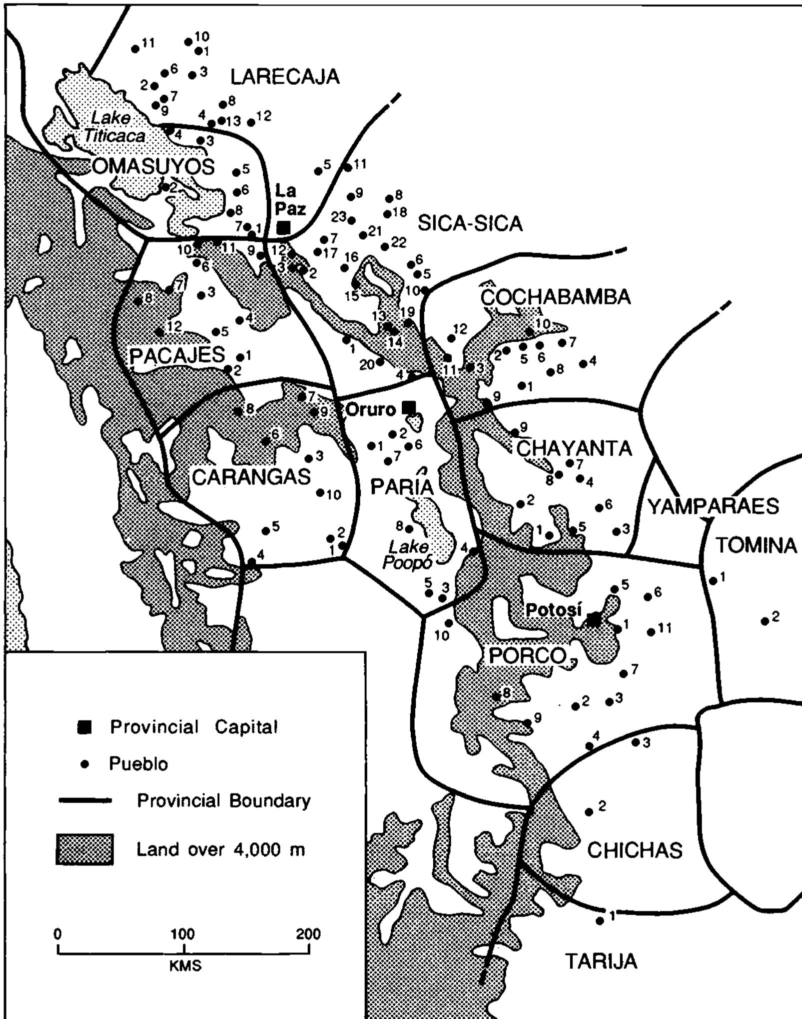

Figure 4.2 Provinces and pueblos of Upper Peru in the seventeenth century

group to be Indians who had left their native pueblos, but who had settled on native-owned land in their new homes, and who were frequently integrated into the *ayllu* kinship system there. Forasteros were to be reported together with their pueblos of origin and information as to whom they paid tribute. In most provinces this was done, but it gave rise to difficulties. Many forasteros had been absent from their "native pueblos" for generations, and others had "forgotten" their places of origin. Some paid tribute locally, others paid to their home pueblos (and should therefore have been listed in Book 2), and

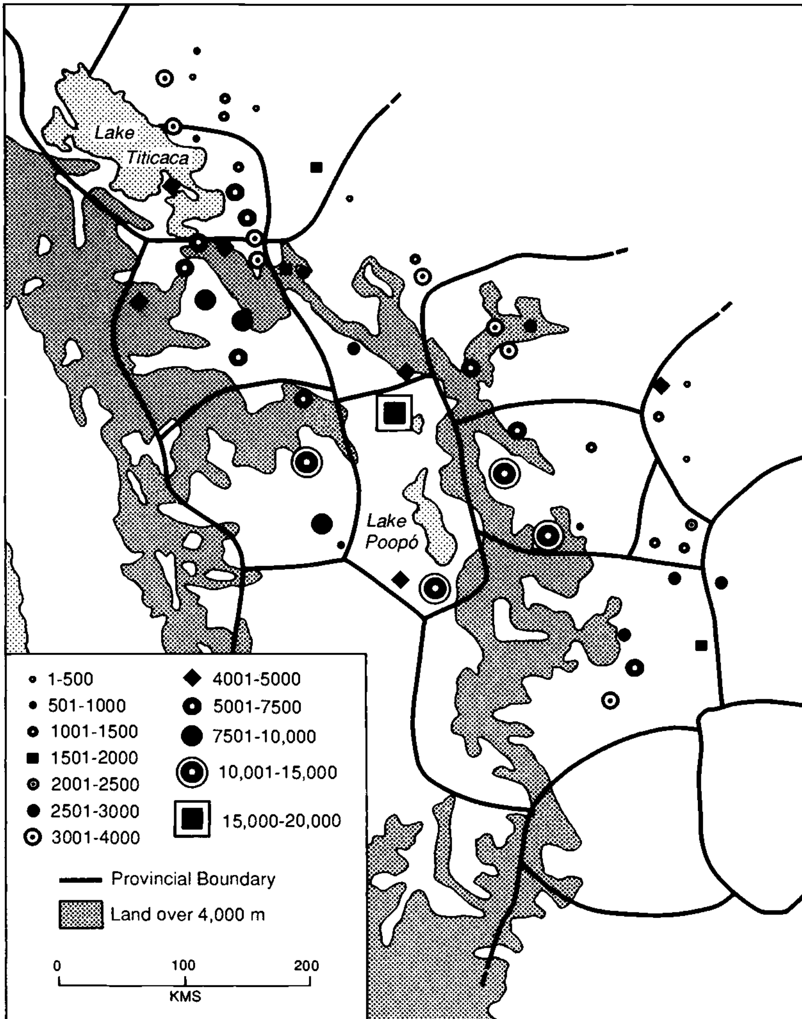

Figure 4.3 Population distribution, Upper Peru, 1573

others did not pay at all. This was confusing enough, but La Palata added provisions to encourage as many forasteros as possible to return "home," supposedly within six months of the enumeration. These regulations were to cause much confusion and double counting.

Book 5 was to contain the *Yanaconas del Rey*. By origin this group had theoretically been the personal servants of the Inca state, or of the early Spanish *encomenderos*. Thus they had been detached from their ayllu and place of origin. By the late seventeenth century they had become numerous,

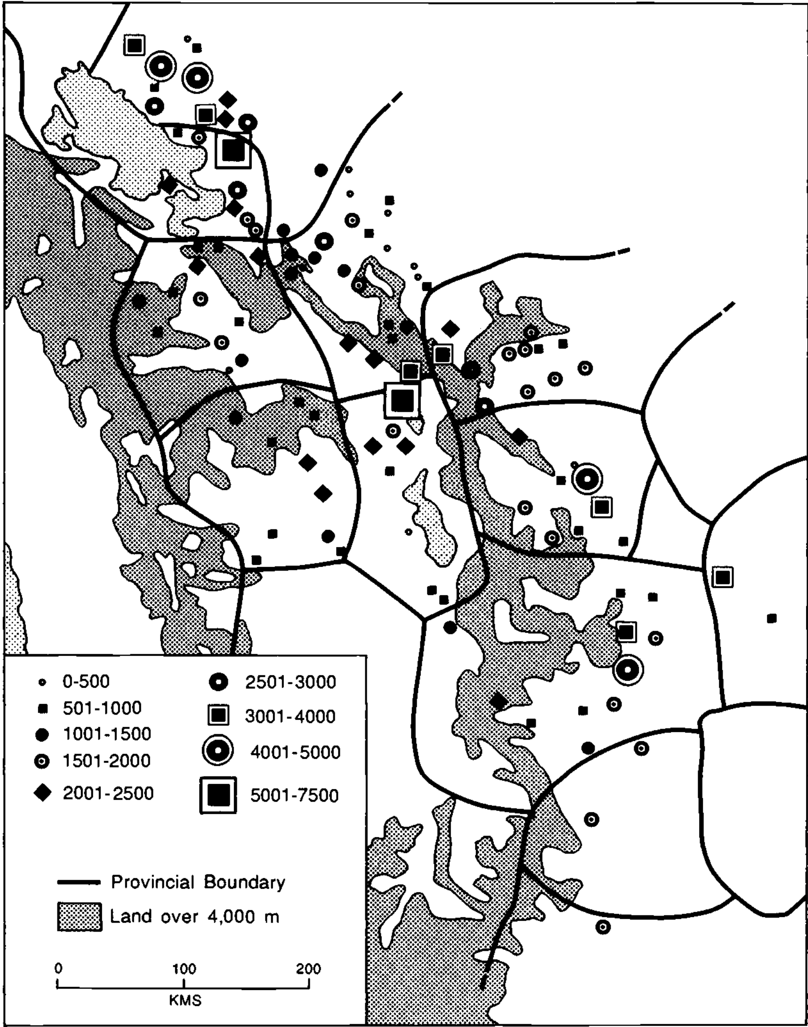

Figure 4.4 Population distribution by *pueblos*, Upper Peru, 1683

and they were regarded as little better than vagabonds. Hence most did not really have a "place of origin" as opposed to a "place of residence." La Palata ordered that they should be added to the most decayed ayllus, and their abodes fixed in the pueblos where they lived at the time of enumeration.

Book 6 was for the mitimaes. Originally, of course, these were by definition migrants: colonists who had been transferred either by the Incas for political reasons, or who had been sent forth by local *curacas* to exploit the various ecological zones. This latter practice had survived the Spanish

conquest, and in parts of Upper Peru had persisted into the seventeenth century.[11] Hence, although most still had formal ties to their places of origin, the mitimaes of the 1680s were of very varied composition.

In Book 7 were the *Yanaconas de chacras* (or *de estancias*). Unlike forasteros, yanaconas del rey, or mitimaes, these were defined not in terms of their origins, but in terms of their economic function. They were immigrants (drawn from all groups), most apparently of fairly recent venue. They were detached from kin and ayllu, usually paid no tribute, and worked as *peones* on Spanish-owned *haciendas* and plantations. La Palata ordered that they should be recorded, together with their places of origin, and forced to assume full tribute and mita obligations. This latter stipulation was to involve La Palata in enormous conflict with the "country interest."[12]

Lastly, Book 8 was to comprise the *Yanaconas de Iglesias y Conventos*. The *Instrucciones* stated that all these Indians were by origin yanaconas del rey, but they were to be listed separately as it was felt that many were surplus to any real ecclesiastical needs, and were claiming the status to avoid tribute.

Such then were the orders from Lima and, had they been consistently and consciously carried out, we should have at our disposal a most detailed record of population movements in Upper Peru in the late seventeenth century. We would have had: (a) the destinations and whereabouts of all known absentees; (b) the home pueblos and provinces of all forasteros and yanaconas de chacras together with their actual residence, and the length of time they had been there; (c) information on the origins and movements of the yanaconas del rey and the mitimaes. In fact, however, there arose a host of problems. First and foremost many of the officials responsible for the enumeration simply did not follow their instructions, either through sloth, incompetence, or the sheer impossibility of providing some of the details. In many provinces the clear-cut divisions which seemed obvious in Lima simply did not fit local reality. As has already been stated, many forasteros had been settled so long, and were so well integrated, that they no longer knew their "origins," while the exact status of many yanaconas del rey and mitimaes was murky. Above all it was not in the interests of Spanish landowners to provide true information on their yanaconas de chacras, as they were fearful of losing their labor supply if, as they had reason to believe, the purposes of the census were both to return as many migrants as possible to their original homes, or to force them to assume full tribute and mita obligations locally.

Despite all of these problems, and the incomplete and fragile nature of many of the surviving returns, the *Numeración General* did succeed in recording an enormous amount of information about the population, its demographic structure, and the migration patterns.

Of the global total of 59,000 tributaries recorded (if one includes the summary totals for La Paz, Oruro, and Potosí), nearly 39,000 or some 66 percent were non-originarios. If we confine ourselves to the provincial totals

Table 4.3 *Provincial population distribution of the* Numeración General

Province	Total tributary population	% non-originarios
All altiplano provinces liable to mita		
Pacajes	3,615	31.8
Paria	2,748	8.8
Carangas	2,579	9.4
Omasuyu	4,903	73.6
Porco	5,775	45.1
Sub-total	19,620	40.5
Provinces of the yungas		
Sicasica[a]	4,494	75.1
Chayanta	7,732	36.1
Tarija	1,325	45.5
Larecaja[a]	7,177	88.9
Cochabamba[a]	6,466	93.8
Yamparaes[a]	1,415	75.1
Tomina[a]	1,196	78.3
Mizque[a]	530	65.7
Pilaya/Paspaya[a]	1,515	100.0
Sub-total	31,850	72.4
Total	51,470	60.0

Note: [a]Provinces which partially or totally had not been liable for the Potosí mita.

(i.e. omitting La Paz, Oruro, and Potosí whose Indian populations were by definition almost all migrants), we can identify regional differences (Table 4.3).

It is clear from the data in Table 4.3 that overall, the originarios now numbered only 40 percent of the population; 60 percent in contrast belonged to categories, all of whom by Spanish terms were "migrants." However, there were very considerable differences between the provinces. First was the major contrast in the population between the altiplano and the yungas. On the altiplano the originarios still formed the majority of the population except in Omasuyu. In the yungas the opposite was true. Here only Chayanta and Tarija still had a bare majority of originarios, whereas in Larecaja and Cochabamba, two of the most populous provinces, originarios had been reduced to an almost insignificant minority. In the yungas as a whole, nearly three-quarters of the populations were non-originarios.

A comparison with Table 4.2 shows that almost without exception those

provinces which had seen the greatest declines in population since Toledo's time (e.g. Paria, Carangas, Pacajes) were those in which originarios still dominated, and which therefore had seen little immigration (although this was not true in Omasuyu). In contrast, the provinces of population growth (e.g. Chayanta, Porco, and above all the yungas of Sicasica, Cochabamba, and Larecaja) were, except for Chayanta, all dominated by migrants.

The general picture is therefore clear: in the century that had elapsed since Toledo, migration was *the* dominant feature of demographic development.

To return to the data in Table 4.3, the attraction for migrants of areas not liable to mita is immediately apparent. Finally, if the 39,000 non-originario tributaries recorded in the *Numeración General* were indeed migrants, and had migrated with their wives and families, or if these latter, when abandoned by husbands, themselves frequently took to the road,[13] then over 100,000 individuals had migrated at least once in the generation or so before 1683.

In theory the census should have provided information on the origins of all these migrants (or at least of the tributaries), but for the reasons already discussed, the information is frequently missing. Nonetheless we do have data on nearly 20,000 individuals. Some of this material has already been analyzed and published.[14] Figure 4.5 presents part of the information but it is perhaps necessary here to present the findings in summary form. The information is based on an examination of the recorded movements of some 9,000 individuals in the provinces of Larecaja, Pacajes, Chayanta, and the town of Oruro.

The Larecaja evidence was based on the places of origin of nearly 2,000 forasteros and 2,500 yanaconas de chacras. Of these two groups about 1,200 had been born in Larecaja, while the provinces of birth of the remainder are depicted in Figure 4.5. As can be seen about a quarter were from the neighboring province of Omasuyu, but over 60 percent came from the various provinces of the Collao in the jurisdiction of Cuzco. If we add to this number those from Pacajes, it can be seen that over 90 percent of the immigrants had entered Larecaja from provinces liable to mita, and that the majority of these were from the area around and to the northwest of Lake Titicaca.

The evidence of the in- and out-migration of Pacajes clearly indicates the southward movement of the population. The evidence for the immigration is provided through an examination of the origins of the forasteros and some yanaconas. Of these nearly half had come from Chucuito and the various provinces of the Collao. Nearly a fifth were from within Pacajes itself (but had shifted pueblo), 15.5 percent were from Omasuyu, and 8.7 percent from the altiplano of Sicasica (which unlike the yungas of that province was liable to mita). Lastly, all the yanaconas del rey gave La Paz as their place of origin. Very different were the destinations of the emigrants (based on the alleged

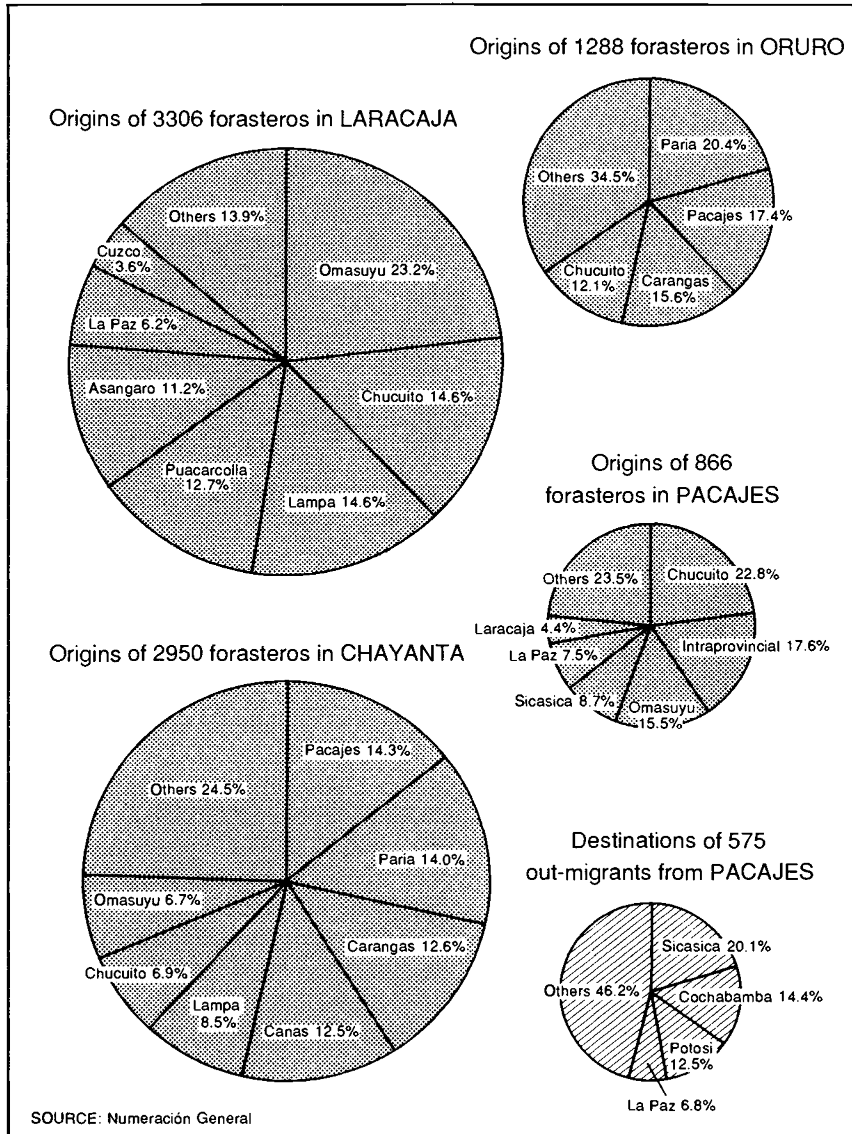

Figure 4.5 Origins of migrants in selected provinces, Upper Peru, 1683–1684

whereabouts of known absentees in Book 2). The majority of this group had gone to the yungas of Sicasica, to Cochabamba, Yamparaes and other areas free of mita. In addition 12.5 percent were said to be *mingayos* in Potosí, 6.8 percent had gone to La Paz, and 9.4 percent were in Oruro.

Oruro and its surrounding mines was indeed a major center of immigra-

tion. None of its 1,851 recorded tributaries were originarios. About 250 claimed to be yanaconas del rey, and gave La Paz as their place of origin, while over 355 listed as forasteros seem to have been born in Oruro. Of the 1,288 forasteros for whom places of origin are given, over half (52.3 percent) were from the neighboring provinces of Paria, Pacajes, and Carangas. However, a third were from Chucuito and the Collao, but only 15 percent from areas south or east of Oruro – and half of these were from the altiplano of Sicasica. Only five migrants of the 1,288 had come to Oruro from regions free of mita.

Lastly, the evidence from Chayanta again emphasizes the southward movement. Here we have the origins of nearly 3,000 forasteros, a term which in Chayanta was extended to cover the yanaconas de chacras. Over a third of all immigrants were from the Collao – especially Chucuito, Lampa, Canas and Asángaro. Over half had come from the altiplano – especially from Omasuyu, Pacajes, Paria, and Carangas. In contrast only 6.4 percent had "ascended" from the yungas provinces of Yamparaes, Cochabamba and Tomina.

So much for the patterns of interprovincial movement. The purpose of this paper, however, is to take the investigation some steps further, and to look at the detailed processes at work, not so much in a quantitative fashion but in a qualitative way. There remain a number of problems about the *Numeración General* and its information on migration. One can perhaps pose these as a number of interrelated questions. Let us begin with the contemporary criticisms of the *Numeración* as listed by Joseph de Villegas in June 1685.[15] As he was the official specifically charged with the collation of the results in Lima, none could have been in a better position to have made an accurate evaluation. Several of his comments refer to the way in which many of the *corregidores* responsible for the provincial returns had ignored the instructions, so that in consequence the results were difficult to compare and collate. The lists of absentees were frequently of dubious accuracy, and forasteros' origins, instead of being reported in terms of native pueblos and ayllu, were usually only reported by province. Hence it was virtually impossible to check the list of forasteros in one place with the lists of absentees in their original homes. Furthermore it had proved very difficult to persuade forasteros to return to their places of birth. Villegas, however, although admitting problems with the forasteros and their tribute, did not raise the issue of overcounting and gross inaccuracies in the numbers and categories of Indians reported.

In the uproar which followed the imposition of the new tribute and mita levels by La Palata in 1688, levels based directly on the results of the *Numeración General*, some very specific problems with the census itself and with the events which had transpired since 1683 were voiced most vociferously. These complaints in general have been the subject of a detailed

article,[16] but if we limit ourselves to those issues which bear directly on the theme of migration, we may note the following: first, a number of *kurakas*, *corregidores*, and church officials claimed that the *Numeración* had overestimated the true numbers of Indians, either through double-counting forasteros and other migrant classes, or by varied inaccuracies. These complaints were especially vehement in Larecaja, Cochabamba, and above all, in Chayanta. It is very difficult to comment on the truth or otherwise of these charges, but like the present writer, Sánchez-Albornóz feels that they are overstated and primarily the result of "special pleading."[17] Once put into effect, the provisions of the *Numeración General* had provoked migration and flight on a scale hitherto unknown. Before 1683, as we have shown, migration took the form primarily of a movement to avoid mita and reduce one's tribute. Now that all classes were liable, and the obligations extended to provinces and areas hitherto exempt, there had occurred a massive and immediate dislocation of the population in all areas.

There can be little doubt that this problem was indeed causing havoc by the late 1680s and that it frequently involved flight to frontier areas of the lowlands outside Spanish control. Apparently it had also been compounded by serious epidemics. However, massive migration movements do not usually suddenly appear "in vacuo." The whole point is that the extreme mobility of the population had, since the late sixteenth century: (a) completely altered the distributional pattern of the population; (b) thus caused the number of mitayos to decline, and the mita itself to change radically; (c) despite La Palata's intentions, made an accurate census in 1683 very difficult; and (d) now stymied any efforts to reform mita and tribute obligations.

Migration was thus *the* demographic feature of the whole seventeenth century, and one which the colonial authorities were unable to control. But what, beyond the gross statistics of numbers involved, and some clear indications of the patterns of movement, do we really know of these migrants? Who were the originarios most likely to leave their pueblos? Was out-migration of originarios a continuous phenomenon, or had it always occurred in waves, prior to that one undoubtedly generated by the *Numeración* itself? Did tributaries flee alone or with their families? If they went alone, did they send for their wives and children once established in their new homes, or did they remarry? Was migration a once-in-a-lifetime experience, or once severed from their origins, did migrants remain highly mobile? Did migrants have characteristic age and household profiles?

These are after all the basic questions to which any modern demographer seeks answers. We can also add a series of questions more specifically related to the conditions of La Palata's times in Upper Peru. Did, for example, the forasteros have similar or different patterns of migration to the yanaconas del rey or the yanaconas de chacras? Did specific pueblos of origin have special links to specific areas of immigration, and did these have any

relationship to earlier patterns of mitimae settlement? Lastly, just how did forasteros fit into the ayllu patterns in their new residence? – a question which involves us in trying to define just what the ayllu had become in the provinces of immigration.

Although it is impossible at this stage to give definite answers to many of these questions, they are clearly the avenues which further research now needs to pursue. In the remainder of this study I should like to discuss some of the issues in a qualitative manner. The enquiry will be limited to a perusal of two of the more detailed surviving *legajos* of the *Numeración General*, that of the province of Porco, and that of the parishes of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Santiago (all in La Paz).[18] References will also include other legajos and provinces where these shed extra light on the topics.

The answers to the first set of questions dealing with the rhythms of seventeenth-century migration, the age of migrants and their subsequent mobility, are related by the ways in which the *Numeración* presents its information. Thus the ages of all were to be reported, although the information is frequently inaccurate and incomplete.[19] The Porco returns, however, consistently give us another piece of information; they tell us how long the forasteros had been present. Thus, given a large statistical sample (and Porco had a total of over 1,200 tributary forasteros), we should be able to draw some general conclusions. Porco in the seventeenth century was in many ways a microcosm of all Alto Perú. It was the province which surrounded Potosí; it had a wide variety of ecologic zones, for although most was altiplano, the eastern limits of the province included yungas and the lowlands bordering on Tomina. Furthermore not all the province had been made liable to mita, since Toledo had exempted some regions, on the grounds that their labor was needed to produce a local food supply for the Villa Imperial. Thus the settlement pattern was complex. In general, the pueblos of the altiplano which had traditionally been liable to mita – Chaqui, Caissa, Tacobamba, and Puna for example, had tended to be static in population, and still had a majority of originarios, whereas the newer settlements, usually termed *curatos*, were areas of seventeenth-century population growth and, being free of mita, had attracted the various classes of immigrants.

In the province as a whole, the statistics were as follows. The total tributary population was 5,775;[20] of these 3,168 or 55 percent were originarios, about 1,300 were forasteros attached to ayllus (22 percent), 520 were yanaconas del rey (9 percent), 108 were mitimaes, mainly from Paria (2 percent), and the remainder, some 700, or 12 percent, were yanaconas de chacras.

Little information is given in the surviving returns on the yanaconas del rey. They were to be found in most pueblos, but in terms of numbers and proportions, were most numerous in Caissa, Tinguipaya, Mataca la Alta,

Miculpaya and the "Asiento de Porco." Caissa and Tinguipaya were both liable to the mita, but the originarios of both pueblos had suffered so steep a decline in numbers that the majority of the population by 1683 were migrants. In contrast, Mataca and Miculpaya were curatos entirely without any originarios, and were exempt from mita, while the Asiento was a mining center entirely dependent upon mingayos for labor. It was thus impossible in these newer settlements to attach the yanaconas to any ayllus since an organized kinship structure simply did not exist. The yanaconas were not identified by place of origin and, although the returns nowhere state this specifically, they appear to be short-term migrants. The state of the returns also suggests that many were single males, currently without family, while others had entered short-term unions with other migrant women. As a result there were notably fewer children. The general lack of details contained in the book (so different from the full and orderly presentations of the other Porco returns) also suggests that even the enumeration of tributaries had proved difficult.

The yanaconas de chacras in Porco were not assigned to pueblos but only by hacienda. All told there were 66 of these, nearly all of which belonged to individual Spaniards, or their heirs, although the biggest (with 95 tributaries) belonged to a convent in Chuquisaca. Most of the haciendas, a term used interchangeably with chacra, were small; half had fewer than 5 tributaries each, 20 had between 5 and 10, 7 between 11 and 20, 5 between 21 and 40, one between 41 and 60, and only one over 60. These yanaconas were nearly always grouped by family, and the family structure and size appears comparable to that of the forasteros or originarios. No "origins" were provided for the tributaries, but a note at the end of the section states that their masters had testified that all these Indians were yanaconas de chacras and were descended from the same.

There were numerous absentees, whose whereabouts was usually unknown, but despite this, and the complete absence of ayllu affiliations, one gets the impression that the group was somewhat more stable than the yanaconas del rey.

The term forastero was, with one exception, strictly interpreted in Porco as being those migrants who had settled on Indian-owned land, and who were integrated into the pre-existing ayllus of the originarios. Most "recognized their origins," even though some were locally born, and still more had been in Porco since childhood. Despite this, the majority had continued to pay their taxes and tribute to their native pueblos, although some paid locally and a few had hitherto escaped entirely. The enumerators clearly found it relatively simple to collect full information on the group, and the wealth of detail provided in most cases makes for some interesting demographic findings.

First let us examine the "origins." In general this provides few surprises.

About 40 percent of the total were from the Collao, which as previously identified, comprised all those provinces from Chucuito to Cuzco itself. Especially well represented were the corregimientos of Canas, Lampa, and Paucarcolla. Fewer claimed origins in Chucuito and Asángaro, while Quispicanches and Tintachances were very poorly represented.

Another 40 percent hailed from the altiplano proper. In order of provincial percentages, Carangas and Paria were the highest, followed closely by Pacajes and Omasuyu. Fewer were from the Sicasica, and almost none from La Paz. Almost 10 percent came from Chayanta or Porco itself. Of the remaining 10 percent most were ignorant of their origins, and very, very few (less than twenty of my sample of over 1,000) came from the provinces free of mita.

The length of time that the forasteros had been present showed, with one notable exception – that of the mining center of Asiento de Porco – little variation from pueblo to pueblo. With the Asiento de Porco removed, the overall statistics present the following picture: about a quarter of the forasteros had been born locally, a proportion which is consistent with the information from Larecaja and elsewhere. Another quarter of the total had been residents for over twenty years, and most of this group were specifically described as "criado desde muchacho en este pueblo" or by a similar formula. Only 7 percent of those recorded had migrated within two years of the registration, 12 percent had been present between two and five years, 15 percent from five to ten years, and a similar percentage from ten to twenty. Most of these immigrants too were married locally, although a considerable number of those who had come within five years had arrived already married to women from their home pueblo or elsewhere. This latter piece of information is not consistently recorded, nor is it clear on what basis this group had been assigned to ayllu. We can, however, regard well over half of the forasteros as stable migrants who, except for the legal terminology and its practical implications, were in essence natives of the area. They had married locally-born wives and apparently had been subsumed into the wife's ayllu. However, and surprisingly, the majority of this group were still paying their taxes and tribute to their "home pueblos."

The enumerators consistently collected this information in Porco (unlike their counterparts in most other provinces) and the results are unexpected. Nearly three-quarters (73 percent) of the forasteros paid taxes to their "homes," and only 10 percent were paying taxes to the local authorities where they were actually living. The remaining 17 percent had escaped payment. Some subjective comments may be offered. Firstly, there was no clear correlation between the length of time a tributary had been resident and where he paid his tax. Most of those who "remembered their origins" were still paying there; only those who had forgotten their "homes" had usually been forced into local contributions. The group who had escaped taxation

altogether comprised a mixed bunch. Some of them were stated to be claiming the status of yanaconas del rey (a group who had hitherto been taxed more lightly than other classes), others claimed *mestizo* status (and hence were exempt altogether from tribute). Clearly neither group had satisfied the inquiries as to these claims. Others had dodged taxation by claiming to have paid in Potosí or elsewhere, and to have already been counted there. Here we seem to have an explanation of how overcounting could arise, but in Porco these claims were checked; a few were found genuine, but the majority declared false.

The care with which the fiscal information was collated indicated that it is probably fairly accurate, and the finding is important, as investigators have usually accepted that the major cause of migration were the mita and tribute burdens placed on originarios. Fleeing, however, did not permit most people to escape tribute. The *hilacatas*[21] or their agents ferreted them out in their new residences and forced contributions. In that case, all that the forasteros gained was freedom from the mita itself, although they were probably paying some of the costs of their replacements, for those *indios de faltriquera* or silver contributions in place of mitayos, which could be used to hire substitute laborers. Therefore the forasteros presumably stayed in their new residence only if, all things considered, they felt themselves better off than as originarios. Once moved then, forasteros did not remain especially mobile; the majority settled down. Certainly very few, when questioned in 1683/84, wanted to return "home." In fact in my general sample there were only about 25 out of the 1,000 surveyed who expressly stated that their intention was to return to their native pueblos. Here, as in other respects, the Asiento was rather different. The Asiento was, of course, a major mining center which, unlike Potosí, relied entirely on mingayos. In the *Numeración General* a total of 206 tributaries was recorded, 121 forasteros and 85 yanaconas del rey. Just what the difference between these two groups was is not clear, as the forasteros, although "recognizing origins," were not assigned to ayllus since none existed. What was most remarkable about these forasteros, however, was the clear split between the long-term miners (over 40 percent of the total had been born at the Asiento) and the similar proportion who had been present less than five years. Of this latter group the majority told the census takers that they now wished to return "home" and were registered accordingly. Clearly many of them had come to earn a living but felt that the hardships of mining were probably worse than the fate that awaited them as returning originarios.

To try to obtain information on the period of life when originarios were most likely to migrate we can make an approximate calculation. We have two pieces of information: (a) the age of the forastero, and (b) the length of the time he had been present. If, therefore, we subtract (b) from (a), we obtain an approximate figure for the age when the person was moving,

although the results must be treated with caution, since we cannot tell where and how long a migrant had been on the road before arriving in Porco. For the province as a whole, the calculation provides the following pattern. About a quarter of forasteros, as previously stated, had been born in Porco, and another 15 percent or so had arrived as children younger than ten years – presumably, therefore, they had come with parents – and this is evidence that the migration of whole family units did occur, in addition to the flight of single adults. Almost 20 percent claimed to have arrived as adolescents between 11 and 20 years of age, and a similar percentage between 20 and 30. These are the age groups I suppose whose mobility had been provoked by the fear of mita, and one suspects that most of this group had arrived as single males and married locally. Lastly, however, nearly a quarter had arrived, when over 30 years of age, normally apparently already married, and accompanied by children – again evidence that family migration was not a rare phenomenon. This line of investigation is interesting, but in Porco it must remain speculative, as the origins of wives were not usually reported and one must make inferences.

Before concluding the survey of Porco, a few words on out-migration are in order. Although some parts of the province were, as we have seen, attractive to immigrants, most of the older pueblos had felt the full force of mita and as elsewhere this had provoked a flight of the originarios. The census records some 657 tributary absentees whose whereabouts were known, but whose return was not expected, and about the same number of absentees who had "disappeared." All told, therefore, a number equal to about 25 percent of the resident population had fled.

The known absentees had usually departed in the direction of the lowland frontiers. Half (332) were reported as being in Tarija, Chichas, Tomina, and above all in Pilaya. Another 139 had gone to Yamparaes, to the city of Chuquisaca, or to the valleys of Cochabamba. Of interest are the 113 who were mingayos, 44 in Potosí and 69 in Lipes.

Of the 63 not already accounted for, 37 were in different areas of Porco, leaving only 26 scattered throughout the other provinces of the altiplano.

In Porco the lure of the yungas was thus very strong indeed, even before the further disruption caused by the *Numeración*.

The City of La Paz in 1683 presents an interesting picture. Although, according to a summary return, La Paz had a total of only 353 tributaries, it is clear that in fact La Paz and its immediate environs had a much larger Indian population.

Either the summary total is a mistake for 3,530 tributaries, or it refers only to the number of originarios, for the real total tributary population of the city's four parishes was certainly in excess of 3,000. The organization and population of La Paz were certainly complex. Within the walls were two "Indian" parishes, San Sebastián and Santa Barbara. Outside the walls were

two other native parishes, San Pedro and Santiago. Clearly, judging from the various letters and explanations which accompanied the returns, the officials responsible for the census had found it a difficult and confusing task, although they appear to have done their work conscientiously, and in doing so, collected a mass of information. Unfortunately, it is not always easy to decipher, since the format of the *Instrucciones* did not suit an urban area. La Paz had not been liable to mita, although the Indian residents were liable for municipal labor drafts. Toledo had counted only 212 tributary yanaconas in San Pedro and Santiago, but the *Tasa* is silent on the population within the walls, and on the other classes of Indian present in the 1570s. By 1683, as the commissioners explained, the population was very mixed. In San Sebastián and Santa Barbara there were groups described as originarios, though as the city was of Spanish foundation, they must originally have been brought in from elsewhere. The majority of the population were, however, registered as yanaconas del rey, although there were also groups described as forasteros, mitimaes, *Cañaris*, and *Yngas asistentes*. All of these groups including the yanaconas were arranged by ayllu. In San Pedro and Santiago were *indios presentes*, *indios reducidos*, forasteros, yanaconas, and mitimaes. Just how these groups were distinguished is not clear, but what is evident is that the vast majority of the population in all four parishes was essentially "floating." The ratio of absentees was extremely high, and the origins of migrants – men and women alike – showed great diversity. La Paz, like Potosí, like Cuzco, and like Lima itself had become a place of refuge, where people moved, stayed a while, and then frequently moved on.

Another indication of the high proportion of migrants is probably to be seen in the number of *indios manifestados*. These were people "discovered" in the course of holding the census and were found in most of the provincial returns, but their numbers usually only amount to 1 to 2 percent of the total. In La Paz they comprised nearly 20 percent, and were assigned to the category which the enumerators thought most appropriate.

The yanaconas del rey all claimed origins within the city. The commissioners tried to check these claims but found it difficult. Whether they had actually been born in La Paz or not, it is clear that most of the men had frequently been out of the city for long periods of time. Over half their wives were from the provinces – especially from Chucuito, Pacajes, and Omasuyu – and a substantial proportion of the couples had had children baptized in various pueblos. Take, for example, a certain Pedro Quispe, aged 32. His wife was a native of Carangas, they had four children, aged eight, five, three, and one. The eldest had been baptized in Juli (Chucuito), the second in Copacabana (Omasuyu), and the third in Viacha (Pacajes). Cases such as this comprised perhaps a quarter of the yanaconas. It is a pity that the census does not tell us whether the yanaconas had married their wives in La Paz, in which case, of course, the chances are that the woman herself had been an

immigrant into the city, or whether the marriage had occurred in the wife's home pueblo, or when both of them were "on the road." I suspect all three cases were current. Quite apart from those reported as absentees, many of those marked present were away at the time of registration. Most seem to have been on short-term business in local chacras or haciendas in the Chuquiabo valley, but others were in the gold mines of Carabaya and Illimani. Clearly, therefore, the yanaconas were in a state of almost constant mobility.

The second largest group comprised forasteros. In contrast to the situation in Porco, very few of these had been born locally, and where the information was consistently provided, most appeared to have been in La Paz for less than ten years. Here is a suggestion that perhaps urban forasteros were more mobile than their rural counterparts. A possible reason for this is that, unlike the situation in Porco and other provinces of Upper Peru, most of them were not long-distance immigrants but claimed origins in the neighboring areas. Thus over half came from the provinces of Larecaja, Omasuyu, Pacajes, and Sicasica, which surrounded La Paz. Of these Omasuyu and Pacajes had provided the largest contingents. Another sizable group hailed from Chucuito. The remainder showed no marked regional distribution except that the majority came from the Collao.

The data on the origins of their wives would also tend to indicate high mobility. Approximately 40 percent of the group had wives who came from the same pueblo. These had therefore probably come to La Paz as a couple. About 30 percent had married women from the city itself, and the remaining 30 percent, women from other provinces. Some miscellaneous comments on children's places of baptism, especially of the last group, again indicate that the couple must have been migrants for most of their married life.

The mitimaes of La Paz were a varied and interesting class. They comprised the Cañaris and Yngas asistentes, both of whom had been exempted from most tribute obligations by Toledo, and who enjoyed a somewhat privileged status. Then there were groups from Juli and other pueblos of Chucuito and Lampa who had been transplanted to La Paz during Toledo's time, but who continued to pay tribute to their "homes." All had curious marriage patterns, with over half of those recorded married to women who were neither mitimaes, nor came from La Paz.

The last remaining group were the *Indios en servicio de españoles*, a type of urban counterpart of the yanaconas de chacras. These were clearly the least stable group of all. Most did not know their origins, few of them were formally married, and even fewer had children although there were numerous illegitimate offspring. Most had been in La Paz for less than five years. Almost none of them paid taxes.

We can end our discussion of La Paz by some remarks on the absentees whose whereabouts were known. These were, as stated, numerous, although

not so numerous as those who had merely "disappeared." In addition to their whereabouts, information was provided as to whether those absent were accompanied by their wives or family, or whether they were single. In addition there was occasional miscellaneous information provided about their movements.

The majority of absentees (some 60 percent) were to be found in the yungas of Sicasica, and another sizable number (20 percent) were in Larecaja, or on estancias at the lower elevations of the Chuquiabo valley. Somewhat more surprising were the large contingent (about 15 percent of the total) in Omasuyu, Pacajes, and Chucuito. In contrast very few from La Paz were in Potosí or Oruro.

Virtually all of those married were stated to be accompanied by their wives and families, and only three cases of clear abandonment are reported. More numerous were cases where the family had split and the children (usually teenagers) were in different locations from their parents. Many families were not paying tax, and there are some twenty notations when this was specifically stated to be due to the impossibility of keeping up with the exact residence of the tributary. One suspects, in addition, that many of those not paying tax, but for whom no explanation was given, were equally mobile.

The list of "disappeared" absentees differs almost totally. Here the majority appear to have fled as individuals. There were numerous cases of family abandonment, and other cases where the wife and children had fled later (to join their husbands?).

One feature which is found in all the returns of the *Numeración General* is, of course, the large number of widows, widowers, orphans, and all the other indications of early death and broken unions inherent in the type of demographic structure characteristic of seventeenth-century Andean America. We know that most Indians married before age twenty, and that if the spouse died, the survivors usually remarried quickly, at least until they reached old age.[22]

However, the La Paz returns form something of an extreme case. There was an unusually high number of bachelors, widows and widowers in the urban population, and very many orphans and children who, abandoned by parents, were being fostered by other relatives. It is now clear why these classes were so numerous. I would suggest that most of the fostered and orphan children were offspring left behind by absentees who had disappeared, and that many so-called singles and widowed were often recent immigrants, or people who had just returned from elsewhere, and who had perhaps abandoned their real families.

Insofar as one can work out the ages of migrants, for, unlike the record in Porco, this information was not provided consistently, the periods of maximum mobility appear to be adolescence and early adulthood, although,

as in Porco, there is also evidence that many people moved in their thirties and forties.

All in all, La Paz shows the complexity of the migration processes at work, and the difficulties of recording such a mobile population.

What conclusions therefore can we draw from the foregoing discussions? What answers can we offer to the questions posed about the migrants themselves, and the accuracy or otherwise of information recorded in the *Numeración General*?

I stated earlier that this study was essentially a non-quantitative investigation. The materials under discussion are only now in the process of being subjected to rigorous statistical analysis. Some of the following remarks are therefore tentative or even speculative, while others are more definitive even though the details are not discussed in this particular article.

First, some comments on the *Numeración* itself. It is my firm belief that although all of Villegas' doubts[23] were well justified as general comment, the real problem is the unevenness of the returns. Some provincial returns are virtually useless for systematic study, but others, despite all difficulties, are monuments to the conscientiousness of the officials responsible. The returns for Porco and La Paz are of high quality[24] and extremely detailed. Indeed one of the major difficulties in using the material is the sheer wealth of information provided. Yet, despite all that wealth, there remain awkward questions. For example, I confess I still do not understand the exact role of the ayllu in the various returns and among the different classes. This task is clearly one which awaits the attention of the colonial ethnohistorian or anthropologist. Nor have I, in this article, discussed in any detail household structures among migrants, or the question of whether certain pueblos had developed special ties through kinship migration. Definitive answers to these issues still await investigation. Yet one can essay some generalities. There were certainly significant differences in household size and composition both between individual provinces and between the different classes of Indian. The more stable the residence pattern of a group, the larger was the household, the more regular the family structure, the fewer the orphans, abandoned, singles, and widowed. For example, in Pacajes the "average household" comprised 5.14 individuals; in Larecaja, a region of immigration and high mobility, only 2.66. The sex ratio (number of men per 100 females), was 104.5 in Pacajes, 118.3 in Larecaja.

Parallel differences emerge in Porco, where the less stable the group, the fewer the number of children, and the higher the sex ratio. In La Paz, on the other hand, we find a different situation. While the *Numeración General* frequently undercounted females, the sex ratio and household structure in La Paz suggest that urban areas might frequently have attracted single women.

Again it is clear that individual pueblos did develop specific ties, and that there must have been a very efficient "grapevine" which informed the

"people back home" of the success of some migrants. For example, there was a large group of immigrants in Caissa (Porco), many of whom were related to each other, and who all gave Moho (Paucarcolla) as their home pueblo, and another large group from Orurillo (Lampa) had settled together in an *anexo* of Tacobamba.

We can now address some of the other issues. In general, though not in La Paz, forasteros, once established, appear to have been a less mobile group than the yanaconas de chacras. This latter group were treated differently in individual provinces. For example, in Larecaja and Cochabamba their origins were recorded, but not in Porco. However, in all cases there were among them a very high number of absentees whose whereabouts were unknown. In Larecaja and Cochabamba household size was small and family structure uncertain. Such stability as this group possessed was probably economic. Where the *hacendado* was a "good employer," and the hacienda prosperous, there was an inducement to stay; otherwise the yanacona moved on.

Still more mobile were the yanaconas del rey. Nearly all of this group throughout Alto Perú claimed "origins" in La Paz, though many had not been born there. As we have seen, the yanaconas of La Paz itself also seem to have spent much of their time on the road. In general this class of Indian, frequently stigmatized by the colonial authorities as vagabonds, seem to have led a hand-to-mouth existence working for short periods wherever there was a demand.

Clearly in all groups of migrants movement was most likely in adolescence and early adulthood. Single men were the most mobile, but migration of couples with children, and of women, was also common. As avoidance of mita was indeed a prime consideration in any desire to move, a tributary was not safe until after age 50. There is no evidence for any special wave of migration before the holding of the *Numeración General*; it had been a constant process since at least the 1620s.

The subject of the mobility of pre-industrial societies has aroused a good deal of interest, and it is evident in Europe for example that people were far more mobile than had been previously thought. However, Alto Perú in the seventeenth century was in a class by itself. The degree of migration, the percentage of the population involved, the distances travelled, the nature of the "push" and "pull" factors, were all different in degree and nature. The consequences had by 1680 already been immense; the population since 1570 had seen a massive redistribution; the settlement patterns had been modified, for the areas of immigration were areas of highly dispersed habitation.[25] One way in which the use of Quechua spread in the yungas was undoubtedly connected with the seventeenth-century influx of migrants from the Collao. Similarly the growth of Spanish-owned estates and the increasing numbers of yanaconas de chacras are intimately interconnected.

Spanish Hapsburg government and colonial institutions were notoriously static, but Alto Perú was a society in movement. Migration was the putting of new wine in old wineskins. The wineskins did not break but they did stretch. Hence by the 1680s every aspect of Toledo's settlements and regulations had been changed out of all recognition.

5

'. . . residente en esa ciudad . . . ': urban migrants in colonial Cuzco

ANN WIGHTMAN

Since the publication of Rolando Mellafe's groundbreaking study on the importance of migration in the Viceroyalty of Peru, demographers have emphasized the significance of the city as a factor in colonial Latin American migration patterns. The city has figured prominently in various efforts to characterize general population trends and migrants have been important subgroups in analyses of the censuses of specific cities.[1] Rather than emphasizing the role of the city in migration patterns, this study attempts to address the role of the migrant within the colonial city by utilizing a different data source: the *conciertos de trabajo*, or labor contracts, governing indigenous workers in seventeenth-century Cuzco. These conciertos yield a variety of data on job descriptions and distributions, periodic crises in the labor market, regional economic patterns, changing family relationships, and growing occupational identification. The detailed information from these valuable notarial documents adds a new and important dimension to the analysis of indigenous migration in colonial Peru.

Although this study emphasizes migrations to the city of Cuzco, such migration did not take place in a vacuum. The city was also an important source for an urban-to-rural population outflow, as urban natives moved into depopulated lands in the countryside. Moreover, broader patterns of indigenous migration affected the provinces surrounding Cuzco. Migration within the bishopric of Cuzco varied dramatically according to regional labor trends and *mita* obligations, but much of that population movement involved short-scale relocation by individuals who remained within rural society.

These various interrelated patterns of migration had a profound impact on the indigenous communities and played a major role in the formation of colonial society. Both urban and rural migrants were involved in the privatization of property, the reformulation of economic relationships, the transformation of indigenous political and religious networks, and, ultimately, the redefinition of the *ayllu* and community linkages under colonial rule.

These important structural transformations had distinct manifestations in urban and rural indigenous communities and this study focuses on two important features of the impact of indigenous migration to the urban zone: the migrants' participation in a wage labor force and the migrants' formation of new, occupation-based social linkages.[2]

The *forasteros* of Cuzco

As the Incan capital, Cuzco was the ceremonial and administrative center of the empire, "the heart in the middle of the body."[3] Constructing a Spanish city on Incan foundations had tremendous symbolic importance, but the Europeans wanted to build at Cuzco for the same reasons the Incas did: the site was conveniently located for administering the Vilcanota and Urubamba River valleys and the region was strategically important. Of course, for the Spaniards "strategic" had a different connotation: the Incas had fortified Cuzco and its provinces, particularly those toward the east, to defend their empire; the Spaniards settled in the Cuzco zone to exploit theirs. Ruling Cuzco and its environs gave them fertile lands, access to Indian labor, and control of major supply routes to the mining zones at Huancavelica and Potosí.

Although the city never regained the preeminence it had held under the Incas, Cuzco prospered throughout the colonial period because of its agricultural wealth and its role in supplying the mining zones. The expanding European control of productive lands and the indigenous sector's growing involvement in the market economy increased agricultural production and exports. When markets in the mining zones were threatened by shifting trade patterns, regional distribution networks emerged. Cuzco's economy was characterized by steady expansion, rather than by the boom–bust cycles of the mining zones, but this pattern of regular growth was violently disrupted when the earthquake of 31 March 1650, devastated the city. During the following decades, however, the recovering city again experienced a period of sustained growth.[4]

Periods of economic expansion such as the post-earthquake recovery attracted migrants to the city, but Cuzco had always been a target for migration, especially among the indigenous population. Although not all Indian migration was voluntary – in 1654 hundreds of Indians from the province of Quispicanche were forcibly settled in the urban parish of San Gerónimo – most migrants came to Cuzco by choice.[5] Before the Spanish conquest, Cuzco had offered economic and social advancement through specialized service to the Inca empire. During the colonial period, the city represented not only economic opportunity but also escape from oppression in the countryside. In the period before the Toledo reforms, Indians charged with conveying tribute to Cuzco and other colonial cities stayed in the urban

centers. After Toledo's regularization of the mita, Cuzco attracted a new sector of migrants: Indians fleeing from labor in the mines. In the late seventeenth century, a perceptive priest noted that Cuzco had grown in direct contrast to the areas subject to the *mita de minas*. He complained that many Indians had fled to the city from his parish, San Pedro de Aquira, Cotabambas, which sent laborers to the mercury mines.[6]

Although he may have erred by insisting that all his missing parishioners were in Cuzco, the priest was right on one point: migration from the provinces of its bishopric was a key factor in maintaining the city's population, which was approximately 11,000 by the end of the seventeenth century.[7] Throughout this period, a majority of the Indians migrating to Cuzco were from the provinces surrounding the city. Of course, not all of these individuals settled in Cuzco: some returned to their homes; some joined other indigenous communities in the rural sector; some moved on to another colonial city or mining zone. Colonial observers clearly understood the difference between the phrases "presente" and "residente en esa ciudad . . . ." The former was applied to an individual appearing in Cuzco at a particular recorded moment, perhaps to file a grievance with the authorities; the latter described an established city resident. In seventeenth-century Cuzco, the term "forastero" clearly meant established immigrants and their descendants. Parish priests supplying data for the 1690 ecclesiastical census of the city differentiated between the "unstable Indians" and the settled forasteros who owned homes or had joined households in Cuzco.[8]

Because of the priests' careful distinctions, the established migrants to Cuzco can be isolated from the transients, who in 1690 composed 7.7 percent of the total Indian population identified by origin and 16.2 percent of the foreign-born population. That same census revealed that 47.4 percent of the city's Indian population was foreign-born; adjusted for the transient presence, the forastero sector was 39.6 percent of Cuzco's total Indian population of 8,322.[9] Clearly, the forasteros of Cuzco were an important part of the city's Indian community.

The migrants in the city

To judge from colonial administrators' comments, forasteros were more than a significant minority of the Indian population total: they were overrunning the city. Officials blamed migrants for the labor shortages in the rural zones – particularly in the mita to the mines – and wanted urban migrants returned to their home communities. Throughout the colonial period, successive viceroys attempted – and failed – to return urban forasteros to their *reducciones*.

The resettlement efforts failed, in part, because of general administrative chaos and contradictory population control policies. In the cities, however,

another confusing practice complicated efforts to regulate forasteros. Colonial administrators undermined their own resettlement programs by issuing a series of decrees allowing urban migrants to become permanent residents, immune to repatriation and exempt from the obligations of their home communities. This practice of changing legal status and mita-tribute obligations through permanent relocation in a city – a continuation of the medieval European principle which Henri Pirenne summarized as *Stadtluft macht frei* – was one of the strongest attractions for migrants to urban centers. Forasteros who could prove that they had lived in a city for at least ten years were free from resettlement and free from the tribute and labor demands of home communities. Any Indian threatened with return to a rural reducción could appeal, based on this policy. Whether or not the migrant was an established urban resident, the lengthy court process could delay or prevent relocation.[10]

Colonial administrators thought that urban migrants were much too free in another sense: free from the supervision of their *kurakas* and the guidance of their parish priests and free to commit crimes in the city. Although one official claimed that forasteros were victimized by the colonial justice system, administrators thought that most migrants were potentially dangerous criminals.[11] Whether or not Cuzco's forasteros actually were a majority of the underclass is uncertain. As Gabriel Haslip-Viera has written, "lawbreakers, beggars, and the unemployed made a conscious effort to avoid the census takers."[12] Forasteros appear as both plaintiffs and defendants in criminal cases conducted in Cuzco during the seventeenth century, but it is impossible to say whether or not they do so disproportionately to their presence in the general population.

One factor that might have led to more frequent court appearances for migrants was the tension between native-born Cuzqueños and newcomers. In 1664, Diego Guamán Topa, a tailor who had migrated to Cuzco from the town of Urcos, Quispicanche, began working in the shop of Miguel Hilaguita, a Cuzco tailor, with the understanding that Guamán Topa's work would be kept separately – and paid separately – from other projects in the store. Despite Hilaguita's assurances that Guamán Topa's materials would be safe, the shop was robbed one night. Only Guamán Topa's work was stolen. After a thorough investigation, Hilaguita was arrested and released on his promise to replace the missing goods. When he refused to comply, Guamán Topa asked that the Cuzco Indians who had stood surety for Hilaguita's behavior, including an elder of the parish of San Sebastián, return Hilaguita to the city jail. Two years later, Guamán Topa had to repeat that request. The originario–forastero tension that pervades this court case indicates that one reason forasteros were so often involved in litigation was their vulnerability in the city.[13]

Migrants might also have been subjected to regular judicial processes more

frequently because they were isolated from kin who could resolve family tension. Furthermore, although urban migrants had escaped the authorities from their home communities they were subject to others. Both of these factors are obvious in case studies from the *causas matrimoniales*, or marital litigation, from the archives of the bishopric of Cuzco. In 1646, Diego Quispe, a migrant to Cuzco, was accused of bigamy when the mother of his second wife charged that the first wife had not died, as Quispe claimed, but was living in the countryside. At his mother-in-law's insistence, Quispe was arrested. During the course of the ecclesiastical investigation, the mother-in-law, Ana Sisa, confessed that "while out of [her] mind, drunk, and angered at [her] son-in-law because he mistreated [her] daughter" she had deliberately lied to her parish priest; the first wife was indeed dead. Sisa asked for freedom for Quispe and forgiveness for herself. Both were granted, but Sisa was severely rebuked, and told that she should leave the couple alone. The court felt that this family quarrel should have remained a private one and resented the involvement of church authorities in a domestic dispute.[14]

The causas matrimoniales also reveal that church officials were concerned about another way in which migrants could become free: free from previous marriages. Indians who married in their home communities and remarried in Cuzco appeared frequently in ecclesiastical court proceedings.[15] So did Cuzco residents whose spouses had fled to the countryside. In one particularly plaintive document, María Ana Sisa, who had been searching for her absent husband, asked church officials to save her from the workshop where she had been imprisoned when her husband convinced local authorities that she was not his wife but a troublemaker. The ecclesiastical *cabildo*, which had encouraged and authorized her search, launched a full investigation, which was complicated by the fact that both Sisa and her husband, Juan Poma, had been migrants to Cuzco who had originally married without the permission of their home communities' parish priests. Almost a year after the initial petition had been filed, the cabildo ordered that Poma be stripped from the waist up, paraded through the city, and given 100 lashes; he was also sentenced to work two years at a local convent. Furthermore, the cabildo ordered, the two marriages he had contracted since leaving his first wife were nullified and he was ordered to live with Sisa, who had been released from the workshop.[16]

Partly at the urging of concerned ecclesiastical authorities and partly in response to kurakas' claims that urban migrants were avoiding their tribute obligations, colonial authorities tried to reestablish traditional authority lines among the migrants found in colonial urban and mining centers. In some cases, newcomers were forced to live in a particular parish or a town adjacent to the city, in others, colonial administrators tried to create new communities among migrants.[17] The most detailed instructions for migrant resettlement were developed for the mining zones where royal officials were

instructed to create new Indian towns in which "to settle all necessary Indian laborers in the district of the mines of Potosí, in order to utilize those Indians who voluntarily want to live in this neighborhood as well as those who at present are found working at Potosí and other mines."[18]

Cuzco authorities rejected this approach and employed another technique to replicate traditional authority lines among *vagabundos*. Spanish administrators appointed group leaders, such as Don Andrés Ygnacio Auquieare, "Head Kuraka and Captain of Forasteros" in mid-seventeenth-century Cuzco, whose public position and access to migrant laborers led to his private employment as chief administrator of extensive Spanish-owned estates.[19] Appointed Indian leaders, such as Don Andrés, were influential figures in the complicated relationships between local kurakas, Spanish administrators, church officials, and private employers, but neither these individuals nor the artificial communities designed for the mining zones represent a significant development in the transformation of the Indian community. A much more important force for change was the migrants' participation in the urban economy, particularly their integration into the wage labor force.

The *conciertos de trabajo*

In spite of their reputation for lawlessness, immigrants to Cuzco were incorporated into the city's European economy in productive ways – entering the labor market, joining the wage labor force, acquiring property in non-traditional ways, and participating in the market economy. Some of the migrants were successful. A will filed in 1715 for the estate of a woman originally from the province of Chilques y Masques listed cash, personal possessions, and a few debts.[20] However, many migrants never amassed enough property to justify the expense of writing a formal will. A more representative depiction of the lives of migrants to Cuzco requires a broader form of documentation than an occasional last testament, ecclesiastical litigation or criminal investigation: the conciertos, or labor contracts, found in the notarial records of colonial Cuzco.

The historical record contained in these labor contracts supplies different information than the data compiled for a general occupational census of the type analyzed by Patricia Seed in her study of race, occupation, and social status in Mexico City.[21] Because certain occupations – such as day laborer – do not appear in the Cuzco contracts and because the sample is drawn solely from the indigenous sector, these conciertos are not the best source for a discussion of the coincidence of race and class in seventeenth-century Cuzco. However, the contracts are the best source for an analysis of major migration patterns and the role of the forasteros in urban society.

Throughout the colonial period, foreign-born residents joined native

Cuzqueños in negotiating hundreds of labor contracts that form a rich data source for a study of urban labor patterns. Examination of 206 notarial registers from the period 1560 to 1735 identified 1,167 conciertos which were coded for type of labor to be performed, terms of the contract, and gender, origin, and destination of worker; an additional 94 agreements creating apprenticeships were similarly analyzed. Both types of contracts were examined for data on the *fiadores*, or guarantors, and their origin, occupation, and relationship to the contractee.[22]

Not all of the contracts supplied detailed information for all data categories. Although the length of employment was always explicitly stated, many contracts merely indicated that a worker would be paid "at the regular rate" or would receive "the usual supplies."[23] Only the documents relating to agricultural workers and wetnurses – occupations involving irregularly supervised labor on employers' property or direct contact with their children – consistently provided specific details of wages, cash advances, and supplemental remuneration such as access to land, guaranteed health care, and allotments of food and clothing. Several of the wetnurses' contracts contained special clauses describing the care to be given the child or demanding that the wetnurse abstain from sexual intercourse for the duration of her employment.

Due to the high number of these wetnurse contracts, women dominated the personal and domestic service categories (500s and 600s). However, females were virtually excluded from all other job classifications: agriculture (100s); transportation (300s); construction (700s); skilled crafts (800s); and artisans (900s). All 94 of the apprentices to master builders, craftsmen, and artists were males.

For the purposes of the present analysis all of the preceding occupational categories were subdivided by origin of the Indian laborer. Each urban parish and province of the bishopric was coded separately, with generalized groupings to facilitate city and area totals. The Viceroyalty of Peru was divided into areas reflecting geographic and administrative divisions: Lima and its environs; coastal and northern Peru; Andean Peru; Argentina, Chile and southeast Bolivia. Indian towns lacking complete provincial or regional identification were located by consulting Cosme Bueno's *Geografía del Perú Virreinal* and the 1690 census of the bishopric of Cuzco.[24]

Foreign-born workers arranged a majority of these contracts, forming 60 to 70 percent of the documented wage labor force throughout the seventeenth century. Within this foreign-born category, migrants from the provinces of the bishopric of Cuzco consistently outnumbered those from other regions of the viceroyalty, especially in the late seventeenth century. Some of the foreign-born workers probably had not moved directly to Cuzco, but the conciertos did not record this type of intermediate relocation (Tables 5.1 and 5.2).[25]

Table 5.1 *Foreign-born workers as a percentage of occupation groups*

Decade	Origin	Occupational groupings 100s	300s	500s/600s	700s/800s/900s	T
pre-1600	B					
	E	100	100	43	100	64
	T	100	100	43	100	64
	[N=	1	2	7	1	11]
1600s	B	100		50		67
	E					
	T	100		50		67
	[N=	1	0	2	0	3]
1610s	B					
	E		67			67
	T		67			67
	[N=	0	3	0	0	3]
1620s	B		50			33
	E		50	100	100	67
	T		100	100	100	100
	[N=	0	4	1	1	6]
1630s	B	25	33	44	33	36
	E	25	29	11	33	24
	T	50	62	55	66	60
	[N=	4	45	18	6	73]
1640s	B	47	36	46	50	41
	E	22	26			19
	T	69	62	46	50	60
	[N=	49	112	28	26	215]
1650s	B	43	67	32	38	54
	E	29	11	3	12	10
	T	72	78	35	50	64
	[N=	7	75	34	8	124]
1730s	B					
	E		100			100
	T		100			100
	[N=		2			2]
Total	B	50	51	41	42	47
	E	21	18	6	9	14
	T	71	69	47	51	61
	[N=	102	531	302	107	1,042]

B = migrant from bishopric; E = migrant from exterior; T = total contracts

Table 5.2 *Percentage of migrants entering an occupation group*

		Occupational groupings				
Decade	Origin	100s	300s	500s/600s	700s/800s/900s	N
pre-1600	B					0
	E	14	28	43	14	7
	T	14	28	43	14	7
1600s	B	50			50	2
	E					0
	T	50			50	2
1610s	B					0
	E		100			2
	T		100			2
1620s	B		100			2
	E		50	25	25	4
	T		67	17	17	6
1630s	B	4	48	31	8	26
	E	6	72	11	11	18
	T	4	64	23	9	44
1640s	B	26	45	15	15	89
	E	28	72			40
	T	26	53	10	10	129
1650s	B	4	75	16	4	67
	E	17	67	8	8	12
	T	6	73	15	5	79
1660s	B	6	71	17	6	131
	E	12	68	15	5	41
	T	8	70	16	6	172
1670s	B	10	58	16	16	62
	E	0	71	14	14	7
	T	9	59	16	16	69
1660s	B	44	55	38	36	49
	E	28	17	10	9	15
	T	72	72	48	45	64
	[N=	18	169	48	22	267]
1670s	B	67	67	37	71	60
	E		9	4	7	7
	T	67	76	41	78	67
	[N=	9	54	27	14	104]
1680s	B	60	57	55	12	55
	E	20	14	4	12	9
	T	80	71	59	24	64
	[N=	5	42	51	8	106]

Table 5.2 (*cont.*)

Decade	Origin	Occupational groupings 100s	300s	500s/600s	700s/800s/900s	N
1690s	B	50	36	43	0	38
	E		7	3	0	4
	T	50	42	46	0	42
	[N=	4	14	30	3	52]
1700s	B	100	50	38	50	46
	E		17	4	8	6
	T	100	67	42	58	52
	[N=	2	6	26	12	46]
1710s	B	100	60	39	20	43
	E		20			3
	T	100	80	39	20	46
	[N=	2	5	18	5	30]
1720s	B		0			0
	E		0			0
	T		0			0
	[N=		2			2]
1680s	B	5	43	50	2	56
	E	10	60	20	10	10
	T	6	45	45	3	66
1690s	B	10	25	65	0	20
	E	0	50	50	0	2
	T	9	27	64	0	22
1700s	B	9	14	48	28	21
	E	0	33	33	33	3
	T	8	17	46	29	24
1710s	B	15	23	54	8	13
	E	0	100	0	0	1
	T	14	28	50	7	14
1720s	B					0
	E					0
	T					0
1730s	B		100			1
	E					0
	T		100			1
Total	B	10	55	25	9	490
	E	14	67	12	7	147
	T	11	58	22	9	637

B = migrant from bishopric; E = migrant from exterior; T = total foreign-born

The analyzed contracts can be simplified into four main labor categories: agriculture – 9.5 percent; transportation – 48.8 percent; personal and domestic service – 30.9 percent; and skilled trades – 10.2 percent. These categories reflect not only specific occupational groups but also four major migration patterns, only two of which represent definite relocation within the city. The transportation workers, a category dominated by the foreign-born workers, were a highly mobile workforce, whose presence in Cuzco was followed by travel to other colonial urban or mining centers. The agricultural workers represent an urban-to-rural outflow as a combination of city natives and migrants accepted relocation within the bishopric, at least for the duration of their contracts. The service sectors include a relatively balanced group of foreign-born and native workers who would definitely be residing within the city. Few foreign-born skilled craftsmen entered the labor market, but those who did were also committed to staying in Cuzco.[26] Each of these sectors and migration patterns had distinct features which the conciertos depict in detail.

Transport workers

The transportation workers, a majority of all contractees from 1630 until 1670, represent the clearest example of labor outflow from the city of Cuzco. Three-fourths of all Indians agreeing to work outside the city and its bishoprics joined packtrains to Lima, La Paz, or Potosí; most of the drivers with unspecified destinations probably worked these well-established routes. During the late seventeenth century, however, shifting commercial patterns within Spanish America led to the "meridionalization" of colonial trade and a sharp rise in the volume of contraband goods entering the Upper Peruvian mining areas from Argentina and Chile through Tucumán and Arica.[27] The proportionate drop in the legitimate Cuzco–Potosí trade created a sharp fall in the number of muleteers hired in Cuzco and their presence in the labor market declined drastically.

The shift in colonial markets also produced a change in the origin of mule drivers in the Cuzco labor pool. Throughout the 1600s, 60 to 75 percent of the transportation workers hired in Cuzco were born outside of the city, but the internal composition of that group varied, with natives of the bishopric assuming a greater role. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, a sizable proportion of transportation workers were natives of more distant areas of the Viceroyalty (Table 5.3). The later drop in long-distance commerce, the loss of the valuable Potosí markets, and the increased demand for goods in the Cuzco area contributed to the rise of local markets and an increase in regional trade. During the seventeenth century, the percentage of transport workers born outside of the Cuzco zone fell from 29 to 14 percent; natives of the provinces of the bishopric rose from 23 to 67 percent of all

Table 5.3 *Origin of transport and service workers: selected decades, by percent*

Decade	Origin	Transport (300s)	N	Service (500–600s)	N
1630s	C	38		44	
	B	33		44	
	E	29		11	
			45		18
1640s	C	38		54	
	B	36		46	
	E	26		0	
			112		28
1650s	C	23		65	
	B	67		32	
	E	11		3	
			75		34
1660s	C	28		52	
	B	55		38	
	E	17		10	
			169		58
1670s	C	24		59	
	B	67		37	
	E	9		4	
			54		27
1680s	C	28		41	
	B	57		55	
	E	14		4	
			42		51
Totals	C	30		52	
	B	52		43	
	E	18		5	
			497		216
Total N as percent of all sector entries		93.2		86.7	

C = born in Cuzco; B = migrant from bishopric; E = migrant from exterior

transport workers, as convoys along relatively shorter routes – such as the one linking Cuzco to Abancay – attracted a growing number of Indians who could meet their need for a cash income without traveling to Upper Peru.

Changing market patterns affected the destinations and origins of transport workers, but one feature remained constant; whether engaged in long-distance hauling to Lima, La Paz or Potosí or employed on shorter routes within the Cuzco zone, muleteers left Cuzco without the promise of return work. Mateo Hillva, a muleteer born in Guaracondo, Abancay, who had migrated to Cuzco and married, expected to return to the house he had purchased in the parish of Santa Ana.[28] For most Indians, however, employment as a muleteer included accepting the possibility of permanent migration. Although some workers undoubtedly secured employment back

to Cuzco, only two muleteers joining convoys to Lima or to the Potosí area were guaranteed return trips.

Agricultural workers

The agricultural workers hired in the city also agreed to leave Cuzco, but for temporary resettlement in the rural zone. Some of these workers would return to Cuzco; others would continue to work for private employers or move into depopulated lands. Throughout the seventeenth century, more than half of these agricultural workers were natives of the provinces of the bishopric; an additional 20 percent were migrants from other regions in the Viceroyalty. Four of the 61 workers whose contracts gave specific destinations agreed to travel to Lima or to Upper Peru for their new employers. The rest were hired to work within the bishopric, chiefly the province of Paucartambo.[29]

The destination distribution for agricultural workers is definitely affected by a 1646–1647 data cluster of Indians contracting to harvest coca in the province of Paucartambo. With the exception of the 1640s total, the agricultural workers were a consistent 4 to 8 percent of the workforce, recruited to compensate for local labor shortages or hired by Spaniards and Indian elites residing in Cuzco. The repeated recourse to urban labor pools demonstrates not only the interaction between rural and urban labor systems but also the constant demand for labor which could not be secured in the countryside. Occasionally that need was acute. The recruitment of 41 coca workers during the mid-1640s was a response to a severe crisis in the mita labor draft and emphasizes the role of the urban labor market in supplementing the official labor system.

The cultivation and ceremonial use of coca were important features of preconquest Andean culture. Consumption was theoretically restricted to the nobility and religious leaders but Incan subjects also enjoyed coca. The sixteenth-century chronicler Pedro Cieza de León noted that "the Indians relish sucking roots, twigs, and grasses" and that coca was popular throughout the Andes. According to Cieza, the Indians always carried coca leaves between their teeth because with coca "they were not affected by their hunger and they felt fresh and strong."[30]

The Spaniards were quick to recognize the profits in coca production and to generalize its use. By the 1540s, coca was being sold in Potosí, where it remained a valuable commodity throughout the colonial period because, as Cieza had noted, it enabled Indian miners to endure longer shifts under brutal conditions. In the late-seventeenth century, coca was still in demand in the mining zones.

Much of the coca shipped to Potosí was grown in the province of Paucartambo where, a parish priest reported, "the hot and humid land is

perfect for planting coca."[31] However, the climate was not perfect for the Indian laborers. From the beginning of the colonial period, officials recognized that coca cultivation was dangerous and debilitating labor. Because of high mortality rates, Francisco de Toledo attempted to regulate Indian labor in the coca zones; because of high profits, growers constantly violated those regulations. Toledo's original decrees, incorporated by the town council of Cuzco into its 1573 "statement on Indian labor," were explicit: no one could seize an Indian worker's blanket in order to cover coca plants; no Indians could be forced into coca labor, even if they were promised a salary for this work; no Indians should be given cash advances for coca work, even if they indicated that they were accepting the money voluntarily. Most importantly, because so many of the laborers who worked in the coca fields became ill and died, no Indian "could be kept in these provinces for more than twenty-four working days."[32] Toledo's regulations on coca labor – like many other provisions of his *Ordenanzas* – were never effectively enforced, in spite of repeated decrees issued by labor viceroys, such as the Príncipe de Esquilache.[33] Because coca labor was so brutal, producers in the Cuzco area could not rely on the local mita and turned to the urban labor market to hire additional workers.

The contracts negotiated for coca workers in the Cuzco labor market systematically violated the major provisions of the Toledo regulations. Two-thirds of the contracts exceeded the 24-day work cycle and almost half of the contracts were longer than two months, the standard mita obligation. Reflecting the dangers of coca cultivation, the laborers received higher wages than other agricultural workers. Salaries ranged from 10 to 22 pesos per month, with an average rate of 15 pesos. In direct violation of the Toledo regulations, all of the 41 workers recruited in 1646–1647 received large advances. Five had been paid their entire salaries and another nineteen workers had received at least half of their earnings. Given these debts, plus the distance and expense in returning from Paucartambo, many of these workers probably stayed in the province after the expiration of their contracts, either signing new conciertos or working under a form of debt peonage. At least two of the workers heading for Paucartambo in 1646 intended to stay: both Miguel Quispe and Pedro Suarez stipulated in their contracts that their wives were to accompany them to new homes in the coca zone.[34]

The service sector

In contrast to the more mobile transport and agricultural workers, service sector employees stayed in the city of Cuzco: some of these workers were native Cuzqueños; others were migrants seeking new jobs and new lives in the city. Throughout most of the seventeenth century the personal and

domestic service categories consistently showed a majority of urban-born workers, with a substantial minority from the surrounding provinces. Very few migrants from other regions of the Viceroyalty entered this employment sector; similar jobs were available in other urban centers and the salary range for service work was not high enough to stimulate long-distance migration.[35] Data from the 1680s indicate a surge in migrant service workers coinciding with the rise of that sector within the Cuzco labor market in response to both the city's delayed recovery from the devastating earthquakes of the 1650s and the general population recovery of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the late seventeenth century, the service sector was the largest employment group, replacing the declining transport sector.

Almost all of these service sector employees settled in Cuzco. In November of 1683, Sebastián Tucra agreed to serve Don Juan Antonio de Sanabria "in his house and also outside of this city," but Tucra's employer was a lawyer who journeyed regularly between Cuzco and Lima and the travel clause was an unusual one for a service sector contract.[36] Tucra's contract is unusual in another sense: it was negotiated for a male Indian. Not surprisingly, 81 percent of the service sector workers were women (Table 5.4). A few married couples signed joint contracts, usually combining cooking duties for the wife and unspecified "service" for the husband; in two cases, married couples migrating to Cuzco from the bishopric found employment together in service jobs. However, almost all of the women in the service sector acted in their own right, with few of the contracts coded for the woman's marital status and fewer still bearing the obligatory statement on a married woman's contract that she was acting "with her husband's permission."[37] Yet another feature of Tucra's contract is unusual: he was a migrant from the town of Quiquijana, Quispicanche, and most of the males entering the service sector were urban natives who, like Tucra, were employed as personal servants. A few males worked as "bakers" or "pastry-makers" – jobs which paid more than the "cook" classification dominated by women – but most males were hired to "serve in the house" or simply "to serve" the employer.[38] Such jobs failed to attract migrants from the bishopric or the exterior, who moved into the more attractive transport sector.

Most of the male-dominated, higher paying jobs were closed to women, but service sector employment offered some opportunities for women, particularly for women migrants. Of course, newcomers could be exploited by employers. In 1668, María Ynquillay, a migrant to Cuzco, agreed to work as a cook and laundress for Doña Micaela de Salasar. Ynquillay was to receive food and new clothes and sandals each year of the six-year contract. She was paid no salary.[39]

Most women workers earned cash wages, working in a variety of occupations. The most frequently documented job – if not the most common occupation – was as a wetnurse.[40] Indian women cared for the children of

Cuzco's Spanish and Indian elite, for the children of slaves, for the children of widowers and married couples, and perhaps even for their own children: a number of children ("orphans, left at the door of the house") were the subject of contracts arranged between Indian women and Spaniards. In addition to their salaries, wetnurses usually received food and clothing and explicit instructions to care for the child "with all caution and cleanliness, without cohabiting with any man." This restriction applied even to married women. When Josefa Mallqui, a migrant from the town of Guaillabamba, Marquesado de Oropesa, agreed to care for the infant son of Ignacio Bernardo de Quiróz, she promised to "have nothing to do with her husband or any other man."[41]

As in many colonial cities, women played a major role in food production and distribution. In Cuzco, women were particularly active in making *chicha*, a fermented corn beverage. Chicha was frequently made and consumed within Indian households, but a number of women made chicha for the local market, usually as the employee of a Spaniard who paid their wages, furnished supplies and kept most of the profits. Some of the workers were paid according to the amount of chicha sold, others received a flat wage. *Chicheras* usually were hired individually, but one mother and daughter pair agreed to produce and sell chicha for a Cuzco entrepreneur with the added stipulation that they be allowed to drink some of their product.[42]

Although some formal guild structure may have existed among food producers in other colonial urban centers, no such linkages appear among the Cuzco chicha workers. Their contracts show none of the uniformity that marked the skilled tradesmen's agreements. More importantly, only 5 percent of these contracts were guaranteed by an individual with the same occupation, a key feature of guild membership.[43]

The artisans

A formal guild structure did govern the skilled trades in Cuzco, a small but active economic sector. The seventeenth century was a period of growth and expansion for the artisan sector throughout the viceroyalty, in part because Indian craftsmen began to participate in the urban markets. During the later part of the century, the Cuzco skilled trade groups grew, surpassing their 6 to 8 percent representation in the pre-1680 labor force. Throughout the colonial period, craft guilds controlled "small-scale production for largely inelastic markets," ideal conditions for the formation and perpetuation of guilds. Although guild regulations were tightest in largest cities, such as Potosí or Lima, the guild structure in cities such as Cuzco carefully regulated production and membership.[44]

The local guilds' control of trade is seen in the origins of their members: a majority of skilled craftsmen were originally from the city of Cuzco and the

Table 5.4 *Service sector jobs by gender*

		Occupational Groupings					
		500s			600s		
Decade	Origin	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
pre-1600	C	1	3	4			
	B	0	0	0			
	E	0	3	3			
	U	1	2	3			
	T	2	8	10			0
1600s	C	1	0	1			
	B	0	0	0			
	E	0	0	0			
	U	0	0	0			
	T	1	0	1			0
1610s				0			0
1620s	C	0	0	0	0	0	0
	B	0	0	0	0	0	0
	E	0	1	1	0	0	0
	U	0	0	0	0	7	7
	T	0	1	1	0	7	7
1630s	C	7	1	8	0	0	0
	B	3	4	7	1	0	1
	E	0	1	1	1	0	1
	U	3	0	3	0	0	0
	T	13	6	19	2	0	2
1640s	C	12	2	14	1	0	1
	B	9	3	12	1	0	1
	E	0	0	0	0	0	0
	U	2	0	2	1	0	1
	T	23	5	28	3	0	3
1650s	C	7	4	11	8	3	11
	B	7	3	10	1	0	1
	E	0	0	0	0	1	1
	U	3	0	3	2	0	2
	T	17	7	24	11	4	15
1660s	C	23	4	27	1	2	3
	B	13	2	15	6	1	7
	E	6	0	6	0	0	0
	U	7	0	7	8	0	8
	T	49	6	55	15	3	18

Table 5.4 (*cont.*)

		Occupational Groupings					
		500s			600s		
Decade	Origin	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
1670s	C	12	2	14	1	1	2
	B	9	1	10	0	0	0
	E	1	0	1	0	0	0
	U	4	0	4	1	0	1
	T	26	3	29	2	1	3
1680s	C	18	3	21			
	B	25	3	28			
	E	2	0	2			
	U	1	1	2			
	T	46	7	53			0
1690s	C	10	5	15	1	0	1
	B	12	1	13	0	0	0
	E	1	0	1	0	0	0
	E	3	0	3	0	0	0
	T	26	6	32	1	0	1
1700s	C	13	2	15	0	0	0
	B	9	1	10	0	0	0
	E	1	0	1	0	0	0
	U	9	0	9	1	0	1
	T	32	3	35	1	0	1
1710s	C	11	0	11			
	B	7	0	7			
	E	0	0	0			
	U	0	0	0			
	T	18	0	18			0
Totals	C	115	26	141	12	6	18
	B	94	18	112	9	1	10
	E	11	5	16	1	1	2
	U	33	3	36	13	7	20
	T	253	52	305	35	15	50

C = born in Cuzco; B = migrant from bishopric; E = migrant from exterior; U = origin unknown; T = total contracts

provinces of the bishopric. The possibility of acquiring or practicing a skilled trade provided economic opportunities for urban residents of all ages and encouraged the urban migration of adult males. Few craftsmen arrived in Cuzco from other regions of the viceroyalty. One who did, Felipe Guana, a carpenter originally from Zuli, Omasayo, might have regretted the move: the

severe master carpenter who hired Guanca stipulated that if he did not finish his work on time he would have to work Sundays and holidays.[45] The low rate of long-distance migration among skilled craftsmen was not due to Cuzco working conditions, however. Skilled workers could generally find employment in their home communities and local masters were able to control local production by excluding foreign-born artisans.

Although Cuzco women may have played an important role in artisan production, they do not appear in the formal contracts governing artisan work. Lyman Johnson has argued that throughout colonial Spanish America "wives and daughters became skilled assistants, even though they had no direct link with a guild and received little recognition or compensation." If, as Johnson believes, "[a]rtisanal production, in this sense was family production ... " family participation was largely unrecorded. Only one woman appears as a contractee in the conciertos governing Cuzco artisan production. In 1707, a "maestro curtidor," owner of a tannery, hired "Lucas Corimanya and his wife" to scrape hides in his shop. The wife's name was mentioned nowhere in the contract.[46]

Women were active, however, in negotiating the *conciertos de aprendís*, or contracts creating apprenticeships, which determined future guild membership. Between 1600 and 1719, a total of 94 such agreements were signed: 53 negotiated by adult Indians and 41 arranged for young Indian males (Tables 5.5 and 5.6). The overall majority of self-negotiated contracts obscures an interesting trend: a significant increase in the proportion of family-arranged agreements in the post-1690 period. Because few such contracts state the occupation of the family member negotiating the apprenticeship, it is unclear if access to skilled trades was increasingly restricted to young relatives of trained craftsmen but the contracts do indicate that during the late colonial period skilled craftsmen were more carefully controlling membership in their guilds.[47]

Each of the 41 arranged conciertos was negotiated for the apprentice by a family member, with an overwhelming 92 percent initiated by one or both parents. Mothers signing alone accounted for 44 percent of the agreements, but only three documents satisfied notarial regulations stipulating that female contractees be identified by civil status and that married women be required to demonstrate their husbands' approval of any litigation.[48] Any speculation concerning the relationship between place of origin and household structure is complicated by the failure of the notaries to indicate home communities for 32 percent of the contractees involved (Table 5.5).

A majority of all apprentices with identified origins (53.9 percent) came from the provinces of the bishopric and most trainees entered the skilled trades; individuals with both these characteristics formed the largest data subgroup, 29 percent of the total sample (Table 5.5). Data totals for the different types of apprenticeships follow this pattern of origin and distribu-

Table 5.5 *Contracts creating apprenticeships: summation of contracts with indicated origin of Indian laborer*

Labor group	Self-Negotiated					Arranged				
	City	Bishopric	Exterior	Total	Percent	City	Bishopric	Exterior	Total	Percent
700	2	11	1	14	29.2	2	1	0	3	10.7
800	4	12	6	22	45.8	6	10	1	17	60.7
900	5	4	3	12	25.0	5	3	0	8	28.6
Total	11	27	10	48		13	14	1	28	
Percent	22.9	56.2	20.8			46.4	50.0	3.6		

Labor group	Totals				
	City	Bishopric	Exterior	Total	Percent
700	4	12	1	17	22.4
800	10	22	7	39	51.3
900	10	7	3	20	26.3
Total	24	41	11	76	
Percent	31.5	53.9	14.5		

Table 5.6 *Contracts creating apprenticeships: relationships of signer to apprentice in arranged contracts*

Origin	Father	Mother	Both parents	Other relative[a]	Total
City	6	4	0	2	
Bishopric	7	6	1	1	
Exterior	1	0	0	0	
Unknown	5	8	0	0	
Total	19	18	1	3	41
Percent N	46	44	2	7	

[a]Includes 1 older brother, 1 older sister, 1 grandmother.

Table 5.7 *Nature of fiadores for artisan sector*

	Fiador category							
Occupation	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	N=
700s	14	1	1	2	5		19	23
800s				2	1		1	3
900s	4				3		7	7
Total	18	1	1	4	9	0	27	33
Percentage	54.5	3.0	3.0	12.1	27.3	0	81.8	

A *Fiador* and laborer are both contracting to work in identical occupations for the same employer; each Indian guarantees the other's contract. The exact relationship between the two Indians is not given.
B *Fiador* is a member of the laborer's family.
C *Fiador* is an *indio principal* o *cacique*, but not specifically identified as being from the laborer's home community.
D *Fiador* and laborer have just the same home community.
E *Fiador* and laborer have just the same occupation.
F *Fiador* and laborer have both the same occupation and the same home community.
G *Fiador* and laborer have the same occupation, no matter what other linkages exist, i.e. categories A, E, and F, combined.

tion, but vary greatly with respect to the identity of the individual negotiating the contract, especially among the apprentices from the city and from the non-Cuzco regions of the viceroyalty. These two groups are evenly represented among the self-negotiated apprentices, but within the family-arranged sector, the Cuzqueños vastly outnumber the Indians from the exterior and equal those from the archbishopric (Table 5.5).

The possibility of entering a craft guild stimulated short-range migration

of individual male Indians born within the bishopric who migrated to Cuzco, especially during the pre-1680 period of guild formation and consolidation. In the later decades of the seventeenth century, an increasingly rigid guild structure gave membership preference to urban residents, who may have been children or acquaintances of guild members.

Migrants and their *fiadores*

The increasingly cohesive nature of guild organization is also apparent in the artisan contracts with fiadores, or guarantors. Because the fiador was liable for any damages resulting from the worker's violation of the contract, the relationship between guarantor and contractee was necessarily one of confidence and mutual obligation.[49] Of the artisan contracts signed in the city of Cuzco during the mid- and late seventeenth century, 81 percent involved a craftsman standing surety for another craftsman's work. Several of the craftsmen negotiated a type of contract called *Concierto y Obligación*, in which artisans working on the same job guaranteed each other's compliance. Twelve percent of the craftsmen, chiefly migrants from the bishopric, depended on other Indians from their hometowns to guarantee their work; only 3 percent relied on family members as fiadores (Table 5.7).[50]

Guild affiliations obviously superseded kin linkages and family ties, but the skilled trades sector could, by definition, be expected to show a high rate of shared-occupational fiadores. Moreover, in preconquest society certain occupational groups have been separated from their home communities by the Incas. During the colonial period, however, the shift in identity from kin group to occupational sector was obvious even in non-skilled occupations.

For Indians outside of the formal guild structure, the importance of ayllu linkages was threatened by relocation within Indian society and weakened by migration to urban centers. Some Indians who moved to colonial cities minimized or severed their ties with ancestral kin groups, as seen by an examination of the fiadores for labor contracts within the non-artisan sectors which show that although no formal guild structure existed among these sectors in Cuzco, these groups were shifting their identity from kin group to occupational sector.

Conciertos involving muleteers, who would be entrusted with valuable animals and equipment, showed the highest rate of guarantors: approximately one-third of these contracts were co-signed by fiadores. About one-fifth of the service sector workers, particularly wetnurses who would care for the employers' children, found fiadores for their agreements.[51] Within these broad categories, no clear patterns indicate which workers' contracts would most likely include guarantors. In April 1664, two Cuzco natives signed contracts to work for the same packtrain leader, at the same salary, and with the same supplemental remuneration, chiefly clothing and supplies. Pedro

Table 5.8 *(a) Nature of fiadores: distribution of select groups and totals*

		Labor group																		
		300						500–600						Total, non-artisans						
		Category						Category						Category						
Decade	Origin	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
1630s	C		1	1											1	1				2
	B		2	1	1										2	1	1			4
	E				1												1			1
1640s	C			2				4		1				4		3			1	8
	B	2	3	3	3	2		1		1			1	4	3	3	4	8	1	23
	E	2												2						2
1650s	C		3	1					9						12	1		1		14
	B		1		4				1						2		4			6
	E																			0
1660s	C	1	4	1	2	2	1		4	1	1			1	8	2	2	3	1	17
	B		7	3	6	5			5						12	3	6	5		26
	E	2	2			2	4							2	2		1	2	4	11
1670s	C								3						3					3
	B			1		2			3						5	1	2	3		11
	E						2												2	2
1680s	C		2						1						3					3
	B	1	3	1	3	1			2		2				1	5	1	5	1	13
	E																			0
1690s	C		1						2	1					3	1				4
	B			1	2	1			2		1				2	1	3	1		7
	E																		0	

c = born in Cuzco; B = migrant from bishopric; E = migrant from exterior. See p. 106 for key.

(b) Nature of fiadores for non-artisan sector: percentage of laborers by origin group linked to fiador category

Origin	Fiador category A	B	C	D	E	F	G	N
City	9.4	58.5	15.1	3.8	7.5	5.7	22.6	53
Bishopric	5.3	32.6	10.5	28.4	20.0	3.2	28.5	95
Exterior	26.7	20.0	0.0	13.3	13.3	26.7	66.7	15
Total	8.6	39.9	11.0	19.0	15.3	6.1	30.0	163

(c) Percentage of fiador category linked to laborers in each origin group

Origin	Fiador Category A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
City	35.7	47.7	44.4	6.4	16.0	30.0	24.5	32.5
Bishopric	35.7	47.7	55.5	87.1	76.0	30.0	55.1	58.3
Exterior	28.6	4.6	0.0	6.4	8.0	40.0	20.4	9.2
N =	14	65	18	31	25	10	49	163

Vayamay agreed to serve for one year and received an advance of 30 pesos, one-fourth of his yearly salary. Lazaro Pulido, who was heavily in debt, signed up for three years and was advanced most of his projected earnings, 300 of 360 pesos. Only one contract was guaranteed: Vayamay's. Another captive Cuzqueño pledged to assure Vayamay's compliance and stood surety for the much smaller advance in salary.[52] Apparently, employers sought fiadores whenever possible but accepted workers whose contracts could not be guaranteed.

Because natives of the city and the bishopric's provinces were more likely to have kin members or acquaintances in Cuzco, their contracts had a higher rate of fiadores. However, the selection of those fiadores shows a variety of contractee–guarantor relationships and the data summarized on Tables 5.7 and 5.8 contain significant internal variation.

The percentage of workers choosing a kin member for this important role varied inversely with the distance between the home community and the city of Cuzco; in contrast, the percentage of laborers choosing a fiador with the same occupation, even a non-Indian, rose directly with the scope of migration. Logically, most native-born Cuzqueños, 58.5 percent, chose family members to guarantee their labor contracts; 15.1 percent chose a kuraka or an Indian elder, indicating that traditional authority lines remained strong among urban natives. Although 22.6 percent of the city

natives found fiadores within their occupational sector, only 7.5 percent of these urbanites had guarantors whose sole link with the contractee was a shared occupation (Table 5.8).

Indians with origins outside the bishopric displayed a markedly different data pattern which reflects the distance between their birthplace and Cuzco: only 20.0 percent selected family members as guarantors. The foreign-born contractees were also clearly isolated from traditional indigenous authority lines. None of their contracts was guaranteed by a kuraka or an elder. Most of the contractees with origins outside the bishopric (66.7 percent) found guarantors within their occupational sector. Within this category, contractees had developed occupational linkages which replaced family and village ties: 26.7 percent of the foreign-born contractees were involved in mutually guaranteed contracts, where the fiador and laborer were both contracting to work in identical occupations for the same employer; another 26.7 percent of these agreements linked laborers to fiadores with the same regional origin as well as occupation. Both of these categories were dominated by muleteers from the provinces of the Río de la Plata, a group whose high-mobility employment would foster such internal cohesion (Table 5.8).

The relationship between migration and a shift in identification from kin group to occupational sector is particularly important with respect to originarios from the towns and provinces surrounding Cuzco, workers who conceivably could maintain closer ties with their ancestral communities. Approximately one-third of the bishopric's residents relied on family members to secure their contracts and another 28.4 percent chose fiadores from their home communities, dominating that classification with 61 percent of the entries. Another 10.5 percent of the laborers born in the bishopric were sponsored by traditional authority figures – kurakas or elders – who may or may not have been from the laborer's home community. Nevertheless, 28.4 percent of the bishopric's residents selected guarantors from within their occupational sector and a majority – 55.1 percent – of all contracts guaranteed by a co-worker were initiated by laborers born in the bishopric. The importance of participation in the urban Hispanic economy and its role in the transformation from caste to class is clear: even in those instances where traditional relationships could conceivably be utilized, a substantial number of Indians chose to rely on linkages within their occupational sector rather than their family or home community.

Conclusion

The data on fiadores show that some migrants severed ties with their home ayllus and created new linkages in the urban zone, identifying with members of their occupational group. Other migrants became more closely identified

with members of their immediate families, as defined in Spanish practice. Still others retained ties to their native communities. Migrants to Cuzco participated in a variety of labor relationships, some of which entailed permanent relocation in a potentially hostile city. For a few workers Cuzco represented an opportunity for economic advancement; for many others, the city was simply a convenient labor exchange. All of these migrants, however, were affected by their experiences in the urban zone and all participated in two major developments within indigenous colonial society: the creation of occupational-defined social ties which challenged traditional linkages and community identification and the emergence of a wage labor force which played a key role in the transformation of relationships of production. In the most fundamental way, these migrants to colonial Cuzco represent key aspects of the transformation of indigenous society under Spanish rule.

6

Frontier workers and social change: Pilaya y Paspaya (Bolivia) in the early eighteenth century

ANN ZULAWSKI

In his book, *The Frontier in Latin American History*, Alistair Hennessy mentions as one characteristic of Latin American border regions the fact that they were "frontiers of inclusion," meaning that they were areas in which cultural interchange and miscegenation were common.[1] Other authors have also stressed the importance of contact and kin relations among different social and ethnic groups in fringe areas, generally emphasizing sexual relations between white men and non-white women.[2]

Cultural and biological mixtures certainly typified colonial Pilaya y Paspaya, a wine-producing frontier zone in Upper Peru (present-day Bolivia, see Figure 6.1), where in the early eighteenth century the labor force was mostly composed of migrant Indian workers. However, the case of Pilaya y Paspaya is unusual because social change there was clearly more pronounced in one group of Indian migrants, those known as *yanaconas*, than it was among the majority of immigrants, the *forasteros*. This chapter will look at the differential change in these two sectors of the Indian labor force and suggest that the reasons for the variation can be traced to the types of relationships that existed between workers and *hacendados*, and to the extent to which migrants continued to identify with their Andean communities of origin.

The province of Pilaya y Paspaya[3] was noted for its varied terrain which included high altitude flatlands, or *punas*, in the northwest and malarial lowlands in the south along the Pilaya River. Between these two extremes the province was broken by a series of mountain valleys which became lower and broader as one moved south. Although the northern farming zones of the province were only about 80 kilometers from Potosí (Figure 6.2), Pilaya y Paspaya was definitely marginal to Upper Peruvian political and economic life until the early 1600s when, as a result of the silver mining boom, Potosí became a very important market for regionally produced items of consumption. Demand in the mining city led to the development of wine-producing *haciendas* in the province. Particularly the Cinti Valley, with altitudes

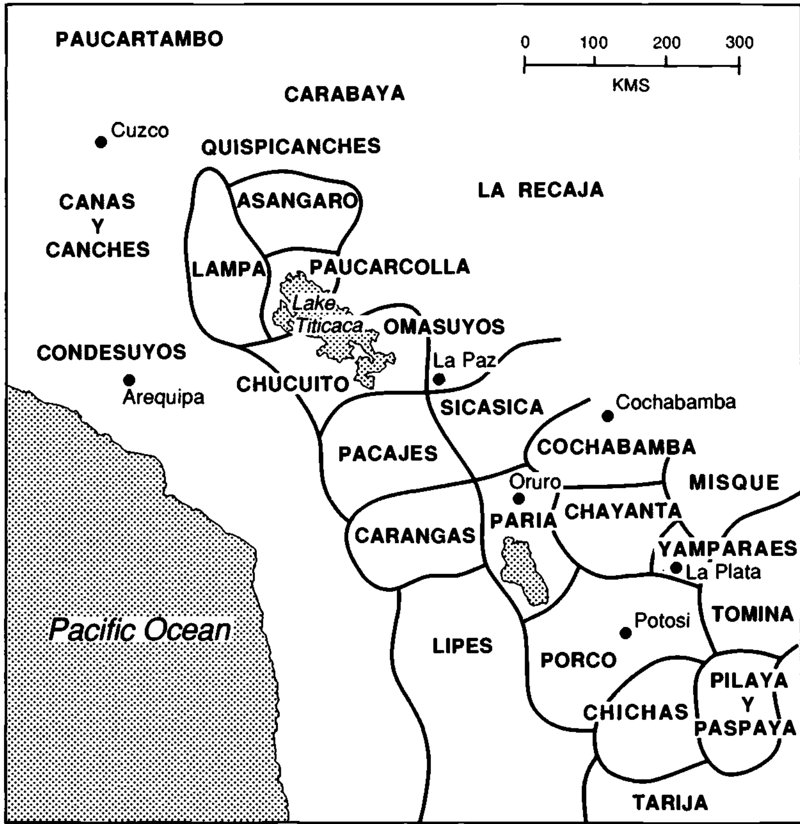

Figure 6.1 Selected provinces of Upper Peru

between 2,300 and 2,600 meters above sea level, had excellent soil and climatic conditions for growing grapes, and the waters of the Cinti River, which flowed through the valley, could be used for irrigation.

Pilaya y Paspaya had also been considered marginal to core areas of Andean colonial development because the province did not have a large population of sedentary Indians which the Spanish colonists could mobilize as a workforce. There were a small number of Indian agricultural communities in the north of the province in the parishes of San Lucas, Piruani and Supas, but south of Supas the sparse indigenous population was composed of people whom the Spanish called Chiriguanos.

The term Chiriguano was actually used to refer to a variety of cultural groups in the southeast lowland and mountain valley areas of Upper Peru which had never been successfully integrated into the Inca empire. Although most of the Indians labeled Chiriguanos were hunters and gatherers related

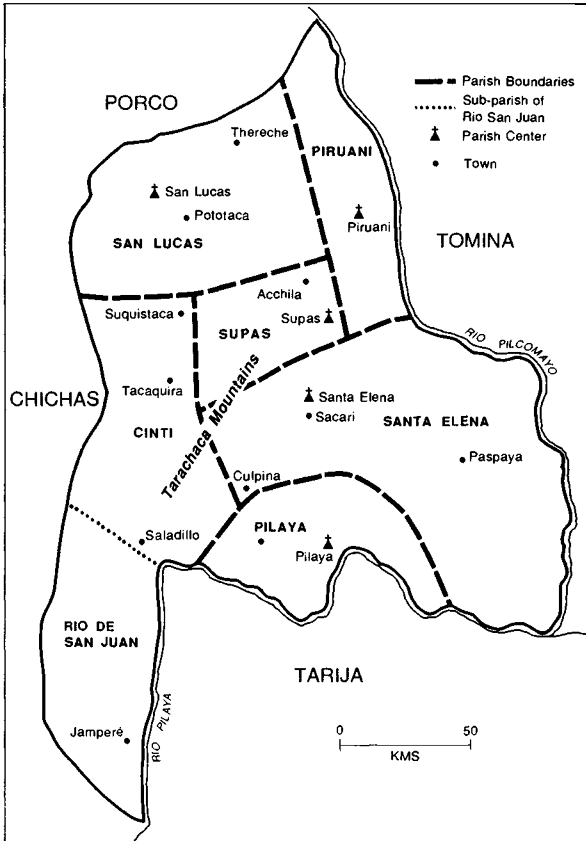

Figure 6.2 Parishes and settlements of Pilaya y Paspaya province, 1725

to the Guaraní of Paraguay, some were actually agriculturalists who had developed fairly sophisticated political organizations.[4] In general, the Chiriguanos resisted Spanish domination just as they had opposed Inca rule, but by the late 1600s a certain number had settled down and intermarried with native Indian agriculturalists or with Indian migrants.[5]

By the mid-seventeenth century many of the Chiriguanos who had not adopted a settled life style had been pushed south and east into Tarija and Santa Cruz by military expeditions, and most of the cultivable land south of Supas was owned by Spaniards or creoles who produced wine and other agricultural products. Among them was the powerful Potosí mine owner, Antonio López de Quiroga, who was probably the largest single property owner in Pilaya y Paspaya.[6] Between 1672 and 1698 López de Quiroga brought an average of 2,288 *botijas* of wine a year to Potosí where he sold them for an average of 67 reales each.[7]

Growing grapes required considerable numbers of workers both to tend and fertilize the vines and to maintain irrigation ditches.[8] It was no coincidence, therefore, that one of the most common major investments made by hacendados in Pilaya y Paspaya was in slaves. In 1696 López de Quiroga's hacienda, San Pedro Mártir, had 84 slaves.[9] In 1714 the haciendas Río Pilaya and Culpina had 40 black slaves between them, 34 of whom were valued at 350 pesos each.[10] Although information on the number of slaves in the province is not complete, enough were brought into the province for there to be considerable black–white and black–Indian racial mixture by the early 1700s.[11]

Although black slaves were a significant part of the workforce in Pilaya y Paspaya, their importance was overshadowed by Indian migrants from other places in Upper Peru. These laborers came to the province to earn the money they needed to pay the tribute which was assessed on all Indian men between the ages of eighteen and 50. Other workers in the province had fled their villages to escape the *mita* labor draft for the Potosí mines, or hoped to earn enough money to purchase an exemption from this onerous service. In some instances people migrated to compensate for agricultural lands their communities had lost in the 1570s when the Peruvian Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, embarked on an ambitious relocation program, forcibly removing more than one million Indian people from dispersed settlements and congregating them in densely populated villages, or *reducciones*. In this forced migration some groups lost lands in one or more of the ecological zones which were necessary for their survival. Others, when their populations began to recover from the effects of the initial colonial demographic disaster, found that in absolute terms there was no longer sufficient land to sustain all community members.[12]

Migrant Indians in Pilaya y Paspaya were classified in two sub-groups: forasteros and yanaconas. The word forastero, or outsider, was generally used to describe an individual who had left his village and had settled either in another Indian community, on a rural estate, or was working in an urban area. Especially in the seventeenth century, forasteros could often identify the villages they came from and the kin group, or *ayllu* to which they belonged.[13]

The forasteros working in Pilaya y Paspaya in the eighteenth century seem to have had two basic types of relationships with the employers for whom they worked. One group was made up of more or less permanent residents who were sometimes referred to as forasteros *arrenderos*, or renters. These workers generally paid a labor rent in return for the right to use a piece of land on an estate from which they provided their subsistence, or part of it. However, there were indications that in some instances Indians may have paid some rent in cash as well as in labor.[14]

However, it was only possible to have permanent resident laborers of this type on properties that had land appropriate for subsistence farming that

could be parceled out. In Pilaya y Paspaya fertile river valleys were separated from each other by mountains, ravines and puna, which absolutely limited the amount of arable land. The ideal, as far as landowners were concerned, was to have enough land of different types, at different altitudes, both to give to workers and on which to produce food for the hacienda. But, in some of the grape-growing areas of the province land was at such a premium that hacendados only had tiny plots of valley land to distribute to a few workers.[15] Furthermore, even landowners with large numbers of resident laborers needed extra workers at certain times of the year. These they usually obtained by making agreements with Indian community leaders in nearby provinces. A description of how these short-term contracts worked is provided by Don Pablo de Miranda, owner of the Hacienda San Francisco de Palca. On 1 October 1690, de Miranda testified that he had six Indians from the town of Calcha in the province of Chichas working for him. He said that they had been on the hacienda for two months and would be leaving within eight days because they had completed the period of their contract. Their *kuraka* (chief), Don Ignacio Nuñez, had come to the hacienda a week before to collect the tribute.[16]

The other group of migrants, the yanaconas, were, like the forasteros, Indians who were not living in communities to which they had been "reduced" by Toledo. However, the word yanacona had connotations not associated with the term forastero. During the pre-Columbian period yanaconas were a group of people in Inca society who were generally thought not to be associated with any kin group, but rather were attached to local and imperial rulers in servile capacities.[17] After the conquest Indians who became body servants of individual Spaniards and often accompanied them on military missions were referred to as yanaconas.[18] By the late sixteenth century, as people abandoned Toledo's reducciones, the number of yanaconas had multiplied significantly and they were found working in a number of contexts including on haciendas.[19] The rapid proliferation of yanaconas caused alarm among officials who believed there would not be enough Indians remaining in their communities to meet tribute payments and to serve in the Potosí mita. However, any attempt to remove the yanaconas from agricultural estates immediately drew protests from hacendados who wanted to retain their laborers, and colonial authorities were never successful in checking their increase.[20]

In Pilaya y Paspaya in return for their labor hacendados generally gave yanaconas some land for their subsistence needs and paid their tribute when the tax collector made his rounds. However, several things distinguished yanaconas from the forasteros who also held land in usufruct. One was that yanaconas generally claimed never to have had any connections with traditional Andean kin groups. While most colonial commentators considered yanaconas simply to be people who had left their communities to

avoid the obligations associated with being Indian (mita, tribute),[21] in many cases the yanaconas themselves, as well as their employers, steadfastly maintained that they either knew nothing of their origins, or were descendants of the yanacona servants of the early colonial period.[22]

The other major difference between yanaconas and forasteros in Pilaya y Paspaya was that, despite the fact that they themselves had apparently frequently sought out the employment, yanaconas were often considered to be perpetually bound to the landowners for whom they worked. The association of yanacona status with servitude, while it had been accepted on a limited basis by the Viceroy Toledo,[23] flew in the face of a body of judicial opinion and official policy which held that Indians could not be enslaved.[24] The records of the Audienca of Charcas are full of court cases between Indians who claimed their freedom from *yanaconaje* and estate owners who either wanted to keep them or get them back.[25]

In 1725 an enumeration of the Indian population of Pilaya y Paspaya provides evidence of cultural change and miscegenation among the Andean immigrants living in the province.[26] Conducted by the province's *corregidor* at the request of the Peruvian Viceroy Marquéz de Castelfuerte, the census was primarily for the purpose of establishing the size of the indigenous tax base. Although there are exceptions, which will be discussed below, the count generally lists adult males first followed by their wives and children. Entries are grouped by place of residence (village or hacienda) and give the man's age, his marital status, his wife's name but not her age, and the names and ages of his male children but only the names of female children. Some of the entries also give information on the man's *pueblo* or province of origin. A few give some piece of additional information as when an individual is listed as an Indian but claims to be from another racial group, or if a person's spouse is not an Indian or is an Indian from a different category (a yanacona married to a forastero, for instance).

Fortunately, the census contains information not only about Indian immigrants in the region but also for 498 *originario* men and their families who were living in communities in the northern part of the province. These non-migrants can serve as a kind of "control group" for comparison with the forasteros and yanaconas in the province. The most interesting conclusion to be drawn from this comparison is that social change is much greater among the yanaconas than among the forasteros.

A complete demographic analysis of the 1725 *padrón* is hampered by the fact that there are no ages given for any of the females in Pilaya y Paspaya's Indian population in that year. So, while there are roughly equal proportions of people of both sexes in the total population of 6,778 (51 percent male, 49 percent female), we cannot know if the sexes were evenly distributed by age.

Examining the age distribution of male forasteros in Pilaya y Paspaya in 1725 (Table 6.1) we see that it did not differ substantially from that of the

Table 6.1 *Age distribution of male Indian population of Pilaya y Paspaya, 1725*

Age	Originarios		Forasteros		Yanaconas		Total	
0–4	110		415		146		671	
5–9	129		400		128		657	
10–14	48	(48%)	168	(47%)	123	(54%)	339	(49%)
15–19	53		175		88		316	
20–24	32		157		54		243	
25–29	26		175		60		261	
30–34	34		122		32		188	
35–39	40		111		40		191	
40–44	22		71		32		125	
45–49	16	(37%)	50	(41%)	19	(45%)	85	(41%)
50–54	41		110		9		160	
55–59	8		34		0		42	
60–64	14		46		0		60	
65 and above	25	(15%)	50	(12%)	0	(1%)	75	(10%)
	598		2,084		731		3,413	

Source: Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires (hereafter AGN), Sala XIII, 18-5-1.

originarios. The differences that did exist were basically in the ratio of active adult males (those 15 to 49 years old) to the elderly (those age 50 and above). The originario population had a higher proportion of old men (15 percent compared to 12 percent for the forasteros), while among the forasteros the active adult group was larger (41 percent as opposed to 37 percent in the originario group). Among the originarios there probably was a tendency for men in their economically productive years to migrate. There may also have been a pattern of elderly originarios returning to their communities after years of living and working elsewhere.[27] Both the originario and the forastero populations had high proportions of male children between zero and fourteen years of age.

If the number of male originarios between 15 and 50 years of age was reduced because of migration or flight, it can be assumed that the ranks of the forasteros in the same age range were swelled for the same reason. The census does not state how many years forasteros had lived in the province, but of those for whom places of origin are reported (an indication that they had migrated fairly recently?), more than 50 percent were between 20 and 29 years of age (Table 6.2).[28] Although there had been some recent migration to Pilaya y Paspaya, the fact that more than 60 percent of the forasteros gave no origins in 1725 suggests that most of them had been born in the province. This is strikingly different than the situation 79 years before, in 1646, when

Table 6.2 *Origins of forasteros in Pilaya y Paspaya, 1725*

Province	Number of men
Porco (including Potosí)	152
Pilaya y Paspaya	132
Tarija	15
Tomina	11
Pacajes	10
Paria	9
Yamparaez	8
Chichas	8
Omasuyos	6
Sicasica	4
Carangas	3
Cochabamba	3
Chucuito	2
Not given	819
	1,182

Source: AGN, Sala XIII, 18-5-1.

only about 13 percent of the forasteros did not state their home provinces.[29] It is significant that in 1725 those forasteros who did state their origins came mostly from the adjacent province of Porco or from Pilaya y Paspaya itself. It is possible that the individuals from these areas were short-term workers on contract who would soon return to their communities. The same could have been the case for the forasteros from Chichas and Tomina which also shared borders with Pilaya y Paspaya (Figure 6.2).

Returning to the data in Table 6.1 one can note that the age distribution of the male yanacona population differed markedly in several respects from that of both the forasteros and the originarios. First of all, elderly men made up only about 1 percent of the male yanacona population, and, in fact, there were no individuals older than 54. The other striking feature of the male yanaconas' age distribution is the large proportion of people under fifteen years of age: 54 percent. However, to analyze the extreme youthfulness of the yanacona population another factor must be taken into account: there were 273 yanaconas mentioned in the census as living on several haciendas but said to be absent. Of these, 54 were female yanaconas who were listed as heads of households.

In some instances it would appear likely that the missing yanaconas were actually working on other properties belonging to the same hacendados. This appears to have been the case for the hacienda and ranch of Ingahausi where

Table 6.3 *Marital status of women listed separately in Pilaya y Paspaya, 1725*

Marital status	Originarios	Forasteros	Yanaconas	Total	
Married	1	3	36	40	(11%)
Single	4	18	51	73	(19%)
Widowed	23	79	92	194	(51%)
Not given	0	0	70	70	(19%)
	28 (7%)	100 (27%)	249 (66%)	377 (100%)	(100%)

Source: AGN, Sala XIII, 18-5-1.

the 54 missing yanaconas were probably working on the hacienda of San Pedro Mártir at the time of the census.[30] However, most of the missing yanaconas listed in the census are said to have been gone for a long period of time and the hacendados generally claimed to know nothing of their whereabouts. Since it was only in the yanacona group that absent people are listed in the census, one might assume that the landowners may simply have wanted to go on record as having had these servants on their estates in order to facilitate reclaiming them should they eventually be found.

The absence of so many adult yanacona men also helps to explain another finding peculiar to the group: the extremely high number of women counted separately or as household heads. In colonial Indian censuses women were usually included as wives or daughters of male tributaries because the government was really interested in determining the size of the tax-paying group (adult men between the ages of eighteen and 50 years old). Among the originarios and forasteros in Pilaya y Paspaya in 1725 about 9 percent of those listed as heads of households were women or girls and the fact that they were listed separately may be attributable to the effects of an epidemic that ravaged Upper Peru between 1719 and 1722.[31] Among the yanaconas, however, 42 percent of the individuals counted in the census were females. Of these women, 36 were married to non-yanaconas and 92 were widows (Table 6.3). Of those married to non-yanaconas, 25 were married to forasteros, three to black slaves, one was married to a free black, two were married to mulatto slaves, two to free mulattos, one to a mestizo and two to Spaniards.

The other 121 yanacona women listed individually were either single or gave no marital status at all. Forty-six of these were mothers who apparently were not married, an unusual phenomenon in Indian society. There are no unmarried mothers among the originarios living in Pilaya y Paspaya, and only two in the forastero group. The other 75 female yanaconas are probably orphans or girl children left behind when their parents left the estates for one reason or another.[32]

Table 6.4 *Marital status of yanaconas by sex, Pilaya y Paspaya, 1725*

Marital status	Male	Female	Total	
Married	241	36	277	(46%)
Single	55	51	106	(18%)
Widowed	20	92	112	(19%)
Not given	34	70	104	(17%)
	350 (58%)	249 (42%)	599 (100%)	

Source: AGN, Sala XIII, 18-5-1.

If we compare the marital status of male and female yanaconas (Table 6.4), we see that while there were 92 widows, there were only twenty widowers. This contrasts sharply with the forastero group in which there were 139 men whose wives had died and who had not remarried, but only 79 widows. Among the originarios there were 42 widowers and only 23 widows. The low proportion of widowers among the yanaconas is in keeping with the extreme youthfulness of the male yanacona population. But why this was the case is another question and one of the mysteries of the census. Although it does not seem very likely, it could be that more elderly female yanaconas survived the epidemic of the 1720s than elderly males. However, it is not at all clear why this should have been true among the yanaconas and not in the originario and forastero populations. The shortage of widowers might also mean that men whose wives had died had abandoned the haciendas on which they had worked. Finally, it could be that there was simply a tendency for yanacona widowers to marry younger women who had never been married before.

A little more light is shed on the reasons for the presence of so many unmarried women, and for the female exogamy among the yanaconas, by studying the marital status and ages of the men from the group who were recorded as absent (Table 6.5). This reveals a tendency for married men over 40 years of age to leave estates with their wives and children, while the majority of young men between 20 and 34 years old were either single or reported no marital status. This raises the possibility that some of the women listed individually could be the wives of men who abandoned the estates on which they worked. And the absence of this many young men, many of whom must have been single, certainly decreased the number of eligible men for young women to marry.

Herbert Klein has argued that in the *yungas* coca-growing region of Chulumani in the late colonial period not only did yanaconas come willingly to haciendas, but that when times were hard landowners apparently allowed them to leave. In this way the hacendados did not hold on to an unnecessary

Table 6.5 *Age and marital status of missing male yanaconas, Pilaya y Paspaya, 1725*

Age	Married	Single	Widowed	Not given	Total
5–9	0	3	0	0	3
10–14	0	4	0	0	4
15–19	0	13	0	14	27
20–24	8	10	0	29	47
25–29	8	3	3	12	26
30–34	2	5	1	10	18
35–39	11	4	3	3	21
40–44	15	6	1	6	28
45–49	11	1	1	2	15
50–54	4	2	1	2	9
55–59	0	0	0	1	1
Not given	13	2	5	11	31
	72 (31%)	53 (23%)	15 (7%)	90 (39%)	230 (100%)

Source: AGN, Sala XIII, 18-5-1.

resident labor force, and also did not have to pay the tribute for so many men.[33] While it is not certain that the yanaconas of Chulumani in this later period had the same status of relationships with their employers as those in Pilaya y Paspaya at an earlier date, the number of absent yanaconas in 1725 suggests that hacendados there may have taken a similar approach.[34] It may have been precisely those over 40, who were less productive workers, who were encouraged to depart with their families. On the other hand, the data indicate that only ten men over 50 years of age were missing, so the fact that there were very few older men in the yanacona population in general (Table 6.1) cannot be solely attributed to hacendados sending away their oldest workers.

If we compare the properties with missing yanacona men with those listing women as individuals (Table 6.6), the correlation between these two groups is clear. All of the haciendas with missing men have women recorded separately, and only three of the estates with women registered as individuals do not have absent men. In some of these cases it may have been that when yanacona males ran away from the estates on which they worked the hacendados held their families by force to guarantee payments of debts or to insure that the men would eventually return.

The existence of unmarried mothers and women married to non-yanaconas actually had an important social purpose in that it helped to maintain the group's birthrate at a level approximately equal to that of the forasteros and originarios. For all three groups, calculating the number of children per

Table 6.6 *Properties in Pilaya y Paspaya with missing yanacona men and yanacona women listed as individuals*

	Missing men	Women listed alone
Parish of Piruani		
Urcupiña	9	5
Colpa	10	9
Avioma	11	3
Parish of Santa Elena		
Ingahuasi	48	26
Culpina	13	16
Parish of Cinti		
San Pedro Mártir	0	2
San Antonio de Palca	0	7
La Cueba	3	6
Camataqui	4	6
San Juan River Valley		
Ympora	6	13
Taraia	16	18
Yzuma	4	6
S. Geronimo	3	4
La Dorada	0	2
Sactapa	4	7
Limi	1	4
Taraya	24	29
Altamirano	4	20
Farifán	9	15
Libi Libi	0	1
S.J. Tirahoyo	60	50
	229	249

Source: AGN, Sala XIII, 18-5-1.

couple gives an artificially high family size, since in general there were considerable numbers of widows and widowers and, among the yanaconas, so many single mothers. Dividing the number of children by the sum of the married couples plus the widowed and the single parents, we get a figure of 2.25 children for the originarios, 1.93 among the forasteros and 2.03 for the yanaconas. Thus, despite the apparently greater social disorganization, the yanaconas were maintaining the population size, albeit with the reproductive help of other racial and cultural groups.

The servile condition of the yanaconas cannot be forgotten; it is evident even in the census returns themselves and may be an important key to the apparent social differences between the groups of migrants in Pilaya y

Paspaya. The originarios and forasteros are listed in a relatively straightforward manner according to their places of residence. If a man had grown sons sometimes these were listed in sequence after the father's name, with a note stating the familial relationship. In general, the padrones of originarios and forasteros maintain the adult male as the primary unit of inquiry with exceptions made in the previously mentioned cases of orphans, widows and a relatively small number of single women. The yanaconas, on the other hand, when it is possible, are counted by families. Presumably this portion of the census was organized in this manner in order to lend legitimacy to the landlords' claim to the yanaconas, since rights of ownership were usually established in the courts by tracing the lineage of the Indian in question.[35] The naming of all of the members of a family went to such extremes that in some cases several generations of dead people were listed. For instance: "Juan Mamani, dead, son of Francisco Caio, dead, was married to María Sisa, dead, their children Joseph Santos, twenty-three years old and María."[36] In this case, obviously, the important facts were that Joseph Santos was a 23-year-old male and that he had a sister named María. Nonetheless, the family is traced back to the dead grandfather, perhaps because the high mortality in the epidemic had obscured the hereditary chain which the hacendado saw as entitling him to yanacona laborers.

Another indication of the yanaconas' servile status found in the census is the terminology used to indicate when a yanacona is married to another Indian who is not a yanacona. In these instances the census entry reads, "Casada(o) con indio(a) libre" ("Married to a free Indian"). This "free Indian" always meant a forastero. There are no instances of yanaconas being married to originarios.

From the hacendado's point of view the yanacona was preferable to a black slave in several respects: in terms of initial investment he cost the landowner nothing and, in fact, had often even asked for the asylum of yanaconaje. Furthermore, since the yanacona did not come from a distinct racial group like the slave, he could either escape, or be "let go" to join Indian society in some other context, returning to his community, living on the periphery of a Spanish city, or seeking work on another hacienda. While the great number of missing yanaconas lends credence to Klein's contention that people were often allowed to depart without the opposition of the hacendado, there were other instances in which landowners were obviously not willing to let go of yanaconas without legal battles. Frequently the Audiencia did rule in favor of the Indian in court cases of this type, perhaps because there was viceregal and even royal pressure to do so.[37] But this did not mean that the Indian was always allowed to leave easily. Sometimes the landowner would imprison the family of the Indian while he appealed to the Audiencia, or seize the Indian for debts he owed.[38] The situation of the yanacona was ambiguous, and while the system in many respects did seem to

respond to market incentives as Klein had indicated, in some instances hacendados were willing to rely on hereditary privilege if they really wanted to hold on to their workers.

An interesting case from Pilaya y Paspaya illustrates not only that hacendados would go to considerable lengths to retain yanaconas whom they claimed were theirs by right, but also that the number of yanaconas a landowner possessed might somehow miraculously increase despite the proprietor's contention that he had only *yanaconas originarios*, that is yanaconas designated as such in the time of Toledo. In 1697 Felix Velasquez, the owner of the Hacienda Ympora y Ympora in the San Juan River region of Pilaya y Paspaya asked that the Audiencia of Charcas uphold his "possession or quasi-possession" of the yanacona Juan Paco. To strengthen his case Velasquez stressed his poverty, saying that he had to care for his mother and his unmarried sister as well as his own family. He said Paco was his only yanacona and that if he did not get him back he would lose his crop.[39]

How one yanacona was to make the difference between getting the crop in or not is not explained. Nor is the fact that in 1697 Velasquez had only one yanacona, but in 1725 the hacienda had 38. In the 1697 complaint Velasquez lists the yanaconas he had at the time of the census ordered by the Viceroy Duque de la Palata in 1683. In 1725 not one of the yanaconas on the hacienda, which was then owned by his son, had a name even remotely similar to any of these, nor are any of them said to be descendants of those present in 1683. On the contrary, most of the yanaconas in 1725 seem to be members of two families, the Tolavas and the Chipanis, neither of whom was mentioned in the La Palata census.

The case of Felix Velasquez suggests then, that despite landowners' attempts to make it appear that they had families of yanaconas living on their estates in perpetuity, that the yanacona workforce may actually have fluctuated considerably. In other words, yanaconaje might be seen as incorporating the best of two types of relations of production from the landowners' point of view. Workers could be allowed to absent themselves when no longer needed, freeing the hacendado from the burden of tribute or an ageing workforce, or they could be claimed almost as serfs if the proprietor found this desirable. In fact, it might be argued that yanaconaje as practiced in Pilaya y Paspaya represented a transitional stage incorporating elements of personal servitude and of market-oriented labor arrangements.

Overall, the impression is of extreme insecurity and uprootedness among the yanaconas. Young men appear to have been very mobile and perhaps had the possibility of abandoning one landowner if they found working conditions too onerous, and going to work for another. However, unlike forasteros who left their communities, most of this movement of yanaconas away from estates was by unaccompanied males who either had no wives and

families or who abandoned them when they left. On the other hand, men who were considered too old to be efficient workers may simply have been thrown off their land and forced to leave the haciendas on which they worked. It cannot be confirmed, but it is possible that the reason there were so few men over 50 in the population was that people that old were simply told to depart and not even recorded in the census as absent. Presumably they would have appeared on the census for some other province but, since they were past tributary age, the colonial state was probably no more interested than the landowners in tracking them down.

Another characteristic of the yanacona population in Pilaya y Paspaya in this period was that it was becoming less and less Indian. Despite the protestations of the individual concerned, an hacendado often maintained that a person was a yanacona even if one of his parents was a forastero, or not an Indian at all. The colonial government also had an interest in classifying men as Indians although they said they were children of people from other racial groups. As Indians they paid tribute and were frequently suspected of claiming non-Indian parents simply to avoid this obligation.[40] Despite this "Indianizing" bias, and the apparent ability of the yanacona group in Pilaya y Paspaya to incorporate some non-yanaconas, it is easy to see that eventually continued miscegenation would cause the disappearance of this group as a distinctly Indian one. It is likely that by the end of the century the descendants of yanaconas simply formed part of a group of racially mixed rural workers. This transformation was certainly facilitated by Pilaya y Paspaya's frontier setting in which contact with people from different ethnic and racial groups was common and the influences of traditional Andean culture were weakened.

If the forasteros in Pilaya y Paspaya were, like the yanaconas, Indians who had come to the area looking for work and hoping to avoid the mita labor draft, why was there apparently less demographic and social change in the group? This is not an easy question to answer with certainty but I will suggest some possible reasons nonetheless. A general cause for the forastero population's general stability and similarity in demographic makeup to the originarios would seem to be their community origins. It appears that on some level forasteros remained identified with the basic institutions of Andean Indian life. Although they had left their homes, they were still presumed to be people with origins in indigenous communities, not members of a separate servant class. Since we know that migration was an important part of Andean life well before the conquest it is possible that the individuals called forasteros by government officials may have been perceived by the members of their own kin groups as various types of colonists similar to those of the pre-Hispanic period. Communities may have used migration as a means of insuring the continuity of the groups' existence.[41]

On the other hand, the fact that in 1725 only 31 percent of the forasteros in

Pilaya y Paspaya stated their home provinces suggests that the rest were at least second generation immigrants and perhaps could not even remember their origins. Thierry Saignes maintains, in fact, that there was a qualitative difference between the seventeenth century when most forasteros could identify the kin groups to which they belonged, and the eighteenth century when the migratory flow was diminished and the connections between immigrants and their villages of origins had become attenuated.[42]

Certainly, later in the century there was more miscegenation and cultural change among all the Indians in the province, including the forasteros. Although parish registers, which might provide a more complete picture, have not been found for the province, an apparently incomplete 1778 census listed 742 mestizos, 328 Indians and 257 Spaniards in Pilaya y Paspaya.[43] Yet, earlier in the century the arrival of new immigrants on short-term contracts, or with the intention of staying in the province more permanently, may have revived cultural ties with home communities. If this influx did not entirely reverse the process of cultural change and miscegenation among the forasteros it probably did decrease its speed.

Finally, I want to suggest one last reason for the differences between the forasteros and the yanaconas, but it is of a speculative nature. We know that forasteros in Pilaya y Paspaya were sometimes designated "free" Indians to distinguish them from yanaconas. This was because they originally came from communities rather than being members of a servant caste. It appears that one thing this may have meant was that they more commonly worked on a contractual basis, even an informal one, than did the yanaconas. There are many documents referring to the agreements between hacendados and community leaders who provided specific numbers of workers for limited periods of time. There are also references to the agreements between long-term *forasteros arrenderos* and landowners, especially when land was rented in cash. This certainly does not mean that these workers could not be dispensed with when hacendados no longer needed them, but it seems to imply a greater leverage for the Indians. Having a home connection, even a tenuous one, with an Indian community, being a "free" Indian instead of a yanacona, may have provided some protection against the most extreme forms of social disruption caused by frontier life.

7

Student migration to colonial urban centers: Guadalajara and Lima

CARMEN CASTAÑEDA

Introduction

In the history of Latin America the study of city-based regions has received a good deal of attention. For example the historiography of the Guadalajara region provides an abundance of evidence in that regard.[1] Such studies emphasize the ties that united the regional capital to its rural agrarian structures, the evolution of a regional credit market, and the flows of migrants and capital between the city and its dependent hinterland.

Here, I shall extend the perspective of urban-focused regionalism to examine the characteristics of a very special type of migration to two urban centers: students attending colleges in Guadalajara (Mexico) and Lima (Peru). For Guadalajara the analysis will use data for the entire eighteenth century; for Lima, for the period 1587 to 1621. The students who migrated to the Colegio Seminario Tridentino del Señor San José of Guadalajara, and those of the Colegio de San Martín of Lima, will be analyzed in terms of their origins, their ages, and the date of their inscription.

Although obviously limited in scope, this study may serve to assist our understanding of some of the reasons that explain the attractiveness of cities like Guadalajara and Lima for young creoles who migrated over long distances, as well as to more precisely monitor their migration patterns in time and space. Only by better understanding the motivations of migrants shall we be able to fully understand the evolution of population change in specific regions. Such a study might also assist in our understanding of the centralizing tendencies that characterized the colonial period, especially in the cases of Guadalajara and Lima; the migration of students should also allow us to at least partially measure the zone of influence of each of these centers.[2]

Data source

The most frequently used sources to analyze urbanward migration in colonial Spanish America are the censuses (*padrones*) which are "sufficiently

detailed to register the place of origin,"[3] or the parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials.[4] This study, however, will use a novel source: the inscription registers of two seminary colleges. For Guadalajara the principal source is the *Libro secreto de asientos de matrículas de los colegiales del Colegio Seminario Tridentino de Señor San José de Guadalajara,* kept in the archive of the same College. This volume lists alphabetically all of the students; it also registers the entry, departure and merits of each of the 1239 Mercedarian seminarists and pupils from 23 December 1699 (the year of the College's founding) until 31 March 1800.[5] There are some gaps in the record for the years 1704, 1733–1735, and 1740–1782.

The existence of this volume is explained in chapter 11 of the constitution of the College in 1699: "Que haya libro en que se asienten los colegiales que se reciben y que tengan correspondencia con el colegio los que en el se criasen."[6] Having carefully examined the volume, I designed a master file card on which was entered the following data for each student: a unique index number; name; date of entry into the College; age; category (Mercedarian or pupil); legitimacy; places of origin; date of interruption of studies or changes in category status; cause of leaving the College; date of re-entry; date of final departure from the College; studies undertaken; conduct; academic activities; honorable mentions bestowed; sacred orders received; destination upon final departure (place and institution); and grades obtained and offices held while in the College.

The second primary source comes from Spain. In the National Archives in Madrid, is to be found the catalogue of the students of the Colegio de San Martín of Lima.[7] This document contains entries for 5,012 students inscribed from 1587 to 1769; for each is provided his name, place of origin, age, date of entry, destination, if he was related to any other student, and if he held a scholarship.

Both data sets were entered on to file cards which totaled 964 pupils, 200 Mercedarians, and 75 without definition of status for Guadalajara; and some 1,270 for Lima, since here only the years 1587 to 1621 will be analyzed. The basic variables to be examined in this essay will be place of origin, date of inscription, and age at entry of each of the 2,509 students in the two colleges.

Guadalajara and the Colegio Seminario de Señor San José

Commerce and administrative functions converted Guadalajara into a "patria común, llena de litigantes y gente foránea que la harían populosa" during the eighteenth century.[8] From the first decades of that century Guadalajara began to stir from the demographic stagnation of the previous two centuries, to convert itself into a city with a rapidly growing population. In the census of 1738 some 8,000 persons occupied more than 1,500 houses; by 1760 the population had risen to 11,294 with the city's housing more than

doubling the number of thirty years before. Ten percent of the residences were classified as *jacales* (shanties), a clear sign of the fast pace of growth.[9] Testimony to such growth was given in 1767 when Bishop Diego Rodríguez Rivas de Velasco reported that

> La ciudad se ha aumentado tanto que sin reconocer el padrón, vendría cualesquiera en conocimiento de que pasa de 24,000 almas, basta el ver sus calles llenas de gente, los concursos a los templos ... el consumo tan grande que hace de víveres.[10]

The census of 1770, ordered by the same bishop, registered 22,394 persons over two years of age in the city, which represented a doubling of the total urban population in a decade. With the data from these census returns, and the information from the last diocesan inspection, Matheo Joseph de Arteaga composed, in 1770, his *Descripción de la diócesi de Guadalaxara de Indias*, which repeated the same population – 22,394, mentioning that this figure included all of the various castes who inhabited the urban area.[11] By 1777 Guadalajara's population had decreased slightly to 21,163 persons[12] but, according to the general census of the intendancy, by 1791–1793 it had recovered to a total of 24,249.[13]

Between 1790 and 1803 the pace of population increase accelerated, if we accept a total of 34,697 for that latter date, reported by the royal notary Fernando Cambre as "based upon recent census returns."[14] It is evident that, in spite of the years of poor harvests and epidemics, Guadalajara experienced demographic growth in the second half of the eighteenth century, more due to a steady stream of migrants than any significant increase in the birthrate.[15] Such growth was accompanied by the supply of agricultural and livestock products from the city's hinterland. The production of the cotton and wool textile looms also played a major role in economic development during this period.[16]

One should also not forget that during the colonial period Guadalajara was essentially an administrative and commercial city, in which civil and ecclesiastical officials lived off their salaries, and the merchants made notable profits. Others established a good living by providing for the needs of the urban areas from agricultural estates that surrounded it on all sides. Small-scale artisan industry provided for most of the daily needs of the urban residents.

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, Guadalajara witnessed the establishment of several institutions peculiar to the city. In 1776, the audiencia conceded a license for the first textile factory, established by seven wealthy merchants. This was to provide much-needed employment for the urban population which could not be satisfied by the small craft establishments.[17] In 1786, the new administrative reforms of the Viceroyalty brought about the division of New Galicia into two intendancies: Guadalajara and

Zacatecas, the former occupying the area of the actual states of Jalisco, Nayarit, and Aguascalientes.

November 1792 saw the inauguration of the Real Universidad of Guadalajara, the culmination of great efforts of many of its citizens, and especially the town council. For the first time the necessity to travel to Mexico City to receive advanced education was removed. Several months after this event, in 1793, Mariano Veléz Téllez Girón, son of the famous printer Manuel Antonio Valdéz (who edited the *Gazetas de México*), installed a printing press in a house fronting on to the plaza of Santo Domingo. The audiencia had granted him permission to open the press, and "el privilegio exclusivo perpetuo para que ningún otro pudiese imprimir en la ciudad sin su autorización."[18] A royal *cédula* approved this monopoly for a period of ten years.[19]

May of 1793 saw the initiation of services in the royal Hospital of San Miguel, a new building that Bishop Fray Antonio Alcalde had ordered to be built, on land allocated by the town council. Yet another new function, and one of the most important of the period, was the establishment of the Real Consulado of merchants of Guadalajara, promoted by intendant Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, the audiencia and Bishop Alcalde. 1796 thus signified the coming of age of commerce in Guadalajara. The Consulado was to follow a policy of economic development which was implemented via the construction of roads, bridges, and the founding of the regional fair of San Juan de los Lagos, in 1787.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the University and the merchants of Mexico City, Guadalajara thus enjoyed the establishment of both the Real Universidad and the Consulado. These victories of the city occurred "en fechas en que el desarrollo económico y demográfico de la Nueva Galicia es mayor, y cuando la política anticorporativa de los borbones ha debilitado considerablemente el poder de los comerciantes y de la iglesia en [la ciudad de] México."[20] The opposition of the University of Mexico to the establishment of the University of Guadalajara and the Consulado of Mexico to that of Guadalajara "muestran la resistencia del centro a ceder privilegios y perder su posición monopólica y la lucha de las áreas periféricas [como Guadalajara] por desbaratarlos y absorberlos para sí."[21]

In the period 1779 to 1800, as well as the University there were also established in Guadalajara six elementary schools. The Seminary College of San Juan was also re-opened. All of these educational institutions, besides those already in existence and which continued attending to the needs of the school-age population, such as the Colegio Seminario Tridentino de Señor San José, and the three colleges for girls, as well as the administrative dependencies of the city, plus the commercial, agricultural and livestocking interests – all helped in the eighteenth century "[formar] una estructura

espacial que se articula alrededor de la ciudad ... como lo muestra la atracción que ejercen sus centros educativos en una vasta zona."[22]

One such educational center was the Colegio Tridentino de Señor San José. The King had issued a license for its foundation on 6 June 1696, asking the *audiencia* of Guadalajara to assist in its establishment.[23] However, the person charged with its actual incorporation was Bishop Fray Galindo y Chávez, who requested 3 percent of the diocesan rents for the maintenance of the same. In September of 1696, Bishop Galindo issued the foundation decree, and communicated to his flock that "para tener ministros y maestros era necesario criarlos en un colegio seminario," whose establishment would bring "dos utilidades: educar a la juventud apartándola de los riesgos en que está siempre la mocedad; y crear ministros para lo de adelante ... que caminen de la modestia a la obediencia de sus prelados y a la ciencia de sus maestros; *de virtute in virtutem.*"[24]

The College began to receive its annual income, 3 percent of the benefits assigned by the Council of Trent for the sustenance of seminaries, from 1700. With this it could support eighteen poor students or pupils, construct the new building, and pay the salaries of the ministers and teachers.[25] The other income enjoyed by the College derived from the studentships paid for by wealthy pupils, the sum of 120 pesos each year for "su sustento y casa."[26]

Geographical origins of the students of the Colegio Seminario Tridentino de Señor San José

Regarding the origins of the students of seminary colleges, the Council of Trent had prescribed that they should be "from the same city or diocese or, in the event of there being none in those, from the same province."[27] From the inscription lists of the College one can learn of the places of origin of some 778 pupils and 172 Mercedarians. This total of 950 origins can be localized, and mapped in some 130 places, some thirteen very small centers (mostly *haciendas*) being excluded (Figure 7.1).[28]

The geographical distribution of these origins reveals that the bishop of Guadalajara and the rector of the College certainly took into account the criteria laid down by the Council of Trent regarding the admission of students. The great majority came from settlements within the bishopric of Guadalajara, although a few did come from the neighboring bishopric of Mexico. Another fact easily seen from the original data is the existence of a plentiful supply of Spanish population, since the constitution of the College indicated that no student "de mal lineaje" was to be admitted. It is also likely that the 130 settlements had elementary schools available, where the children could learn to read and write; again, the College could not accept those who did not possess these basic skills.

Very obvious is the overwhelming proportion of students who attended

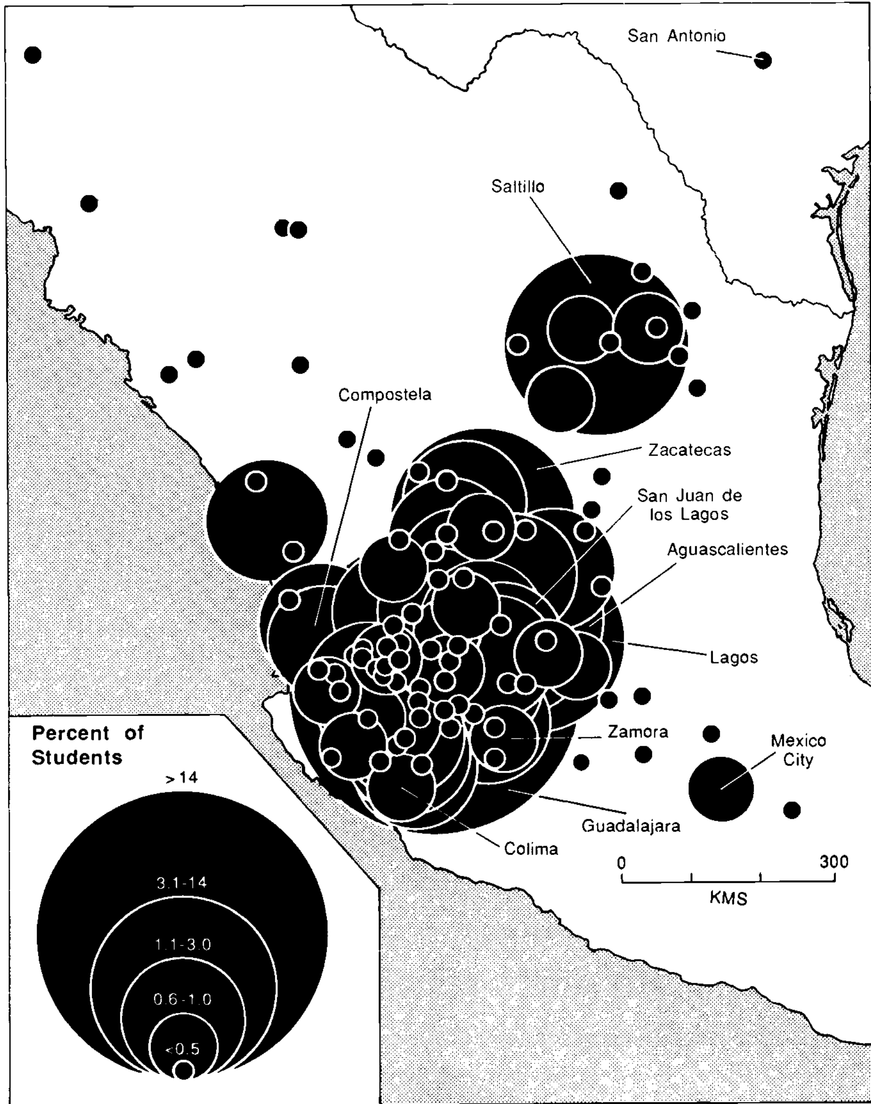

Figure 7.1 Origins of student migrants to Guadalajara, 1699–1800

the College from the city of Guadalajara itself – almost the same as the total of those who came from Aguascalientes, Zacatecas and Saltillo. This is even more interesting when one considers the fact that Guadalajara had a smaller population than Zacatecas in the eighteenth century. The location of the 130 centers, amongst which are found cities, towns, mining centers, and hacien-

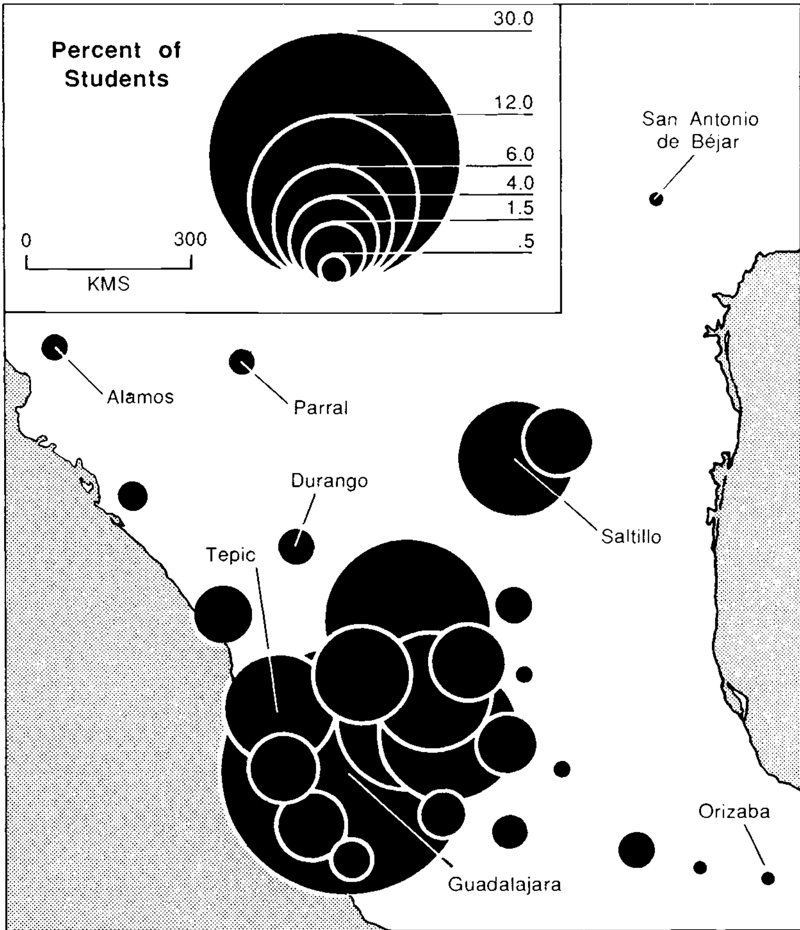

Figure 7.2 Regional origins of student migrants to Guadalajara, 1699–1800

das, also provides an excellent index of the zones of economic activity during that century, since each contained families wealthy enough to be able to send their sons to the College in Guadalajara; some 15 percent of the centers sent at least two students. To better appreciate the spatial variation in the distribution of origins, whose complexity is clearly evident in Figure 7.1, they have been grouped into 28 regions (Figure 7.2). The Guadalajara region stands out again as the predominant source of students (Table 7.1), accounting for some 294 (31 percent). Two other regions were also of relative significance: Zacatecas and Los Altos, both places enjoying economic prosperity, the first from mining, the second from cattle-ranching. From Aguascalientes, Juchipila, Saltillo and Tepic, principally agricultural zones,

Table 7.1 *Regions of origin of students entering the Colegio de Señor San José, 1699–1800*[a]

Region	Students		Region	Students	
Guadalajara		294	Guanajuato		14
City	198		City	6	
Zapotlán	22		El Bajío	8	
Ahualulco	49				
Chapala	25		Bajío Zamorano		10
Zacatecas		111	El Salado		7
Los Altos		80	Colima		7
Aguascalientes		62	Durango		7
Juchipila		57	Valle de México		7
Juchipila	12				
Teocaltiche	45		Valladolid		6
Saltillo		57	Culiacán		4
Tepic		49	Alamos		3
Bolaños		43	Parral		3
Asientos y Pinos		24	San Luis Potosí		2
Costa de Jalisco		19	Querétaro		2
Autlán		19	Puebla		1
Monterrey		19	Orizaba		1
Sinaloa		15	San Antonio de Béjar		1

Note: [a]The regions used here are taken from those provided by Angel Bassols Batalla, *La división económica de México* (Mexico, 1967), 264.

and Bolaños, Asientos and Pinos, mining areas, also originated students who attended the College in Guadalajara. Distant locations, for example Parral and Los Alamos, provided only an occasional student, as did centers that themselves had colleges and seminaries, such as Puebla and Mexico.

An even better representation of the flow of students to Guadalajara is presented when one maps their routes to that city (Figure 7.3). Guadalajara served as the educational magnet for a very extensive area, especially the region that lay to the north and west of New Spain.[29] The tentacles of the College extended far to the north and west, though the major flows increased rapidly the closer one came to the regional capital. The opportunity to be educated in the College was, in great part, determined by the economic circumstances of the students' parents. It is for that reason that there is a very close correlation between the catchment area and nodes of the migrant students, and the zones of economic activity in northern colonial Mexico.

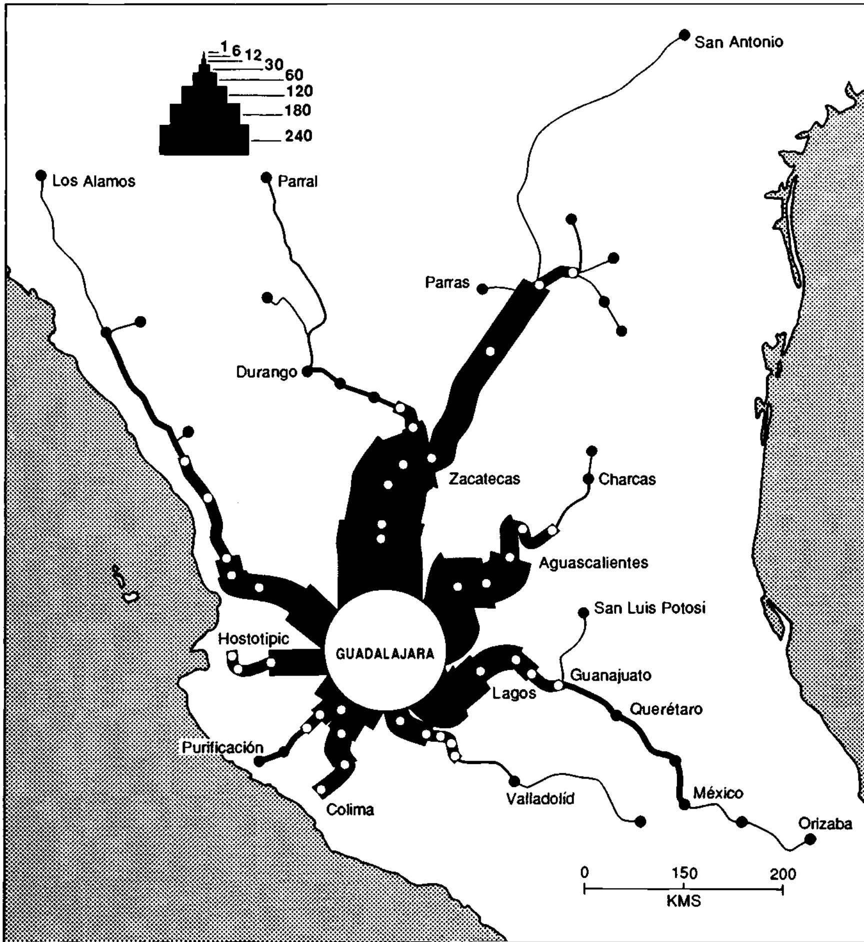

Figure 7.3 Migration flows of students to Guadalajara

Lima and the Colegio de San Martín

Lima was founded by the Spanish on the Peruvian coast in 1535. Seven years later it had become the center of Spanish occupation, a position that it was to hold throughout the colonial period. In those days it was a city

Muy imponente, llena de grandes y a veces palaciegas casas de estilo español, pertenecientes a los encomenderos, con tiendas de artesanos y mercaderes que bordeaban la plaza y las calles centrales. Rodeaba la ciudad una área de cultivo donde se practicaba una agricultura española intensiva, con riego, que empleaba principalmente la mano de obra de esclavos negros y que abastecía al mercado local.[30]

As in Guadalajara, the owners of haciendas held office in the town council of Lima. Lohman Villena found that many of the *regidores* were permanently absent from Lima, busy with the administration of their agricultural estates.[31] Equally, many of the highland landowners left their estates in the hands of administrators, residing in Lima in order to benefit from the cultural, social and political life of the capital.[32]

Eight years after its foundation Lima was made the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru, created in 1543. A year later, with the establishment of the audiencia of Lima, the city began to assume all aspects of civil administration. Moreover, Lima was "the Peruvian base of commercial firms whose home was in Seville, which traded along the Seville, Panamá, Lima, Arequipa, Andes route, importing goods and returning with silver."[33] From the beginning, the merchants of Peru and Spain took great pains to make Lima "a trading point with the largest possible hinterland," that helped it become "the commercial queen of the continent."[34]

Lima also achieved significance as a Catholic missionary center. By 1548 the Franciscans had a convent, later Dominicans and Augustinians arrived and, in 1568, the Jesuits, who promptly established a college. Before the arrival of the Jesuits, the University of San Marcos had already been established by a royal edict of 1551. This was to occupy space in the convent of Santo Domingo until 1571 when Viceroy Francisco Toledo authorized its autonomy.[35]

Eleven years later the efforts of the viceroy and the Jesuits were combined to establish a college where philosophy and theology would be taught, and which would complete the range of educational services offered within the Viceroyalty of Peru. In 1582, Viceroy Martín Enríquez, former Viceroy of Mexico, founded the Colegio de San Martín, and placed it in the hands of the Jesuits. Both the establishment of the University of San Marcos and San Martín college came at a time when Lima had already begun to develop its cultural role.[36]

Though I have not delved deeply into the history of the College of San Martín, it appears to have had the characteristics of a Tridentine seminary (like that of San José in Guadalajara) and a Jesuit college (with *convictorio*). The scholarships supported by the Crown in San Martín[37] indicate its Tridentine college status, which is confirmed by the custom of having its students profess the sacred theology "por lo mucho que importa a que los naturales de aquellas provincias la estudien, para que se ocupen en la extirpación de las idolatrías."[38]

It is highly likely that the College of San Martín received an annual rent, like other Tridentine colleges, the product of 3 percent of the benefits established by the Council of Trent, used for the maintenance of the students, for the professorships and salaries of the ministers of San Marcos university in Lima were paid from the royal tithe (*noveno*) of the cathedrals of the cities

of Lima, Trujillo, Cusco, Quito, Charcas, La Paz, Huamanga, and Arequipa.[39]

There is little doubt that the majority of the students paid rent to cover at least the cost of their food while in the College. With such a sound financial basis the College of San Martín was well able to provide for the education of a large number of young men.

Geographical origins of the students of the Colegio de San Martín, Lima

The registration data on admitted students allows us to examine the origins of some 1,200 cases in the sample years 1587–1621. These included 89 settlements in Spain and 75 in America. Once again the majority came from the diocese of Lima, with those from Lima predominant (Figure 7.4). The remainder comprised students from the major cities of the colonies, such as Panamá, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Caracas, Cuzco, La Plata, Quito, and Santiago de Chile, all locations of significant economic activity, wealth and administrative importance (Figure 7.5). A similar set of factors appears to be at work in the case of San Martín, as was found with San José College in Guadalajara. To precisely interpret the nature of each of the contexts from which students came would require, of course, a great deal of research in each and every one of the localities shown on the two maps.

Patterns of student migration

As well as examining the catchment areas of both of the colleges included in this study, it is also possible to use the *matrículas* to monitor the temporal fluctuations in student attendance at each college. The Guadalajara case involved some 1,164 students during 101 years, that of Lima some 1,270 in 34 years. If one excluded those who came from each of the cities in which the colleges were located the figures are 1,028 and 881, respectively. This clearly demonstrates the much greater significance of the Lima college of San Martín, even though one is dealing with two distinctive periods of time. Whereas Guadalajara only achieved a population of more than 24,000 in the 1790s,[40] Lima had exceeded that figure before 1613, according to a census carried out in that year.[41] One should also not forget that the Viceroyalty of Peru enjoyed the apogee of its social prestige in the Americas through until the beginning of the eighteenth century.[42]

Examining in more detail the statistics of the College of San José, one can see that in the period 1699–1730 it received an average of five student pupils (*porcionistas*) per year. From 1731 to 1766 that average rose to ten. To explain the intake of the Mercedarians of the same college is more difficult since their entry numbers depended almost exclusively upon the award of scholarships by the College. The increasing student numbers, on the other

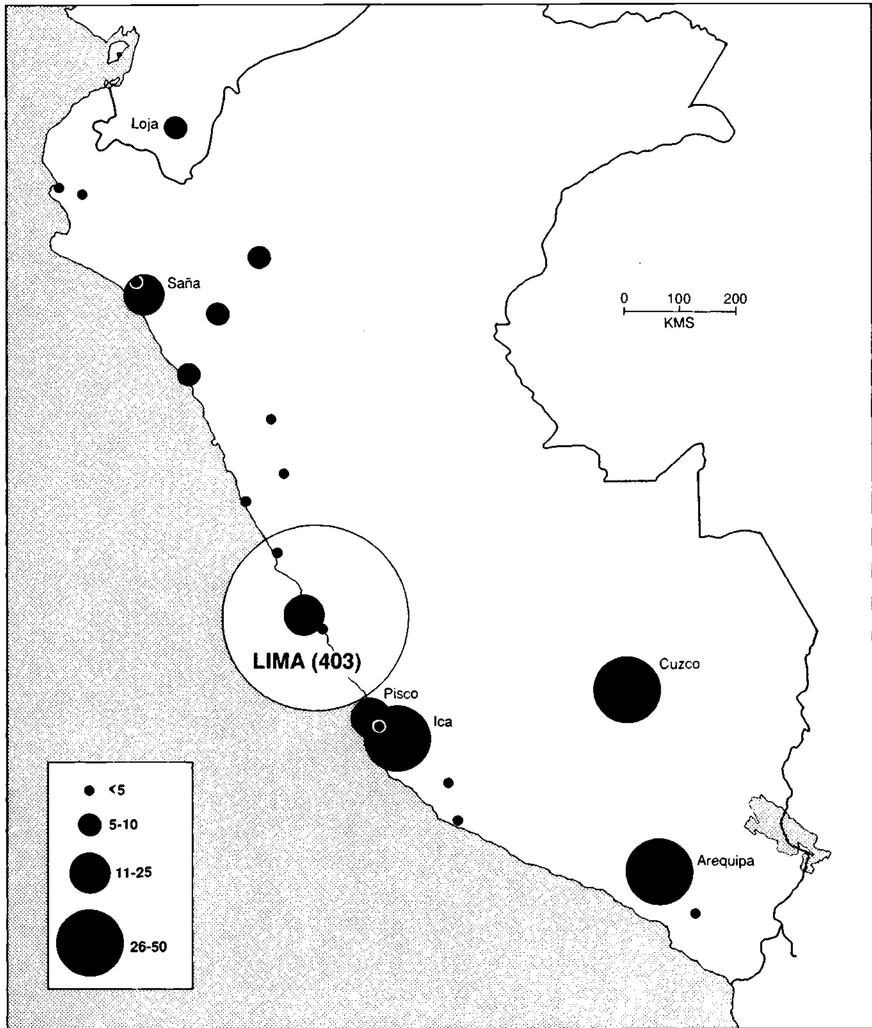

Figure 7.4 Peruvian origins of student migrants to Lima, 1587–1621

hand, can be explained by both the increasing reputation of the College, as well as the overall growth in student demand. In 1767, as a consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits and the closure of the Colegio de Santo Tomás, and the Colegio Seminario de San Juan Bautista, student intake in San José increased significantly. From 1767 to 1779 more than eighteen pupils a year entered the Guadalajara college. After 1780 the years of major agricultural crises and epidemic disease, culminating in the famous "año del hambre" of 1786, had a serious impact on student enrollment; in the year 1785–1786 no

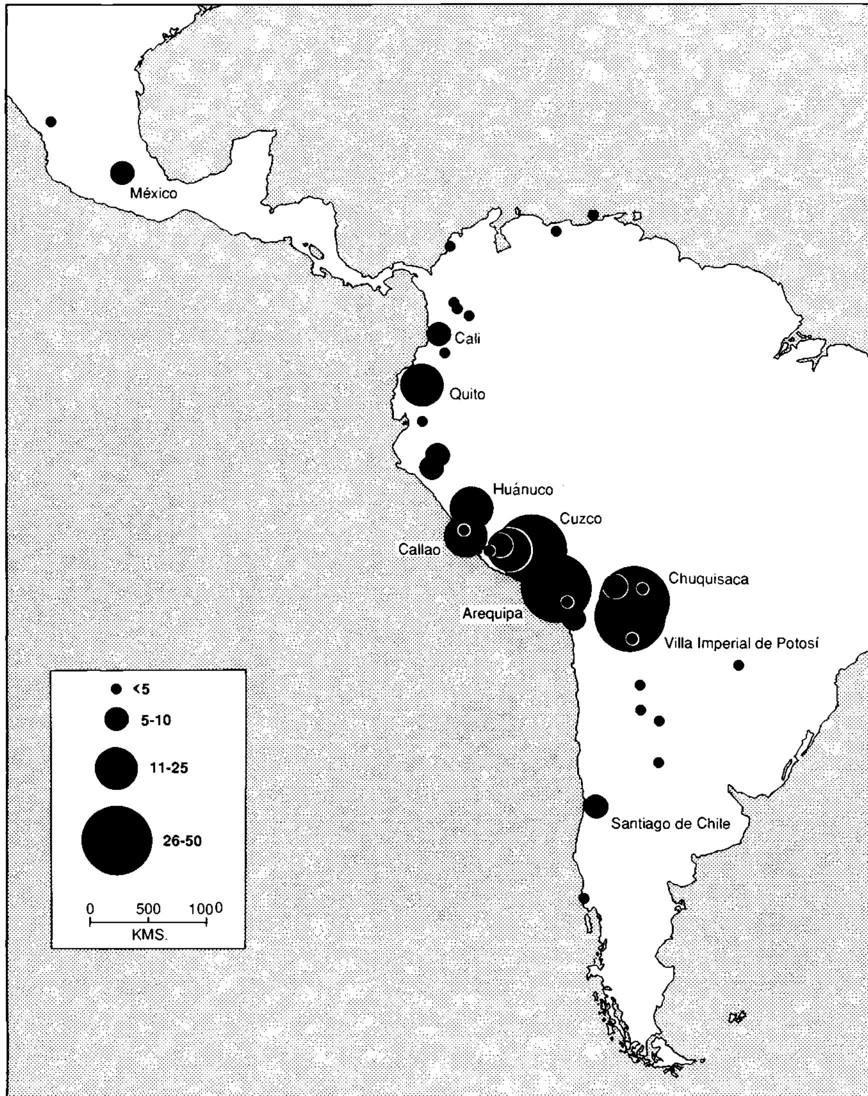

Figure 7.5 American origins of student migrants to Lima, 1587–1621

students entered, so great were the economic and social difficulties of the entire Viceroyalty. After 1788 numbers again picked up, only to fall again after 1792 when the chairs of theology, sacred scriptures, and Mexican language were transferred to the University of Guadalajara. From 1794 inscriptions again picked up, attaining an annual average of 31, since now students were living in San José College and attending classes in the

University. Bishop Juan Cruz Ruíz y Cabañas took note of this situation, ensuring that the Crown provided the necessary courses of study that the College needed to serve its own students. By an edict of November 1801 students were exempted from taking classes in the University of Guadalajara, and all could graduate from either the University of Guadalajara or that of Mexico City.[43]

Entries to the Lima College of San Martín show a steady rise in numbers throughout the period here considered. From 1594 to 1621 an annual average of 42 students was maintained, this figure falling, perhaps due to a series of epidemics, to half that number from 1603–1605. In 1613, taking into account the annual intake of the college, the students accounted for some 2.5 percent of the total numbers of Spaniards residing in Lima at that date.[44] The male population of the College perhaps explains, at least in part, the severe imbalance between the sexes reported for the whole Spanish population of Lima in 1613: 204 males per 10 females. That census also shows that some 71 percent of all migrants living in the city were under the age of 30, a figure which fits well with the College age-structure. Resident pupils (*porcionistas*) in Guadalajara averaged 15 years of age, *mercedarios* 14. The fact that the students of San Martín in Lima averaged 16 years of age is explicable in that Lima taught philosophy and theology, whereas Guadalajara also taught grammar and rhetoric.

Conclusion

It is evident from the above brief analysis of data from two sample colleges of colonial Spanish America, that the migrational patterns of young persons seeking educational opportunities reflected several more general tendencies within the colonial and Spanish world that merit our attention. First, the role of the major city is once more confirmed: both regional Guadalajara, and viceregal Lima drew select migrants from relatively large areas. Their attractions were obvious for all to see or learn about: they had the best educational facilities, they provided the highest level of culture available at their respective scales, and they were the focal points of economic and social development.[45]

As Kagan has demonstrated for the cases of the University of Castile, most students came to places of higher education from within the jurisdictional limits imposed by the law, that is the bishopric or province, yet a few, lacking any alternative, came from even farther afield.[46] Just as he found in Spain that the poor, agricultural areas, the backward periphery that could at best keep pace with inflation, and hope no more than to make ends meet – these were regions with little hope of placing their children in the best colleges of the day, so too that same pattern emerges in Mexico and Peru. The origins of student migrants in each of those areas speak of special circumstances of

economic progress, be it the lucky silver strike, a few abundant harvests, or a series of profitable investments. As Fernand Braudel has said in another context, "todos los bienes materiales e inmateriales arriban a las ciudades por las rutas";[47] in Guadalajara and Lima that included migrant students searching out an education that would allow them access to the few and privileged positions in the elite ranks of the colonial world. Each was a journey worth making.

8

Migration, mobility, and the mining towns of colonial northern Mexico

MICHAEL M. SWANN

Recent works in historical demography have demonstrated that migration and geographical mobility were fundamental components of life in colonial Hispanic American society. Studies using vital registers to trace migration between parishes have revealed a record of mobility that was truly ubiquitous. In New Spain, among the isolated settlements of the periphery and throughout the more established towns and villages of the settled core, people frequently changed residence.[1] In the colonial jurisdictions of Central America, migration was common. Towns were often abandoned as resources and locational advantages played out and movement into and out of the region remained constant.[2] Similar patterns of mobility persisted at all scales throughout the *pueblos* and provinces of South America. Entire native communities were displaced[3] while within the Hispanic cities of the empire, populations fluctuated widely and persistence rates remained low.[4] In no part of the colonies, however, was geographical mobility as pronounced as it was in the mining regions, the centers of exploitation, settlement, and expansion. On the northern periphery of New Spain, where free labor was the rule and where the silver centers competed with each other for workers, migration was especially widespread.

The purpose of this chapter is to uncover some basic patterns and relationships that characterized migration in this northern mining economy. After exploring the ecological basis and economic context for migration in the north, two key issues are examined: (1) the relationships between the patterns of development that mining centers followed and the dimensions of the migration fields that formed around the centers; and (2) the selective nature of migration as displayed in the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of migrants. As will be demonstrated, the ecological and economic characteristics of the mining centers had a profound influence on the size and shape of migration fields and on the composition and characteristics of the migrant populations.

Mobility in a mining economy

Even the most subtle perturbations in local and regional mining economies could set off an explosion of migration and the mining zones themselves made up some of the most active areas of population dispersion, attraction, and repulsion.[5] Placer mining districts were particularly dynamic with populations flowing from one short-lived camp to the next. In contrast, the mines that tapped into silver veins gave rise to more permanent settlements that attracted long-term agricultural and commercial development as well as sizable populations.[6] In both cases, the location and timing of the discoveries were important determinants of the extent of migration that followed.

In frontier areas such as northern New Spain, exploitation of the abundant mineral resources quickly became the region's most important economic attraction and the main focus of migration.[7] As Lockhart has pointed out, it was here in colonial Mexico, along with the trunkline that paralleled the Sierra Madre, that the turnover of people was quickest.[8] Migrant flows to the northern silver centers were channeled along the *camino real* and its branches in a pattern that held up throughout the colonial period.[9] From the sixteenth century on, the barrage of booms and bonanzas kept the north's population constantly in flux[10] while the mining towns continued to pull merchants and laborers from the settled core and the Pacific coast.[11]

The ephemeral nature of each bonanza, especially at the end of the colonial period, promoted mobility. Migration volumes and flows were closely attuned to the progress of pick and shovel while the composition and size of local populations depended greatly on the output and quality of ore. Brading has described a cycle of discovery, abandonment, revival, and decay that most of the Mexican mines followed and, clearly, only a few districts maintained a period of productivity that exceeded several decades.[12] The demographic response to this cycle had many dimensions, but two aspects stood out. First, local population totals obviously rose and fell with the success of nearby mines. Numerous studies have documented the correlation between a district's silver production and its population size.[13] Second, the extent to which a district attracted neighboring as well as distant populations also depended in part on the status of the mines. Migration rates and patterns were closely linked to local economies. Consequently, the labor demands of each center – while conditioned by legal restrictions, technologies, and prices – gave rise to demographic hinterlands that supplied each mining district with a workforce.

These hinterlands overlapped and extended into other mining districts, through densely populated agricultural zones, and across vast and sparsely settled frontiers. They encompassed the cities and villages and the pueblos and *ranchos* left behind by the vagabonds, laborers, and merchants who were pulled to the mining booms. They included places linked to the mines by both

commerce and kinship.[14] In essence, just as each mining town drew its grain and meat supply from a supportive agricultural hinterland, it also attracted a workforce and resident population from a demographic hinterland.

The movement of people to the mining centers of northern Mexico, unlike the shipment of commodities and supplies, was neither controlled nor was it monitored. The use of forced native labor systems in colonial Peru and in early central Mexico allowed at least limited regulation of the flow of labor. In northern New Spain, however, where Indian populations were relatively sparse, free labor was predominant.[15] This condition promoted a certain complexity and fluidity as workers were constantly on the move from one center to the next.[16] Regulations that were passed to restrict travel and to curb vagabondage were virtually unenforced. Mass migration was common and bands of miners were often accompanied by their families. One writer described the situation at the close of the colonial period: "There are particular tribes of natives, who have been miners from generation to generation and who lead a roving life, migrating with their wives and children, from one district to another, as they are attracted by the fame of superior riches."[17] The complexity and unpredictability of migration within the northern mining economy thus grew out of the free labor system that emerged on the frontier.

This generally open system of labor recruitment has led to confusion over the characteristics of migrants in the Mexican north. There is little doubt that the silver mining frontier produced the most diverse colonial society,[18] but the socio-economic and demographic ingredients that went into the local mining societies are difficult to distinguish. Most studies stress the racial diversity of the migrants attracted to the northern mining districts[19] but Brading has argued that the majority of mineworkers were *mulatos* and *mestizos* who were more likely to have local origins.[20] This was perhaps the consequence of the earlier long-distance migration of whites, blacks, and Indians from Central Mexico. Recent research has uncovered a predominance of Spaniards and Indians among the late-colonial migrants and this conflicts with the conventional image of flows made up almost entirely of the lower-class mixed races.[21] In simple terms, the racial composition of the late-colonial northern migration streams is not clear.

Equally vague and undetermined is the precise status and social position held by most of the migrants who participated in the mining economy. The traditional image of the mining town resident was that of a lower-class itinerant with no commitment to place. As Gibson put it: "The rapidly created communities housed a spendthrift, unsettled or lawless class of colonists, a substantial number of whom were always prepared to move to other, and presumably more rewarding, strikes."[22] Indeed, the typical mineowner in colonial Mexico was free and not enslaved,[23] but in addition to escaping oppression, these laborers were comparatively well paid and,

according to Brading, they were the virtual partners of mineowners.[24] In many cases, it was the elite and particularly the merchants who were more likely to follow the pattern of silver strikes[25] for migration normally brought upward social mobility only if a person was already of the right racial background and age necessary for moving up the occupational hierarchy.[26] Still, there can be little doubt that the pull of the silver centers cut across all class lines. Local mining economies were complex and they required a supply of workers drawn from all parts of the occupational spectrum. Whether the pickman and the merchant followed the same migrational pattern, however, is still unknown.

In the remaining sections of this essay, three complementary approaches are followed to resolve some of the confusing findings described above and to deal with the two key issues raised earlier. First, existing knowledge of the historical development of migration associated with mining in the north is synthesized and used to describe the evolution of several broad patterns of mobility. Second, the dimensions of the migration fields surrounding four important mining centers are evaluated and compared with respect to the differing ecological characteristics and economic histories of the centers themselves. Third, the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of those who migrated to these mining districts are examined to determine what types of people were most likely to migrate and how these individuals might have differed from the locally born residents of the towns. Thus, the setting is the most dynamic mining zone of the Hispanic empire during the onset of the Bourbon reforms and the focus is split between the migrants themselves and the patterns they followed in their moves.

Northern mining: the regional context

Running through the core of the colonial province of Nueva Vizcaya was the rich axis of silver deposits that provided wealth for the economy of New Spain. The districts that grew up around the silver mines stretched through the canyons of the Sierra Madre and spread out over the foothills and grasslands that ran to the edge of the Bolsón de Mapimí (Figure 8.1).[27] By the mid-1700s, after two centuries of boom and bust coupled with agricultural expansion and population growth, the mining centers continued to fuel the regional economy. Yet it was an ecologically diverse region that depended on the mines in the late-colonial period.

Two hundred years of settlement had given rise to a network of towns and villages that focused on the major regional centers of Durango, Parral, and Chihuahua. In the late sixteenth century, Durango rose to preeminence as both the key point of embarkation in the north and the center of a densely settled hinterland filled with mining camps, haciendas, and ranchos.[28] In the seventeenth century, the silver booms at Parral lent it an economic import-

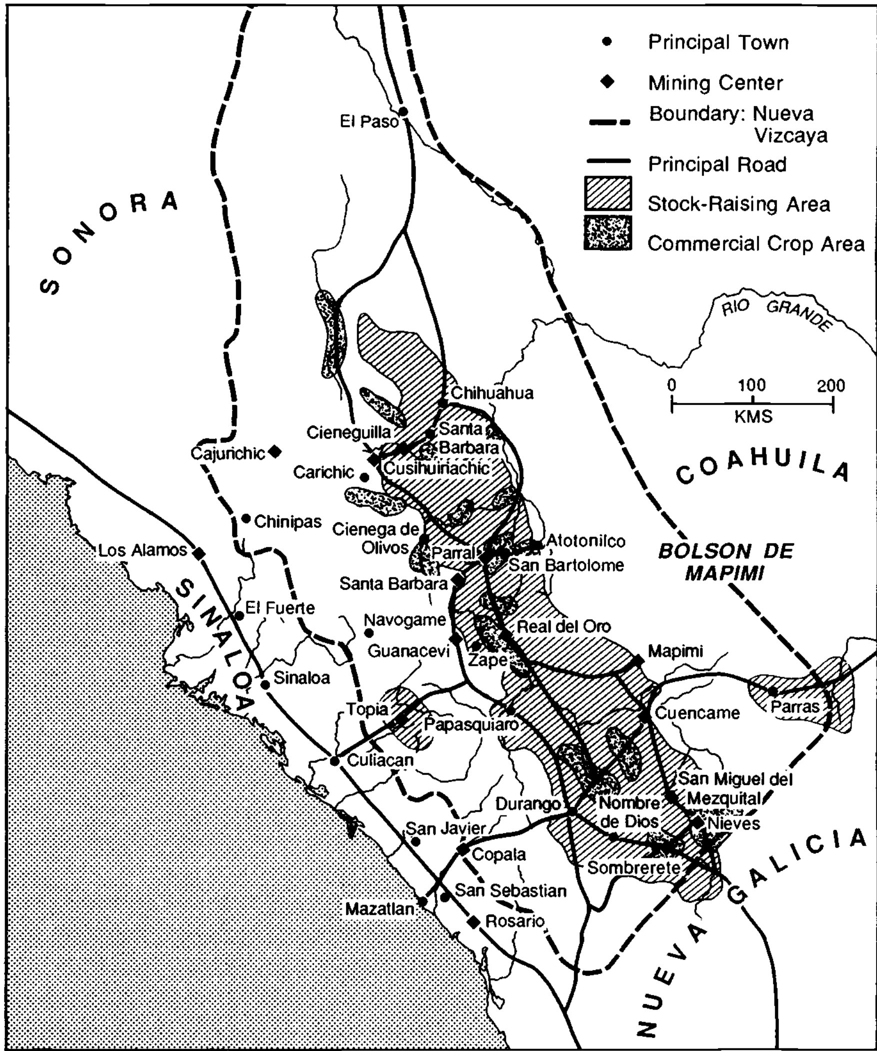

Figure 8.1 Southern Nueva Vizcaya in the mid-eighteenth century

ance that rivaled Durango's position. The ongoing military campaign to end native uprisings in the northern half of the province gave Parral a strategic significance that soon made it the unofficial capital of the region.[29] During the first half of the eighteenth century, mining bonanzas even farther north supported the establishment and rise of Chihuahua.[30] Soon a hinterland of *estancias*, missions, mining *reales*, and *presidios* appeared in the vicinity of this northernmost regional center as the mining-settlement wave ran its

course along the trunkline. By the second half of the century, however, Durango had regained its role as economic and political capital of the region[31] and the hundreds of haciendas, pueblos, and *villas* that covered the landscape fell under its full authority.

Many of the secondary centers that dominated local settlement systems within the region were linked to these principal cities by means of an extensive network of cart roads, mule trails, and footpaths used in the eighteenth century. Most of these rutted, unimproved routes were connected with one of the many branches that together served as the camino real, the main set of highways that ran from Mexico City to El Paso through Durango, Parral, and Chihuahua (Figure 8.1).[32] Trans-Sierran mule trails integrated this transport net with the royal highways of Sinaloa and Sonora allowing movement across the rugged and broken terrain on the province's western margin.[33] Although travel was difficult even on the main branches of the camino real,[34] this rudimentary system of trunkline, branches, and feeders fostered the exchange of commodities and the movement of people.

This same network of roads and trails also linked the mining districts and towns of Nueva Vizcaya with the crop-farming and stock-raising areas of the region (Figure 8.1). Cattle were grazed from the dry grasslands north of Chihuahua into the southern *partidos* where sheep also were raised. Commercial crops were cultivated in the narrow alluvial flood plains and basin floors located in the steppe area east of the Sierra Madre.[35] Many of the *haciendas*, ranchos, and estancias that produced these agricultural goods had extensive holdings and were heavily populated.[36] In the Valle del Maíz north of Durango, along the Río Nazas, and throughout the Valle de San Bartolomé east of Parral, consolidated estates with large central villages were common.[37] In each of these areas, the demands of the mines created sizable and close markets.

Of course, when the mines boomed and the populations of the reales grew so, too, did the production and populations of the dependent ranching and farming settlements.[38] During the second half of the eighteenth century, the greatest demographic increases in Nueva Vizcaya occurred in the southern half of the region.[39] The devastating Apache raids of the late-colonial period were confined mainly to the partidos north of the Río Nazas where they served as a tremendous deterrent to population growth and settlement in the northern half of the province. Only in the largest towns, the most active mining centers, and their nearby agricultural districts did settlers successfully resist the costly and constant depredations which became especially severe in the 1760s and 1770s.[40]

The survival of the mining economy outweighed the threat of Indian hostilities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and it continued to do so into the close of the colonial period. By the mid-eighteenth century, the revival of silver production in New Spain and Nueva Vizcaya was well

underway, and after a drop in production in the 1760s, a 40-year boom followed.[41] Advances in mining technology, administrative reforms, Crown concessions, and increases in capital for investment helped bring about the revival in eight broad mining zones of Nueva Vizcaya.[42]

Three of these zones were situated in the northern half of the province. The northernmost cluster of mines ran from Chihuahua west into the remote canyons of the Sierra Madre (Figure 8.1). Shallow pit mines were started near Chihuahua early in the eighteenth century[43] while more permanent operations were developed to the west at Cusihuiriachic and several other centers. A second concentration of much deeper shafts was found to the south in the Parral district. The boom period here ended in the seventeenth century, and by the mid-eighteenth century, most of the mines in the district were flooded.[44] A third cluster of less important silver mines developed in the late eighteenth century west of Parral and north of Navogame in the Tarahumar area.[45]

Five older mining districts were located in the southern half of the province. Situated just south of the Parral district was the mining center of Guanaceví and the reales and haciendas along the upper Río Nazas. A second cluster was located to the southeast and stretched from Mapimí and Cuencamé southwest to the partido of Durango. Just south of this zone was an even older mining district that included the towns of San Miguel del Mezquital, Nieves, and Sombrerete.[46] A fourth cluster of older mining towns extended from southwestern Nueva Vizcaya into southern Sinaloa and it included the remote and once-productive real of Copala as well as Rosario near the Pacific coast. To the north of these towns was a final group of mines spread throughout the central Sierra Madre. Topia was the most significant of these centers until the late eighteenth century when strikes were made to the south. Each of these districts was located either in the center of or very near a productive agricultural area. Likewise, the supply and distribution system of each mining district made it a tightly integrated component in the regional network of trade and exchange.

Northern mining: the labor supply

The silver deposits of northern Mexico pulled Spaniards and Indians out of the settled core of New Spain in the sixteenth century. In almost all cases, those who came to work in the mines did so voluntarily because free labor developed quickly in the distant silver centers of Nueva Vizcaya. The lack of a docile and densely settled Indian population near the isolated strikes made *repartimiento* and most other forms of forced labor impractical in the north.[47] Although slaves and impressed workers were occasionally used in the reales, the early mining industry, unlike farming, relied heavily on free laborers.[48] Repartimiento was used only when the quality of ores declined, productivity

fell and wages dropped.[49] During other periods of prosperity, *pepeñas* and similar productivity bonuses[50] were used to keep workers from being lured away by the constant news of strikes and bonanzas throughout the region. The generally open system of free labor and competitive bidding resulted in a sporadic, individualistic, and less regulated pattern of labor migrations.[51]

At first, the mining towns drew a large and steady stream of workers from the center of Mexico. In its early boom period, Zacatecas held a large population of Indians that poured into the city from central and southern Mexico.[52] In the early seventeenth century, Tlaxcaltecan and Tarascan Indians were working in the mines of Guanaceví[53] and some of the first laborers in Santa Bárbara were from central Mexico.[54] Slowly, the labor supply shifted to the north as the free labor and high wages that characterized the early strikes around Parral gradually pulled Indian workers from the neighboring frontier provinces.[55] As West has demonstrated in cartographic form, the sources of native labor for the mines in seventeenth-century Parral were spread throughout the North.[56]

The success in attracting different native groups varied. The Tepehuán, who inhabited much of central Nueva Vizcaya at the time of contact, worked in the early seventeenth-century mines at Mapimí[57] but generally avoided the mines of Parral, Santa Bárbara, and elsewhere.[58] In contrast, the Tarahumar worked in many of the northern mining centers. In the 1630s, they labored in the Parral mines both as slaves and as free workers. This pattern continued into the eighteenth century.[59] Other Tarahumar were taken from their settlements in the early 1700s to work on the haciendas, ranchos, and mines near Chihuahua.[60]

Indians from the lands west of the Tarahumar also worked in the mines. The strikes at Parral and at other centers in the mid-seventeenth century attracted many native laborers from Sinaloa and Sonora and it was not uncommon for Indians from the Pacific coast to migrate to the mining districts of Topía, Durango, and Zacatecas.[61] Many of these were Yaquis who came from Jesuit missions in southern Sonora. *Hacendados* and mine-owners throughout Nueva Vizcaya relied on the Yaquis as a source of seasonal labor, particularly after the Rebellion of 1740.[62] During the late eighteenth century, thousands of Yaquis left their pueblos in southern Sonora to work in the mines of the coastal provinces and in Nueva Vizcaya and many Yaquis moved into the Parral-Santa Bárbara area.[63] In 1781, Indian labor in the northern mines was ended by decree,[64] but it continued in practice as the demand for workers grew with the late-colonial silver boom.

From the beginning the migration patterns of Indian laborers in the north were fairly complex. Within the Zacatecas district, for example, workers migrated from one settlement and employer to another and they frequently moved for short periods to other centers outside the district.[65] For those who stayed put, the lines of residential segregation were rigid. In early Zacatecas,

Indian mineworkers settled according to origin in different townships on the periphery of the city.[66] In other mining centers, they settled in barrios and often worked as servants in the larger houses of the mining reales.[67] In general, however, many remained transient and kept their roots in their own villages.

Not all of the displaced Indians and uprooted rural laborers immediately found a permanent livelihood. During the eighteenth century, as the native population of the north increased and as village lands were surrounded by haciendas and cut off from expansion, many Indians were forced to become *vagos*.[68] Numerous reports indicate that the problem of vagabondage existed in the early settlement of the region and in the Urdiñola census of Nueva Vizcaya, executed in 1604, almost one-tenth of the people counted were described as vagabonds.[69] The problem extended to all racial and ethnic groups. West has written of many free mulatos and mestizos who continually drifted into Parral to work or to steal.[70] Although the mixed races made up a large part of the itinerant class, each of the northern towns also had a floating population of Spaniards who drifted from village to village, mainly in the mining districts.[71]

The development of the regional mining economy, together with continued in-migration and natural increases in local populations, fostered vagabondage. As the regional labor supply expanded in the late eighteenth century, the problem worsened. Mineworkers travelled from town to town in large bands and occasionally they were banned from cities where sufficient jobs were not available. Finally, in 1769, regulations were passed that recognized the threat to order that these bands posed. The new rules provided that itinerants could stay in no town longer than twenty-four hours without gainful employment.[72] The Crown also permitted the forcible recruitment of any vagrant or unoccupied mestizo or mulato[73] and other regulations were passed to control this growing problem. For example, all people were required by law to carry authorized passports while traveling away from their communities of residence and violators risked immediate imprisonment.[74] As Jones has described it: "punishment ranged from the death penalty and exile from the community to varying periods in jail, confinement to the stocks, whipping, fines, and loss of property."[75] In theory, travel was governed by official approval; in reality, migration was controlled largely by the demand for labor and the desire for wealth.

One of the key consequences, then, of the constant pull of mining was the continuous migration of people from one northern town to another. From the sixteenth century on, the urban hierarchy of the north remained unsettled as early town dwellers would accumulate allotments in one new city, then sell them in order to seek a fortune elsewhere.[76] The growth of each mining real often came at the expense of another silver center or dozens of pueblos and villages.

The demographic instability associated with the mining economy runs through the history of the colonial period in the north. Beginning with the rush to Zacatecas in the sixteenth century, there was a steady stream of workers and vagrants along the trunkline. Powell describes the impact of the first push to Zacatecas: "Some indication of the size of this northward rush can be gained by the many complaints from Guadalajara that the earlier settlements of Nueva Galicia were being almost completely depopulated – so much so that the government officials there had little work to do and were considered to be almost superfluous."[77] The pattern was repeated in the seventeenth century after the strikes were made at Parral. The new and booming outpost soon became the commercial center of the north and the scale of migration increased. The *corregidor* of Zacatecas used many tactics in order to stem the departure of his citizens.[78] Early in the eighteenth century, as the mines of the Bajío once again became productive, workers poured in from central Mexico[79] and, simultaneously, the opening of the Chihuahua mines even farther to the north pulled people from southern Nueva Vizcaya, northward along the trunkline.[80] At the end of the colonial period, the silver deposits of the Sierra Madre remained as powerful a magnet for population as they were in the 1500s.

Some documentary sources and a geographical sample

Despite the contention that comprehensive documentary evidence of migration was not produced until the nineteenth century, there are indirect but accurate sources for determining the direction, volume, and flows of migration in the late-colonial Mexican north.[81] There was no systematic registration of each person's change of residence as it occurred[82] but in the late eighteenth century detailed and thorough censuses were executed routinely[83] and parish registers were used to record baptisms, marriages, and deaths in even the smallest and most remote community.[84] Nativity and place of residence were important pieces of information in the demographic records compiled during this period of "protostatistical" reporting.[85]

A broad variety of population records compiled in the colonial north survive in the archives and repositories of Spain, Mexico, and the southwestern United States, and of these many documents, the *padrones* of the late eighteenth century present some of the most comprehensive information on individuals.[86] These materials have been reviewed and described elsewhere[87] and it is clear that the Bourbon censuses of the 1770s and 1780s, executed in each locale according to a predetermined format and rigid set of instructions, provide a valuable picture or cross-section of the region's population at an important point prior to Independence.

The bulk of these local manuscript returns remained together after shipment to Spain[88] and a careful survey of these census sheets shows that in

only a handful of jurisdictions in the north did the majority of the adult population or a large subset of the population report information on origin or place of birth. The censuses of most northern jurisdictions contain this type of data for only a small portion of the population, usually the Spaniards. Fortunately, a number of the jurisdictions that did report origin data for the adult population were important mining centers in the late-colonial period. The censuses provide the critical details needed to identify and characterize the non-native population of four principal mining reales.

These four mining districts were located in the central and northern part of Nueva Vizcaya and include the jurisdictions of Cajurichic, Cusihuiriáchic (Cosiguriachi), Parral, and Guanaceví (Figure 8.1). Within each of these districts, census-takers distinguished between settlements so that separate counts, for example, were obtained for the principal mining center of Cajurichic and for the subordinate Real de Santa Rosa de Uruachi within the same jurisdiction (Table 8.1). Moreover, within settlements, enumerators often recognized subgroups so that within the Real de Cajurichic, a separate settlement of Yaquis and two other pueblos of Indians were labeled as such within the manuscript census. Occasionally, less information was provided for these separate groups than was recorded for the principal or non-Indian population of the jurisdiction. Information on origins and birthplaces, for example, was recorded for all or most of the household heads in the mining reales of Cajurichic and Uruachi, but not for the heads in the Indian pueblos of the jurisdiction. In the jurisdiction of Cusihuiriáchic, those same data were not recorded for the household heads in six ranchos that were adjacent to the real. In the districts of Parral and Guanaceví, there appeared to be no sub-settlements from which nativity data were excluded from the census. The reports from the four districts provide information on nativity and other characteristics for over 1,500 household heads.

Reconstructing migration fields and patterns: some considerations and methods

The use of nativity data to reconstruct the migration field surrounding each late-colonial community is a difficult task riddled with various problems. The most fundamental of these is the problem of inference. In most cases, it was likely that a person's birthplace was not the last place of residence before enumeration in the census. In other words, origins and census listings together said little about a person's complete migration history. Multiple and return movements were not described, and the timing and frequency of moves were ignored.[89] Nativity data can certainly be used to determine an origin field, but they can describe a migration field with complete accuracy only if each person moved directly from his birthplace to his town of residence and never moved again. Consequently, for some people the

Table 8.1 *Individual jurisdictions providing census information on population origins*

District enumerated	Source	Date	Origin data recorded for all or parts of . . . [ ] = No. households	No. house-holds	Origin data completely absent in records . . . [ ] = No. households	No. house-holds
Real y Minas del Río de Cajurichic	A	1778	Real de Cajurichic (*vecinos*) [131]; Real de Santa Rosa de Uruachi [50]	181	Real de Cajurichic (Yaqui mineworkers) [50]; two pueblos (*Indios naturales*) [129]	179
Real de Santa Rosa de Cosiguriáchic	A	1778	Real de Santa Rosa de Cosiguriáchic [270]	270	Six ranchos [42]	42
Real de Minas de San José de Parral	B	1788	Real de Parral [392]; three *barrios* [230]; nearby residences [107]; Yaqui pueblo [36]; haciendas and ranchos [100]	865	—	—
Real de Guanaceví	A	1778	Real de Guanaceví [147]; two *puestos* [48]; one rancho [3]	198	—	—

Sources: A. Archivo General de Indias. Indiferente General, 102. Padrones, Obispado de Durango.
B. Archivo Municipal de Parral. Microfilm Roll 1788A, frames 91B–167B. Padrón del Vezindario . . . del Parral.

described trip from birthplace to enumerated residence was a complete and accurate history of their migration; for others who made multiple moves, such a description was incomplete and somewhat misleading. In the absence of other comprehensive records of origin and residence, this basic dilemma has been acknowledged and reluctantly accepted by those who wish to make broad synchronic comparisons of migration streams.

Other problems are less restrictive and have to do more with the interpretation of nativity data. There are many terms, for example, that were used to describe origin status and their usage varied. It is generally agreed that *originarios* were locally born persons;[90] *residentes* were long-term and recent residents who were not locally born;[91] and *naborías* were Indians who severed their ties with their native communities and resettled in Spanish towns.[92] *Forasteros* have been described both as resident Indians who were not locally born[93] and, in the late-colonial period, as non-Indians who lived in Indian towns.[94] The term "natural de," normally used to indicate one's place of birth, referred to an Indian's pueblo or *encomienda* of tribute in some places.[95] In the late-colonial censuses of the north, there was uniform usage of this expression to indicate nativity.

Many of the difficulties in reconstructing migration fields have to do with the distribution, reliability, and compilation of information on origins. Nativity data such as these often appear in seemingly random fashion within a census.[96] Occasionally, they may be recorded primarily for Spaniards. Excessively incomplete nativity information was excluded from this analysis. The reliability of nativity data has been questioned by several writers. Chance maintained that such information in the 1792 census of Antequera was inaccurate.[97] Brading found the errors associated with birthplace reporting to be minimal in the Bourbon censuses of Guanajuato.[98] Others have demonstrated that strict rules governed the collection of this type of information, a point that strengthens the belief in the reliability of the data.[99] Robinson has raised a more practical problem – the huge amounts of time required to extract nativity data from the records and the effort that must go into locating obscure and minor place names.[100] None of these problems can be ignored and all can be resolved. The many studies that have used origin information to describe the sources of urbanization in late-colonial New Spain bear witness to this fact.

Most of these works are concerned with the origin pattern or migration field of a town's residents only in the most general sense.[101] Some studies, however, have attempted to describe the geographical configuration of birthplaces with the hope that it can reveal patterns of urbanization, regional development, and population change.[102] Still others have constructed maps of resident and migrant origins to identify concentrations, clusters, bias, and change in the roots of a local population.[103] Verbal and numeric descriptions of sizes, shapes, and orientations of these colonial migration fields have been

made[104] and characterizations often refer to temporal differences (dynamic or stable fields) or spatial distinctions (localized or extended fields).[105]

The reconstruction and evaluation of these fields involves a number of considerations apart from those associated with the ambiguity of the data. Compilation of this type of information, as Robinson has observed, can be a tedious, difficult, and puzzling task.[106] Others have written about the problems in extracting, tabulating, and analyzing eighteenth-century census data[107] and with geographical information such as nativity data, the difficulties are compounded by the lack of established, comparative methods of classifying origins[108] and the dynamic nature of settlements and boundaries in the late-colonial period.[109]

The procedures followed here were simple and involved several steps. First, information on eight different variables describing each of the 1,514 household heads residing in the four jurisdictions was copied from the manuscript census sheets.[110] Second, these data were recorded and reformed into computerized files using a standard relational database manager.[111] Third, conventional classification systems were applied to appropriate variables and other variables such as occupation were subdivided and grouped according to methods that fit the historical and economic context.[112] Five different categories, for example, were used for classifying origins. Fourth, origins and destinations were located on base maps and straight-line distances were measured and recorded. Fifth, this distance figure plus a series of other derived variables were created and appended to each household head's record. Sixth, socio-economic and demographic information on household heads was cross-tabulated with distance figures and other data to explore possible associations between origins and migrant characteristics. Finally, the relational capabilities of the database manager were used to generate composite or typical profiles of migrants and to select representative individuals from the census records.

Before examining the characteristics of the migrants in the mining centers, it is important to consider the geographical distribution of their origins. Again, conventional descriptions suggest that the colonial mining centers attracted large mixed populations from great distances, and that strikes pulled in waves of migrants who left as the mines played out. The following mapped origin patterns provide a glimpse of part of the migration field for each center and permit comparisons of the different characteristics that defined the fields.[113]

Migration fields in the northern mining economy

These same four mining centers displayed a tremendous variety in their socio-demographic, economic, and ecological characteristics. Their different patterns of development undoubtedly contributed to these variations. At the

time that the censuses were executed, Cajurichic was engaged in a slight boom, Cusihuiriáchic awaited the largest strikes in its colonial history, Parral was moving from a recent mining revival to a period of commercial growth, and Guanaceví was replacing its dying mining economy with a less mercurial and more reliable base of farming. These developmental differences had a direct bearing on the migration fields that formed around each mining center.

Cajurichic

Cajurichic, the most isolated of the four mining districts, was situated in the remote western reaches of the larger partido of Cusihuiriáchic. The main settlement of Cajurichic was established in 1688 and, in 1689, a mission to the Tarahumar was founded.[114] Indian revolts prompted the abandonment of the town and fours years after its founding, the mission of Cajurichic was relegated to the status of visita. Strikes were made in the area in the 1730s and, in 1736, mining centers were established at Uruachi and Cajurichic and a large church was built to serve the nearby populations. The mines continued in operation into the late eighteenth century.[115]

In the early 1760s, Bishop Tamarón visited Cajurichic and counted a total of 78 families and 344 people.[116] By 1778, the district had more than doubled in size to 707 people (Table 8.2), over three-quarters of whom lived in the real of Cajurichic. Almost all (97.7 percent) of the household heads settled in the two reales were male, their average age was relatively young (38.9 years), and they headed small households (Table 8.3). In comparison with the other mining districts, the population at Cajurichic showed a greater proportion of Indians and single household heads (Figure 8.2). In short, it fit the conventional image of a booming mining society with many young, single men living without families.

Although only about one-fifth (19.8 percent) of the household heads reported mining occupations, if those whose occupation was unknown are removed from the calculation, the mining sector of the employment structure rises to 46.1 percent. Similarly, almost one-half (48.0 percent) of the heads did not report a birthplace, but almost all of those who did provide this information listed a specific place in Mexico (Table 8.3). In general, Cajurichic was a remote but booming young, mixed-race mining district with few *peninsulares* and many migrants. Unlike the household heads in other districts, Cajurichic's heads travelled extraordinary distances to reach this isolated silver center.

As a result, it had a fairly well-extended migration field that drew lightly along the central trunkline and to the west along the Pacific side of the Sierra Madre (Figure 8.3). Heavier concentrations of migrants to Cajurichic came from the played-out mining districts to the east. Just over one-half of the

Table 8.2 *Basic ecological and economic characteristics of jurisdictions*

Characteristics	Cajurichic	Cusihuiriáchic	Parral	Guanaceví
Approximate date of settlement	1699	1673	1631	1604
Population				
Census total	1,707	1,194	4,933	1,003
Change in previous decade	+105.0%	−12.0%	−31.0%	+25.0%
General density	low	high	high	medium
Settlements				
Types	1 large real 1 small real 2 pueblos	1 large real 6 small ranchos	1 large real adjacent barrios 1 large pueblo ranchos; haciendas	1 large real 2 puestos 1 rancho
Relative location	remote	secondary links to Parral, Chihuahua	on royal highway	on branch of royal highway
Economy				
Occupational structure[a]				
Mining	19.8%	25.9%	31.3%	34.8%
Farming	3.9%	2.2%	8.4%	15.7%
Local economic activity	mining centers established at Cajurichic and Uruachic in 1730s; still operating 1770s	mines declined 1760s and more revived in 1780s; agricultural areas surrounded the real	slight mining boom in 1770s; gradual shift to commerce and trade in the 1780s	most mines played out by 1770s; local agriculture remained productive

Note: [a]Expressed as a percentage of the occupations reported for household heads

Table 8.3 *Basic characteristics of household heads*

Characteristics	Cajurichic		Cusihuiriáchic		Parral		Guanaceví	
Sample Size	181		270		865		198	
Demographic characteristics								
Percent male	97.7%		70.0%		77.5%		86.4%	
Average age	38.9		42.6		42.7		40.9	
Average household size	3.23		4.42		5.70		5.07	
Origin characteristics	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Unknown origin	87	48.0	58	21.5	122	14.1	11	5.6
Local origin	0	0.0	99	36.7	392	45.3	68	34.3
Spain	3	1.7	5	1.9	21	2.4	5	2.5
Non-specific Mexican origin	5	2.8	6	2.2	2	0.2	0	0.0
Specific Mexican origin	86	47.5	102	37.7	328	38.0	114	57.6
Average migration distance (kilometers)	336.0		241.4		202.6		246.3	

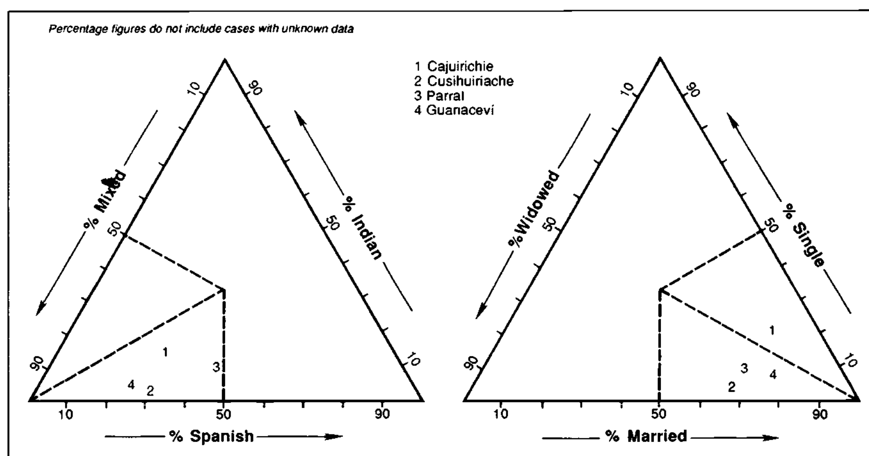

Figure 8.2 Racial composition and civil status patterns of household heads

migrants (51.2 percent) came from only eight of the 40 places that served as origin and over one-quarter (26.2 percent) were natives of Chihuahua or Cusihuiriáchic. In relation to the other centers, Cajurichic's pattern was made up of an intermediate number of places, its migrants were well-diffused throughout this set of origins, and their high average migration distance reflected this extensive, diffuse distribution.

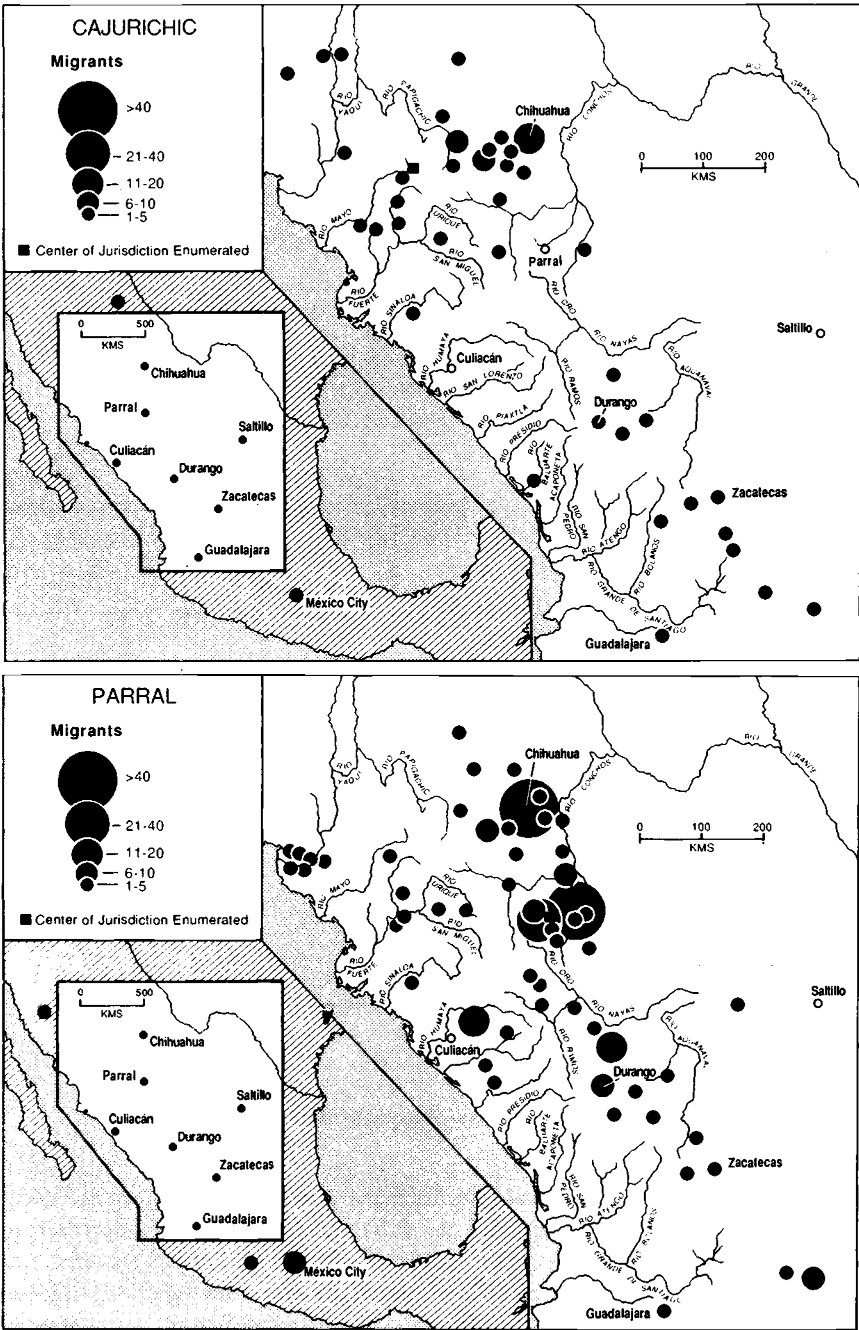

Figure 8.3a Migration fields of mining jurisdictions: Parral and Cajurichic

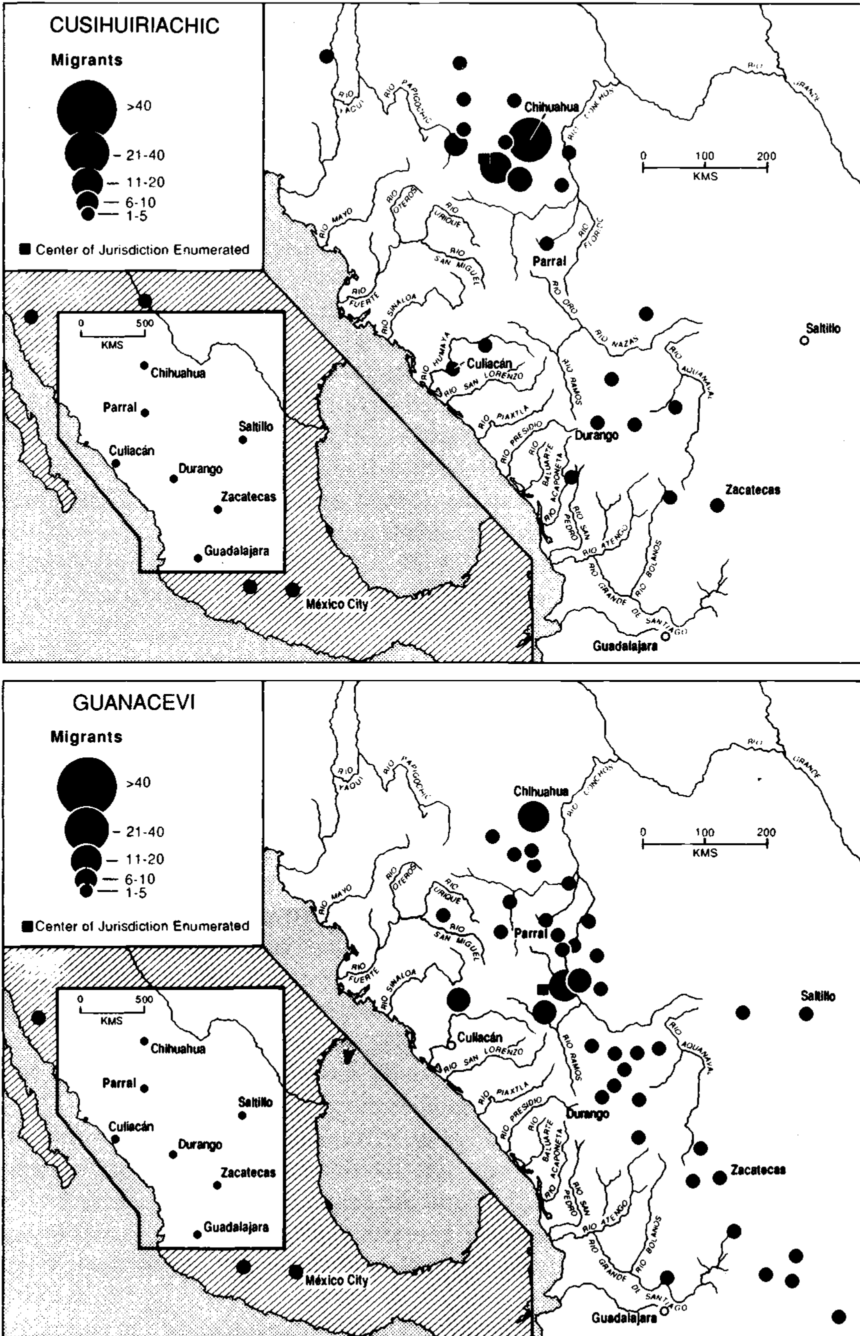

Figure 8.3b Migration fields of mining jurisdictions: Guanaceví and Cusihuiriáchic

Cusihuiriáchic

Approximately half-way between Cajurichic and the northern center of Chihuahua was the mining district of Cusihuiriáchic (Figure 8.1). The principal real of Santa Rosa straddled the Río Cusihuiriáchic as it passed along the northeastern base of the mountain that bore the same name. Cusihuiriáchic was closer to Parral and Chihuahua and its proximity to the trunkline gave it a slightly richer history than Cajurichic's.

The first two decades of settlement were slow and unremarkable for a mining district. Minor silver deposits were discovered in the area in the 1660s, and during the 1670s Spaniards staked out a small mining camp and recruited nearby Indian laborers for the Parral mines. The Jesuits established a mission in 1673 near the densely settled Tarahumara *ranchería* of Cusihuiriáchic[117] and in the 1680s, the large silver strikes were made. A mining rush followed several big discoveries in the mid-1680s,[118] and in 1687 the bonanza was struck.[119] Cusihuiriáchic was the deepest penetration of the Tarahumar country at that time, but the mines failed to match the productivity of the Chihuahua and Parral operations.[120] Still, the real became the administrative center of a large partido.[121] In the 1690s, the local Spanish population began to grow.[122]

The local boom leveled off as the silver strikes were made at Chihuahua in the early eighteenth century. Although Cusihuiriáchic was an administrative seat, a parish center, and the largest non-Indian settlement in the area with some 150 *vecinos*, it lost jurisdiction over the rich mines to its east in 1708.[123] By the 1740s, the mining real had grown only slightly to approximately 200 vecinos and 800 people, many of whom were Tarahumar taken from their villages to work the local mines and ovens.[124] When Bishop Tamarón visited the real in 1760 he found 177 families and over 1,300 *gente de razón*,[125] but the pattern of slow growth was changing. Nicolás de Lafora, who stopped in Cusihuiriáchic in 1766, wrote of mines in decay being worked by Indians with little productivity while Apache incursions in the area were forcing the abandonment of nearby ranchos and settlements. Lafora counted only about 100 families,[126] a figure that included the Tarahumar mineworkers who, according to one source, "were eventually absorbed into a heterogeneous frontier population of many races and ethnic groups."[127]

During the 1770s and just prior to an extraordinary local mining revival, agricultural production picked up. The Tarahumar who lived near the real used irrigation to produce crops,[128] and the Franciscan *relación* sent from the district in 1777 described abundant harvests of wheat and an overwhelming variety of fruits and other orchard products.[129] Farming flourished while the mining economy languished.

At the same time, Cusihuiriáchic's population was nearing the end of its decline and quickly approaching a major upswing in the 1780s.[130] According

to the 1778 census, the 1,194 people in the real represented a decline of 12.0 percent over the previous decade (Table 8.2), a pattern that contrasted sharply with that of Cajurichic. The characteristics of the household heads in Cusihuiriáchic also differed from those of Cajurichic. In Cusihuiriáchic, this part of the population was older (42.6) and had more females (Table 8.3). There were fewer single heads in Cusihuiriáchic and more widows and the mixed races were more dominant (Figure 8.2). Also, average household sizes were larger in Cusihuiriáchic. Although the lack of complete data in Cajurichic makes it difficult to draw comparisons between origin patterns, it appears that a smaller proportion of the household heads in Cusihuiriáchic were migrants (Table 8.3). Those who were born elsewhere traveled much shorter distances to this less remote district.

The result was a migration field much more clustered than that of Cajurichic and focused on the northern end of the trunkline (Figure 8.3). Cusihuiriáchic's proximity to the main axis of settlement in the region allowed it to draw heavily from nearby mining reales and farming areas as well as from a few settled locations in southern Nueva Vizcaya and Sinaloa. Slightly more than one-quarter of the migrants were from Chihuahua while many other household heads were born just beyond the Cusihuiriáchic boundaries. In comparison with the other mining centers, Cusihuiriáchic had a low number of origins spread moderately throughout the region, but the relatively high concentration of migrants in the closer origins produced an intermediate average migration distance. It was a sparse and semi-concentrated distribution.

Parral

Unlike the distant mining centers of Tarahumara Alta, the district of Parral enjoyed a central location in the middle of Nueva Vizcaya along the camino real. Situated on the Río San Gregorio at the edge of the Sierra Madre, the real was bordered by foothills covered by scrub oak to the northwest and lower foothills and plains to the northeast and east where mesquite and bunch grasses supported grazing. At the time of Hispanic contact, the area was shared by the Tepehuan, Conchos, and others, but the lands were quickly grabbed in the 1560s for grazing and wheat cultivation to support the mining centers at Santa Bárbara and nearby. By 1604, a handful of Spanish vecinos was scattered throughout the farms and mining centers of the area.[131]

In 1631, silver ores were discovered at the site of Parral and a sudden, huge rush of people poured into the real from Todos Santos and other nearby mines, from Zacatecas, and from central Mexico.[132] Between 1632 and 1655, the total number of vecinos climbed from 300 to 1,000[133] and by the end of the decade, the governor of the province had moved his offices and residence to Parral.[134] The 1640s witnessed a quick downturn in productivity as the

boom subsided and the vecino population dropped to 250.[135] Economic stagnation slowly set in and by the 1690s the pull of strikes to the west left Parral almost deserted.

The decline continued into the first half of the eighteenth century and by the 1720s there were very few settlers left at Parral. In 1739, the capital was moved from Parral and three years later the population of the entire district was estimated at 3,000.[136] Most of the mines were flooded or played out by the 1750s but a surge in investment capital brought new life to the real in the second half of the century.[137]

Despite the fact that the majority of the district's mines were back in operation by 1772, there was a more important shift from a local economy thoroughly dominated by extractive industry to one based more on service and commerce. In 1768, three-quarters of the workers in the district were associated with mining. The boom of the early 1770s was short-lived but the town and district survived. By 1778 only about one-half of the local workers were in mining.[138]

The demographic size and structure of the district paralleled this economic shift. Bishop Tamarón counted 2,683 people in the partido of Parral in 1765.[139] Three years later, as the mines re-opened, the total climbed to 7,481.[140] It remained near this level during the 1770s and then dropped to just under 5,000 in 1788 (Table 8.2). During these years, significant redistribution of population also accompanied the rise and decline of mining. Between 1768 and 1777, a large number of Indian mineworkers settled in the pueblos of the district. Other Spaniards and mulatos poured into the township as Apache raids on the periphery increased. By the 1780s, however, out-migration was taking place and a distant rural zone of mestizo settlement was developing within the partido.[141] By 1788, the Parral mining district had a full array of pueblos, ranchos, *barrios*, and haciendas that surrounded the main real.

Characteristics of the district's household heads recorded in the 1788 census further reflect the gradual growth of a post-boom commercial economy. Just twenty years after the mining revival started, only about one-third of the heads were employed in the mining industry (Table 8.2). The Parral population was similar to that of Cusihuiriáchic in its relatively low percentage of males (77.5 percent) and greater average age (42.7) (Table 8.3). The average household size also was significantly larger in Parral (5.7 persons) and this was undoubtedly associated with the higher degree of urbanization and the larger Spanish population found at this mining center. In comparison with the other districts, Parral had a relatively high proportion of Spaniards balanced by a lower mixed-race component and an average proportion of married and single heads with a slightly higher percentage of widows (Figure 8.2). A large percentage of these people were born in Parral, again reflecting the real's long history of settlement and the out-migration of non-native miners as the short-lived boom of the 1770s came to an end.

Those who did migrate to Parral and who stayed there came from a densely settled hinterland that was crowded around the trunkline. These people traveled, on average, shorter distances than did the migrants found in other mining jurisdictions (Table 8.3).

Parral's highly clustered migration field displayed a scattering of origins along the trunkline, particularly in the Chihuahua-Parral area, and a concentration of origins in the Yaqui areas of southern Sonora and Sinaloa (Figure 8.3). Essentially, the pattern extended throughout the older mining areas of Nueva Vizcaya and into nearby agricultural districts. Over one-half (51.2 percent) of the district's migrants came from only four of the 64 origins. The nearby jurisdictions of San Bartolomé, Santa Bárbara, and Chihuahua were the principal sources of migrants to Parral and also the focus of severe Indian depredations in the decades preceding the 1780s. In relation to the migration fields of the other mining districts, Parral's pattern was complex, clustered, and concentrated along the trunkline.

Guanaceví

To the southwest of Parral, in the rugged heart of the Sierra Madre, the mining district of Guanaceví was situated on the western branch of the camino real (Figure 8.1). Here, in a land where stands of forest alternated with open valleys, the Spaniards made contact with the Tepehuan in the 1590s. Silver drew the colonizers into the area and during the last decade of the sixteenth century, mining camps occupied by Spaniards, Negro slaves, and Indians from central Mexico dotted the landscape.[142] By 1601, Guanaceví had its own *alcalde mayor* and three years later the Jesuits established a mission for the many Tepehuan in the area.[143] When Mota y Escobar visited the mining district in 1605, he found a pueblo populated by 51 Spanish vecinos with a number of declining mines and haciendas nearby. Silver production fell off in the first decade of the seventeenth century because of the labor shortages that developed as the Tepehuan refused to work in the mines.[144]

In 1616, the Tepehuan rose up against the Spaniards. After Guanaceví was destroyed, the local mining economy collapsed. The rebellion was brief, and after a presidio was established at Guanaceví, the nearby farms and ranches were reoccupied. The strikes at Parral in the 1630s slowed the revival, and by the 1640s the Guanaceví mining district was composed of only four mining haciendas with a scattering of cattle ranchos and grain farms and about sixty families of Spaniards.[145]

Stability followed until the early eighteenth century when a second boom took place. A number of strikes were made at Guanaceví in the 1690s and the revival lasted for some time.[146] In 1742, the *real de minas* of Guanaceví had a total population of 800,[147] but by the middle of the eighteenth century, the

local economy once again lapsed into decline. After the Jesuit mission at the nearby pueblo of Zape was secularized in 1753, Guanaceví lost its resident priest and its ecclesiastical status dropped from independent parish to *visita* of Zape.[148] When the Bishop of Durango visited Guanaceví in the early 1760s, he found the mines played out and 109 families with a total non-Indian population of 805.[149] By 1778, the number had increased by about one-quarter to 1,003 (Table 8.2).

Unlike the more densely settled mining districts of Parral and Cusihuiriáchic, Guanaceví was establishing a stronger agricultural base as the mining booms became less spectacular and shorter in duration. The occupational structure of the district's household heads still showed a relatively strong concentration (34.8 percent) in mining, but this figure appeared to be higher than other districts because of the low number of unknown occupations. More important than this, however, was the proportion of agricultural workers (15.7 percent) in the group (Table 8.2). Whereas the more urbanized Parral turned from mining boom to a commercial/service economy, the largely rural district of Guanaceví witnessed the rise of farming in the wake of silver mining.

Other socio-demographic characteristics were linked to this trend. While the percentage of male household heads was fairly high (86.4 percent), the average age was somewhat lower than other reales (40.9), perhaps typical of a rural area with played-out mines. Guanaceví had the lowest percentage of Spanish household heads, the highest percentage of mixed-race heads, and the highest proportion of married people in its population (Figure 8.2). The district's average household size also was comparatively high (Table 8.3). It appeared that a mixed-race population dominated by larger families was on the rise in this rural partido.

The origins of most of Guanaceví's household heads existed outside the jurisdiction. This population registered the highest percentage of migrants from specific origins in Mexico (57.6 percent) and, on average, these people came from fairly distant locations to Guanaceví (Table 8.3). The district's somewhat isolated location and sparsely populated surroundings probably contributed to a higher average migration distance.

Guanaceví's semi-remote location also contributed to the strong similarities that existed between its migration field and Cajurichic's. Its pattern of origins was fairly well-spread along the trunkline, drawing mainly from the Chihuahua-Durango portion of the settlement axis. Although there were no extraordinary concentrations or clusters in the Guanaceví migration field, it is clear that the largest flows came from the mining centers of Chihuahua and Real del Oro, which together supplied 21.0 percent of the Guanaceví migrants. The somewhat higher average migration distance and number of migrants together with a low degree of clustering gave Guanaceví a geographically extensive set of origins and a diffused set of migrants.

Despite the similarity in economic orientation that gave these jurisdictions a strong common bond, there were substantial differences from place to place that resulted from local patterns of development and that conditioned the potential for growth. The locations of the four districts differed considerably, giving each a distinct resource base and setting as well as a unique position within the regional transportation network. The geographical and demographic sizes of the jurisdictions also showed some variety; Parral had a population that far outnumbered the more distant centers. Each of the mining districts had also gone through a slightly different cycle of development and decline with Cajurichic showing a considerably shorter life-span than Guanaceví and Parral. In essence, the four mining districts displayed some sharp differences in demographic and social composition, ecology, and economy. These variations in part accounted for subtle distinctions in the migration patterns that contributed to the growth of the partidos.

A simple scanning of the patterns suggests that the trunkline effect was greatest for Guanaceví, the oldest and least active of the mining districts. Parral also drew heavily from the main axis of settlement and movement. Cajurichic and Cusihuiriáchic, both situated in the more remote reaches of Tarahumara Alta, relied on more localized clusters of migrant origins. The mining districts clearly drew on other mining centers for their demographic growth. The Chihuahua district, beset by Apache raids and struggling with played-out mines, was the key source of migrants for all of the jurisdictions. In short, mobility within the mining economy appeared to furnish strong links and well-travelled paths between the different centers.

Age-distance interactions

Embedded within the synchronic patterns portrayed in the maps are many different diachronic processes. The migration fields that surrounded these districts were at least as unstable as the local economies and they followed patterns of contraction and expansion as some migrant streams were diverted and others turned into floods at the news of strikes. Such fluctuations or changes are normally measured with longitudinal sources such as vital registers or with a series of latitudinal surveys that permit temporal comparisons. In the absence of a comprehensive set of ongoing records of nativity[150] and with only one standard set of censuses representing the four mining districts, it is necessary to turn to cross-tabulations of migrant age and distance to obtain a surrogate measure or crude index of change.

Comparisons of average migration distances calculated for different age groups provide a very rough suggestion of possible changes in the dimensions of migration fields. The problems in basing speculations on such a measure, however, are significant and numerous. Direct comparison of average migration distances for age groups assumes a constant age-at-migration, a

constant age-at-death, the lack of selectivity in mortality according to origin, and the lack of selectivity in out-migration according to origin. Of course, these conditions of uniformity did not exist, but without better comparative evidence, there is no other means of looking at the possible dynamics of the migration fields. Consequently, such comparisons are at best tentative speculations.

The age-specific average distance figures indicate unstable migration fields. If the four jurisdictions are combined and the aggregate pattern is examined, an interesting trend appears. The largest migration fields were found among the middle-aged and older household heads. Average migration distances showed a tremendous disparity declining from 314.2 kilometers for the oldest group to 255.0 kilometers for the 30–49 age group and dropping to 155.5 kilometers for the household heads under 30. This last figure made up less than one-half (49.5 percent) of the average distance traveled by the older migrants. The tentative implication is that mining centers supported very extensive migration fields earlier in the eighteenth century and that these fields rapidly contracted as populations were drawn into Nueva Vizcaya, supplying a regional labor force for mining's revival later in the 1700s.

If the same assumptions are applied individually to each mining district, some notable variations on this pattern of age-dependent change can be identified. In Cajurichic, the actual differences in average migration distances indicate an ongoing rapid contraction in field (Figure 8.4). That district's boom in the 1730s probably attracted migrants from throughout the north and later migration from the much closer Chihuahua district took place as these richer mines played out in the 1750s. Guanaceví showed a similarly even decline in average distances. As mines were closed in that district in the 1770s, and as Indian depredations continued, local in-migration was encouraged and the basis for long-distance migration disappeared.

Different patterns emerged in the other two mining districts. Cusihuiriáchic's age-specific migration distances suggested a trend of increasingly rapid contraction in the field. For the three age groups, distances fell off rapidly from 284.7 kilometers for the oldest migrants to 223.0 kilometers for those of middle age to 68.8 kilometers for the youngest heads. The mines there had virtually closed in the 1760s and long-distance migration probably slowed to a trickle after the boom decades of the early eighteenth century. Severe Indian depredations in the 1770s undoubtedly forced settlers from more remote peripheral locations back to the mining center.

In Parral, migration distances rose slightly and then fell with decreasing ages. The significant difference occurred between the youngest migrants and those over 30. Contraction of the migration field appeared to be rapid and recent. The age-specific distances again corresponded fairly neatly with the occurrence of Parral's short-lived mining revival in the late 1760s and 1770s,

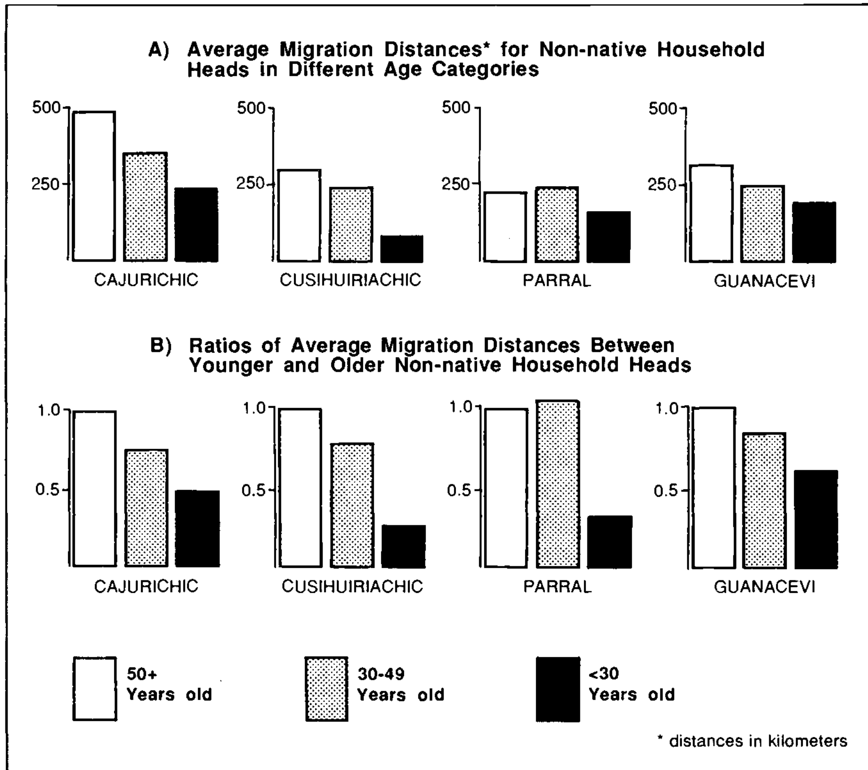

Figure 8.4 Differences in average migration distances according to age-group categories

and there appeared to be a strong economic basis for possible generational differences in migration patterns.

The rates of decline are more clearly visible if they are expressed as ratios. The average migration distance of each of the two younger groups was calculated as a ratio of the distance for the oldest group of migrants (Figure 8.4). The fairly constant but rapid declines in distance with age at Cajurichic and Guanaceví show up plainly. More dramatic drops appear between middle-aged and young migrants at Cusihuiriáchic and Parral. Again, both districts witnessed sharp declines in productivity in the decade before the census and this may have cut off long-distance in-migration, especially among younger workers.

In general, the location of each district and the timing, extent, and sequence of mining booms had a strong influence on the size, shape, and stability of the jurisdiction's mining field. Reales drew populations from each other as the pulse of the mining economy shifted from one location to

another, and when the booms were widespread, migrants were pulled up the trunkline and from beyond the region. One feature, however, seems to be fairly clear. As the Bourbon reforms were being put into effect, the mining towns of the north were drawing their labor supply from more localized sources. By the mid-eighteenth century, Nueva Vizcaya was almost self-sufficient when it came to supplying the mining economy with workers.

Migrants in the northern mining economy

Few would dispute the assertion that the northern mining centers gave rise to some of the most diverse societies in Mexico but there is considerable uncertainty and disagreement over how these local populations formed. Marriage was a crucial mechanism in blending the different ethnic/racial groups that filled the mining centers, but migration was the main process by which the human ingredients came together. Free migration, the characteristic form of mobility in the colonial north, was like marriage a highly selective process. In order to understand why certain demographic and socio-economic combinations dominated the mining centers, it is important to recognize the selectivity involved in migration.[151]

In the century that has passed since Ravenstein published his laws on migration,[152] there have been literally thousands of migration studies most of which have dealt with the characteristics of migrants, and many of which have focused on modern Latin American populations.[153] Reviews of these works often imply that selectivity was a characteristic of colonial migration, but the precise nature of migration's discriminant appeal in the past is not clear.[154] Mellafe has recognized this historiographical void and has proposed that colonial migration be studied in terms of the characteristics of migrants – their sex, numbers, and ages as well as their social and ethnic characteristics.[155] Others have described in detail the aggregate characteristics of peninsular Spaniards[156] or have speculated on the ways in which selective migration may have altered an area's demographic composition,[157] but there is no sharp, well-defined image of what type of person responded to the promise of free migration.[158]

Even with regard to the most basic demographic variables such as sex, age, and marital status, it is difficult to predict the probability of migration among colonial populations. It is generally held that men were more likely to move from one town to another than were women.[159] Salinas Meza determined that in eighteenth-century Valparaíso, males were four times more likely to migrate than were females.[160] Others have found that adult women were characteristically locally born.[161] In contrast, however, Bromley has described large-scale female labor migration that paralleled the patterns of males[162] and Borah and Cook have shown that migrants to late-colonial Antequera tended to be younger females.[163] Youthfulness is normally asso-

ciated with a greater propensity to migrate but, again, the evidence on age is contradictory.[164] According to Borah and Cook, migrants to most late-colonial cities were adults, but ages varied widely depending upon cause and context.[165] The same confusion surrounds the link between marital status and migration.[166] Among most populations, past and present, the probability of a change of residence is heightened at certain times in the life cycle. The odds on migration are generally greater for newly married couples and for recently widowed individuals,[167] yet images of colonial society often portray marriage as a commitment to place and the dependence of widowhood as the reaffirmation of that geographical tie.

More complex cultural and socio-economic characteristics such as race, occupation, and status are particularly difficult to link with the propensity to migrate. Robinson has pointed out that several studies prove that migration patterns and rates varied by ethnic group.[168] Others have demonstrated that some of the sharpest distinctions developed between Indians and the remainder of the colonial population. In some areas of west central Mexico, Indians remained isolated into the eighteenth century and did not show a propensity to migrate.[169] In the Yucatán peninsula where the native population was extremely mobile, Indian migration streams ran counter to all others.[170] Different settlement sequences and patterns of economic development often account for unusual regional patterns, but on the whole the Indian and mixed-race populations are often depicted as the most mobile segments of society. Their lower positions in the social scheme pushed them to seek opportunities for upward mobility and made them most likely to migrate. In at least a few places, however, the mixed races showed extremely low rates of migration, much lower than those which characterized Spaniards.[171]

The same lack of mobility which probably applied to the lower echelons of the racial hierarchy also seemed to affect the lower strata of the occupational hierarchy. Numerous studies have contradicted the assumption that those who held menial jobs or occupations in mining had a greater propensity to migrate. Brading found that merchants in late-colonial Guanajuato were less likely than miners to have a local origin[172] and Chance maintained that the merchant class was much more mobile than other groups in colonial Oaxaca.[173] The mining societies are difficult to examine in this regard because many migrants, at least in the early colonial period, had several different occupations.[174] More importantly, Super has noted a lack of selectivity in migration rates among different occupational groups in the Bajío. He observed that miners, merchants, artisans, and agricultural workers moved in equal volumes between Querétaro and a nearby mining center.[175]

Regardless of any confusion that might exist between mobility, race, and occupation, the propensity to migrate was clearly related to socio-economic status, even within racial categories. One study has demonstrated that the

migration patterns of Spaniards into and out of Mexico City were highly correlated with each individual's socio-economic status,[176] and other work has shown that peninsular monopolies on prestigious local positions often forced creoles to migrate elsewhere in search of lower-status jobs in the civil bureaucracy.[177] The elite were simply more mobile than the other social classes and in northern Mexico, debt peonage further restricted the mobility of the lower classes.[178] There is good reason, therefore, to believe that the mining towns of the Mexican north were as much a magnet for the elite as they were a melting pot for the masses.

Locals and migrants: some profiles

In general, the populations that poured into these centers in the eighteenth century showed many of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the locally born (Table 8.4). Both the migrant and the native or local household heads registered fairly high percentages of females, and there were strong similarities in their patterns of marital status, occupational status, and household size. With regard to occupational patterns, local heads showed a slightly greater inclination toward work in mining and farming but the difference was insignificant. The key distinctions between the two groups had to do with their ages and racial distributions. Migrants were on average significantly older than locally born heads and they showed greater proportions of Spaniards and Indians.

From place to place, however, these similarities and differences varied. In Cajurichic, where there were no locally born household heads included in the sample, the migrants were predominantly mixed-race, lower-status married men who were middle-aged, headed smaller households, and worked in the mines (Table 8.4). Joseph Eras, a mulato who was born in Cusihuiriáchic in 1740 and lived in Cajurichic, fits this modal pattern. He was married and worked in the mines and had two young children, a son and a daughter.[179] In Cajurichic, there also was an unusually high proportion of younger, single men and a fairly high percentage of household heads worked in the commerce/transport sector of the local economy, an important part of the local mining complex.

Some of the greatest contrasts between locals and migrants were found in Cusihuiriáchic, where differences in sex composition, age distribution, and marital status patterns separated the two groups. Francisco de la Cruz, a 31-year-old *lobo* who was born in Cusihuiriáchic fit the dominant characteristics of the household heads who were natives. He was a married man of low socio-economic status who worked as an amalgamator and supported a household which included his wife and three infant children.[180] This same demographic pattern was not as popular among the migrants who had a higher percentage of older, widowed women. María Antonia de Cañas was

typical of this subgroup of migrants. Born in 1737 in the mining real of Los Alamos in southern Sonora, this widowed *coyota* lived with her three sons and one daughter, all under twelve, and with two single servant girls, both slightly older than her children.[181] The migrants who remained in Cusihuiriáchic were, on average, the oldest household heads in the entire sample.

In Parral, where the population was much larger and the mining boom much more recent, the key contrasts between locals and migrants were dominated by racial and occupational differences. The composite pattern for local household heads was filled by José María Rojo, a 40-year-old mulato who worked as a baker and headed an extended family which included his three sons and daughter as well as his sister-in-law, a 32-year-old mulato.[182] Most of the natives of Parral had comparatively large households, over half were members of the mixed races, and most of those who did not work in the mines held jobs in local services and petty trade. The migrants showed slightly different characteristics which included generally higher ages, a slightly higher percentage of Spaniards and Indians, and proportionately fewer agricultural workers. In a number of ways, José Luis Rodríguez represented this non-native group. Born to Spanish parents in Aguascalientes in 1758, he supported his wife and three *párvulos* by working as a pickman in the mines.[183] Many of the migrants who worked in the mines were Indians and many of the Spaniards who came to Parral worked in commerce or the bureaucracy. Rodríguez was particularly typical in that he inhabited both worlds, a fairly common occurrence in the larger, more active mining centers.

The migrants and locals of Guanaceví showed fewer differences than the residents of Cusihuiriáchic but they also demonstrated stronger splits than were found in Parral. Guanaceví's migrants were on average older, more likely to be single and Spanish, and showed higher concentrations in local services and petty trade and in commerce and transportation-related occupations. Antonio Rubio, a 46-year-old native of the Hacienda de Santiaguilla exemplified some of these key differences. Rubio was Spanish by birth and he worked as a mule driver to support his wife, a coyota, and their fourteen-year-old adopted mestizo daughter.[184] Locally born household heads were more likely to share the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Ignacio Gallegos, a 37-year-old mulato. Gallegos worked in the Guanaceví mines and he and his 24-year-old wife had two young daughters and a son.[185]

In each mining district, then, slightly different profiles of migrants and locals had emerged by the late-colonial period. In Cajurichic, where the mining boom had not yet died, young and single mineworkers made up a sizable part of the migrant population. In Cusihuiriáchic, where the mines were unproductive for some time, the migrant population showed an unusually high percentage of older widowed women. In Parral, where the boom had only recently started to slow, the migrant group was still characterized by large percentages of Indian mineworkers and Spanish

Table 8.4 *Characteristics of household heads: locals and migrants*

	Cajurichic				Cusihuiriachic				Parral				Guanacevi				All jurisdictions			
	Local		Migrant		Local		Migrant		Local		Migrant		Local		Migrant		Local		Migrant	
Characteristics	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Household heads	0	—	86	—	99	—	102	—	392	—	328	—	68	—	114	—	559	—	630	—
Average household size	0	—	3.5	—	44	—	5.0	—	5.5	—	5.4	—	5.0	—	5.1	—	5.2	—	5.0	—
Sex																				
Male	0	—	82	95.3	74	74.7.	67	65.7	298	76.0	247	75.3	58	85.3	100	87.7	430	76.9	496	78.7
Female	0	—	4	4.7	25	25.3	35	34.3	94	24.0	81	24.7	10	14.7	14	12.3	129	23.1	134	21.3
Age																				
<20	0	—	0	—	2	2.1	1	1.0	7	1.8	3	0.9	0	—	0	—	9	1.6	4	0.6
20–29	0	—	22	25.6	24	24.2	4	3.9	59	15.1	35	10.7	16	23.5	20	17.5	99	17.9	81	12.9
30–39	0	—	22	25.6	34	34.3	29	28.6	98	25.0	79	24.1	23	33.9	33	29.0	155	27.6	163	25.8
40–49	0	—	25	29.0	17	17.2	25	24.4	106	27.0	87	26.4	13	19.1	24	21.1	136	24.3	161	25.6
50–59	0	—	12	14.0	7	7.1	19	18.6	74	18.9	74	22.6	8	11.8	18	15.8	89	15.9	123	19.5
60–69	0	—	1	1.2	11	11.1	21	20.6	24	6.1	34	10.4	3	4.4	13	11.4	38	6.8	69	11.0
70+	0	—	4	4.7	1	1.0	3	2.9	19	4.8	15	4.6	2	2.9	3	2.6	22	3.9	25	4.0
Unknown	0	—	0	—	3	3.0	0	—	5	1.3	1	0.3	3	4.4	3	2.6	11	2.0	4	0.6
Average age	0	—	41.5	—	39.0	—	47.1	—	41.8	—	44.1	—	39.0	—	42.1	—	41.0	—	44.0	—
Civil status																				
Single	0	—	17	19.8	5	5.1	3	2.9	39	9.9	29	8.8	2	2.9	10	8.8	46	8.2	59	9.4
Married	0	—	57	66.2	68	68.6	63	61.8	256	65.3	209	63.8	53	78.0	85	74.5	377	67.5	414	65.7
Widowed	0	—	12	14.0	26	26.3	35	34.3	94	24.0	86	26.2	13	19.1	19	16.7	133	23.8	152	24.1
Divorced	0	—	0	—	0	—	1	1.0	3	0.8	4	1.2	0	—	0	—	3	0.5	5	0.8
Race																				
Spanish	0	—	29	33.7	24	24.2	33	32.4	150	38.3	134	40.9	9	13.2	28	24.6	183	32.7	224	35.6
Mixed	0	—	55	64.0	71	71.8	68	66.6	217	55.3	135	41.1	57	83.9	79	69.2	345	61.8	337	53.4
Indian	0	—	2	2.3	3	3.0	1	1.0	23	5.9	54	16.5	2	2.9	6	5.3	28	5.0	63	10.0
Unknown	0	—	0	—	1	1.0	0	—	2	0.5	5	1.5	0	—	1	0.9	3	0.5	6	1.0
Occupational status																				
High	0	—	6	7.0	6	6.1	7	6.9	17	4.3	16	4.9	0	—	5	4.4	23	4.1	34	5.4
Middle	0	—	3	3.5	4	4.0	4	3.9	43	11.0	38	11.6	8	11.8	17	14.9	55	9.8	62	9.8
Low	0	—	49	57.0	36	36.5	30	29.4	198	50.5	135	41.2	41	60.3	74	64.9	275	49.2	288	45.7
Menial	0	—	12	14.0	14	14.1	11	10.8	19	4.8	2	0.6	0	—	0	—	33	5.9	25	4.0
Non-occupational	0	—	1	1.2	0	—	0	—	10	2.6	6	1.8	0	—	0	—	10	1.8	7	1.1
Unknown	0	—	15	17.4	39	39.3	50	49.0	105	26.8	131	39.9	19	27.9	18	15.8	163	29.2	214	34.0
Occupational type																				
Ecclesiastical Administration	0	—	0	—	2	2.1	1	1.0	6	1.5	3	0.9	0	—	0	—	8	1.4	4	0.6
Civil Administration	0	—	0		1	1.0	1	1.0	5	1.3	5	1.3	0	—	1	0.9	6	1.1	7	1.1
Professional	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	3	0.8	6	1.8	0	—	0	—	3	0.5	6	1.0
Commerce/Transport	0	—	11	12.8	2	2.1	2	2.0	22	5.6	15	4.6	0	—	11	9.6	24	4.3	39	6.2
Local Services/Trade	0	—	9	10.5	1	1.0	10	9.8	48	12.2	37	11.3	1	1.5	7	6.1	50	8.9	63	10.0
Manufacturing	0	—	0	—	2	2.1	2	2.0	10	2.6	7	2.1	0	—	1	0.9	12	2.1	10	1.6
Mining	0	—	32	37.2	39	39.3	25	24.4	125	31.8	94	28.7	27	39.8	36	31.6	191	34.2	187	29.7
Agriculture	0	—	7	8.1	2	2.1	4	3.9	40	10.2	13	4.0	12	17.6	16	14.0	54	9.7	40	6.3
Other	0	—	11	12.8	11	11.1	7	6.9	18	4.6	11	3.4	9	13.2	24	21.1	38	6.8	53	8.4
Non-occupational	0	—	1	1.2	0	—	0	—	10	2.6	6	1.8	0	—	0	—	10	1.8	7	1.1
Unknown	0	—	15	17.4	39	39.3	50	49.0	105	26.8	131	39.9	19	27.9	18	15.8	163	29.2	214	34.0

merchants and traders. And in Guanaceví, where the mines were active but not booming, older migrants – many of whom were single and Spanish – remained in the district and almost entirely controlled local commerce. It appears that in order to escape the continuous cycle of boom–bust–migrate, one had to survive the need and the urge to move on. Seniority and skill in the mines or success and savvy in business provided this salvation for many.

Selectivity and the friction of distance

Those who responded to the lure of strikes elsewhere had to contend with the many costs of movement. In free migration systems, these costs exert a frictional effect on mobility and lead to a decreasing number of migrations of increasing distance.[186] Cook observed this tendency among colonial migrants in west central Mexico noting that the distance between origin and destination was inversely related to the number of migrants.[187] Borah and Cook examined migration patterns centered on several cities in colonial New Spain and discovered further evidence supporting this principle.[188] Van Young also found that most of the migrants in late-colonial Guadalajara came from the closest districts.[189] The mapped migration fields of the northern mining centers add convincing visual confirmation of this empirical regularity in behavior (Figure 8.3).

Due to the selective nature of migration and the differential distribution of demographic and socio-economic characteristics among Nueva Vizcaya's population, the likelihood of migrating a given distance to the mines was not evenly distributed throughout society. Some people chose to or had to travel farther than others; however, the conditions that influenced the effects of distance are not clear. Most research on late-colonial marriage migration patterns indicates substantial differences in average migration distances for racial/ethnic groups but this has much to do with the geography of race and the nature of local marriage markets.[190] Other works imply that the importance of the family in late-colonial society made it a crucial mechanism for establishing links and ties between places but Moreno Toscano and Aguirre have pointed out that family size was unrelated to the distances traveled by migrants living in late-colonial Mexico City.[191] The patterns of single people and heads of extended families showed no appreciable differences. Likewise, Moreno Toscano and Aguirre failed to find a relationship between migration distance and occupation; instead, the predominant economic orientation of an origin proved to be a more valid explanation of associations between migration distance and occupation.[192]

Despite these limited and inconclusive findings, there were several patterned regularities that applied to specific types of migrants and to average distances travelled in the northern mining economy. In general, migrants who traveled the farthest, or whose origin was the farthest away, were

Table 8.5 *Average migration distances for socio-economic and demographic groups (in kilometers)*

Migrant group	Cajurichic	Cusihuiriáchic	Parral	Guanaceví	All jurisdictions
All migrants	336.0	241.4	202.6	246.3	235.0
Sex					
Male	343.2	246.5	219.7	249.7	249.8
Female	187.3	231.7	150.5	221.8	180.3
Age					
<20	0.0	87.0[a]	217.7	0.0	185.0
20–29	219.2	64.3	146.0	182.3	170.8
30–39	288.0	254.5	188.7	220.7	220.3
40–49	390.8	186.4	234.6	269.6	256.6
50–59	455.8	352.9	209.4	240.8	260.2
60–69	493.0[a]	235.0	202.1	381.4	250.1
70+	501.0	200.7	194.9	278.3	254.6
Unknown	0.0	0.0	70.0	183.3	155.0
Civil status					
Single	358.9	62.3	189.0	443.3	274.6
Married	345.5	256.5	213.7	225.2	240.7
Widowed	258.4	232.7	185.8	236.9	208.7
Divorced	0.0	135.0[a]	83.0	0.0	93.4
Race					
Spanish	356.5	258.2	212.8	238.4	241.3
Mixed	325.7	234.9	171.1	250.5	227.8
Indian	320.0	135.0[a]	262.9	200.2	256.7
Unknown	0.0	0.0	127.6	410.0[a]	174.7
Occupational status					
High	698.8	161.7	271.8	278.4	325.4
Middle	286.7	213.8	256.9	278.5	261.5
Low	312.3	277.9	200.5	245.5	239.2
Menial	255.3	238.3	165.0	0.0	240.6
Non-occupational	210.0[a]	0.0	267.0	0.0	258.9
Unknown	350.9	233.6	178.1	210.3	205.9
Occupational type					
Ecclesiastical administration	0.0	25.0[a]	511.3	0.0	389.8
Civil administration	0.0	428.0[a]	246.4	189.0[a]	264.1
Professional	0.0	0.0	613.2	0.0	613.2
Commerce/Transport	346.4	77.0	173.4	250.3	238.9
Local services/Trade	454.9	517.8	305.4	459.7	377.6
Manufacturing	0.0	589.0	76.7	780.0	249.5
Mining	362.1	134.5	189.9	260.7	225.6
Agriculture	304.0	123.3	140.8	223.1	200.5
Other	163.9	304.0	86.6	183.3	175.1
Non-occupational	210.0[a]	0.0	267.0	0.0	258.9
Unknown	350.9	233.6	178.1	210.3	205.9

Note: [a]Only one migrant.

typically male, over 40, and more likely to be single than married (Table 8.5). Of these longer-distance migrants, those who were Spanish normally held higher-status positions in the professions, business, or the civil bureaucracy. Indians also registered high average migration distances and most of these household heads worked in the mines. In short, race–occupation interactions created two tracks for long-distance migrants. In contrast, the typical short-distance migrant was older and female. Agustina Esquibal, a resident of Parral, fit the profile of this group. This 50-year-old mulata was born in the nearby and densely populated San Bartolomé Valley. In 1788, she was widowed and she shared her house in Parral with her 30-year-old widowed daughter, Manuela, and her 25-year-old married son Julián. María Saenz, Julián's mestiza wife from Parral, also lived with them in the Barrio of San Nicolás.[193]

The majority of the migrants in the north travelled distances far greater than that which separated Agustina Esquibal from her native valley. In fact, the average distances for migrants in all four jurisdictions exceeded 200 kilometers (Table 8.5). In Cajurichic, which had the most extensive migration field, those who traveled farthest tended to be older, single, Spaniards who obtained high socio-economic status through local services or petty trade. Cajurichic simply did not have the large bureaucracy that was found in Parral and other centers. Andrés Peña, a 46-year-old, unmarried Spaniard, was one of these migrants who came a great distance and occupied a position of high status. Born in Jeréz, just southwest of Zacatecas, he worked as a mercury dealer in Cajurichic. His services were essential to the community's progress and his local status reflected this.[194] Other men who worked in the mines also migrated substantial distances to Cajurichic. Many of these were older and married like Gerónimo Gómez. This 47-year-old mestizo from Chihuahua supported his wife, son and daughter in Uruachi by working as a refiner.[195] Among the migrants to Cajurichic, the distance traveled was inversely related to age and socio-economic status, even though there was a strong secondary pattern of lower-class, mixed-race mineworkers who also migrated long distances. The isolation and low population density that characterized Cajurichic meant that most sectors of the occupational hierarchy had to be supplied with migrants.

The migrants of Guanaceví registered the second highest average migration distance and compiled a slightly different profile for long-distance travelers. Those who came the farthest were typically older, single, mixed-race males who held middle-status jobs in local services or manufacturing. Manuel Alvarez, a 65-year-old unmarried mulato was one of these. He was born in Mexico City, and in 1778 he worked as a tailor in Guanaceví.[196]

In the mining district of Cusihuiriáchic, the characteristics of the long-distance migrants were considerably different. Here the usually broad

differences in average distances between men and women, the married and the widowed, and Spanish and mixed-race household heads were minimal. Pedro López, a 56-year-old mulato from Pátzcuaro in west central Mexico had many of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics associated with long-distance migrants. He was married, had a large family that included four sons and two daughters, and he worked as a gilder, a relatively low-status job in Cusihuiriáchic.[197] Yet, there were many older Spanish widows in Cusihuiriáchic who had little in common with Pedro López but who also had come great distances to this remote silver center. The relationship between distance and specific characteristics was difficult to define in this diverse and aging mining town.

The shortest average migration distances were found in Parral. In this town there were essentially two types of people who came from outside the region. First, many long-distance migrants were Spaniards who shared the characteristics of Dr. Felix Medina, a native of Fresnillo. This 40-year-old surgeon was married and had a large household that included his wife, two sons, two daughters, and two servants.[198] Second, many other migrants whose origins were distant were represented by Esteban Márquez, a 46-year-old Indian from Mexico City who worked as a painter and supported a wife and two sons.[199] In general, migration distances decreased with occupational status but in Parral, as in Cajurichic, the mining boom pulled in people of all backgrounds from very great distances. The image of an endless stream of lower-class, mixed-race migrants pouring into the northern mining centers is inaccurate and incomplete. The mining industry required an infrastructure that attracted Spanish merchants and bureaucrats as surely as the mines pulled in pickmen and laborers.

Colonial mining and the illusion of immobility

Two hundred years after conquest, colonization, and settlement, the population of the Mexican north was restless and on the move. The discovery of silver in the far reaches of the Sierra Madre and the resurrection of older mining centers provided the attractive forces for a people seeking opportunity and wealth. Yet it has been difficult to assess, with any accuracy, how mobile the participants in this mining economy might have been. The underlying problem is that migration to the mines has been viewed from two perspectives, each with a separate focus. On the one hand, narrative historical approaches have focused attention on the processes of exploration, colonization, conquest, town founding, settlement, and town growth. In this view, mining districts were established like any other settlements but they drew their initial populations at much greater rates. On the other hand, more narrow and analytical anthropological perspectives have focused on the displacement of native populations and their recruitment and movement as a

labor supply for the mines. The problem is that the growth of mining centers resulted from population flows that have been studied separately. Moreover, the generally free and unregulated movement of people into these centers in the Mexican north was fairly unusual in an empire in which people, like goods, were labeled, listed, counted, and taxed. In short, because the documentary record of free migration in the mining economy is incomplete, the historical studies that treat this subject have had to adopt either a sharp but narrow focus or a broad view based on inference.

The driving force behind migration in the northern mining economy was the accumulation of wealth through the exploitation of silver deposits. Consequently, the attractiveness of destinations for migrants in the north resulted from the interplay of external and internal forces. Economic influences on migration, such as the demand for silver, were generated beyond the borders of Nueva Vizcaya. Other important influences, such as the supply of mercury, the development of royal decrees governing mining, and the accumulation of investment capital also originated at great distances from the silver centers. Yet the weight of these processes was determined by local ecological conditions – the accessibility of resources, the location of a supply of labor, and the characteristics of the mining sites. Migration patterns were simply a response to the interplay of these influences and conditions. Temporal fluctuations in the transmission of externally generated influences and spatial variations in the distribution and accessibility of resources gave rise to sequences and cycles of human movement throughout the northern mining districts.

The four centers studied here were characterized by considerable ecological differences in the late eighteenth century. Each district also stood at a different stage of development. Cajurichic was undergoing a boom while Parral was in the process of seeing one end. Guanaceví's mines were still slightly active but farming was on the rise, while in Cusihuiriáchic, the strikes of the early eighteenth century were long past. Besides these developmental differences, each of the four mining centers occupied a distinct position in the regional transport network, and each was surrounded by a unique arrangement of terrain, population, agriculture, and settlement.

With these broad developmental and geographical distinctions in mind, it is not surprising that sharp differences separated the size, shape, and orientation of the migration fields. Nor is it unexpected that variable degrees of contraction and expansion should characterize these overlapping but distinct demographic hinterlands. And given the process of miscegenation in late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya together with the dynamic population geography of the region, it is not remarkable that each center attracted a slightly different type of migrant population. Clearly surprising, however, is the fact that migration to the northern reales was as extensive and as varied as it now

appears. There can be little doubt that in the Mexican north it was not just the discovery of silver but the broader pull of opportunity that brought growth and character to mining towns and life and identity to colonial regions.

9

Migration patterns of the novices of the Order of San Francisco in Mexico City, 1649–1749

ELSA MALVIDO

Introduction

To speak of the Franciscan Order in New Spain is to refer to the first and one of the most important orders that came to convert, indoctrinate, missionize, colonize, teach, and govern the Indians of that region.[1] The impact of the order is to be seen in architecture, agriculture, culture – in so many aspects of colonial life that it is difficult to capture its full range. To study the novices of the order is to take a partial view of the formation of a group that might one day take on the manifold functions of missionizing on the northern frontier.

In seventeenth-century New Spain the Franciscans held six provinces: El Santo Evangelio de México (1536); San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán (1565); San José de Yucatán (1536); the Provincia Descalza de San Diego (1599); Santiago de Jalisco (1606); and San Francisco de Zacatecas (1603).[2] However, by the mid-seventeenth century, in spite of their size and spatial extent, most of the religious orders had passed their prime and, with the secularization of parishes whose benefits they had enjoyed for more than a century, they received a serious economic and political setback.[3] Now they were forbidden to minister the sacraments, to go out to instruct the Indians, or to invest in either rural or urban land. They were ordered, instead, to deposit their monies in the royal coffers of Madrid.[4]

Among the many justifications that the Crown and Bishop Palafox advanced to order the secularization of the parishes, was one of great weight, and which was directed especially at the Franciscans:

> que los padres no tienen, ni pueden tener ministros lenguas, porque son la mayor parte, y los que gobiernan las religiones, principalmente la de San Francisco, que tiene dos alternativas de gachupines, son todos de Europa, donde no corren estas lenguas, y que pasaron acá, ya con el hábito unos y otros a gobernarlos.[5]

The secularization process was realized in 1645 with the Franciscans renouncing all rights that they had held in the mission villages,[6] only

retaining the privilege of constructing and maintaining convents and monasteries in the Chichimec zone, and then only for a period of six years.

It is at that moment in history that our study of the migration of novices of the Franciscan Order to convents in Mexico City begins, and it is probably as a result of the secularization movement that the basic sources for prior years are no longer to be found in Mexico.[7] One should also mention the fact that the opening of the Convent of San Cosme in 1666[8] was due to the need to form groups within the strict rules of the Order, groups which demanded discipline long-forgotten in the moral and economic decadence into which the Order had fallen.[9]

The sheer quantity of documents that one encounters in the Franciscan collection in Mexico City's archive that relate to abuses of the general regulations of the Order during the seventeenth century speaks eloquently of the crisis in which the Order found itself. As an example, in 1677:

> Fray José Jiménez Samaniego, Ministro General de la Orden, en que se comunica la importancia de observar las constituciones y remediar abusos. Recuerda la necesidad de la vida común, prohibe salir del convento sin licencia del guardián, manda vestir de acuerdo a las constituciones, cuidar a los enfermos, no regalar dinero a ningún superior, hacer recibos cada mes de las limosnas, tener cuidado en la recepción de novicios e impartirles una nueva educación, San Francisco de Madrid.[10]

The opening of convents for the retreat of the members of the Order appeared as a direct result of the accusations leveled against them during the secularization process; it was a *mea culpa* that later allowed them to justify their sorties into colonization schemes in the Californias, New Mexico, Sonora, and other northern reaches of the empire.[11]

Sources of data

In the historical archive of the Eusebio Dávalos Library of the National Institute of Anthropology and History in Mexico City is to be found a part of what was the archive of the Provincia del Santo Evangelio, now known as the "Fondo Franciscano." Fortunately, in 1861, when all ecclesiastical possessions were nationalized, these documents passed first to the National Library and, a few years later, to their present location.[12] For the present study we have used the registration data of aspiring novices of the convents of San Francisco and of the Recoletas de San Cosme, both of Mexico City. One may note in passing that these materials have been used by the Franciscan historian Francisco Morales who, as well as preparing a catalogue of the first 193 volumes of the Franciscan collection, used many of the documents in his interesting doctoral thesis; it is clearly an incredibly rich source for the colonial period.[13]

The contents of thirteen volumes of the collection form the basic data set

used in the present study. They are entitled *Libros de recepción de novicios* since, as Morales[14] has indicated, they are the registers of the arrivals of persons aspiring to become novices in the Order. Each document is a record which contains the name of the candidate, his age, *patria* or place of origin, parents, and date and place of registration. Normally the records are arranged chronologically throughout each volume, though, from volume 9 (1671–1710) onwards, the records begin to be jumbled in both date and place of registration. The two sets of documents which are utilized here are those for the Convent of San Francisco, with records running from 1649 to 1694, and the Convent of San Cosme, covering the period 1666 to 1749. The volumes of San Cosme include data on San Francisco from 1710, and the terminal date of this study, as well as concluding a century of data, is made necessary by the severe inconsistencies, breaks, and illegibility of the documentation after 1749. Two gaps exist in the records: San Francisco lacks three years (1655–1657), and San Cosme the year 1742. While Morales has argued that these are probably not all of the registration records, for our purposes they serve as a very good indication of migration patterns and tendencies.[15]

To gain entry to the Franciscan Order it was necessary to be able to provide evidence of several personal attributes. First, one's legitimacy had to be established. Second, one's family had to have belonged to the Catholic church for more than four generations. Third, one had never to have been converted nor have been one of the "New Christians" of Spain.[16] Fourth, one had to be known as a person of proper behavior. All of these requirements, none of which were in any sense appropriate to the context of the Americas, but which were insisted upon to prevent the departure from Spain of undesirables, stemmed from legislation of eleventh-century Europe, where it was much easier to document and report on one's moral and ethnic pedigree. The imperial authorities were especially worried about the character of those who were to take on the task of teaching Indians.[17] Nevertheless, in New Spain the orders in general maintained as far as possible these restrictive clauses in order to guarantee that only Spaniards would be acceptable, and that the entry of creoles would be severely restricted.

During the sixteenth century the Crown willingly accepted the costs and risks of bringing large groups of peninsular Spaniards to America. However, with the secularization of the parishes in the seventeenth century, American opportunities for young members of the Franciscan Order were effectively closed out. This is not to suggest, of course, that none made the westward journey; they did, but their numbers were greatly reduced. What it did result in was the opening up of the Order to the sons of Spanish residents in New Spain, as well as to a select group of creoles.[18] While *mestizos* and those who could establish neither their legitimacy, nor their clear bloodline (*limpieza de sangre*) were officially definitively rejected, there is evidence to show that

some did in fact enter the Order.[19] In relation to the admission of Indians, although several contradictory laws existed, from the first years of the spiritual conquest it was decided that they, too, were ineligible.[20]

Aspiring young men had theoretically to fulfill a set of requirements to be admitted as novices, most established in the Barcelona constitution of 1451. They included: to be fervent Catholics; not to be suspected of heresy; not to be married; to be in good health; to freely accept the religious oaths of the Order; to be sons of legitimate marriages; to be free of debts; to be freemen; to be at least 16 years old; to have a reputation free of any scandal; and they also had to be *letrados*, or be capable of holding an honest office while in the Order.[21]

The pattern of registration of novices

The number of novices entering the convents of San Cosme and San Francisco between 1649 and 1749 totaled some 936 individuals. Their chronological distribution is shown on Figure 9.1, and Table 9.1. The average intake was almost ten novices per year, but it is clear that there were significant variations, probably affected by the series of intermittent epidemics and agricultural crises that affected New Spain during the century.[22]

San Francisco's reputation exerted considerably more weight than did San Cosme, a fact which probably explains the generally higher intake of that convent. More important, however, is the distribution of incoming students by their parental types: peninsular Spanish accounted for a mere 13 percent; Mexican creoles (Spaniards born in the city of Mexico), for 58 percent; and provincial creoles (Spaniards born within New Spain), for 27 percent.

From 1649 to the end of the seventeenth century, the majority of the intake originated from Mexico City. As far as the peninsular Spaniards are concerned their lowest level of entry was from 1670 to 1679. When one moves into the San Cosme phase after 1700, the fall in numbers of peninsular Spaniards is notable. This coincides with a change in the Order's policies towards creoles: they were now acceptable. "Que los hijos patrimoniales de aquellas provincias que bebieron con la leche de sus madres, el idioma y lenguaje de los naturales, tengan ociosas, sus talentos y eminencia."[23]

Patterns of migration

Since migration is our primary concern here, we may now examine the origins of the entering students of both convents. Here, origin is derived from the place-of-birth data contained in the baptismal certificates presented by each entrant, certificates which had to be witnessed by a priest in the respective parish. From these data one can divide the migrants into two

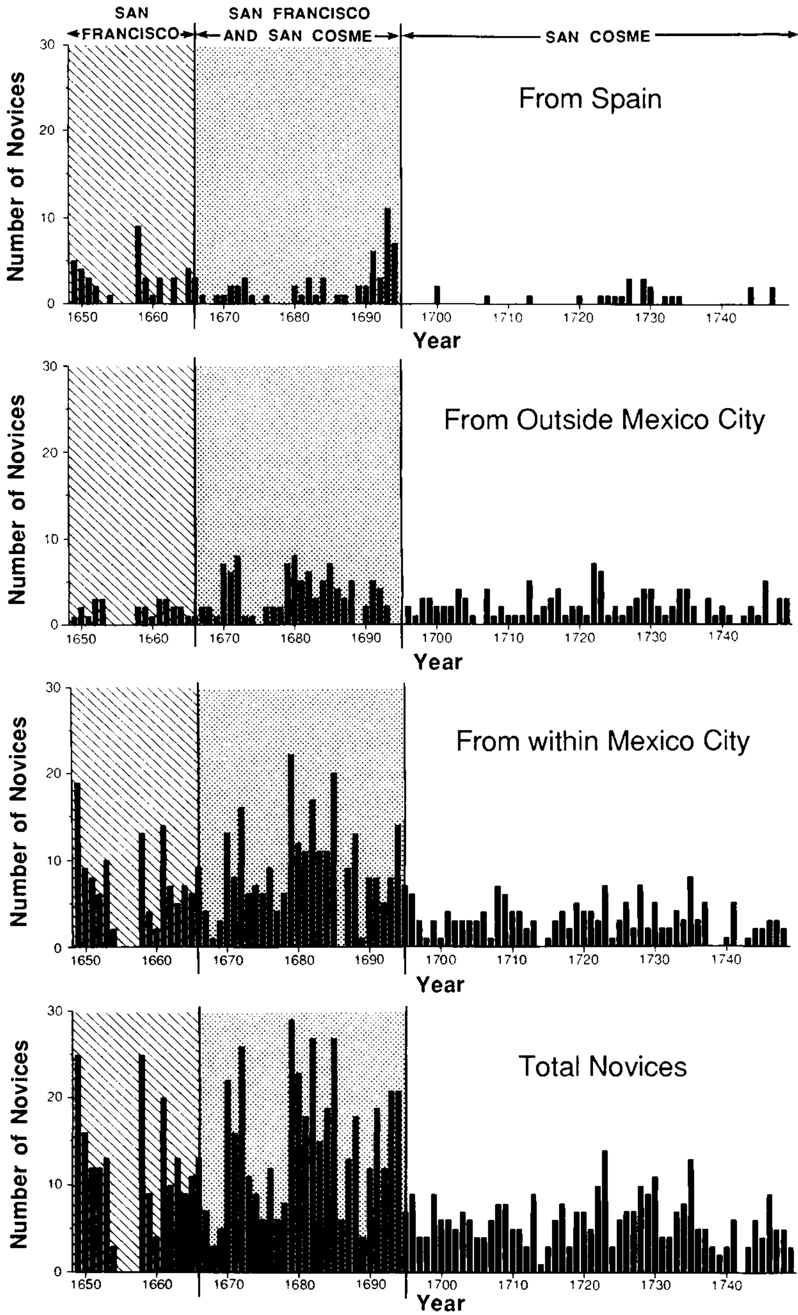

Figure 9.1 In-migration of novices to San Francisco College, Mexico City, 1649–1749

Table 9.1 *Origins of novices by decade, 1649–1749*

	Origins							
	Mexico City	Provinces	Spain	Spanish America	Europe	Asia	NA	Total
1649–59	71	14	27	1	—	—	2	115
1660–69	58	18	16	1	—	—	2	95
1670–79	97	36	10	—	2	—	—	145
1680–89	105	47	13	3	2	1	1	171
1690–99	63	23	29	—	—	—	—	115
1700–09	35	21	3	—	—	—	—	59
1710–19	28	21	1	—	—	—	—	50
1720–29	38	29	11	—	—	—	—	78
1730–39	33	23	5	—	—	—	—	61
1740–49	19	18	5	—	—	—	—	42

Source: Libros de recepción de novicios.

distinct groups: the first originating in Spain, the second arriving from centers in the New World.

Several regions of Spain provided a high percentage of the migrants to Mexico City (Figure 9.2). Andalusia (42%), Old Castile (12%), New Castile (12%), and Vizcaya (11%), accounted for over 75 percent of the Spaniards from the peninsula. Bishop Palafox's earlier comment that "los padres regulares, que muchos de ellos son vizcaínos, gallegos, asturianos, andaluces y castellanos"[24] certainly held true during the century under study. It was not fortuitous that each of these Spanish regions was also an important center of the Franciscan Order.

The origins of entrants to the convents from within New Spain again demonstrates a differentiated pattern. The most intense zone of migration, a catchment area that provided at least five per year, was the metropolitan region of Mexico City (Figure 9.3). Beyond that the Provincia del Evangelio followed with at least one applicant each year. Both of these high-migration zones were influenced by the fame of the convents, as well as including within them high density population and thus great demand. Beyond, to the north lay an extensive region that provided no more than a single novice every three years; this included almost all of the *chichimec* zone. The last region, lying to the south of the viceregal capital, only occasionally provided any students. The pattern was essentially one of relative access to the influence of the convents, by means of travel, or of information spread by priests and the devout public. Table 9.2 lists the origins of novices by the present-day states of Mexico to provide more detailed information.

Though the rules stated that entrants had to be at least sixteen years of age, the records show that some entered from thirteen; in all those below sixteen

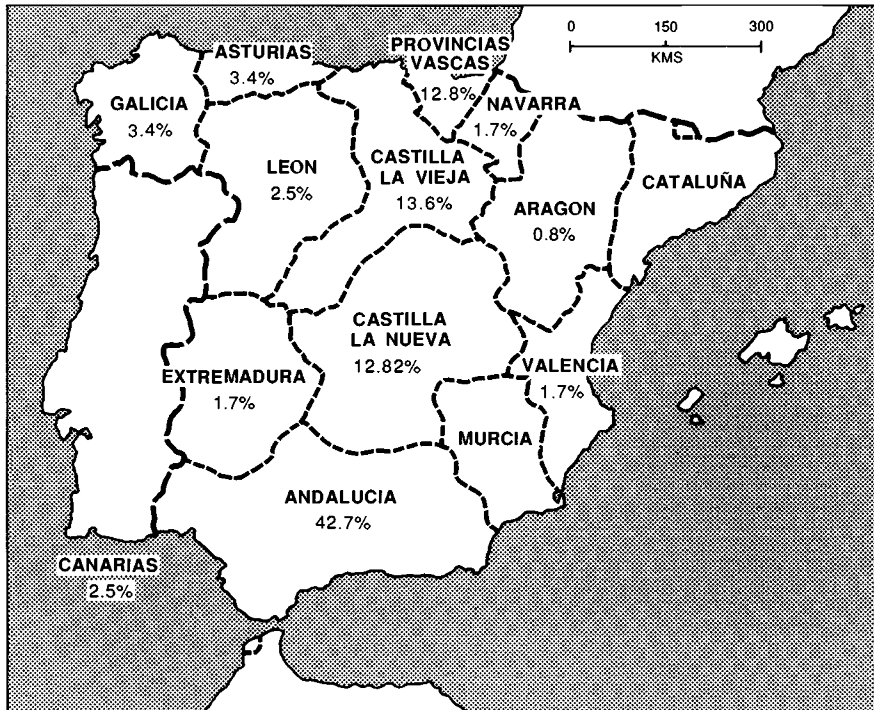

Figure 9.2 Spanish provincial origins of novices of San Francisco College, Mexico City, 1649–1749

amounted to 20 percent of the total. We may note here that our contemporary method of measuring age by years completed was not one of great significance in colonial Mexico. There, a much more important breakdown of age was related to one's ability to perform, or to complete, a series of religious rites: those too young to take confession (*párvulos*); those old enough to confess but not yet old enough to take communion (*de confesión*); those old enough to do both (*de comunión*); the unbetrothed maidens (*doncellas*); the bachelors; the married folk, etc.[25] When special circumstances demanded, such critical stages were verified by recourse to the baptismal certificate, a key document for each resident of the Spanish colonies.

Of the 511 cases that reported ages in numerical terms, 62 percent were aged between 15 and 19. A slight difference is noticeable between the ages of those entrants from the city of Mexico, mostly between 15 and 18, and those from the provinces, mostly 14–19. This is probably due to the scarcity of colleges in the provinces which set back the average age at which one could become a priest. Peninsular migrants were significantly older, the majority entering the convents between the ages of 17 and 22 (Table 9.3).

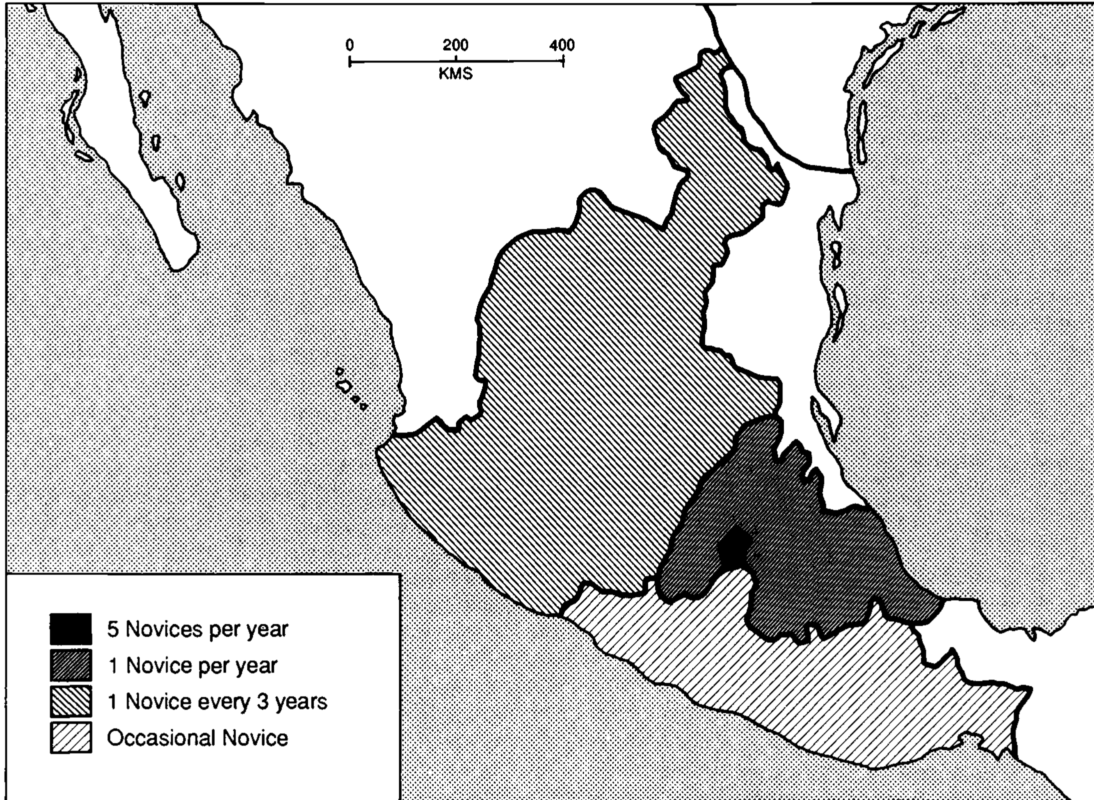

Figure 9.3 Zones of influence of the Franciscan convents of Mexico City

Table 9.2 *Origins of novices from within New Spain*

State	Number of novices	Average novices per state	Percent per state
Puebla	90	3.4	36
Mexico	72	3.8	29
Tlaxcala	18	3.0	7
Hidalgo	13	2.1	5
Mexico (City)	11	1.5	4
Guanajuato	8	2.0	3
Jalisco	7	1.7	3
Veracruz	7	2.3	3
Zacatecas	6	6.0	2
S.L.Potosí	5	2.5	2
Morelos	4	1.0	1
Guerrero	2	2.0	1
Oaxaca	1	1.0	—
Unidentified	3	1.0	1

Source: Libros de recepción de novicios.

Besides the age of the migrants to Mexico City, there also exist data on yet another aspect of some significance: the occupation of their fathers. Some 468 cases allow us to classify these (Table 9.4). The majority of the peninsular migrants had fathers engaged in primary economic activities – farmers and fishermen, as well as sailors. In provincial New Spain the majority were merchants, artisans, and rural landowners. The Mexico City residents were again primarily artisans, merchants, and members of the large administrative sector. Such a distribution emphasizes the essentially middle-class origins of the novices from New Spain, the growing commercial class of the larger urban centers, in comparison to the primary economic activities that characterized the fathers of peninsular immigrants.

Conclusion

This study of the migrational patterns of young men bound for an ecclesiastical career via two of Mexico City's convents, demonstrates that urbanward migration in colonial Spanish America was not always the random drift of individuals searching out economic or social betterment. In many cases there were steady streams of migrants within the Viceroyalty which reflected the deliberate choices of individuals belonging to specific socio-economic groups to seek employment or, as in this case, education, as a means of improving their livelihood, or to serve God.

It is easy to forget when faced with the very large numbers of *forasteros* and the like in the censuses of the colonial period, that each person so

Table 9.3 *Age of novice migrants by place of origin*

Age	Mexico City	Mexican provinces	Spain	Total
13	1	4	—	5
14	7	15	2	24
15	46	23	3	72
16	51	18	2	71
17	50	15	4	69
18	43	18	6	67
19	19	17	5	41
20	17	4	4	25
21	16	8	3	27
22	11	7	7	25
23	3	3	3	9
24	3	3	1	7
25	5	2	1	8
26	4	3	2	9
27	3	2	2	7
28	4	1	2	7
29	3	1	1	5
30	4	4	1	9
31–35	3	—	3	6
36–40	1	3	3	7
41–45	2	1	1	4
46–50	2	—	1	3
50+	1	—	—	2

Source: Libros de recepción de novicios.

Table 9.4 *Occupations of fathers of novice migrants*

Occupation	Mexico City	Mexican provinces	Spain	Total
Merchants	70	39	9	118
Artisans	106	31	5	142
Farmers	8	27	20	55
Sailors	—	—	8	8
Administrators	41	9	—	50
Services	33	13	7	53
Military	21	10	5	36
Others	6	—	—	6

Source: Libros de recepción de novicios.

categorized might have a quite distinctive migrational trajectory, with very special factors allowing or forcing him, or her, to leave home. The limited opportunities provided for education of all types in the colonies, meant that unless one had the good fortune to be able to live in one of the regional capitals, or even better in the viceregal capital, one had to migrate to progress. But to be able to do so probably always required significant sacrifice on the part of one's kith and kin. Each migrant thus represents a human investment, a risk in days of precarious existence, a hope for the future. Only when we have completed many more analyses of specific migrant cohorts shall we be able to obtain an adequate measure of their significance in the overall process of migration.

10

Migration to major metropoles in colonial Mexico

JOHN KICZA

The urbanization of Latin America since the Second World War, much of it characterized by the migration of impoverished rural people to primate cities, has attracted a great deal of scholarly analysis, so much that influential hypotheses, such as the "culture of poverty" and "marginality," are periodically posited and tested against prevailing studies and that syntheses of the considerable literature are composed.[1] Although studies of recent migration may attempt some sort of historical overview in their introductory chapters, their treatment is handicapped by several factors. The first is that there is relatively little literature on migration to major cities in Latin American history. While some excellent studies of aspects of migration do exist, they usually cover rural areas and towns and villages and emphasize the origins of marriage partners or movement back and forth between Indian villages or small towns and the surrounding hinterland.[2] These subjects are certainly worthy of serious study, but neither in their findings nor in the implications do they suggest what we might expect to find in patterns of migration to the major cities. The second failing is an assumption that in the past as in the present the most important component of urban migration was that conducted by the rural poor. In fact, it constituted merely one aspect of a broader and long-maintained movement by elements from a variety of socioeconomic and occupational groups towards the large cities. Finally, these studies do not appreciate the extent to which modern-day migration represents the continuation of traditions and patterns determining who within the family migrates, when, to what destination, and what relationship the migrants maintain with those who do not move.

Scholars of colonial Mexico have long appreciated the role of migration in the rapid growth of certain cities in the eighteenth century. However, to date most attention has been paid to the role of famines, epidemics, and insurgency in driving the rural population to the city in sudden spurts and little to the continuous and predictable movement of certain peoples into the

cities as part of their life and career choices or to the qualities of the larger cities that made them notably attractive destinations.

Migration seems to have been very common among the advanced Indian civilizations of Central Mexico for centuries before the arrival of the Spanish. Commoners throughout Mexico and the Andean region regularly labored for determined periods on lands belonging to the nobility, the state, and religious centers as part of the reciprocal obligations they maintained with these structures of authority. Our data on the *calpulli* indicate that people could exit from established communities to found new ones.[3] Individuals changing status from *macehual* to *mayeque* or vice versa must typically have changed location when they did so. The process of conquest certainly involved migration also. Certain lands in subjugated societies were turned over to the Aztec nobility who brought in their personal retainers to work the land on their behalf.[4]

We still know very little about the formation of urban centers such as Tenochtitlán, but here again the rapid growth of this city over a mere two centuries to a population of something around a quarter of a million people depended greatly on massive in-migration.[5] Natural growth rates cannot by themselves explain this level of growth in the midst of a vaster region undergoing no such comparable expansion. It would be most revealing to understand better how such widespread individual movement was integrated into the calpulli structure of social and political organization.

In northern Mexico the largely non-sedentary hunting and gathering peoples had no permanent nucleated settlements to attract migrants, but instead themselves migrated within a set territory. Hence the concept of migration as we are using it – involving movement to urban nuclei – is singularly inappropriate. Further, after the eventual conquest of this largely arid region, the Spanish would have to find some compelling economic reason to establish any sort of substantial settlement in this area. So while in Central Mexico the Spanish would plant their cities in pre-existing Indian settlements or in propitious settings where they could draw upon natural resources and the presence of potential laborers, no such advantages were immediately obvious in the desert north. As a consequence, except for mining centers, which always retained an aura of temporariness around them, settlements in this region would have a more orchestrated quality about them than those to the south and the towns would remain quite limited in size until they were well incorporated into an expanding colonial commercial network as an entrepôt on a trading route or as the provincial center for an agricultural or livestock zone.[6]

By its very nature, a new town can emerge only after some sort of migration. In Central Mexico in the early colonial period permanent migration of the native population largely took two forms. Many people became *naborías*, personal retainers of individual Spaniards, and worked for

them, sometimes on agricultural estates or in mining enterprises, but often in their urban households and businesses. This group made up a notable segment of the urban population in roughly the first century of colonial rule and was consequently very Hispanized, but gradually lost its distinctiveness as it merged into the mixed-blood classifications that increasingly composed the constituency of urban household retainers.[7] The other form of migration was the practice of *congregación*, in which natives living in outlying areas were required to nucleate in central towns in their own regions. The latter, of course, took place in a time of immense native depopulation. Hence the absolute population of some of these Indian towns could be actually declining while the process of forced urbanization was still taking place. In most ways congregación proved to be less disruptive to the individual's life than did absorption of naborías into the Spanish cities. The congregated Indians remained within the framework of their regions, ethnic groups, and social hierarchy, while naborías entered quite fully into the Hispanic sector of the colonial urban world.[8]

The settlement of towns in the desert north involved more dramatic movement. The early Spanish colonists were by no means a rootless bunch, as various studies have shown. Once they had gained a stake in a local society, they preferred to stay there. Recent arrivals with little yet attained led by veterans who wished to add the luster of a discovery and perhaps a governorship to their wealth made up these colonizing expeditions.[9] Thus, though these expeditions developed typically within the colonies themselves, they are still perhaps best considered extensions of the trans-oceanic immigration from Spain. But these expeditions in Spanish America characteristically included large delegations of Indians. Also, to more fully colonize the desert north and especially to offer protection from and examples for the undaunted, non-sedentary peoples of that region, large colonies of sedentary peoples from Central Mexico were enticed to move north and settle nearby to nascent Spanish towns. Significantly, the Spanish thought relentlessly in terms of separate Spanish and Indian sectors of urban society. The people in Indian neighborhoods were to service the Spanish central urban district and to integrate themselves into the Spanish colonial economy, but separate residence was still to prevail. John Super has noted that this same pattern occurred in the settlement of the Bajío, with Aztecs and Tarascans accompanying the Spaniards in the founding of Querétaro in the mid-sixteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth century, the greatest number of Indian migrants to that city had been born in Mexico City proper, but others came from throughout Central Mexico and the Bajío, and some even from as far away as Guatemala.[10]

The largest scale and most organized effort to move sedentary Indians to the north to bolster recent Spanish settlements was the movement of about

400 households from Tlaxcala to six northern sites. Each of these Tlaxcalan colonies was composed of people from one of the *cabececa* groupings that made up the larger province.[11] While certainly some mixed bloods and non-Tlaxcalan Indians moved into these barrios over the course of time, their ethnic distinctiveness and economic separation from the neighboring Spanish community seems to have been remarkable. Leslie Offutt has remarked that the community of San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala, which was founded across only an irrigation canal from Spanish Saltillo in 1591 by about 200 Tlaxcalans, in 1793 retained its autonomy and separate character and was not well integrated into the larger Saltillo economy, even though by then its population totaled some 3,500 people.[12] If these observations prove correct after more systematic study, they reveal a social pattern in the north far different from that in Oaxaca, where John Chance has shown the gradual absorption of the Indian *barrio* population into the economic life of the larger city and the breakdown of ethnic distinctiveness in the barrios themselves.[13]

Movement to the more important mining communities in the Mexican north was quite different. The towns themselves were generally initially founded by exploring expeditions sent out from Mexico City or some other major city in Central Mexico. Those Indians who settled in the early years were auxiliaries of these Spanish founders. Soon after the mineral wealth of the sites was realized, however, another sort of migration began. It was not orchestrated like that of the Tlaxcalans northward but rather involved the free migration of diverse Indian individuals from Central Mexico seeking the personal rewards that the high pay in the mining industry provided. They could do so because the lack of a dense local indigenous population made the *encomienda* and *repartimiento* impractical. During the colonial period, mine owners, despite continual efforts, could not develop effective mechanisms for forcibly retaining these mineworkers when profitability and consequently the miners' share of the returns declined and when new, more promising mines opened up elsewhere.[14]

After this early period, roughly to 1570, few new cities were founded in colonial Mexico, with the exception of shifting mining camps, and little directed migration of peoples is to be found. From then on, migration to metropoles, that is, those few cities which transcended status as regional centers to become heavily populated foci of production and distribution in a market network that was at least colony-wide and perhaps international in scale, and which usually had several educational institutions and substantial bureaucracies, followed certain patterns and routes. These patterns and routes might be distinct for each ethnic, occupational, and social group involved, but except for times of famine, epidemic, or uprisings, migrants were attracted to the cities by the training, career paths, and social and cultural possibilities found only there, rather than being driven away from

their villages by grinding rural poverty or the loss of their resources by changes in the land tenure structure.

As the character and health of the local economy determined to a considerable extent the size of a city's population and thus its attractiveness, cities outside of the trunkline, that is, the commercial network that linked the major productive centers to the largest cities – generally including the capital – and the ports, were unlikely to lure large numbers of migrants on a permanent basis, though they could still serve as important steppingstones and regional conduits in the overall movement to the primary destinations. Hence such a commodious town as Valladolid would not grow inordinately during the colonial period after its initial settlement, although it was a provincial center of some importance, because its region did not produce any commodity for international trade nor did it lie conveniently on the route to some area that did. Such cities as Guadalajara and Oaxaca would grow dramatically in the eighteenth century after barely growing over much of the colonial period when changes in the larger economy stimulated demand for goods from their regions.[15] The populations of mining centers such as Zacatecas and Guanajuato, along with a number of lesser sites would always vary with the profitability and overall output of their lodes. But even an important processing center such as Querétaro, prosperous during virtually the entire eighteenth century, would find itself eclipsed in the nineteenth because of changing modes of production and a vast increase in imports.[16]

For most of the colonial period there were three metropoles in Mexico: Mexico City, Puebla, and Guanajuato, with Mexico City clearly dominant over the other two. They were joined during the eighteenth century by Guadalajara, with Mexico City retaining and perhaps enhancing its preeminence.

Migration to urban centers is usually thought of as the movement of poor and generally unskilled laborers with or without their families. However, to concentrate on these lower-status groups in colonial Mexico, as in modern times, is to overlook important, long-established patterns of movement to the city – and sometimes out of the city and then back to it – by other, better-off sectors of society. The failure to understand how and why members of different groups moved to the cities entails the inability to appreciate fully the typicality or distinctiveness of patterns among any single group. Let us turn to a consideration of reasons and patterns of migration to major metropoles of colonial Mexico by the various social and occupational sectors there found and seek to understand the important similarities and differences and reasons for them.

The very wealthiest families in colonial Mexico clustered in these several metropoles, with the vast majority maintaining their permanent residences in Mexico City proper.[17] These cities were the centers of business and government, not just for their immediate regions but for all or a larger part of the

colony, and residing in them greatly facilitated the managing of the family's holdings. These metropoles were themselves primary centers of consumption and entrepôts where information about changing business conditions and needs in the society and abroad could first be learned and acted upon. But, of course, elites are not solely concerned with economic gain. These cities were arenas for social display and for cultural performance and achievement. In accord with long Iberian tradition, large cities were perceived as the centers of cultured and civilized life, and the elite were only realizing what all sectors of Hispanic colonial society aspired to: location of oneself and one's family in an important city; the larger and more central the city, the better. Thus, local elites sought to acquire the resources and reputation to move to a provincial center, and provincial elites hoped to garner even more of both in order to transcend their regional identification and to locate successfully in a major city.

The advantages enjoyed by Mexico City against the other metropoles bear mentioning, for they illustrate the needs and aspirations of the colonial elite. Its greater size and wealth compared to the other centers are obvious enough. The capital had two to three times the population of any other city in the colony. It also possessed the most sophisticated urban economy, with great numbers of inhabitants earning wages and participating in the market system. Its merchant community was preeminent throughout the colonial period, trading directly with other ports in the Americas, in Europe, and in Asia. When the colonial elite looked outside of its own immediate group for suitable marriage partners for its young, it found these merchants, with their wealth and demonstrated business acumen, and high-ranked colonial government officials, with their authority, connections, and aura from affiliation with the monarchy, to be the most suitable mates.[18] Mexico City, as the headquarters of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the Archbishopric of Mexico, had such officials in abundance, where other cities had few if any.[19] The capital was also the center of education and intellectual pursuits in the colony, and with its theaters and academies, provided cultural performances unrivalled by the rest of New Spain. Unlike other groups whose members migrated to colonial metropoles, these elite families were not attracted by the employment possibilities *per se* located in these urban centers. Their offspring did not require or seek employment in the commercial, professional, or administrative spheres there. Few members from elite families followed careers in the government, the church, the law, or medicine. More typically, they assumed some role or another in the administration or development of their individual family's enterprises.

In number, this migration to colonial Mexican metropoles was small: only a few families each generation. But it was predictably recurrent and revitalized and sometimes expanded this lofty sector of urban society, maintaining a certain proportion between these upper elements and the

middle and lower ones in the same setting and contributing a demand for services and products that these others could provide. This movement prevented the creation of any dichotomy between an entrenched, but potentially static, agrarian-based local elite and a more dynamic, market-oriented, but conceivably estranged, urban sector that aspired unsuccessfully to affiliation with this established oligarchy, with its distinguished names, local connections, and holdings. This urban migration of rising local agrarian and mining-centered families facilitated the continued reproduction of a unified colonial elite, largely undivided by regional or business interests or by local or national origins down to the end of the colonial period.

There existed two distinct migration patterns within the very large merchant community of colonial Mexico: one was a cyclical movement away from and then back to the metropoles by junior members of commercial firms who were sent out into the provinces to prove themselves and who, if successful, returned at a more elevated rank; the other was somewhat smaller in volume and involved movement to major cities by independent merchants who sought to establish themselves in the larger scale but more lucrative trade of these centers. The movement out to provincial towns or even to villages by commercial trainees was a true "wheels within wheels" phenomenon found at all levels of commerce and in all regions of the colony. Marta Hunt has described in detail how in seventeenth-century Yucatán, merchant employees would travel through Indian districts bartering manufactured goods for raw materials and how the most successful among these would themselves become storekeepers with their own networks of itinerant agents.[20] Merchants in provincial centers, such as Mérida in the Yucatán or Querétaro in the Bajío, in turn served as suppliers to local storekeepers throughout the district. They themselves were wholesaled goods by international trading houses, located primarily in Mexico City, but occasionally in the late-eighteenth century in Guadalajara or Veracruz. Thus local networks spun off from regional ones, which depended on national ones, and these finally drew from the international network. Merchants in Querétaro, for example, might be independent storekeepers with their own small system of agents in outlying settlements, but they themselves were dependent on correspondence accounts and credit agreements with import houses in the colonial metropoles, or they might be agents of these import houses themselves, putting in time in provincial centers learning the trade and demonstrating their suitability for elevation to the main branch in Mexico City.[21]

Importers of late colonial Mexico City routinely maintained retail branches in important provincial towns, especially those in mining and commercial agricultural zones. In the 1790s, the Sánchez Hidalgo family owned a branch in Zacatecas. The famed merchant and mining investor,

Antonio De Bassoco, moved his five nephews, all of whom were brothers, throughout the colony, overseas, and to Mexico City itself in the late-eighteenth century. One of them had a company in Durango before moving to Veracruz to affiliate with a brother to facilitate the transfer of goods to and from the capital. Simultaneously, another brother began an ocean voyage to Spain and Venezuela to acquire goods for the Mexico market. Yet others remained in Mexico City proper, and one was a peddler in Durango. They all retained and promoted their ties to the mother firm in Mexico City and aspired to a permanent post there; a goal ultimately achieved by only three of the five.[22]

There was thus continual movement of commercial agents out of and sometimes back into the metropoles throughout the colonial period. Employees of firms already based there had the best chance of eventually gaining posts in the major cities, and sometimes they brought new households with them upon their return. Well-off provincial families fully appreciated that commercial agents sent into their areas by Mexico City firms stood a good chance of returning to the capital with promotions. They therefore viewed these young men as desirable mates for their daughters and vehicles for the transfer of the family to the metropolis. But some from among the most successful of independent provincial merchants also sought to transfer their enterprises to one metropolis or another while, of course, continuing to emphasize commerce with the regions that they moved from. This was a more difficult type of migration to carry out, not because of any inherent problem in the transfer of the wealth and holdings *per se*, for most of the wealthiest families in the metropoles had enterprises scattered in regions far from the cities, but because these businessmen were choosing to compete against their wealthiest and most successful counterparts. They could choose to live off of their current holdings, with the risks inherent to that in an economy characterized by dramatic ebbs and flows, or they could seek to expand and diversify, but now against parties better endowed and more established than they.

An example of a successful move in from the provinces is the career of Bruno Pastor Morales. A peninsular Spaniard who came to Valladolid, Michoacán while still a youth, he began his life in commerce as a cashier (*cajero*) in a local store and then as the owner of a business that emphasized commodity trading in the region. After marrying into a local elite family, he assumed direction of its business concerns. He eventually moved himself and his family to Mexico City and there continued his involvement in commodity trading with the provinces. He remained successful and was held in such high regard by the city's mercantile community that he obtained the post of captain in the merchants' militia regiment. He became a cleric after the death of his wife but nonetheless continued operating rural estates and dealing in commodities, managing his stores in the capital in the name of his three

children, whom he had designated as its owners. His descendants remained major property owners in Michoacán up to 1831.[23]

The major cities acted as poles of attraction for the educated professionals perhaps even more than for the landed elite and mercantile sectors. For professionals there were two separate times of movement to the major cities. The first came in their youth when they or their families decided that they should be educated in one of the finer *colegios* of the colony and then at the university. The second was after graduation when they began their careers, often in the provinces again, and sought promotions or just transfers that would get them to or at least closer to a metropolis. Overall, patterns of migration among professional groups bear out the assertion that these individuals commonly travelled long distances from provincial centers, while artisans and unskilled workers moved shorter distances and often from small towns and villages.[24]

Anyone seeking to become a cleric or lawyer had to graduate from a seminary or college, as did many who pursued careers in the government or in medicine. Most provincial centers of note, at least in Central Mexico, had at least one colegio, but they were by no means of equal prestige. Here again Mexico City had an advantage over even the other metropoles. As the site of the sole university in the colony until late in the eighteenth century and as the headquarters for both the governmental and ecclesiastical hierarchies, it maintained more schools for boys – seven colegios and one seminary – than any other city. Some students began at colegios in provincial centers but then transferred to one in a metropolis. Any family that sought to have its son rise beyond a career as a provincial lawyer or priest appreciated the need to locate him in a school in a major city and thereby introduce him to leading educational, governmental, and ecclesiastical figures when his career was just beginning. In several cases businessmen who moved to Mexico City from the provinces recorded that they did so specifically to send their sons to its colegios and give them a better start in their careers.

These schools generally employed a good number of teachers who were from prominent families or who had already begun rapid ascents in one bureaucracy or another. Such access to the patronage of the viceroy, archbishop, court judges, and other high-ranked officials was precisely the goal of young men being trained in the law and in religion, and it combined with the wealth and cultural emoluments of the capital to make graduation from its colegios and university the dream of youths and their families from every part of the colony. The patronage and contacts gained during one's education were far more important than the quality of the education received and the intellectual achievement demonstrated in determining an individual's future success in the bureaucracies, including that of education itself.[25]

The 1811 census of Mexico City gives the names and origins of the students at the city's colegios and university and reveals that these institutions drew

students from throughout the colony. For example, San Ildefonso, with Todos Santos the most prestigious of the colegios, had 152 students that year, 56 of whom were from Mexico City proper and another nineteen from the Valley of Mexico and three from Toluca, areas that traditionally had considered the capital their axis. But from the east, the colegio had two students from the Puebla region and six from that of Veracruz. From the south, it had only one from Oaxaca – a city that had provided many students in previous years – and three from Campeche. From the west, it had five from Michoacán and the Jalisco region. From the north, it had six from the Bajío, fifteen from the mining north – including such towns as San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Parral, and Real del Catorce – and 31 from the Desert North – including settlements such as Saltillo, Alamos, Durango, Monterrey, and Coahuila, and even one from New Mexico. Spain provided two students and the Philippines one.[26] It is illustrative to compare these places of origin and proportions with the 950 students of the seminary of Guadalajara between 1699 and 1800 whom Carmen Castañeda has located.[27] While Mexico City provided 37 percent of the students in San Ildefonso in 1811, over the eighteenth century, Guadalajara provided only 136 of the 950 students in its seminary, about 14 percent. But while San Ildefonso drew, albeit unevenly, from the entire colony, Guadalajara's seminary attracted students only from north of Mexico City. Over the entire century, it had just one student from Orizaba, one from Puebla, and six from Mexico City. All of the others came from the north, mostly from the immediate Jalisco-Michoacán area and from northern settlements. Castañeda's breakdown of enrollment at the University of Guadalajara from 1792 to 1821 reveals comparable patterns.[28] Out of something over 600 students, 191, or about a quarter, came from Guadalajara itself. None came from south of Mexico City, with only one from Puebla and three from the viceregal capital, with the remainder from the Michoacán-Jalisco region and the north.

But a closer examination of the places of origin of the students from the north at schools in both Mexico City and Guadalajara shows a distinct pattern. Once those students from the regions for which these cities were themselves centers are eliminated, the remainder came overwhelmingly from villages and towns that were located along functioning trunklines or were otherwise distinctly part of a larger market economy. Mining towns like Zacatecas, Fresnillo, Rosario, and Sierra de Pinos were well represented; so were regional centers like Saltillo, Chihuahua, and Monterrey and important market towns like San Juan de los Lagos. The maps showing places of origins drawn up by Castañeda for the seminary and the university show that students' towns of origin were spread along one long route that reached to Parral and another that extended to Monterrey.[29] Finally, a scattering of students came from settlements along river valleys leading to the Sea of Cortés.

The origins of students from the north in Mexico City confirm this distribution. Those persons from the east, south, and west also came from towns or substantial villages along trunklines. To the east, Puebla, Córdoba, Orizaba, and Veracruz were well represented. To the south, Oaxaca was a major provider of students over the years. From the Bajío, market centers such as Querétaro, San Miguel el Grande, and Lerma sent a steady number. Given the consistency of this broad pattern, one would expect that as towns became larger and more integrated into the colonial market economy, transcending mere local importance, they would contribute more students to the colegios and universities of the metropoles. And, of course, when a regional center outgrew such status to become a metropolis in its own right, as Guadalajara did in the second half of the eighteenth century, it would gain more schools, and perhaps a university, and thus retain students from its own immediate area who had previously gone off to a distant city, while also attracting students from more distant parts. A pair of brothers from a provincial town who followed a typical career path in Mexico City and who enjoyed unusual success were the Licenciados Melchor and José Cayetano Foncerrada y Ulibarri. They were born to an important landed family of Valladolid, Michoacán and went to Mexico City for their schooling. Melchor then rose rapidly in the governmental hierarchy and José Cayetano in the ecclesiastical. Melchor served as *subdelegado* in the well-known *visita general* of Peru before becoming an *Oidor* (High Court Official) in Santo Domingo. He returned to Mexico as an *alcalde de corte* and was promoted to Oidor there before dying while occupying that post in 1814. José Cayetano became a cleric and rose to the rank of Canon in the Mexico City cathedral chapter. In 1810 he traveled to Spain and was designated a deputy to the Cortes. He chose to remain in Spain, being a firm royalist, and was eventually named dean of the cathedral chapter of Lérida.[30]

Having completed their education as lawyers or priests, many young men began a new round of migration. Those with the loftiest family names and the best connections were the most likely to retain a post in the metropolis itself in an educational institution, in one of the bureaucracies, or as a chaplain. Many others returned to their home areas never to return or took posts in some outlying town or parish with the aspiration of eventually attaining a post in a major city.[31] The competition was considerable, and many did not succeed, but there is no mistaking the effort that these professionals made or its ultimate intent. Ecclesiastical and government officials assembled very detailed *relaciones de méritos* that they submitted when they wished to be considered for a post or honor. These make manifest the preferences of these candidates for both promotions and locations. Civil and religious officials stationed in Mexico City would fight and stall with all the resources at their command to avoid transfer out, even when the new post might appear to be a promotion. In similar fashion, individuals holding lofty

regional posts were quick to abandon them when they could obtain a position, even perhaps a more modest one, in a metropolis.

The bureaucracies and business activities of the capital provided considerable opportunity for employment to lawyers and priests. An examination of the membership lists of the lawyers' guild of Mexico, the Colegio de Abogados, for the years 1804, 1812, and 1824 reveals that something over three-quarters of the lawyers in the bar association resided in the capital itself.[32] Of these over 50 percent were employed in one or another of the offices of the colonial, ecclesiastical, or municipal hierarchies. The ecclesiastical and educational hierarchies of the capital combined to provide posts for perhaps 200 clerics, not counting those outside of the formal hierarchies who remained in Mexico City as chaplains.

Burkholder and Chandler have described in depth patterns of promotion among the high judiciary in eighteenth-century Spanish America. Judges who rose to posts in the Audiencia of Mexico, even the less lofty, sought to avoid any further transfer unless it was to Spain itself.[33] Such behavior extended to the non-judiciary personnel as well. Treasury and administrative functionaries avidly pursued opportunities to move up to Mexico City. Once there, they used all of their resources and contacts to resist transfer out, unless it were to Spain, even sometimes into higher paying and more responsible positions, and very few colonial officials in Mexico were ever transferred to the home country. The vast majority, even of peninsulars, lived out their days in Mexico City after retirement.

Another set of professionals – medical doctors and surgeons – was also attracted to the colonial metropoles in two cycles, initially to be educated and later to establish a practice. Medical doctors as a group did not come from such wealthy and distinguished families as did lawyers and clerics. All, or virtually all, physicians by the late colonial period were creole by birth and from families scattered throughout the colony as small storeowners, artisans, or owners of modest family farms. Physicians were expected to have graduated from a university by this period, and every practitioner that my research has located in Mexico City in this era was a graduate of the university there. Once graduated and approved for practice, physicians sought to remain or eventually to move back to the capital or one of the other metropoles. The size of the urban population and its ability to pay for services rendered certainly appealed to medical men, but equally, if not more, attractive was the presence of large hospitals and teaching facilities that provided decent-paying lifelong positions. Only those who failed in their efforts to gain such positions established themselves in private practices.[34]

Surgeons enjoyed less prestige and income than did medical doctors down to the end of the colonial period. A substantial number were trained as apprentices rather than at surgical schools. Mexico did not have a special school for training surgeons until late in the eighteenth century. Even then, a

large number of surgeons were peninsular immigrants who had initially come to the colony associated with a naval or army expedition from which they had managed to separate themselves. These men, then, typically moved to a major city after having been first located in a port town or an outlying encampment. They had little status and attained only a moderate income even when they were established in a metropolis. Like medical doctors, they sought to affiliate themselves with a hospital or teaching facility, but few were able to do so. While the prominent physicians in the society were able to mingle readily with other professionals, surgeons generally could not, being considered the social equals of artisans and small shopkeepers. Further, while medical doctors, as university graduates, were assumed to be of pure Hispanic extraction, surgeons, though many of them were from Spain, were generally considered to have some number of mixed bloods in their ranks. The male offspring of physicians might readily enter the university and become lawyers or clerics, but a surgeon's son was more likely to end up an artisan or small shopkeeper.

Mexico City throughout much of the colonial period was able to support a substantial population in both the performing and the fine arts, while the other metropoles simply lacked the resources and demand to do so on a sustained basis. The capital had a large corps of wealthy families and governmental and ecclesiastical institutions to provide patronage and commissions to a community of architects, sculptors, painters, musicians, dancers, singers, and actors. Like other professional groups, these artists came to the capital in two waves, first often to receive training from established masters and later as mature performers. Except for a few specialists brought over from Spain expressly to found or enhance the teaching of one or another of the realms of art, virtually all fine and performing artists were from Mexico with perhaps the fine artists as a group from a somewhat more reputable background than the performing artists, judging from some occasional comments in documents about the origins and mores of these people. Nonetheless, top performing artists received very high salaries. In the early nineteenth century, the lead singer, dancer, actor, and actress of the major theater in Mexico City earned annual salaries of between 3,000 and 4,000 pesos, when 300 pesos were generally sufficient to keep an individual out of poverty.[35] In 1808, an acclaimed actress and comedian refused to leave Veracruz for Mexico City for a promised salary of 4,000 pesos, describing the offer as "limited." In response, the viceroy, fearing a poor theater season in the capital, dispatched an element of his lancers to escort her there from the coast.[36]

Another small social sector found only in the colonial metropoles were the members of the non-Spanish European immigrant community. These men, for, with very few exceptions, they were male, were invariably Catholics and generally came from areas that had traditionally maintained close affiliation

with Spain – southern France and western and southern Italy, with a scattering from Malta, Switzerland, Germany, and Ireland. Despite their permanence in urban colonial society and their eagerness for assimilation into it, they were regarded as distinct outsiders eligible only for a small number of specialized occupations and with few opportunities to rise socially. But these foreigners did not constitute a self-conscious community. Seemingly, they rarely associated with each other. They neither lived nor worked together and formed no fraternal associations. Their offspring were totally absorbed into the Hispanic sector of the urban society and gave no indication of retaining any aspect of their fathers' language or culture.

These immigrants came to Mexico City through one of two paths. The majority were employed as servants or cooks of important civil, military, or ecclesiastical officials who came over from Spain to serve in the Americas. Many spent some time in other parts of the empire with their masters before reaching Mexico City. Others, fewer in number, came to the Americas as commercial agents of Spanish merchant houses and at some point became independent and gravitated to the capital as a center of commercial activity. Some from both groups were located in provincial cities until they achieved independence when they moved rather rapidly to Mexico City.[37]

They remained in Mexico City because it provided an arena in which they as purveyors of contemporary European high cuisine and fashion could now make a good living doing for their own benefit what they had previously done in private households: creating fashions in hairstyles and clothes and preparing food. Because they were few in number, provided a service to only a limited clientele, and prospered because no locally born businessman could rival their knowledge of contemporary European culture, they were not regarded as competitors. They operated speciality shops and small restaurants and usually made a comfortable living. As a rule they remained in the city all their lives and married local women. Their children were regarded as similar to other locals of their social standing and could not inherit the unique qualities that their fathers had converted into business opportunities. Thus they melded into the larger society, and when their fathers died, yet more and younger foreigners settled in the city and established the same sorts of small businesses.

It is much more difficult to accumulate information on patterns of migration to metropoles by the lower classes and Indians. Individuals from these groups do not often appear in the documentation except in censuses and parish records, which do not give a context in which to place the individual's presence, birth, marriage, or death. Despite the limitations of these records, Alejandro Moreno Toscano and Carlos Aguirre Anaya have used the 1811 census of Mexico City and Rodney Anderson that for Guadalajara in 1822 to good advantage in the study of urbanward migration.[38] To date, the most successful effort by a scholar to go beyond these

types of documents has been Michael Scardaville's dissertation. Through intelligent manipulation of the criminal records of late colonial Mexico City he has been able to discern salient patterns of behavior, including migration, amongst the lower classes.[39] Overall, these three sets of authors are in accord as to the basic characteristics of migration to these late colonial metropoles. Regrettably, little can be said about lower class migration to important cities until very late in the colonial period because the necessary information is simply lacking. The best effort has been John Chance's study of colonial Oaxaca, but despite the overall high quality of this innovative work, only the broadest trends in migration to Antequera could be treated. Chance notes that migration from the countryside to this relatively isolated regional center was quite modest until at least the mid-eighteenth century, when rural population increase impelled many Indians to move towards the city.[40] Before this time, migration had been limited and had in no way transformed the character of the urban society. Most migrants had located themselves in the ethnic barrios surrounding the city, with some finding employment there rather than in the Spanish center itself. But with the changes in the mid-eighteenth century and beyond, the proportion of Indians in Antequera proper began to rise notably as migrants took jobs in the textile mills and construction trades. Simultaneously, the major Indian barrio outside the city lost most of its population and virtually all of its ethnic distinctiveness.

Migration to Mexico's metropoles in the late-eighteenth century increased considerably from earlier times. Scardaville thinks that one-half to two-thirds of the population increase in Mexico City in that period was due to migration. Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya found 38 percent of their sample of 20,000 persons in 1811 to be migrants. In Guadalajara in 1822, perhaps one-fourth to one-third of the city's population had been born elsewhere.[41] All three studies on Mexico City and Guadalajara agree that most migrants were young when they came, being between their late teens and mid-thirties, and that women outnumbered men. There seems to have been a pattern of young women being sent by their families to work as domestic servants in the cities.[42] They thereby removed one dependent from the rural household, perhaps added slightly to the family's income from their modest earnings, and established a connection with the urban center of which other family members might later make use.

The points of origin of these poorer migrants follow closely the patterns found among students in the colegios of Mexico City and Guadalajara. Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya prepared a very revealing map displaying the origins of their migrant sample.[43] As a result, all professionals and other migrants with skills and resources came from provincial centers well away from the metropolis, but still along the trunklines that radiated from it. The greatest number of migrants and especially those with little training or few resources came from the areas immediately surrounding the

cities, with ever fewer moving to the cities the farther away they began from them. All authors agree that a steppingstone effect was very much present in the migratory patterns of the poor who were from regions distant from the metropoles.[44] These people would move first to district centers and remain for one to several years, perhaps longer or forever, before deciding that this smaller city could not provide the opportunities that they sought. Now more acculturated to urban existence, migrants made their second move, the one to the major colonial cities.

Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya argue convincingly that there was a differential between the interval that unskilled and service workers would remain in these secondary centers, generally one to four years, and the time that skilled artisans would stay before moving to a metropolis, more like five to ten years, during which time they would have purportedly prepared themselves for a transfer without notable loss of status or income.[45]

This movement to urban centers was also differentiated by race. The Indians who moved to the cities came largely from areas nearby and within a city's traditional area of influence. Mixed bloods and Hispanics migrated over much longer distances and were more often natives of towns and cities themselves. As so much of the rapid urban growth of the late colonial period was impelled by migration from rural areas that themselves were growing greatly in size and as such a great proportion of the rural population was Indian in character, it is no surprise that the migration increased the percentage of Indians in the metropoles. Scardaville reports that nearly half of the lower-class migrants he studied were of Indian extraction, and Chance notes a similar rise in the percentage of Indians in Antequera.[46]

The scope of this continual migration to the metropoles by various occupational and social groups was tempered by the character and scope of the colonial economy, the integration of these cities into the primary trunklines, and the scale of population increase throughout the society, with an overall tendency for the migration to increase during flush economic periods. In general, the attractiveness of the city, especially its ability to generate additional employment, lured these migrants. Further, people contemplating making a permanent shift in their place of residence frequently found their movement facilitated and their new setting less hostile because of the presence and help of family members or people from their own neighborhoods. Whether the migrant was a member of an elite family moving in from the provinces, a commercial apprentice being transferred to the home office, a student entering a colegio or university, or a young woman becoming a household servant, he or she was part of and represented a family whose larger purpose was represented by the move and within whose framework and with whose support the journey took place. Thus, migration as a larger phenomenon characteristic of colonial Mexico is better understood when the broad flow of people is viewed in the context of the structure

and growth of the colonial economy and the individual is placed within the scope of his or her kinship and residential groups.

This type of migration must be distinguished from seasonal migration and from temporary movement to cities by refugees from famine, disease, and violence in the countryside. Though persons driven by these motives did ultimately end up in the metropoles, their absorption into the society and their length of stay were greatly determined by the purpose behind their move and whether it took place with the support of family and friends. Metropoles developed within regions with substantial populations, or such surrounding villages emerged in step with the growth of such centers. Mexico City and Puebla were located in areas that had been heavily populated for centuries before Hispanic colonization. Guadalajara and Guanajuato developed more slowly, but in rather fertile areas that could support the elaborate regional economies with denser populations that grew up around them. In all of these cases and also among lesser provincial centers, a substantial number of residents from these outlying villages and hamlets moved regularly into the city for temporary employment or to buy and sell merchandise. Such activity is characteristic of cities throughout the world and remains quite independent of those forces which promote the rapid growth of the urban entity itself. Also, when famine or insurgency caused times of distress, those cities which appeared as refuges grew rapidly, but temporarily, because of the rural exodus. The people who moved at these times might better be considered refugees than migrants. They had no plans for permanent relocation when they moved and, at least initially, took few measures to integrate themselves into the larger city. Typically, once the shortage of food, the threat of death from disease, or insurrection had been eliminated, the vast majority of these people returned to their home territories from this temporary urban shelter.[47] And, of course, a city itself threatened with famine, disease, or violence was most unlikely to attract refugees; instead the citizenry itself fled.[48]

The final issue worthy of consideration is the effect of migration on the metropoles themselves. We have already seen that cities only drew in large numbers of migrants after they had become well integrated into colonial-wide or international market economies, and especially when they were situated along a primary trunkline. Hence migration was a consequence of economic growth and transformation, not a cause, though it certainly could help sustain growth under certain conditions. Migrants came from a spectrum of social and economic circumstances and appear on the whole broadly to resemble the existing social and occupational structure of the city.[49] Migrants came from among the prosperous, merchants, university-trained professionals, skilled artisans, and unskilled construction and service workers. Though in rough terms, these migrants resembled the existing urban society, their arrival in great numbers surely caused significant but

uneven changes. The relatively few elite were easily absorbed into the upper stratum of the society. If they were not, the very purpose of the migration was defeated. Most merchants only came to the metropoles as employees invited back to the home base of the merchant house or as independent dealers who brought with them substantial resources and a web of connections. The various professionals entered the city first as students and later, commonly, as members of prosperous and respected institutions located there.

The artisan craft guilds, though, seem to have been detrimentally affected by large-scale urban migration.[50] Many migrants had skills that could compete with those of guild members and had every reason to use them. As guilds and municipal officials lacked the capacity to suppress these independent craftsmen, their labors undermined the already beleaguered guilds and kept prices and wages down. These immigrant craftsmen would recruit customers in the streets or in their shacks in the outlying neighborhoods of the city. These might also be recruited into unauthorized but widespread workshops founded by businessmen who would supply the workers with tools and raw materials and sell the finished products through their own outlets. In the eighteenth century, many migrants found employment in the expanding number of *obrajes* and factories in Querétaro, Guadalajara, Mexico City, and Puebla.

The numerous unskilled migrant workers took employment as construction workers, servants, or as service employees to the public. But here again, one must question if migrants themselves caused a great expansion in the number of persons competing for such positions or if, instead, they were taking advantage of an expanding number of job opportunities in a growing urban economy. Whether such individuals and their offspring were caught up in a web of enduring poverty with no opportunity for social ascent awaits detailed study of two or more generations of such families after they settled in the cities. An examination of the social makeup of a sample of rooming house residents listed in the 1811 Mexico City census shows the types of employment that many migrants obtained.[51] These include *plateros, coheteros, cargadores, sombrereros, pintores, carboneros, aguadores, porteros, cocheros, herreros, alfareros*, and *bordadores* among the men, and *costureras, lavanderas, tortilleras, fruteras, molenderas*, and *atoleras* among the women.

Scholarly research into migration to metropoles in the colonial period in Mexico remains rudimentary. We have come to understand how and why these centers attracted members of various identifiable groups in the society and that the points of origin of these migrants were not random but rather conditioned by the nature of the economy and the social background and resources of the individual. We have begun to trace out networks and patterns of migration and to perceive the importance of family and community ties to the structure of movement of persons and households. While

case studies are needed to investigate these aspects in more depth, we certainly need also to learn about the experience of these migrants in their new settings, their continued ties to family and community, and the experiences of their offspring.

11

Marriage, migration, and settling down: Parral (Nueva Vizcaya), 1770–1788

ROBERT McCAA

Migration is a fundamental element of population dynamics in colonial Mexico, but has only recently begun to receive the sort of attention that was previously reserved for mortality. Robinson's work on the Yucatán and Northern Mexico persuasively argues that "those who counterpose a stable past against the mobile present belie the facts as they were so assiduously recorded."[1] While a number of studies demonstrate that migration was of greater significance than previously suspected, much of the focus remains on the magnitude of migration rather than its meaning for the individual.[2] Greenow's informative analysis of five parishes in Nueva Galicia from 1759 to 1810 offers a convincing typology of migration flows distinguishing between Indian parishes with relatively low rates of exogamy (10 percent), mixed parishes (10–20 percent), and regional centers with high exogamy (30–50 percent) but the focus is on purely aggregative processes.[3] The growing body of work on spatial exogamy using birthplace data contained in marriage documents shows considerable variation in the degree of migration through space and time, although its significance from the perspective of the migrant remains far from clear.[4] Much of this research relies on patterns derived from aggregate data with little attention to the individual or the net effects of migration on the community. What did migration or place mean to migrants or, for that matter, non-migrants? Was migration primarily a response to regionally integrated labor markets, or more or less aimless drifting? To what extent were migrants seeking a place to settle down, as suggested by the phrase "ánimo de morar aquí," and to what degree were their intentions frustrated? Was their entry into the community restrained by local suspicions against outsiders or were they readily accepted into village life?

Colonial migrations are difficult to assess not so much for a lack of data, but rather because of their low reliability, the residue of a proto-statistical era which yields its secrets slowly, or not at all. The lack of consistency in the type and quality of variables between sources discourages one from using

aggregate data to study marital migration over time. Some sort of linking is required instead to attempt to maintain statistical control over the population under examination. This paper focuses on the migration patterns for a group of 287 brides and grooms who registered to marry, that is filed *informaciones matrimoniales* in the parish church of San José de Parral in 1770–1776, and which I have attempted to link into manuscript censuses taken in 1777, 1778 and 1788. Marriage data define migration as movement from place of birth to place of marriage, a partial yet important reflection of the total migratory process for a community. The *padrones* of Parral, of which there are at least six during the period 1768–1821, probably offer a more complete picture of who the migrants were and what niches they occupied. Nevertheless, here I am focusing on the links between marriage declarations and the padrones because this would seem to offer a more reliable picture of family beginnings, the connection between migration and marriage and the process of settling down or moving on. Moreover informaciones matrimoniales suggest migration intentions – implied by the evocation of an "ánimo de morar aquí" and statements about the length of time resident in the parish – which are absent from other documents. As we shall see below, although the expression of an intention to settle down was strongly correlated with persistence in the community, in fact this sentiment is itself directly related to the length of residence and the distance of migration. Thus the longer a migrant had resided in Parral, or the greater the distance of migration, the greater the likelihood of expressing "ánimo de morar aquí." More importantly, by linking marriages into later censuses, we learn the way in which newlyweds succeeded in inserting themselves, if at all, into the community.[5] My curiosity is directed not only at demographic or social aspects, but at mental ones as well, particularly the degree to which people's declarations about their spatial and social origins changed over time.

The census of 17 July 1777, " . . . sacado por el señor Vicario Juez Ecco. de Este Real Dr. Dn. José Francisco de Frías," is relatively rich in detail, offering for each individual listed age, sex, relation to head of household, birthplace, occupation, and details about number and ages of children (often reported in months for those less than one year of age). Six hundred and fifty-six families were encountered, as reported, but the total number of people, 4,281, was some 1,300 people fewer than that indicated in a summary table at the conclusion of the document.[6] Unfortunately the census reports only population totals for outlying *haciendas, ranchos* and hamlets (Minas Nuevas, Hacienda Santa Rosa, Rancho Arévalo, etc.), and, given the frequency of entries ending in zeros and fives in the summary, it seems likely that these counts were mere approximations not based on a faithful enumeration. Thus, with no listings available, the surrounding communities cannot be included in the analysis of the 1777 census. Otherwise, the listing

seems to have been conducted with care and reported in detail, although one family was inadvertently listed twice.

Information on the population of principal interest here, those of marriageable age, is particularly complete in comparison to other sources. For example, of 278 men and women linked into the census only two lacked indication of birthplace versus nine for *calidad*, a term which appears in the documents to denote racial or ethnic character, and an equal number for occupation (considering men only). Four spouses were noted as absent and eight had been widowed. Not only were there few missing data, but most information was specified in considerable detail. Place names, particularly for in-migrants, often included the jurisdiction, parish or archbishopric as well as the specific locality. Finally, all households were clearly demarcated and numbered.

The 1778 enumeration also bears the marks of the ecclesiastical authorities, but the reported information is limited to names, ages, calidad, and ecclesiastical status (marital condition and whether confessed or not). Given the lack of information about origins in this listing, its usefulness is limited to whether the recently married are traceable in it or not, or the question of persistence. On the other hand, the 1788 census is the richest of all three in terms of social information (detailed occupations, calidad, and residence within the community), but unfortunately the names of many children and wives were omitted and birthplaces are noted for only half of the adult male population.[7]

Nuptial testimonies, meticulously constructed of four sewn quarto pages and elegantly inscribed, are quite detailed, but, unfortunately, have been carelessly preserved. During the period 1770–1776, 287 marriage banns were found scattered through a dozen bundles of miscellaneous papers. Many were incomplete because pages had been torn, soiled, water- – and occasionally wine- – damaged, or worm-eaten. It is evident that a substantial fraction, approximately one-third, did not survive because for these same years, 423 marriages were inscribed in the parish books. Nor were the banns documents as faithfully recorded: 48 people lacked any indication of birthplace, and calidad was omitted in 104 instances (26 grooms and 78 brides).[8]

There are eight documents about which there might be some doubt that the parties married because of objections by the parents, the request that "la ponga en calidad de depósito para que, gozando de libertad, se reciva declaración sobre su libre espontáneo consentimiento," etc. Nevertheless, three of these cases were linked to the 1777 padrón. In one instance for which there was no subsequent link, the marriage declaration was used by a jilted lover, a native of Del Oro whose parents lived in the Real de Minas de Agua Caliente, to wrest satisfaction from her despoiler, who hailed from Minas Nuevas. In her words "bajo la promesa de casamiento me solicitó para ilícito

trato de lo cual ha resultado hallarme embarazada." Her former lover promised to give her 50 pesos "para compensarle el daño" which according to Father Frias, "lo recivió a satisfacción." Neither of these parties nor any of their parents appeared in subsequent censuses.

In contrast, a young woman, María Josepha de Saenz, desisted from marrying perhaps at the behest of her parents for betrothal *prendas* had been exchanged several months before testimonies were presented. The Saenz household appeared in the 1777 census, but without the erstwhile bride. Instead, Doña María Josepha married a merchant from the "Obispado de Santander en la Europa," apparently in a ceremony outside the parish for no record survives in any of the marriage documents. Nevertheless she is listed as married in the 1777 census along with her merchant husband and a fifteen-day-old infant and again in 1778 but without the child. Ten years later there is no trace of Doña María Josepha or her husband, but her parents' household persisted with her widowed mother, two unmarried sisters in their thirties, two younger brothers engaged in "mining," and a free *mulata* "girl." Meanwhile, the forsaken groom, Don Franco Espinosa, a merchant from Chihuahua who had resided in Parral for two years "con ánimo de morar aquí" and who initiated nuptial banns with Doña María Josepha only ten months after the death of his first wife, did succeed in marrying a Parralense some five years later. The bride was thirty years younger than he, and they appeared together with a young son in the 1777 census. In 1788, now fifty-seven years of age and a sweet-maker, he continued to live with his wife, accompanied by a daughter aged three, a nephew aged eight, an eighteen-year-old orphan and a slave girl. The remaining issue from this marriage, if any, is untraceable.[9]

Thus, these sources permit one to reconstruct a more detailed history of migration experiences related in the various censuses and parish registers. "Natural de," "residente en," "casado en" were frequently used phrases in the nuptial testimonies.[10] Place names are analyzed, both exactly as stated in order to retain the nomenclature of small, ill-defined localities with which the eighteenth century popular mind seems to have identified, as well as grouped into more interpretable regions. The period 1770–1788 was selected because it is the richest in terms of the availability of demographic data.

The strengths and shortcomings of these source materials emerge more clearly by tracing the 287 couples whose nuptial testimonies survive into the censuses of 1777, 1778 and 1788. On average about half were linked in each of the censuses, but only 46 couples were traced into all three, while 50 were wholly unlinkable (Table 11.1). Of 287 cases only 96 (33.4 percent) had the exact same linking outcome in every census. The correspondence in linked banns documents between any two censuses never amounted to more than 68 percent (1777 with 1778, with 38.6 percent found in both added to 29.2 percent not found in either) and dipped below 50 percent at the other extreme

Table 11.1 *Marriage testimonies linked to Parral census lists*

	1777 Census				
	Linked, 1778		Not Linked, 1778		
1788 Census	Linked	Not linked	Linked	Not linked	Total
Number					
Linked	46	12	33	34	125
Not linked	65	21	26	50	162
Total	111	33	59	84	287
Percent					
Linked	16.0	4.2	11.5	11.8	43.5
Not linked	22.6	7.3	9.1	17.4	56.4
Total	38.6	11.5	20.6	29.2	99.9

Source: El Archivo Parroquial de San José de Parral (APP), Informaciones Matrimoniales, legajos varios; Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Indiferente General, Legajo 102; Archivo Municipal de Parral (AMP), film 1788a frames 91b–167b.

(1777 with 1788, 16.0 percent plus 4.2 percent found in both, and 9.1 percent plus 17.4 percent not found in either). Although irregularities can be reduced to five types – omissions, spatial coverage, migration, mortality and linkage problems – administrative inefficiencies are clearly the most important. Linking problems and procedures are discussed in more detail in the Appendix.

The Parral migrations do not represent an opening of a new frontier, whether geographic or economic. By 1777, the Real de Parral and its hinterland had been settled for over a century and a half.[11] Nevertheless, in the 1760s and 1770s, Parral grew rapidly, largely as a result of internal migration.[12] Although its mining industry was in full recovery by that date, marriage data and censuses from this period suggest that the ebb and flow of migration should not be viewed as responses to strong tides, economic or political, coercive or volitional, but rather lethargic, drifting currents. If the window that we have for observing people in Parral, 287 marriage declarations between 1 January 1770 and 31 December 1776 coupled to three detailed manuscript censuses, offers a true view of the relationship between marriage and migration in the *real de minas* of Nueva Vizcaya, it seems to reveal groups of wandering people, searching for marginal advantages which for most generated little incentive or initiative to move truly great distances. Grand theories which demand rationality or clever calculation of marginal advantages by the individual, whether economic, social, or psychological,

may conceal the subtlety, or perhaps one should say complexity, of migration decisions.

Consider the case of Doña María Anna de Goisotena, a young widow aged 23, recently arrived in Parral from the Valle de San Bartolomé, whose decision in 1770 to marry Joseph Francisco Mungía (calidad not indicated), a musician and tobacconist from the City of Valladolid (Michoacán), provoked a challenge from Don Joseph Miguel Escarsega, who alleged that Doña María had promised her hand to him two years before. He agreed to forgive her for allowing Mungía to dine and take his supper in her house over a period of eight months under the pretext of rolling cigars, but insisted that she honor her prior betrothal vows. Doña María rejected the suit by producing a signed statement annulling the engagement which she had delivered months before. With the vicar's permission she proceeded to sign the banns document in an elegant hand preliminary to marrying Mungía.[13] Notwithstanding the proximity of her birthplace the witnesses testified that they knew her less than two years, while Mungía, although only resident in Parral for one year before embarking on the marriage, presented witnesses who swore that they knew him for more than twelve years, among them Don Valerio Cortés del Rey, the holder of the sole *mayorazgo* in Chihuahua, and Don Franco Espinosa, a Chihuahuan merchant, foiled suitor of María Josépha Saenz, and only recently arrived in Parral himself. Although Mungía, who was only twenty-five years old, must have left home as a teenager, he was still aware of his parents' state of health. The couple, who were recorded in all three censuses, appeared in the 1777 listing – he as a *mestizo* musician, she as an *española* – with an infant aged nine months, a mulata slave aged twenty-three years and her seven-year-old daughter likewise enslaved. In 1778 Doña María appeared simply as "Mariana Goisotena, española," with no mention of Doña. Ten years later the son and slave remained (aged fourteen and thirty years respectively), but the slave's daughter had disappeared. Francisco continued to be listed as a mestizo but, apparently no longer interested in tobacco, he appears simply as a musician "nativo de Este Real" rather than Michoacán. As was the case for about half the families in 1788, his wife's name was not given. Thus these migrants resided in Parral for much of their married lives, but their status seems to have declined somewhat with age: the contraction of the household occasioned by the disappearance of a slave, the consistent identification of mestizo status which was avoided in the banns, the loss of the doña appellative, and perhaps the shift from musician-tobacconist to simply musician. Many other marrying in-migrants moved on instead.

An initial approximation of migrations as reflected by the birthplace information is one of very considerable movement for brides and grooms alike (Table 11.2). More than one-half of the deponents were in-migrants to Parral. If those of unknown birthplace were presumed to have been born in

Table 11.2 *Birthplace of brides and grooms: Parral, 1770–1776*

Birthplace	Frequency			
	Bride		Groom	
Este Real (Parral)	126		120	
Este Real		126		120
Neighboring valleys	64		59	
Ciénega de los Olivas		4		2
Guejotitán		4		1
Hacienda de la Ramada		0		1
Hacienda de Santa Rosa		1		0
Hacienda de San Ysidro		0		1
Las Bocas		2		0
Minas Nuevas		4		0
Valle de San Bartolomé		39		45
Villa de Santa Bárbara		10		9
Chihuahua region	35		34	
Bachimba		0		1
Batopilas		1		0
Chihuahua		13		19
Conchos		16		9
Cusiguriáchic		0		1
Hulimes		0		1
Pueblo de Santa Cruz		3		0
Raun		0		1
Santa Isabel		1		0
Santa Eulalia		0		1
Torin		1		0
Valle de San Buenaventura		0		1
Durango	14		30	
Cerro Gordo		0		1
Chalchiquites		0		1
Coneto		2		5
Culiacán		0		1
Durango		0		2
El Oro		9		8
Gallo		0		1
Indeé		0		1
Las Poanas		0		1
Nombre de Dios		0		1
Real de Sibiriju		0		1
San Andrés		1		0
San Juan del Río		0		1
San Miguelito		0		1
Santiago Papasquiaro		2		3
Sombrerete		0		1
Valle del Maíz		0		1

Table 11.2 (*cont.*)

	Frequency			
Birthplace	Bride		Groom	
Other	4		14	
Aguascalientes		0		1
Celaya (Michoacán)		0		1
Guadalajara		0		1
Guanajuato		0		2
México		1		1
Michoacán		0		1
Querétaro		1		0
Real de Fresnillo		2		0
Santander (Castilla)		0		1
Real de Santiago de Marfil (Michoacán)		0		1
Thajimaroa (Valladolid)		0		1
Valladolid (Castilla)		0		1
Valladolid (Michoacán)		0		1
Zacatecas		0		2
Not stated	41		20	
Total	287		287	

Source: Informaciones Matrimoniales, *El Archivo parroquial de San José de Parral*, legajos varios.

the jurisdiction of Parral, the proportion of migrants would still approach 40 percent for women and would exceed 50 percent for men. By aggregating birthplaces into five regions – Parral, neighboring valleys, Chihuahua, the remainder of the Archbishopric of Durango and Northern Guadalajara, and more distant points – the localized nature of migration becomes clear (Figure 11.1). In addition to the large proportion, if not a majority, who were born in Parral, a third of those marrying were from neighboring communities within the upper reaches of three river valleys: Río San Gregorio, Río San Bartolomé and Río San Pedro. As will be demonstrated below, this expanse of some 2,000 square kilometers constituted a single catchment area of which Parral was the administrative and commercial center wherein people married somewhat randomly. Thus, these data confirm patterns uncovered for late-eighteenth century Guanajuato, where Brading found that 77 percent of adult non-Indian males were born in the city or in nearby mines, villages, or ranchos.[14] In the case of Parral 70 percent of grooms and 80 percent of brides were from the local region.

The dominant source of migrants was the Valle de San Bartolomé, a cluster of haciendas and ranchos some thirty kilometers east of Parral, which

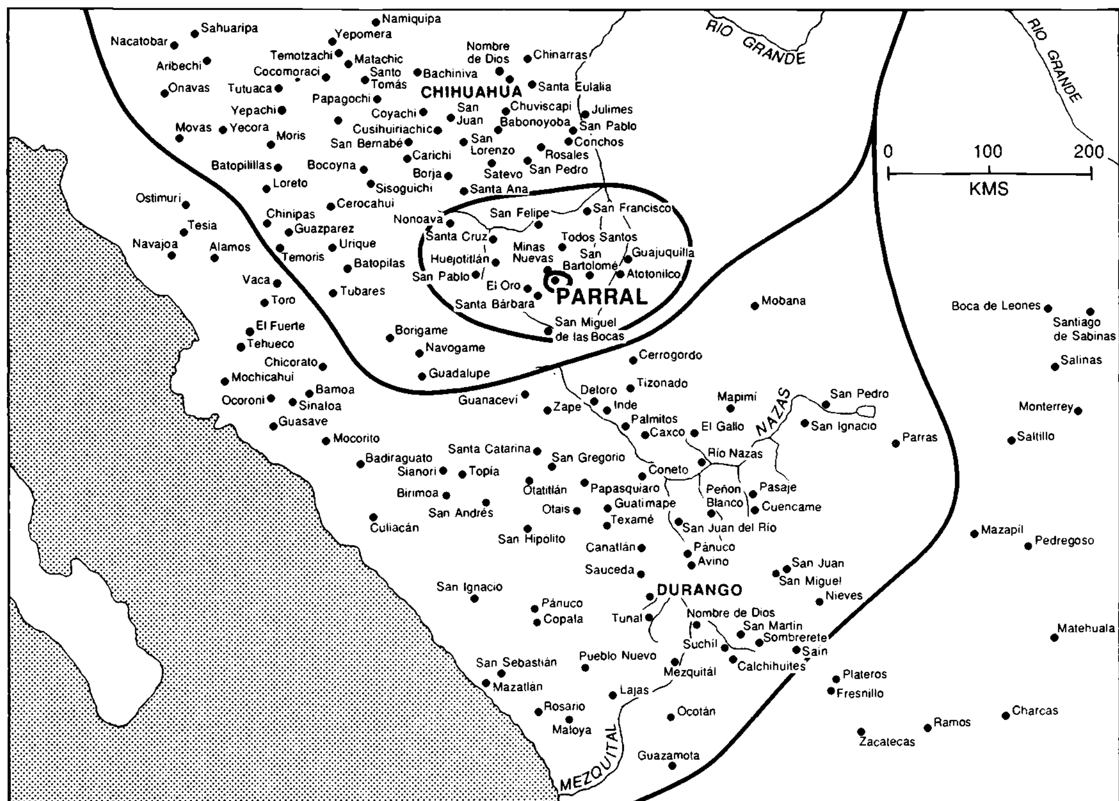

Figure 11.1 Migration zones of Parral, Nueva Vizcaya, in the late-eighteenth century

provided almost one-third of the in-migrating brides and grooms. Four other places – Villa de Santa Bárbara, Real de Chihuahua, Presidio de Conchos, and Real del Oro – accounted for an additional third. The remaining 90 migrants came from 46 different places, including two grooms from Castile. Nevertheless, the relative absence of long-distance spatial mobility is impressive; 98 percent of brides and 95 percent of grooms were born within the confines of the province of Nueva Vizcaya. Indeed, since long-distance migrants were most likely to move on after marriage, their overall contribution to the community would seem to have been slight, although they may have exercised some momentary importance.

Some fraction of local migrants, particularly those from the Valle de San Bartolomé, were pushed into Parral because of Apache raiders who renewed their assaults on Spanish settlements in northern Nueva Vizcaya in the 1770s. According to a report on damages caused by raiders during the years 1771–1776, 68 people were killed in San Bartolomé and over 15,000 head of cattle lost. Eight haciendas and ranchos were abandoned in the Parral district and 116 in the entire region.[15] Several couples who testified that they had fled the Presidio of Conchos to live in Parral because of the constant risk at the hands of raiders were still residing in Parral several years later when the 1777 census was taken. Grooms from these valleys who appeared in the 1777 census had a higher rate of persistence through 1788 than any other group, including those born in Parral.

The 1777 census confirms the patterns found in the marriage documents. Once again fewer than 50 percent of the adult men were natives of Parral, but almost 90 percent were born in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, a migration field some 300 kilometers in length centered upon Parral. The radius of migration distances increased with age. Three-quarters of young men (aged less than twenty-five years) were born in the region, half in the Parral mining district. For older males (above age twenty-five), only one-third were from the district and, if one-half hailed from the Parral region, the other had moved at least 100 kilometers to reside in Parral. Almost two-thirds of long-distance in-migrants (64/100) were thirty-five years of age or older, whereas among adults born in the Parral region almost two-thirds (380/576) were younger than thirty-five. While age patterns of migration reflect mining booms, perceptions of public safety, and the like, these data suggest considerable life-time mobility for men. In this northern mining district – and given the large number of migrants from other reales de minas in Chihuahua and Durango one could easily generalize to others – there was a greater likelihood of geographic mobility than immobility, particularly once age is taken into account. Most adult men were likely to migrate, although primarily from a nearby village, rancho, or real de minas. Marriage does not seem to have played a significant role in migration because there was little distinction in terms of marital status between migrants and non-migrants (95

Table 11.3 *Region of birth and occupational status of employed men, 1777 (in percentages)*

	Occupational status				
Region	Retainers	Workers	Low	Middle	High
Parral	37.1	36.6	38.1	33.0	17.0
Valleys	23.0	25.7	20.5	27.2	16.0
Chihuahua	12.5	12.8	16.9	13.6	8.5
Durango	9.0	16.0	9.2	16.5	12.8
Other	4.3	1.1	11.2	7.8	44.7
Unknown	14.1	7.7	4.0	1.9	1.1
Total	256	530	249	103	94

Source: See Table 11.1. Occupational classifications are reported in Robert McCaa and Michael M. Swann, Social theory and the log-linear approach: the question of race and class in colonial Spanish America, Syracuse University Department of Geography *Discussion Paper* no. 76 (1982, p. 63).

percent of those aged 35+ had married), except for long-distance migrants of which a large proportion (34 percent) were unmarried. These were the often mentioned peninsular merchants, bureaucrats, and, of course, clerics, who dominated the apex of the occupational pyramid.

Don Santiago Bamonde, a Spanish soldier from the city of Valladolid in the Kingdom of Castile, provides an example of the fragility of unions in Parral in the late-eighteenth century. In 1772, he and Doña Rita Díaz de la Rosa, aged forty-four, a widow for some twenty years and a native of Parral, were married after obtaining a dispensation for "vaguedad" and paying a 30 peso bribe to his commander to gain permission. In 1777, Doña Rita headed the household in the absence of her husband and a decade later although still without her companion she was tended by four servants, two of whom were slaves. Death was more likely to disrupt a union than absence. Almost one-third of the women in the nuptiality dataset traced through to 1788 had become widowed by that date.

Beyond local migrants, most of whom were mine workers and laborers or were marrying same, much of the migration was from reales de minas located in the Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato regions. From the data at hand, these migrants are difficult, but not impossible, to distinguish from the non-migrants.[16] Amongst those who married, migrants born nearby tended to be at the lowest occupational level, ubiquitous ill-defined mine workers, peons, *operarios* (laborers), servants, and even slaves, whereas the longer distance migrants exercised more technical occupations: *repasador* (amalgamator), *azoguero* (mercury-worker), *maestro de fundición* (master

smelter), and the like. The association between migration and occupation emerges even more clearly from an examination of the entire male population enumeration in the 1777 listing which shows that as one moves up the social pyramid, the proportion of long-distance migrants is disproportionately greater (Table 11.3).[17] Amalgamators hailed from as far as Guadalajara in the south to Santa Eulalia in the north: 37 married repasadores from Parral (and 33 single ones) were joined by 21 married repasadores (and 20 single) from eighteen different communities. Pickmen (*barreteros*), ore-carriers (*tanateros*), bakers and foremen (*obrajeros*) also show hefty proportions from outside the district. Almost all azogueros, of whom there were thirteen enumerated, were in-migrants. According to the marriage records, all tailors who married were born in Parral, and in fact the 1777 census reports that most unmarried tailors were apprentices – all but one natives of Parral. However, the census also shows that twelve married tailors who hailed from Parral shared the trade with married men from the Valle de San Bartolomé, Chihuahua, Agua Caliente, Durango, San Juan del Río, Guadalajara, Valladolid (Michoacán), and Mexico City. Carpenters – some two dozen in total – were even more likely to have migrated, but their field of movement was somewhat reduced in comparison to tailors, the most distant coming from Zacatecas. Less skilled occupations – shoemaking, butchering, wood-cutting, masonry, and *arreadores* (muleteers) – were occupied primarily by men from Parral. Married migrants from nearby valleys also settled predominantly (27 of 48) at the lowest reaches of the occupational pyramid. Of 56 men noted without an occupation ("sin ocupación"), fewer than half were born in Parral and four came from south of the city of Durango.

The great dispersion of origins – even of the most menial occupations such as ore-carriers, laborers, and pickmen – suggests that few workmen of similar occupations migrated as a group to the northern mining region. Moreover, if linking through the censuses provides a realistic image of persistence, few migrants settled in for very long, which in turn hints at the precariousness of making a living in late Bourbon Parral. The labor markets, such as they were, functioned rather sluggishly. While men of the most modest means could be persuaded to move 100 kilometers and more, opportunities in Parral were insufficient to encourage most to settle down for more than a few years. Indeed, the fact that the population of Parral did not decline adds weight to the idea that migration created much froth but did little to change structures. While many carpenters and pickmen who were present in 1777 had moved on by 1788, their places had been taken by more recent arrivals. If the workman's lot improved with migration, the regional economy seems to have enticed or impelled many to keep on the move.

The family of Miguel Antonía Beltrán, "de calidad indio libre," and Bárbara Vásquez, "mulata libre," provides an example of the drifting which occurred at the bottom of the occupational pyramid. In 1770, upon their

marriage, the bride was thirty, a native of the Valley of San Bartolomé, and, although the groom did not state his age or birthplace, witnesses declared that both were known as residents of Parral. The record is mute about how long this had been the case. According to the census of 1777 Miguel was twenty-eight years old, an *operario de minas* also from the Valley of San Bartolomé, and the father of a five-year-old son, whose calidad was not mentioned. Information on Bárbara agrees exactly with that in the nuptial document, except that age is not given. The 1778 census confirms much of these data, adding that the family lived in the "llano y serro de los tharumares" and that their son was an eleven-year-old (!) *lobo*. While the *llano* does not appear in the 1788 census, some of the families listed near the Vásquez do, but not the Vásquez themselves nor any other operarios who married during this period. Several operarios used this occupation to affirm a desire to remain in the community. A young español from the Valley of San Bartolomé expressed his intention to live in the community by noting that "tengo asentada conveniencia de operario en la hacienda de Don Manuel Antto. de Gonzalez de este comercio y minería." Nevertheless of ten grooms in the dataset who appeared as operarios in the 1777 census (half of whom were natives of Parral), only one could be traced to 1788, an español, native of Parral now widowed, but elevated to the position of mine administrator by his adoptive father.

The association between migration and occupation is most pronounced at the peak of the social pyramid. In 1777, of forty-three married men who were members of the elite, only eleven were from Parral. Of forty-one single elite males, only eight were from Parral. More than two-thirds of elite single men were long-distance migrants. Twenty-seven of thirty-nine merchants were from Spain as were the administrative inspector, *alcalde*, and *cura vicario*. Reverend Fathers and preachers were from Mexico, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas. Indeed while long-distance in-migrants dominated the highest levels of society they were not penalized for being unmarried, even if one excludes the religious authorities. At intermediate levels of the social hierarchy Parralenses held their own against outsiders from near and far, although primarily as miners and landowners. Nevertheless, marriage was critically important for attaining middling status (68 percent of whom were married, n = 92), and even more so for in-migrants (86 percent married).

The main difference between the migration patterns of brides and grooms is the slight tilt of women toward geographical stability and shorter distance migrations (Table 11.4). Occupational differentials for female migrants cannot be determined because women, whether migrants or not, were not considered as having an occupation. Instead they were listed as dependants of husbands, fathers or relatives. In the 1777 census only 143 women were enumerated with occupations of whom a meager six – all servants – were married, but none appeared amongst the 287 banns documents. There was a

Table 11.4 *Region of birth and calidad, 1777 (in percentages)*

	Calidad				
Region	Español	Mestizo	Mulato	Indio	Total
Ever-married men					
Parral	25.2	30.8	47.1	30.3	35.0
Valleys	22.1	31.6	20.8	21.2	23.3
Chihuahua	20.7	16.7	10.4	16.7	15.7
Durango	18.9	12.5	16.7	18.2	16.8
Other	12.0	7.5	3.8	4.5	7.3
Unknown	0.9	0.8	1.3	9.1	1.9
Total	217	120	240	66	643
Ever-married women					
Parral	30.0	31.6	45.0	19.0	34.9
Valleys	34.3	35.3	22.0	25.9	29.4
Chihuahua	21.0	12.5	16.3	15.5	17.4
Durango	11.0	16.9	11.0	32.8	13.7
Other	2.0	2.2	2.5	1.7	2.2
Unknown	1.7	1.5	3.2	5.1	2.5
Total	300	136	282	58	776

Source: See Table 11.1.

clear sexual imbalance in the adult population of Parral, with 15 percent more adult ever-married women than men. Parral seems to have served as a refuge for women in general and widows in particular. Perhaps, the commercial, administrative, and even military functions performed in Parral created more attractive niches for women than those available in the countryside or smaller settlements. The sexual imbalance between the places of origin of españoles is noteworthy, with married españolas outnumbering married españoles three to two.

Calidad is also associated with migration, even after taking into account the association between occupation and migration (Table 11.4). It should not be surprising that españoles were the most mobile of the lot, even when analysis is restricted to ever-married men. Three-quarters were born outside Parral, one-third of whom were from the Durango region or points further south. The comparable proportion for the *castas* is only about one-fifth. Mulatos, more than two-thirds of whom were born in or near the Parral mining district, appear to have been least attracted to Parral, but in fact this may have been more a matter of the perceptions of the enumerators. Although this point will be examined in more detail below (Table 11.7), many grooms who characterized themselves as mestizos at marriage – particularly those who were born in Parral – later appeared as mulatos in the

Table 11.5 *Birthplaces of grooms linked to 1777 census by calidad according to banns documents and census (in percentages)*

	Calidad				
Birthplace	Español	Mestizo	Mulato	Indio	Total
Banns					
Este Real	30.0	48.3	18.3	3.3	60
Valleys	30.4	56.5	13.0	0	23
Other	39.3	53.6	7.1	0	28
Total	32.4	51.4	14.4	1.8	111
Linked to census[a]					
Este Real	25.0	11.8	55.9	7.4	68
Valleys	20.7	27.6	41.4	10.3	29
Other	31.4	22.9	34.3	11.4	35
Total	25.8	18.2	47.0	9.1	132
1777 census – All married males					
Este Real	24.5	17.6	49.5	8.4	273
Valleys	38.0	20.7	30.4	10.9	92
Other	44.1	16.8	28.9	10.2	256
Total	34.6	17.7	38.2	9.5	621

Note: [a]Includes 21 grooms whose calidad was not indicated at marriage, but was stated in 1777.
Source: See Table 11.1.

1777 listing. In any case, there is a clear division between españoles and castas, even if the peninsular Spaniards are left aside. The migration field of castas was substantially reduced in comparison.

Indios and mulatos were overwhelmingly from areas near Parral. Españoles were much more likely to have migrated from longer distances, while mestizos married in roughly equal proportions from all areas. These generalizations are supported by both the banns documents and the 1777 census, although marriage rates were not computed for individual calidades because of the small number of cases and the fluidity of the categories. Nevertheless the association between calidad and birthplace is at least as strong as that between occupation and birthplace regardless of whether the banns or census information is used. The attenuation of the process using linked census data is notable, but not total (Table 11.5). Whether we examine solely the calidad and birthplace of men as stated in the banns document (Table 11.5, top panel), those same men according to calidad in the 1777 lists (middle panel), or all married men (bottom), the correlation between ethnic character and birthplace remains strong.[18]

Census returns for all married males in 1777 also reveal socio-racial nuances which are not apparent in the marriage documents (bottom panel, Table 11.5). In this census, Parralenses were more apt to be characterized as mulatos particularly at younger ages, while in-migrants were more likely than non-migrants to be listed as español. It seems that either Padre Frías' prejudices were not as readily transferred to in-migrants, or perhaps in-migrants were of more español or mestizo stock. In any case, these distinctions were accentuated for older adults, with 46 percent of in-migrants declared as españoles compared with 29 percent for Parralenses and 57 percent for migrants born outside the province of Nueva Vizcaya. Thus the older the migrant the greater the likelihood of being called "Spanish."

In an era of rudimentary transportation, long-distance migration was costly, and for most people, particularly men of marriageable – and women of any – age, not an attractive possibility. Fewer than 5 percent of brides and grooms were long-distance migrants. Moreover, most of the long-distance migrants seem to have moved on within a few years after marriage. Thus, if we may generalize from these slender data, because of high turnover the social impact of migrants on the community was perhaps more qualitative than quantitative. Longer distance migrants were the least rooted of the lot. Consider the 128 men who presented nuptial testimonies and appeared in the 1777 census. Of 36 long-distance migrants only ten were still resident in Parral in 1788 whereas forty of those who were natives of Parral or short-distance migrants were still there in 1788. Moreover, their having married in the community and tarried long enough to be enumerated in the 1777 census should suggest a greater disposition toward sinking deeper roots in Parral. In fact over 70 percent of long-distance migrants disappeared within a decade (compared with 57 percent of the remainder). The fact that longer distance migrants tended to be older, and thus had higher mortality, would not account for this difference. Because of small group size effects of neither occupation nor ethnic status can be enticed from these data.

If for most migrants movement was primarily regional, there was at the same time a genuine consciousness of one's geographical origins, if not birthplace. By comparing stated birthplace in the banns document with that in the padrones, we can ascertain the relative consistency between them. It should be noted that slightly less than half of those married could be found in the 1777 enumeration which was carried out on average four years after these banns were registered.[19] Grooms hailing from Parral were most likely to be found (53 percent compared with 36 percent for those from outside the bishopric) whereas for brides, there seems to have been little relationship between birthplace and successful links (49 and 50 percent, respectively).

The number of discrepancies about specific places was substantial. Only slightly more than half (153/276) of the brides and grooms who could be traced appeared with identical places of birth in both documents, although

Table 11.6 *Regions of birth according to marriage declarations (1770–1776) and census listing (1777): Parral*

Census listing	Marriage declarations						
	Parral	Valleys	Chihuahua	Durango	Other	Unknown	Total
Men							
Parral	48	14	3	2	0	4	71
Valleys	9	11	9	9	9	1	48
Chihuahua	5	2	16	1	0	3	27
Durango	2	0	0	10	0	3	15
Other	0	0	0	1	5	0	6
Total found	64	27	19	14	5	11	140
Not found[a]	56	32	19	22	9	9	147
Women							
Parral	48	14	2	0	0	9	73
Valleys	11	16	2	0	0	4	33
Chihuahua	3	1	12	0	0	2	18
Durango	0	1	0	7	0	2	10
Other	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total found	52	32	16	7	2	17	126
Not found[a]	64	32	22	7	2	24	151

Note: [a]Birthplace data extracted from the banns.
Source: See Table 11.1.

well over three-quarters were listed in both documents with agreement by region (Table 11.6). More than half of the errors involved "Este Real" and one of the many nearby villages or valleys.[20]

Transcription mistakes, on the other hand – inferred here by comparing differences between birthplace as given in the banns document and that reported in the marriage books – were slight whether they are attributed to scribes who used quills to copy the information two centuries ago or assistants who keyed the data with computers only a few years ago. A mere thirteen disagreements between places of origin for either bride or groom were discovered in 260 marriages. One might suspect the occasional effort at concealment to avoid delay, to save the expense of obtaining testimony from one native's parish, or to prevent the discovery of a marriage conveniently forgotten. In fact these efforts were apparently so infrequent that they are swamped by other errors. Banns documents offer more reliable evidence because, with rare exceptions, each individual presented sworn testimony which was corroborated (or contradicted occasionally) by two or more witnesses. Census declarations, on the other hand, enjoyed little if any legal recognition and were more likely to be made by spouses, relatives, or other third parties.

Disagreements were as likely with places at hand as they were for those at great distances. There was greatest confusion about the Valle de San Bartolomé with fifty-five brides or grooms declaring the Valley as their birthplace in their banns, but only fifteen who also did so in the 1777 listing. On cross-examination – checking banns birthplace against census birthplace – over half from San Bartolomé were listed as originating from Parral while others were reported as natives of Chihuahua, Conchos, Cusiguriáchic, Santa Bárbara, and even San Juan del Río near the city of Durango. A second place which suffered from a great variety of error was El Real del Oro near Indeé with only one person properly identified in both sources while three others reported Agua Caliente (not to be confused with Aguascalientes), two Parral, one Indeé and another Santiago Papasquiaro.

Nor were the native-born Parralenses consistently distinguished from outsiders. Under cross-examination more than 25 percent failed to be identified uniformly as locals or outsiders with only slight differences by sex (25 and 27 percent for females and males, respectively). Nevertheless, adopting regions as units of analysis reduces errors to less than 10 percent. Thus, spatial consciousness operated more reliably at the regional level than at that of the specific locale. Perhaps precise geographical origins are not worthy of much consideration?

Comparing agreement of geographical space with social space is instructive (Table 11.7). Of 260 banns documents traced to the marriage act itself there were seventeen instances – almost all for females – in which calidad in the former disagreed with that in the latter, compared to thirteen disagreements for place names. Re-classifications of calidad invariably increased agreement between the character of brides and grooms, and was not due to the scribe carelessly repeating the groom's condition. In the marriage registers, information about the bride always appears before that of the groom, contrary to the order of precedence in the informaciones matrimoniales. The discrepancies between calidades from informaciones matrimoniales and padrones are much more substantial than those for birthplace, but more systematic as well. There seems to have been relatively little confusion about the meaning of "español," but a very great deal about other groups occasioned by both a higher proportion of mulatos in the 1777 census and the complete absence of "coyote" and "lobo" in the parish documents. Men were much more likely to marry below their status (48/119) than women (30/92).[21] Calidades expressed in the marriage documents were probably self-declarations whereas those in the 1777 census were more likely to have been imputed by the enumerators.[22] The parish vicar, Father José Francisco de Frías, a recent immigrant from Spain undertaking his first colonial appointment, was more tolerant taking sworn testimony in the confines of his office than when reporting the character of his flock to the authorities. This does not mean that the pattern of racial drift (that is, differences between

Table 11.7 *Calidad according to marriage declarations (1770–1776) and census listings (1777): Parral*

Census listings	Marriage declarations				
	Español	Mestizo	Mulato	Indio	Total
Men					
Español	33	1	0	0	34
Mestiza	1	16	2	0	19
Coyote	2	10	0	0	12
Lobo	0	1	0	0	1
Mulato	3	23	12	1	39
Indio	0	8	1	4	13
Total	39	59	15	5	118
Women					
Española	32	4	0	0	36
Mestiza	1	10	2	0	13
Coyota	3	11	0	2	16
Loba	1	3	0	0	4
Mulata	3	8	9	3	23
India	0	2	0	0	2
Total	40	38	11	5	94

Source: See Table 11.1

declarations in the marriage documents and ascriptions in the padrón) was wholly a matter of chance, but rather differences of opinion between the perceptions of the priest and the self-identifications of parishioners. Birthplace, on the other hand, was neither as important nor as susceptible to manipulation by the authorities. Finally, these patterns suggest to me that "racial endogamy" as normally computed from the marriage books may reflect not so much the social characteristics of the people as a state of mind. Racial consciousness, as revealed by the marriage documents, was very strong indeed. In Parral as elsewhere, endogamous marriage was the accepted norm, although unions between mestizos on the one hand and mulatos or indios on the other occurred with some frequency.

Marriage patterns show a surprisingly high degree of spatial exogamy. When the precise birthplaces of brides and grooms are compared, more than two-thirds of all marriages were between men and women who did not have common birthplaces, a much higher rate than for any of the late-eighteenth-century communities studied by Greenow or Swann in Guadalajara or Durango.[23] Cases of spatial endogamy, aside from Parral with an absolute total of 61, were limited to Valle de San Bartolomé (9), Chihuahua (1), Conchos (3), and Coneto (1). Shared geographical origins do not seem to have been an important consideration in marriage. While there was a great

Table 11.8 *Regional origins of marriage partners in Parral*

	Bride						
Groom	Este Real	Valleys	Chihuahua	Durango	Other	Unknown	Total
Este Real	61	28	15	4	0	12	120
Valleys	23	17	9	0	2	8	59
Chihuahua	13	7	7	5	0	6	38
Durango	21	4	6	2	0	3	36
Other	3	6	0	3	2	0	14
Unknown	5	2	1	0	0	12	20
Total	126	64	38	14	4	41	287

Source: See Table 11.1

deal of short-distance migration before marriage, birthplace seems to have played a rather minor role in determining who married whom when compared with calidad or occupation. Thus, unlike more permanently settled regions in Central Mexico and perhaps the Yucatán, in-migrants were so commonplace in Parral that few outsiders could have been considered outcasts nor was migration a disadvantage in the local marriage market. On the contrary, aggregating the birthplace data into regions (Table 11.8) brings into focus a dichotomous marriage field:

1 a local endogamous market, accounting for about half of total unions, with nearly random intermarrying between people in the Real and those living elsewhere in the jurisdiction and in nearby villages and valleys;[24]
2 an exogamous market in which regional migrants favored marriage with local men and women or migrants from other regions, but not from their own specific birthplaces.

If Parral and its neighboring dependencies are considered as a single marriage catchment area, the percentage of regionally exogamous marriages drops to some 35 percent. For in-migrants, the regional endogamy ratio (i.e. marrying someone from their own region of birth) ranges from a meager 10 to 20 percent, depending upon the region. Although this is higher than what would be expected from random intermarrying, it remains considerably lower than the endogamous propensities of non-migrants. From a genetical perspective, the large proportion of people moving rather small distances facilitated intermixing of gene pools – note that for these years only three instances of consanguineous marriage at the fourth degree or above[25] have come down to us – contributing to biological vigor absent perhaps from more sedentary, agrarian settlements in the Central Mexican basin. From a sociological vantage considerable migratory motion barely disturbed underlying social structures, although it does prove an openness to outsiders rarely discerned by historians in other regions of Nueva Vizcaya or New Spain.

People in the Parral mining district moved about quite freely, although men more so than women. Images of immobile laborers and peons clearly do not fit marrying adults in late-eighteenth-century Parral nor even in the Yucatán according to Robinson and Farriss.[26]

A substantial proportion of both endogamous and exogamous marriages was simply the consummation of unions which had been initiated elsewhere. Consider the case of Antonio Bruno Rebuelto, a mestizo bachelor, twenty-six years of age, operario de minas, native of Villa de San Felipe El Real (Chihuahua) and resident in Parral for seven years, who on 10 August 1776, proposed to marry Juana Joachina Botella, a twenty-one-year-old single mestiza born near Durango (Santiago Papasquiaro) and resident in Parral for six years. Their intention of remaining in the parish for at least a short while is evident because both appear in two following censuses. Less than a year after marrying, the couple is listed in 1777 with two sons, one seven years of age (and of unknown birthplace) and the other one year old. According to the census taker, "José Antonio" was a mulato and his wife a loba. The household consisted of eleven people headed by a lobo *peón de minas* who seems to have been unrelated to the newlyweds. In 1778, Antonio headed a houseful himself consisting of three families, and accompanied by his sons. He is classified as a mulato and his spouse an Indian. His sixty-year-old widowed mother appears as an Indian in the immediately preceding household. No trace of the family could be found in 1788.

This procedure of legitimizing unions is one of the most striking features differentiating migrants from non-migrants. If attention is limited to those who married within three years of the 1777 census, almost half of in-migrants who could be traced in the padrón (23/47, 49 percent) had children listed whose ages suggest that they were born before their parents married. For non-migrants the proportion was about one in six (6/35 or 17 percent). Thus, migrants married at a rather late stage in the constitution of family life than non-migrants. Migration seems to have offered the opportunity for men and women to initiate families before acquiring the material or social resources customary for a church-sanctioned marriage. Concubinage amongst non-migrants was more restrained, whether by the family, community, or the Church is not clear.[27]

For those who stayed in their community of origin marriage was not synonymous with the establishment of an independent household. While census data can reveal information about extended families and the like, we often lack sufficient context to discover the potential number of extended families under given conditions of survivorship. In this instance, a substantial proportion of recently married couples resided with parents, although the multitude of considerations associated with residence were so subtle as to defy analysis. Of 138 cases in which both bride and groom were linked into the 1777 census, there were 92 instances in which at least one parent of either

bride or groom was also enumerated. More than one-third resided with at least one or another of the surviving parents with only slight fluctuations regardless of age, sex, marital status, race, or occupation. Once survivorship is taken into account there is no exceptional pattern of co-residence whether español or mestizo, rich or poor, mothers or fathers, widows or widowers, parents of the bride or parents of the groom. One might expect sharing where a father or mother was widowed (or single), but this was not the case. Co-residence by newlyweds was about as likely with widows as it was with widowers. Nor were housing arrangements influenced to any exceptional degree by having both parents alive. Although there were no instances of both fathers living with newlyweds, there was one instance of both mothers doing so and two cases in which the groom's mother and bride's father resided in the same household – forms which stand out because of their infrequent occurrence.[28] Notwithstanding the lack of social differentials, one-third of the newlyweds with one or more parents alive had not left the parental home after an average of three years of marriage. There are several examples of even migrants residing with parents. Thus, availability of parents, checked by mortality and migration, were the limiting factors on co-residence.

As part of the required marriage declaration, many migrants, 60 of 143 migrant grooms, affirmed an "ánimo de morar aquí," that is a desire to dwell in the community. Were they as likely to persist?[29] The expression of "ánimo" was more than an offhand comment to humor the vicar. In fact, there is a strong correlation (1.95x) between the expression of "ánimo" and persistence. Fifty-five percent of in-migrants who expressed an ánimo were found in the 1777 census, while of 83 in-migrants who did not, only 39 percent could be located in the padrón. Nevertheless length of residence is more important than ánimo in explaining persistence, at least for those who migrated from farther afield and who had resided in Parral for a longer period of time before marriage. The average time resident in the parish before marriage was slightly less than five years (n = 113). Over 70 percent of grooms born outside the Parral mining district and resident in the community for more than five years (n = 28) expressed a desire to remain in Parral compared to only 16 percent for those resident fewer than five years (n = 43). The differential for short-distance migrants is somewhat less because a larger proportion of recent migrants also expressed their eagerness to settle in Parral. "Españoles" were twice as likely to express ánimo as mestizos and others, but they had migrated greater distances and had lived in the community longer before marriage. It is impossible to sort out the particular effects of all of these variables on persistence, because of the complex interrelations and the small number of cases. Nevertheless it seems that longer distance migrants' ánimo did have an additional effect on persistence of about ten percentage points. Only seven women expressed interest in

remaining in the parish, four in common with their husbands' statements. The failure of women to express ánimo may in itself be significant; women were much more likely to follow along with their husbands. For historians seeking a clue to likely permanence in the community, the expression of ánimo may provide some additional guidance, but only when coupled with information about migration distance both in space and time.[30]

In conclusion, a spatial consciousness existed on the settled frontier of Nueva Vizcaya and geographical mobility was widespread, particularly for men. People consistently identified themselves with regional, if not local, origins. The logic of spatial mobility was intertwined with social origins, occupational opportunities, and family necessities. Rapid population turnover also seems to have been the norm, although it should be recognized that most of the movement was confined primarily to a string of mines and farms along the principal highway which stretched from Durango to Chihuahua. People were disposed to move, given the proper stimulus, but in broader social terms much of the movement seems to have canceled itself out, aside from the well-known example of the *peninsulares* and a handful of migrants from Zacatecas and points south. Swann's argument that people in Nueva Vizcaya were highly mobile is confirmed here, but one should recognize that much of the migration was highly local and seems to have had modest effects on the social structure.[31] Migration offered several avenues to social mobility. For some it was a means toward legitimizing a family. For others migration provided an opportunity to change calidad. Finally, migration also offered economic advantages as well. Thus for most in the Parral mining district, oppression was more structural than personal. Aside from slaves and some servants, most married men could and did pick up their possessions and often their families to search for a better position in the next valley or real de minas.[32]

To the extent that the pattern of movement into and out of Parral characterized other communities in Nueva Vizcaya, migration fostered regional integration, and stimulated the formation of familial and social contacts well beyond the local community. Whether these patterns were common to other Mexican communities, or settlement types other than reales de minas, can only be determined by further research. Swann's conclusion derived from aggregate data is confirmed: "Geographical mobility was no longer a characteristic limited to vagabonds and upwardly mobile bureaucrats; rather many people moved and, as they did, the traditional ties that linked families to parishes were replaced by a broader identification with the region."[33] In Parral when it came to marriage, inmigrants, both male and female, were little disadvantaged, and certainly not shunned or generally viewed with suspicion by native Parralenses, neither male nor female. Nevertheless for most migrants, ánimo was not a sufficiently secure foundation upon which to build a family's future.

Appendix. Linking procedures and problems

Now that microcomputers have liberated population geographers and historians from the 80-column punch-card, there is a substantial increase in the quantity, variety, and complexity of analyzable demographic data, even for obscure colonial Spanish American communities like that of San José de Parral. Innovative technologies permit researchers to examine issues from new perspectives which, in turn, may demand new methods, ranging from data collection, to interpretation, and ultimately dissemination. For example, the metaphor for collecting data should no longer be "coding," converting data to numeric codes, then "punching it" in fixed-width columns into the computer, but rather "keying," typing information as it appears in the original document into a program-controlled application form, with ample options for capturing the language of the document itself. The resulting product is not only of higher quality, but it may gain additional worth as a research or teaching tool for others as well.

The "new" population history, like its mother discipline, demography, is shifting its emphasis from cross-sectional to longitudinal data, from studying stages in people's lives at one moment in time, to analyzing processes revealed through life histories. For the population historian, who is least able to depend upon subject recall to reconstruct life events, linking data within and between large datasets is an important new approach. Nevertheless, statistics teased from linked protostatistical documents only have meaning when explicit, unbiased linking rules are applied. In colonial Latin America, widespread illiteracy coupled with a certain degree of administrative sloth demand that one take a probabilistic approach in constructing family genealogies. The most important rule is that no variable of substantive interest should be used in making linking decisions. If, for example, the issue at hand is ethnic or racial identification, then ethnicity must not be taken into account in deciding ambiguous links. To rule out a link unless socio-race is identical in both base and target documents, or, in an ambiguous instance, to allow racial information to break a linking deadlock, undermines the validity of the racial variable in any comparison between linked and unlinked individuals. The same rule applies to information about birthplace, occupation, or any other variable of substantive interest.

Here, names, ages and marital status were the only variables used to match couples from informaciones matrimoniales and padrones. Calidad, occupation and birthplace were not taken into account to avoid contaminating variables of substantive interest. Identical matches of all information were

not required, because some variation in naming as well as ages should be expected.[34]

The data were sorted by sex and family and Christian names, and linked twice: by hand, using printed slips, and by computer-automated methods. The paper-and-pencil approach was aided by computer-generated alphabetized lists of all adults for each set of documents. The assistants searched until they were convinced that no further links were possible.

Meanwhile a microcomputer program was implemented to permit the researcher to confirm, contradict, or reconsider proposed links. First, names were reduced to a phonetic representation, using the system of Spanish phonemes. Then each banns document was linked into a single census one at a time. With a banns document as the starting point, the program displays a ranked list of potential matches from the census with the strongest link identified. At that point the researcher has several options. The proposed link may be accepted, an alternate link selected from a list, other cases considered of individuals with only the same family or Christian name phonemes, or completely different names. Both husbands and wives are taken into account simultaneously in the automatic searches and ranked listings.

This semi-automatic approach facilitates the rapid development of a fairly generalized, efficient linking program without requiring extremely high reliability that is routinely expected by those who work with rich data produced by an efficient bureaucracy. It should not be surprising that there was a very high degree of agreement between the two approaches. In practice the program does discover matches that fatiguing pencil-and-paper methods cannot reasonably be expected to uncover. This strategy also encourages a greater confidence because for each link a much more exhaustive pool of potential matches are considered than is possible when one is shuffling paper rather than twiddling bits. In this experiment, disagreements between the two procedures were subjected to meticulous examination, with the final decision usually favoring interactive methods, with perhaps two or three exceptions.

The fruits of the linking process demonstrated that there was a certain degree of consistent coverage between the censuses, but there was also a remarkable number of inconsistencies (see Table 11.1). The most troubling are the thirty-four marriages that show up only in the 1788 census, but there are an additional twenty-six that appear only in the 1778 lists, and twenty-one linked only into 1777.

A more detailed assessment of the sources of inconsistencies awaits the linking of births and deaths into this dataset, but for the moment the conclusion that the authorities were unable to execute complete enumerations of the population seems inescapable. If enumerators in 1777 neglected to list one-quarter of the population living in outlying ranchos and haciendas – in 1788 seven couples were found living around the "Casa de los Granados" (and made nuptial testimonies during the years 1770–1776), but

not one appeared in the 1777 census – there is also evidence of considerable omission within barrios and other areas of the community that were enumerated in all three censuses. For example, of thirty-nine couples living in "Parral" in 1788, twenty were not listed in 1777. Only the Barrio of San Nicolás seems to have been carefully enumerated at each date, with six couples found in all listings, two not found in 1777, and one omitted in 1778. In the Barrio of San Francisco inconsistencies were most pronounced: five found in all censuses, six in 1778 and 1788, four only in 1788, two in 1788 and 1777, and a small, but unknown number – because the Barrio is not identified in the earlier censuses – who appeared in 1777 or 1778, but not in 1788.

Repeated migration into and out of Parral seems less significant in explaining enumeration inconsistencies. Consider the special case of forty-five couples who were enumerated in all three censuses, versus the twelve who were only listed in the first and last. The correlation between consistency and birthplace was 2:1, with consistency twice as great for native-born Parralenses as for newlyweds from nearby valleys and villages. Eighty-four percent of those born in Parral who were listed in the 1777 and 1788 censuses (31 marriages) also appeared in the 1778 census, while the proportion of the second group was 69 percent (n = 16). Although these bits of data are far from definitive, it appears that circular migration was of little consequence for the native-born and of only slightly greater importance for short-distance migrants.

In comparison, the effects of mortality on linkage rates are more easily dealt with and also of less consequence. Of 144 couples traced into the 1777 census, four were widows and three widowers. If the number disappearing entirely due to the death of *both* spouses is unknown, it must have been no more than two or three by 1777, and twenty or thirty by 1788. Unfortunately Parral's death registers are too patchy to assay the weight of mortality on the degree of impermanence reflected in the low rates of persistence. Raiding Indians, or "indios bárbaros" as they were characterized in the parish books, were sufficiently common that in four instances sworn testimony was accepted in lieu of an official burial inscription to permit a widow to remarry. Nevertheless Parral itself did not come under attack.

Mortality might account for a growing proportion of husbands and wives who were traced to an earlier census, but not a later one. Circular migration might also explain a proportion of the recently married who appear in a later listing, but not an earlier one. Extreme variations in naming or spelling (and poor paleography) must be taken into account as well. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the major source of error and inconsistency is the weakness of colonial bureaucracy. When birth and burial registers are linked into the censuses as well, a more definitive answer may be forthcoming.

12

Informal settlement and fugitive migration amongst the Indians of late-colonial Chiapas, Mexico

RODNEY WATSON

Migration as a fundamental adjunct of settlement – the veins through which the blood of population moves – needs to be measured and assigned a place in the fabric of colonial spatial and social organization. Various types of migration and motives for such movement have come to light. Spanish colonial administrators were themselves aware of the complex mobility of native populations. Individuals moved with, or were followed by their families, or moved alone in pursuit of marriage and the opportunity to work, or by contrast, to flee looming death and unpaid tribute. Villages collapsed and their remnants dispersed to new sites, or corporate decisions might be taken to relocate in proximity to cash crop economies. Whole regions underwent upheaval and experienced economic decline or boom, with consequent dislocation and relocation. This study discusses recorded migration amongst the Indians of colonial Chiapas, with particular emphasis on reactions to eighteenth-century crises in the region.

The idea of fugitivism, or flight – the most common words used by Spanish administrators to describe absent Indians – implies deliberate concealment of self from authority. Its use to describe such movement by Indian individuals and groups might be thought inappropriate in most situations, although the word is employed widely by Latin American historians of the colony. There is nothing in the documents for Spanish-controlled Chiapas to suggest that the absent were hunted down, apart from the *entradas* made against the Lacandon Indians of the frontier during the seventeenth century. But undramatic movement by those who declined to stay put was seen as doing violence to the Spanish conception of ordered administration, undermining the fabric of the system, calling down on offenders an indictment of unreason, godlessness, and sheer contrary-minded elusiveness. In this sense, those who moved without permission were indeed criminal – they often broke both the spirit and letter of statutes – and the documentation yields a picture of at least epistolary Spanish wrath directed against them.

In practice, such mobility became part of the backdrop to colonial

administration, a factor to be duly noted, and one to be occasionally bent to political and economic purposes by opposing Spanish groups. For the Indian, movement must have represented a significant technique for short- and longer-term accommodations.

Traditional typologies of indigenous survivals in Spanish America point, generally with a firm weight of evidence, to endemic high mortality through disease and to the disintegration of ethnic integrity through miscegenation in regions of higher forced African migration as the fundamental causes for the eradication of indigenous groups. The most outstanding cases of population decline due to destructive labor systems have been carefully examined. We now start to make a place in such reckonings for the labor system which chronically oppressed, rather than simply killing off, its workers. The *repartimiento*, applied without relief in Chiapas and with the grip of a vice, qualifies as such a system in this case, and individual and group reactions of flight – where and when it was possible – may be a distinctive component in the system. Further, the extent to which migration varied in type and volume may have implications for our reading of official estimates of the size of regional population.

Spanish American migrations: recent research

In Spanish America, much migration was viewed as anti-social, fugitive behavior, excepting the reality of pervasive exogamous coupling. To some degree, we fight the same battle in attempting to give it a place as we do in trying to talk about smuggling: everyone may well have been doing it, but they tended not to write about it. Despite this difficulty, a literature has begun to emerge in recent years which tries to address some of the issues which extant sources suggest. Reference to rural indigenous migration has been in some cases only a small part of larger conceptual and regional work, and in some cases has been of recent concern. These studies show the range of experiences these migratory movements imply.

Cook and Stern have remarked on the position of the *forastero* in colonial Peru. Such Indians were not subject to the laws of tribute which governed the lives of those staying in the towns of their birth. They might become itinerant agricultural laborers or town servants, or mine workers.[1] Cook finds evidence of a very large portion of the indigenous population of Upper Peru having gradually become forasteros by the 1680s, and in 1754, nearly three in ten people were forasteros in a survey of five representative ecclesiastical districts.[2] No direct comparison can be made of this category with Meso-american regions, since the category did not have precisely the same meaning in law or practice there. It does, however, suggest massive mobility in populations which were tied, ostensibly with many bonds – imposed and traditional – to their places of birth. Stern has talked of emigration on a

massive scale, which had its beginnings "in the decline of the Indian countryside, and the rise of new centers of work, prosperity and refuge." He speaks also of the trauma involved in the decision to leave home, and how traditional bonds were eroded slowly even after departure. Further evidence is provided concerning hidden populations who protected their children by keeping them off parish registers from birth in order to avoid the burden of the *mita*.[3] Newson has pointed to Sherburne Cook's evidence for flight from the missions of the monastic clergy in California, where more than 10 percent of the recorded decline in aboriginal mission settlements might be attributed to flight made possible by weak social organization in the towns and villages.[4] In his study of Oaxaca, Taylor alludes briefly but significantly to the role of migration and flight. Citing an example from the first years of the seventeenth century, he shows that epidemic disaster is very often not sufficient in itself as a reason for reductions in population. Faced with flight or resistance, Indians in Oaxaca chose to move away, even those in the biggest and most prosperous towns.[5] Speaking of the provinces of central Guatemala, Wortman has pointed to considerable mobility amongst Indians, citing the archbishop of the 1760s as having said: "It is impossible to know how many people live in the *haciendas*: today they are here and tomorrow elsewhere" and "only a third of the families live [in Huehuetenango], the rest go elsewhere and only return to hear two or three masses, before leaving again." One parish priest could not provide an account of his community, because some "were mining, others had gone off to work and others died in the measles epidemic, still others were laboring on an indigo plantation or had dispersed to cattle ranches."[6] This view of western Guatemala has been reinforced by Lovell.[7]

Other research has taken a more specific and quantitative measure of migratory characteristics in populations. Such work as Swann's on the north Mexican jurisdiction of Durango, with its concentration on marriage patterns, Robinson's on Parral which shows correlation between marriage fields and both town size and transport links,[8] and Kevin Gosner's treatment of exogamous marriage patterns in Yucatán's Umán parish and in the towns of the 1712 rebellion in Chiapas all point to a high rate of mobility where marriage is concerned in the Indian populations of various regions.[9]

Juan and Judith Villamarin's work on the colonial Chibcha has made a significant contribution concerning the extent of absenteeism (*ausentes*) in Indian towns. They found that absent tributaries increased sharply in number from the mid-seventeenth to the late-eighteenth centuries to over one-third of tributaries in some cases, persisting into the nineteenth century at the lower level of about one in ten. They suggest that the Chibcha generally resisted Spanish efforts to impose nucleation, and point to extensive resistance to the policy in a multitude of ways. Further, it is claimed that such reluctance to comply was related to pressures of ecological adaptations,

to principles of social and political organization and to the defensive strategies adopted to protect the communities from colonists.[10] Dispersal seemed instinctively to make effective use of diverse ecological ones. Rosemary Bromley has provided a study of highland Ecuador which relates migratory behavior to the frequent intrusion of natural disaster onto the scene.[11]

The Mexicanists Cook and Borah have contributed to the picture we now have of Yucatán with analysis of that territory's population history which created a place for migrant behavior and the population's response to calamities. They also found that the scale of population decline in Yucatán after the mid-seventeenth century could not be accounted for solely by what remains in the historical record of natural disasters and the balance of recorded births and deaths. They do not hazard a guess at the scale of fugitive migration, but recognize its significant role in the story of indigenous population change through the whole of the colonial period, and the several reasons causing it.[12]

Beginning with an essay in 1978 and culminating with an extended treatment of the subject in her recent book on the colonial Maya, Farriss has advanced perhaps the most systematic account of Indian migration in Yucatán.[13] Her typology of migratory behavior includes three basic categories: a move into unoccupied territory in response to individual or corporate crises; drift – regular movement of varying temporal duration between controlled communities; and dispersal – the reversal over the long term of Spanish policies of *congregación* through the establishment of satellite communities around parish centers. The Farriss argument can be summarized thus: the colonial lowland Maya were a restless people who demonstrated surprising mobility both before and after conquest. Faced with Spanish demands on their time, energy and wealth, together with the frequent twin blights of disease and famine, they would up stakes and abandon their communities with the greatest ease. This account says that the colonial Maya were generally more able and frequently more willing to take flight than to stay and fight. Such a peripatetic strategy is presented as an essentially positive adaptation to circumstances, as part of the "collective enterprise of survival" of Farriss' title in the maelstrom of the disintegration wrought by colonial rule.[14]

The relevance of this work to Chiapas studies is obvious: in Chiapas we have a neighbouring region with an ethnically similar population, enjoying – if that is the right word – about the same degree of backwardness and neglect by central authorities, and receiving roughly parallel attentions from Spanish settlers and churchmen. A crucial point of contrast is the matter of topography. Yucatán is notable for its flatness, inviting spatial model-building without undue complication. Chiapas is a land of great altitudinal

variety. If patterns of colonial migration might be expected to vary between the two regions, it could be that such difference would hinge on this point.

The population and economy of colonial Chiapas

For centuries Chiapas was the crossroads between New Spain and Guatemala, and it was attached to the latter *audiencia* for most of the era of Spanish rule. We refer here to the inland province by its colonial name, Chiapa, and to the Pacific coastal province of the time as Soconusco. There was one distinctly shabby town high on the Meseta Central, Ciudad Real, and enclaves of Spanish settlement associated with agriculture throughout the province by the early seventeenth century. As the era of the colony continued, both monastic and secular clergy accumulated impressive holdings in commercial agriculture, particularly in the valleys of the Grijalva River basin.[15] The Jesuits came to acquire holdings in northwest Chiapa associated with the production of cacao, and there was a general increase in the pace of commercial cropping in the region, as the seventeenth century drew to a close. In Soconusco, cacao, cattle ranching and indigo production were of consequence.[16] The overwhelming majority of Indians in both highland and lowland communities found themselves drawn into coercive labor relationships within the framework of the illegal repartimiento, by which the most powerful civil authority in the province, the *alcaldes mayores*, enriched themselves during their terms of office. At the same time, desperate provincial governors in Soconusco were anxious to revitalize the cacao industry, which had been briefly lucrative in the sixteenth century, by importing Indians from Chiapa to work the fields. This was never permitted, but later, highland Chiapa Indians moved in large numbers to work seasonally, earning tribute money to take back to their communities. Many perished due to the extremes of climate through which they moved in passing from *tierra fría* to *tierra caliente*.

This system of *reparto de efectos* has been extensively examined by Wasserstrom, who has catalogued the depredations practiced on the indigenous population by these officials.[17] As in so many other regions, goods were sold by the Indian communities to the governor or his agents at low prices – the principal trade was in cotton destined to become finished cloth *mantas* – and then sold back to the same communities at higher prices. The same raw materials were then used to produce goods which the governor would buy cheaply from the Indians to raise money for tribute obligations. Such an arrangement placed onerous burdens on Indian people, one which produced increasingly bitter complaints over the years. Only by a process of attrition did it finally die away, as other types of labor, including peonage, took hold and the kind of administrator provided by the Crown under the Bourbon reforms changed. The repartimiento must be viewed as one of the most

powerful forces in the lives of Indian people in later colonial Chiapa, just as it frequently was in any region where indigenous survivals were comparatively high and no great industry operated. Where the Indians were virtually the only asset in a region, it rested with the colonists to convert them to coin, as it were.[18]

What were the demographic changes during this period? From a conquest population of perhaps 350,000, Chiapa's population fell to less than 80,000 by 1611, a loss of about 75 percent overall, and appears to have hovered at about that number until the later seventeenth century, when tribute figures and related sources suggest that further decline set in and was sustained until at least the 1770s. After this time a modest increase can be noted, and a rapid expansion in the Indian and *mestizo* population took place after the 1790s. Soconusco's population may have been in excess of 100,000 at contact, falling to a heavily miscegenated few thousand over time.[19] No comprehensive and detailed census exists for the whole of the region until the nineteenth century although documents which imperfectly approximate censuses survive for the eighteenth century. Very often though it is necessary to make do with population material contained in fiscal papers, which have celebrated, or rather notorious shortcomings as sources for population data. Chiapa displays characteristics of the curve which declines quickly (but not so much as in the most pronounced places elsewhere in Spanish America) and then shows a continuous trailing away through the rest of the colonial era (Table 12.1).

The great instrument of subjugation and handmaiden to recurring depopulation was the congregación, and it was pursued vigorously in Chiapa by the Dominican friars. Many new communities were created from widely dispersed populations in hamlets throughout the region. This process, first chronicled by Antonio de Remesal in the early seventeenth century, has been examined in exhaustive detail, particularly by Sidney Markman.[20] It is enough here to note that the classic model of town planning and allied techniques for executing nucleation were used to carry out the policy in Chiapa. The consequences for Indian populations were immediate and severe. But the congregaciones were in very large measure artificial constructs, imposed on the landscape. As such, it comes as no surprise that they were soon reduced to administrative fictions by the movement of Indians away from them. A rash of *cédulas* from the 1570s forward point to an early loosening of the glue of congregación, orders which urged regional authorities to force Indians back into the new communities. At the turn of the seventeenth century, native officials were pursuing litigation in some cases to obtain *de jure* blessing for moves already carried out. Often these migrations were defended by one of the competing monastic orders or civil authorities or *encomenderos*, if it suited their interests.[21]

Table 12.1 catalogues the incidence of population movement in Chiapa

Table 12.1 Flight, migration and recurrent dispersal of the Indian population in Chiapa and Soconusco from documentary sources

Year	Place	Description and impact	Source
1537	Chiapa and Guatemala	Bishop wrote of great dispersal of populations, and need to start town building before evangelization could begin.	Bishop Marroquín to King, 10.v.1537. Cartas de Indias, 1877, 417
1540s	all of Chiapa	Detailed account of dispersal of populations Spaniards found, and of subsequent reducciones.	Remesal, Historia General, libro 8, cap. xxiv, nos. 4 and 5, and cap. xxv, nos. 1 and 2
1570	Chiapa and Guatemala	The weight of tribute made the Indians flee: "se yran por no tributar y huir tan intolerable y pesada carga."	AGI AG 168, Dominicans of Guatemala "Sobre forma de tributar." 1.xii.1570
1577	all of Chiapa	Crown summarizing report of Dominicans noticing tendency of Indians to revert to pre-congregación settlements; ordered that this movement should stop.	AGI AG 394, 5.iii.1577; Crown replying to carta of Domingo de Avala, Dominican *procurador general*
1577	all of Chiapa	Bishop to Crown, noting extensive movement to old village sites from congregaciones over past few years.	AGI AG 161, Pedro de Feria to Crown, 10.i.1577
1579	all of Chiapa	Crown remarks in *despacho* concerning dispersal of Indians faced with high tribute demands	AGI AG 395, 20.xi.1579: Crown cites Domingo de Avala in despacho
1583	all of Chiapa	Crown notes that Chiapa Indians are returning to "despoblados y sitios antiguos que solían tener." Licenses to move to be strictly regulated.	AGI AG 395, 17.i.1583
1584	Chiapa de Indios and vicinity	Civil authorities complained that *justicias* and priests had caused many Indians to flee: "se huyeron y ausentaron."	AGI In. Gen. 1234, 8.xi.1594: *Corregidor* of Chiapa de Indios to Crown
1599	Plátanos	This and other villages changed sites in course of long disputes between Franciscans and encomenderos; moves originally due to "diseased sites."	AGCA A1.10.61.644(Ch) various dates in 1604

1600	all of Chiapa	Crown notes report of prior of Ciudad Real saying that civil authorities had been driven to change sites and revert to old villages.	AGI AG 395, 21.xi.1600: Crown to prior of Ciudad Real
1609	all of Chiapa	*visitador* ordered many Indian populations to move back to congregaciones from *haciendas*, to which they had gradually drifted.	AGI AG 13, *Oidor* Manuel de Ungría Girón to Crown: 13.iv.1609
1613	all of Soconusco	Governor noted depopulation of pueblos due to movement of Indians to farms.	AGI AG 40, 4.v.1613: Governor of Soconusco to Crown
1620	Chiapa bishopric	Bishop claimed to have baptized many thousands of Indians never previously governed by Spaniards.	AGI AG 168, 29.ix.1620: Juan de Sandoval to Crown
1624	audiencia district	Indians were fleeing regularly in large numbers to avoid tribute: "esta tierra va a menos cada día."	AGI AG 15, 22.v.1624: President of Audiencia to Crown
1620s	various Zoque pueblos	*Milpas* within jurisdiction of "jueces de milpas" towns up to two leagues away.	AGI Cont. 970, 1620s: Cargos contra los jueces de milpas
1631	Chiapa generally	Indians complain at having to travel great distances from milpas to attend church services.	AGI AG 7, 23.i.1631: (authorship uncertain)
1637	Tila and district	Noting considerable recent dispersal, Crown orders *reducción* of populations back to Tila.	AGCA A1.23.1557.10201(G), f.394, undated 1537: Crown despacho
1642	Ocosingo and district	Town severely reduced in size from last count, many having "taken flight and absented themselves to estates and beyond"; resettlement to be started.	AGCA A1.23.1559.10203(G), f.188, Chancillería of 1642, undated
1648	Ocosingo	Officials sent to Chiapa claimed Indians much abused by Spaniards were greatly dispersed, started resettlements.	AGI AG 127, Informaciones de Oficios, 1648 (undated)
1649	Chiapa de Indios	Tribute reductions requested because large numbers of tributaries had left town to work on haciendas and live in unsettled areas.	AGCA A1.23.1560.10204(G), f.69, 13.ii.1640: Ocosingo oficiales to Crown
1649	Comalapa	Tribute reductions requested due to small number of Indians left after considerable flight.	AGCA A1.23.1560.10204(G), f.77, 17.ii.1640: Comalapa to Crown
1664	Ocosingo	Many Indians had fled from here around this date.	AGCA A3.16.357.4536(Ch), 25.viii.1664

Table 12.1 (*cont.*)

Year	Place	Description and impact	Source
1667	Tuxtla (in Soconusco)	Residents complained of forced migration from town to work at vanilla cultivation.	AGCA A1.23.1563.10207(G), f.182, 1667 undated
1673	San Juan de la Soledad (Zoque)	Indians from Oaxaca borderlands settled new Chiapa village as refugees from pirate raids.	AGCA A1.10.61.645(Ch), 27.iii.1673
1679	Tuxtla (in Chiapa)	Heavy exactions in cotton repartos provoked much flight when Indians could not meet production deadlines.	AGI AG 33, 27.xi.1679: Bishop Bravo de Serna, Testimonio
1690	Coapa and region	Visiting oidor wished to resettle town from populations dispersed into surrounding region.	AGCA A1.30-28.183.1420(G), 22.ii.1690: José de Scala to Crown
1690	Tapilula	After epidemic outbreak, most of those not already dead had run away; tribute exemptions requested and granted.	AGCA A3.16.291.3920(Ch), Cuentas, Servicio del tostón, 1691
1714–1718	Tzeltal and Chol towns of Chiapa	Aftermath of locust plagues and epidemics following 1712 rebellion leads to general emptying of villages.	AGCA A3.16.295.3964(Ch), viii–ix.1718
1728	many Soconusco towns	Requests for new *padrones* note that many towns had fallen to ruin from death and flight.	AGCA A3.16.296.3994(Ch), 10.iv.1728
1730	Cancuc and surrounding area	Town had been forcibly dis-established after 1712 rebellion, remaining inhabitants resettled to old site in this year; total of 80 families *huidos*.	AGCA A1.10.61.646(Ch), 29.vii.1730 and 31.vii.1730: Alcalde Mayor of Chiapa . . . Orden General
1732	Los Moyos and Asumpción Huitiupan	Alcalde jailed for not collecting sufficient tribute; those not dead took flight to Tabasco; San Andrés emptied.	AGCA A3.16.297.4010(Ch), Diligencias of 1732
1734	Zinacantán	Tribute uncollected due to many deaths and much flight.	AGCA A3.16.359.4634(Ch)
1735	Huitatán	Those left alive had fled: "Los yndios andan vagando de diferentes pueblos . . . "	AGCA A1.12.19.266(Ch), 5.viii, 9.x, 1735

1735	Chiapa generally	Alcalde Mayor remarked that complete "reducción" of Indians had not been achieved in two centuries, their nature hopelessly "montanezes" and that there was much added dispersal to estates.	AGI AG 375, f.53 and 60v, 7.ii.1535: Gabriel de Laguna, Nomina de Curatos
1737–1738	Chiapa generally, Tila specifically	Contador found hundreds of families living ungoverned away from Tila at Bulugig and Chigabunte; process repeated around the province.	AGI AG 970 (old system), 24.xii, 28.xii.1737, 15.i.1738: Romero to Crown
1738–1743	Chiapa generally	Crown despacho notes *contador*'s report on "desorden" in Chiapa, and attempt to control extension dispersal.	AGI AG 389, 25.ix.1740 and 4.ix.1743; also AGCA A3.16.359.4646(Ch)
1741	Tabasco/Chiapa borderlands	Extensive migration over several decades to Tabasco to live and work on farms.	AGCA A3.16.357.4501(Ch), 23.xii.1741: Alcalde Mayor of Chiapa to Crown
1747	villages of Chiapa de Indios convento	Due to hardship, disease and manipulated prices, considerable "fuga" of tributaries to Ciudad Real, other towns, Tabasco and Soconusco.	AGCA A3.16.353.4504(Ch), vii–viii.1747
1748	Zoques, Tzeltales and elsewhere	Province generally and individual villages singled out in curas' reports as being prone to live in the mountains.	AHDSC, 19.vii.1748, letter of bishop and curas' reports of earlier months
1750	San Phelipe	Report stated that number of fugitives exceeded number of people in village after recent epidemics; new padrón.	AGCA A3.16.361.4666(Ch), viii.1750, letter accompanying new padrón
1752	Acala	Many huidos besides those dead after recent epidemics and famine.	AGCA A3.16.361.467 (Ch), padrón formed in 1752
1759	Taquacintepec	Village left "sin naturales" since all residents had moved away to haciendas and other provinces.	AGCA A3.16.300.4050(Ch), 10.xi.1759
1760s–1790s	Chiapa bishopric	Many people had deserted the province since devastation beginning in 1760s.	BM Add MS. 17573, ff. 82–89, *c.* 1798: Noticia Topográfica . . .
1766	Chiapa generally	Bishop of Yucatán said that many Chiapans lived in jurisdiction of Tabasco, some seasonally migrant, some as refugees, some as permanent residents.	AGI AM 3102, 24.x.1766, f.lv, ff.10-10v: Testimonio . . .

Table 12.1 (*cont.*)

Year	Place	Description and impact	Source
1769–1770	Tila	More than 100 Indians had absented themselves due to famine and locusts for previous three years.	AGI AG 564, cuaderno 3, *c.* 1769–1770
1771	*partido* of Tuxtla	Plagues of locusts caused many deaths, with large numbers of remaining Indians fled to unknown locales.	AGCA A3.13.241.2988(Ch), 24.vi.1771, and following months: Curas' report
1773	La Sabanilla	Loosely organized settlement of Indians legalized; consisted of displaced refugees from upheavals of 1769–1772.	AGCA A.1.10.61.647(Ch), 16.iv., 22.iv, 1773; also AGI AG 556, 24.iv.1773, 21.iv.1774, 16.x.1776
1773	all of central Chiapa	Much dispersal and flight of Indians in years following epidemics of recent years.	AGCA A1.10.62.649(Ch), Expediente of same year
1773–1774	Zoque region	Much dislocation from recent disasters, such that extent of fugitivism could not be determined.	AGI AG 556, various from these years: reports of bishop concerning *visita*
1778	Chiapa bishopric	Bishop reported that large numbers of Indians lived beyond Spanish control, uncounted.	AGI AG 949, 28.xi.1778: Polanco to Crown
1778	Chiapa bishopric	Bishop reckoned that one-sixth of Indians in region were uncounted and unaccountable, and had absented themselves to other regions.	AHDSC, 7.vii.1778: letter of Polanco to Crown with Estado de Habitantes . . .
1790s–1801	Naranjos	Site near Oaxaca border settled during these years by dispersed farming populations amounting to 121 tributaries.	AGI AG 457, Testimonio de los Autos . . . 1790s–1801
1793–1804	Salto de Agua	Settlement formed from dispersed populations living on north Chiapa frontier.	AGCA A1.10.62.649(Ch), various expedientes these years and Gazeta de Guatemala, t.II, no. 92, 1798
1798	Bulugig	Dispersed populations discovered in settlement away from Tila; reducción ordered.	AGCA A1.12.19.271(Ch), various dates this year
1819	Zinacantán	Hundreds of families living dispersed in *parajes* several leagues distant from town.	AGCA A1.12–19.274(Ch), iv.1819: report of cura
1821	Tumbalá	Request for reducción of populations settled away from village.	AGCA A1.12.19.277(Ch), various from this year

and Soconusco over the period of the colony, and illustrates clearly the continuous nature of such phenomena, beginning with dispersal from the new Spanish-controlled settlements in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Before considering the progression this list sets out, it is worth commenting on the other available reflections of migrant behavior: marriage patterns.

Exogamous marriage and the *parcialidad*

The most detailed population information available for Chiapas (both Chiapa and Soconusco) short of parish registers is contained in nineteen censuses conducted for taxation purposes over the seven decades down to 1765, each for a different community.[22] I have found a level of exogamous marriage among men at 23 percent for Chiapa and 6 percent in the villages of the Pacific coast. The average is 18 percent for all cases taken together. If towns made up of recognized parcialidades are excluded from consideration in Chiapa, the amount of male exogamous marriages falls to 15 percent in the sample.[23] These findings correspond roughly to the information obtained from a sample of padrón summaries covering 168 communities over a period of about fifty years, with cases concentrated in the early to mid-eighteenth century. This showed 22 percent of unions made by males to females from outside their communities in a total sample of 17,017 marriages. This is a sharp increase on seventeenth-century figures, when a sample of twenty-five communities and 5,765 marriages produced only 4 percent outmarriage by men.[24] Allowing for any kind of sample bias or error, this suggests a considerable increase in the rate of migration to accomplish union, with obvious implications for the view we accept about indigenous mobility from one century to the next. The amount of outmarrying which existed ranged from almost none in large towns where the number of potential partners could meet demand in normal circumstances to almost the entire population of married couples in communities where parcialidades are distinguished. This matter of the parcialidad requires some comment.

In pursuing the policy of congregación, the Spanish frequently encountered kinship groups in comparatively tight spatial units, which would be absorbed formally into the new settlement for administrative purposes, but which would effectively endure as territorially distinct subsequently. These parcialidades might lie close by or far from one another, and as the colonial age progressed, they came to be taxed individually. Complications resulted. A man or woman from outside the community was deemed a forastero for administrative purposes; for much of the period in question, such unions were taxed at half the full tributary rate. In some towns, this led to a complicated arrangement where almost all marriages were counted as between forasteros and locals, although the marriages might only be between parcialidades. What significance should be attached to the exogamous

marriage between parcialidades, as opposed to between distinct communities? In his study of the Tzeltal communities involved in the 1712 revolt, Kevin Gosner has highlighted the elevated rates of outmarriage in some communities.[25] The towns showing very large portions of their married populations originating from outside the communities are all towns which were divided into parcialidades. The best that can be said in respect of this problem is that the distance between parcialidades seems not to have been an impediment to outmarrying, and it is doubtful whether, by the eighteenth century, the ease of movement between parcialidades was much constrained by anything more than the availability of partners elsewhere. Movement between *pueblos* was frequently over distances of no greater significance, and in view of the mobility which is routinely alluded to in the documentary record, we may fairly equate both kinds of outmarriage. Nancy Farriss has referred to parcialidades as "fossil relics of the hierarchical pre-Conquest political organization that the Spaniards compressed into a single homogeneous unit of the *república de indios*."[26] This view is somewhat at variance with that of George Lovell, who has found some evidence of the importance of parcialidades as distinct, partilineal, territorial groupings, in some cases persisting to the present day.[27] Very little in the documentation available for Chiapa suggests that much importance should be attached to the parcialidad as a coherent spatial grouping and I incline to the view that it should be played down as a factor, particularly in light of extenisve dispersal of most communities during the colony. A rate of exogamous marriage in excess of a quarter on average does not seem unreasonable on the strength of this reasoning, and much higher local incidences occurred throughout the eighteenth century.[28]

Eighteenth century dislocations and mobility

Cook and Borah have referred to "recurrent crop failures, famine and epidemics that characterized the lot of humanity until very recently in all but a few favored portions of the globe."[29] In eighteenth-century Chiapa, these factors were almost unceasingly present, together with the disruptions created by a serious indigenous insurrection, the survival of the *reparto de mercancías* and frequent onslaughts of insect pests.

Table 12.2 is a survey of the known incidence of such events in colonial Chiapa, ranging from individual communities to disasters throughout the bishopric. While this list is not comprehensive, there is enough here to gain a sense of intense, routine calamity. If one looks for exacerbations of the endemic difficulties which spanned a century, there are several exceptional concentrations of disaster: the early 1690s, the period from about 1712 to 1720, the 1730s and 1769 to 1773.

The narrative background to these problems is of interest. Tensions

between Indian communities and Spanish authorities reached a new high level at the turn of the eighteenth century, with a big expansion in the use of the repartimiento by the Spaniards, as many who had previously been able to subsist on tribute income fell into line with the activities of the governors of the province, often as their representatives in outlying districts.[30] A series of tribute revisions in 1704–1705 saw sharp increases in many cases in the rate of tax expected. This was unjustified in terms of any population rise except in a few isolated communities. By 1712, the momentum of a corrupt system had finally overtaken the ability of central authorities to contain the activities of local Spaniards, and rebellion of major dimensions broke out in the towns of eastern Chiapa. It has been thoroughly examined by several authors now, notably Klein, Wasserstrom and Gosner.[31] This insurrection was put down with very considerable expenditure of force by the Spanish. Its aftermath saw extensive dislocation in the communities concerned which involved disbanding of communities, executions, and destruction of local economies. Shortly after this event, the rupturing of settlement patterns was made worse by a combination of subsistence collapse and epidemics. The Alcalde Mayor noted that this run of bad luck had consumed a large number of the province's Indians. These words were echoed by the parish priests of the hardest hit areas. From 1712 to 1718, 30 towns accumulated tribute debts of nearly 120,000 pesos, or about twice the value of all tribute due from the province of Chiapa as a whole in any one year at the time.[32]

The information made available by the priests on towns in the Tzeltal district of Chiapa, with corresponding information relating to the number of tributaries in those towns from the start of the century through to 1720 is presented in Table 12.3.[33] These reports give the number of *tributarios* who had fled (huídos) during the same time. A statement of the number of marriages made in each community is also given, again for the same four years. This material presents some difficulties. No standard reporting technique is used, the categories of dead and missing are here and there mixed together, in some cases neither category is mentioned. However, in all the cases, those who had taken flight loom large in the summaries of the priests. A variety of reasons for such migration were cited, including hunger caused by the relentless famine and drought. This had driven many away to other provinces "en busca de su quotidiana." One priest noted that those who had fled were obliged to stay away for six months to as much as two years, which suggests that a certain amount of filtering back to communities was taking place. In some cases, the number of tributaries given as dead did not include those who were known to have died after leaving the community; in Yajalón, for instance, 64 of the 180 dead had died "in other provinces."[34]

It is useful for present purposes to be able to offer some generalizations about these figures which represent a global sample. To arrive at such a complete picture, I have taken a ratio of those cases where both dead and

Table 12.2 *Reported and inferred incidence of epidemic disease, subsistence crisis and natural disaster: Chiapa and Soconusco, 1519–1780*

Date	Locale	Description	Consequences	Sources
1519–1520	generalized in Mesoamerica from Mexican beginnings, extending to South America	plague, smallpox and famine together and separately	epidemics reduce population from one-third to one-half	MacLeod (1973) 41, 98; Gerhard (1979) 158, citing *Anales Cakchiqueles* and Fuentes y Guzmán (1969) I, 338
1529–1531	Chiapa, Honduras, Soconusco and Nicaragua	*tabardillo*	mortality from one-third to one-half	MacLeod (1973) 98, cites AGCA A1.33.4777. 41234(G)
1532–1534	general epidemic moving south from México to other regions	measles	mortality very high	MacLeod (1973) 98, identifies as such and cites published documents
1545–1548	from México	*gucumatz/cocoliztli* complex: probably plague and typhus	mortality very high	Gerhard (1979) 158, cites Macleod (1973) 98, citing Fuentes y Guzmán (1969) III, 425 and *Isagoge histórica* (1935) 290
1549	Zinacantán, Tizatapec and other villages	unspecified *peste*	great population decline in the *encomienda* of P. Estrada	AGI AG 393, 14.v.1549
1560–1561	part of Chiapa and in Soconusco and general through audiencia	peste and famine; one following the other	extent of mortality in Chiapa and Soconusco not clear	AGI AG 9, 30.vi.1560, and 7.ii.1561
1565–1566	Chiapa de Indios and other crown villages; Zinacantán	unspecified peste: "tuvieron gran mortandad"; "una grave pestilencia"	"tubieron gran enfermedad": no tribute paid in 2–3 years; half the town dies	AGI Cont. 967, Cuentas of 1566 and 1567; Remesal (1966) II, 342
1570	Istacostoc and Guardinia Soconusco and Verapaz	"unhealthy sites" local famines and fevers	sustained mortality over years; towns moved, many deaths	AGCA A1.10.61.644(Ch); AGI AG 9, 30.xi.1570: D. Garcés to crown
1574	Tapalapa	fire in church	much of town's population burned to death	AGI Pat. 73-1-7, Probanza, G. de Ovalle

1575	Crown villages near Ciudad Real	no information	years of past due tribute accumulate after regional declines	AGI Cont. 972-A, Cuenta of 1575, *infra* Jueces de Milpas, 1623
1575–1578	epidemic widespread through Mesoamerica and then South America	*matlazáhuatl*: some conflict exists as to nature of disease	no specific local comment; mortality very severe elsewhere	*Isagoge histórica* (1935) 290; Gernaro cites MacLeod citing various letters to AGI AG 10
1581	Tecpatán and Tapalapa	unspecified	severe decline over years; new padrones requested	AGI AG 57 Comisión . . . forma cuenta, iv and v, 1581
c. 1590	Ocosocoatla	pestilencia, *hambre*	reduced to 200 tributaries from conquest	Relación de Ocosocoatla *Tlalocan* (1965) 15, no. 4
1591	Chiapa de Indios	earthquake	destroys homes and public buildings as well as crops	AGCA A3.16.2566.37651(G)
1590s–1611	all of Soconusco	unspecified peste	more than a quarter of population dead over previous twenty years	AGI AMex 3102, Relación . . . 1.x.1611, f.6v
1600–1601	general in audiencia	smallpox, plague and typhus	very high mortality, 98 "killed in 3 days"	AGCA A3.16.2801.40493(G) cited by MacLeod (1973)
1602–1611	towns of Comitán convento	unspecified peste	more than a third of those previously alive died	AGI AMex 3102, Relación . . . l.x.1611, f.4v
1600–1611	towns of Copanahuastia *convento*	unspecified peste	more than a third of those previously alive died	AGI AMex 3102, Relación . . . l.x.1611, f.5
1600–1611	towns of Jiquipilas *beneficio*	unspecified peste	says only that there were now fewer people	AGI AMex 3102, Relación . . . l.x.1611, f.6
1607–1608	general in audiencia	similar to 1600–1601	worse in highlands, 30,000 deaths generally says MacLeod	AGI AG 45, Oficiales Reales, 17.v.1609
1616	Zinacantán	fire	130 houses and cane sugar crops destroyed	AGI AG 66, 19.vi.1616
1617	Copanahuastla and Tzeltales towns	peste, *langosta*	great loss of life in Copanahuastla; almost abandoned by 1620s; crops wiped out	López Sánchez (1960) II, cites AGI documents, 649, 668

Table 12.2 (*cont.*)

Date	Locale	Description	Consequences	Sources
1621	Soconusco	hurricane	"destruió ... muchas haciendas de cacao ... y les llevaron las de maíz ... los dexó pobre"	AGI AG 15, governor of Soconusco to Crown, 17.v.1629
1626	San Bartolomé and Teultapac	unspecified disease	serious decline since last encomienda *cuenta*; harvest insufficient to meet tribute demands	AGCA A3.16.355.4521(Ch)
1626–1628	Soconusco	flood and famine	followed in wake of devastation caused by hurricane	AGI AG 15, governor of Soconusco to Crown, 17.v.1629
1631	Chiapa generally	typhus	tremendous destruction of life	López Sánchez (1960) II, cites AGI documents, 650; MacLeod (1973) 98, cites Gage (1946) 291
1641	Soconusco; also Zapotitán and Suchitapequez	hurricanes	much death and subsequent emptying of pueblos	AGCA A3.16.355.4527(Ch)
1642	Ocosingo	unspecified	severe decline in recent years causes many absentees and much death	AGCA A1.23.1559.10203(G) f.188
1648	most of Soconusco	hurricanes and floods	severe illness, crop loss, tribute debts; see alcaldes jailed	AGCA A1.24.4647.39636(G)
1649	Comalapa	unspecified	many deaths and absentees	AGCA A1.23.1560.10204(G)
1652	Chiapa de Indios	floods	700 houses destroyed and thousands left homeless	AGCA A3.16.357.4529(Ch)
1658	town of Soconusco	hurricane and flood	tribute not paid due to destruction and dislocation	AGCA A1.24.4647.39636(G)
1663	Tzeltal towns	crop failure and famine	"mayor hambre"; "Muerto ynfinidad de yndios"	AGCA A3.16.357.4536(Ch)

1668	Comitán region	unspecified peste	"severe"	Gerhard (1979) 160, no documentary source
1680s	Coapa and area	sicknesses caused by mosquitos	infestations led to gradual extinction	AGCA A3.16.357.4547(Ch) AGI Cont. 815 "Razón de las Ciudades . . . "
1685	Escuintenango	unspecified sickness	led to request for reduction of *ración* payment	AGCA A3.12.240.2976(Ch)
1686	generally in the audiencia	typhus and/or plague	high mortality, especially amongst Indians	Gerhard (1979) 160, citing McLeod (1973) 98, citing various chroniclers
1689–1693	general in Chiapa	unspecified illnesses which in aggregate caused decline	great falloff in population since last visita, could be delayed appearances of 1686 epidemics	AGI AG 185 "Meritos del Oidor Descals"
1691	Tuxtla in Chiapa	local revolt	many townspeople removed from tribute rolls and given to church as slaves	AGCA A3.1.2133.32159(G)
1693	Chiapa generally	pestilence of *sarampión, viruela* and tabardillo	severe loss of life	López Sánchez (1960) II, 680, cites AGI source
1690–1693	Tapilula in Zoque region	unspecified illnesses probably severe local manifestation of cases around this date	many huidos and *muertos*, tribute base much reduced	AGCA A3.16.291.3920(Ch)
1696	audiencia generally	food shortages	high prices for basic foodstuffs; agitation for re-introduction of jueces de milpas	AGI AG 216: 26.vi.1696
1700	Quechula	fire	church, public buildings and 200 houses destroyed	AGCA A1.10.62.654(Ch)
1707	Zinacantán	peste of uncertain type	was very severe, and town was especially reduced by it	AHDSC Census of 1748, unclassified papers
1708	Tizapa in Soconusco	langosta, viruelas and sarampión	many tributaries dead since last padrón	AGCA A3.16.293.3943(Ch)
1710	Chilón	unspecified epidemic	notable decline in population and consequent tribute difficulties	AGCA A3.16.357.4753(Ch)

Table 12.2 (*cont.*)

Date	Locale	Description	Consequences	Sources
1712–1720	all of Tzeltal towns, Chol and Guardiania towns, some Comitán places	32 towns in arms during rebellion, much loss of life then and in subsequent famine, locust infestations and disease complexes	thousands killed, extensive fugitivism and tribute debts	AGCA A3.16.295,3964(Ch) and many references in this sequence of *legajos* AGCA A1.1583.10227.f.24
1719–1720	Chilón and Bachajón	peste, langosta, hambre	continuation of difficulties from previous years, requiring new *tasaciones*	AGCA A3.16.295.3972–3(Ch)
1723	Socoltenango	unspecified	notable decline, many people absent	AGCA A3.16.367.4756(Ch)
1725–1756	various Tzeltal and Chol towns	same complex of disease and famine from earlier years	many towns showed losses in excess of one-half	AGCA A3.16.367.4771(Ch)
1728	all of Chiapa	pestilencia, sarampión, viruelas, "otros contagios"	severe until this years	AGCA A3.16.358.4619.4624, 4635(Ch)
1729	11 Soconusco towns	unspecified disease	great mortality and fugitivism	AGCA A3.16.296.3944(Ch)
1731	Huitiupan, Los Moyos, San Andrés	"enfermedades"	continuous mortality, much flight, great tribute debt	AGCA A3.16.297.4010(Ch)
1731–1735	Chiapa de Indios	unspecified disease	1,642 deaths in three years from 1731	AGCA A3.16.296.3999(Ch)
1734	all of Chiapa but especially Zinacantán, Cancuc, Huitiupan, etc.	peste, sarampión, viruelas	alcalde mayor said much decline in recent years see note 4	AGCA A3.16.359.4635–6–7–8;
1735	Huitatán	unspecified	town extinct and ruined from many deaths and huidos	AGCA A1.12.19.266(Ch)
1738–1743	Ocosingo	muertos	270 deaths, most of them tributaries, in five-year period	AGCA A3.16.359.4642(Ch)
1740s	Tila	peste, famine	considerable sustained mortality and tribute debt	AGCA A3.16.359.4641(Ch)

1741	Mazatán in Soconusco	flood	took place on 5 October; loss of life and destruction of crops	AGCA A1.23.1559.10203.f.1(G)
1742	Escuintenango	unspecified disease	great decline since last padrón	AGCA A1.23.1559.10227.f.170(G)
1742	Socoltenango Zinacantán	fire, earth tremor	in both cases some destruction including churches	AGCA A1.10.62.656,658(Ch)
1740s	most of Soconusco	infestations of mosquitos; illness caused by "earth-eating"	described as traditional problems in lowlands	AHDSC Census of 1748, unclassified papers
1745	Chiapa and Suchiapa	famine following crop failure	prices driven very high; tribute exemptions and sale of belongings to eat; charity organized from other towns	AGCA A3.16.353.4504(Ch)
1747	Tuxtla in Chiapa	famine	as last entry	AGCA A3.16.353.4504(Ch)
1748	Yajalón region, Acala, Chiapa de Indios, Ostutla	pestes	attributed to very unhealthy local situation; see note 5	AHDSC Census of 1748, unclassified papers
1748–1750	all of Soconusco	general collapse	great deterioration since padrones of 1729 with many deaths and huidos	AGCA A3.16.340.4427(Ch) AGCA A3.16.361.4667(Ch)
1750–1751	San Phelipe	unspecified illnesses	much tribute debt following deaths and huidos	AGCA A3.16.361.4666(Ch)
1752	Acala	unspecified illnesses	town in decline and requiring new padrón	AGCA A3.16.361.4673(Ch)
1753	Aquespala	famine and peste	town extinct	AGCA A3.16.361.4674(Ch)
1753	Tapachula	fire	destruction of church	AGCA A1.10.62.659(Ch)
1759–1760	Chamula	famine, viruela, tabardillo	severe mortality	AGCA A3.16.300.4047(Ch)
1760	Simojovel	fire	50 houses destroyed; tribute exemption	AGCA A3.16.361.4684(Ch)
1761	Palenque	fire	church and many houses destroyed	AGCA A1.10.61.661(Ch)
1762	Taquacintepec	unspecified	much dispersal leading to extinction of town after 1734 epidemics	AGCA A3.16.300.4050(Ch)

Table 12.2 (*cont.*)

Date	Locale	Description	Consequences	Sources
1765	Tecpatán and San Bartolomé	fires	no comment	NaBolom C His 16 and 17
1767–1768	all of Chiapa and Soconusco	locusts and unspecified peste	more than one-half of the population died	BM Add. MS. 17583, Noticia Topografica . . . f.87b
1769–1772	all of Chiapa especially the Tzeltales	locusts and famine	widespread mortality, extinction and communities and tribute debts	AGI, AGCA, various legajos, e.g., AGCA A1.10.62.648(Ch)
1769–1773	Zoque region	locusts and famine provoked by food shortages and price fixing	many deaths and much flight over several years; over one-half said to have died, and much tribute debt	AGCA A3.13.241.2988(Ch)
1750s–1770s	all of bishopric of Chiapa	unspecified peste and famines	much extreme hardship	AGI AG 949 bishop Polano to Crown 28.xi.1778
1771–1777	Comalapa and Yayaguita with other Comitán region towns	locusts and famine	several towns at point of extinction, remaining Indians moved to Chicomucelo	AGCA A1.10.62.648(Ch)
1779	Acala	flood and famine	destroyed all crops and many houses	AGCA A3.16.362.4692(Ch)
1779	Huipetagua, Oselocalco, Mazapetagua in Soconusco	floods and famines	all three places had been extinct for three years	AGCA A3.16.362.4693(Ch)
1785	barrios of Ciudad Real	floods and unspecified pestilence	tribute pardoned	AGCA A3.16.362.4694(Ch)

Sources: Peter Gerhard, *The southeast frontier of New Spain* (Cambridge University Press, 1979); *Isagoge histórica apologética de las Indias Occidentales y especial de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores*. Biblioteca "Goathemala," vol. 13 (Guatemala: Sociedad de Geografía e Historia, 1935); Francisco de Fuentes y Guzmán *Obras históricas*. 3 vols. (Madrid, 1969–72); Antonio de Remesal, *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales y particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala*. 2 vols. (Guatemala, 1966); Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: a socioeconomic history, 1520–1720* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973).

missing are both initially present and applied it to the cases where one or the other is missing. The ratio of tributaries dead to tributaries missing in fully reporting towns is seven to three. We might say with some confidence that, for purposes of generalization, two-thirds of community depopulation was due to death, and one-third to flight. These causes taken together suggest a depopulation of community residents over four years in the order of a half. We know that further emptying of these communities occurred through 1719 and 1720, and that the towns of Chilón and Bachajón were particularly devastated.[35] There were rather fewer than 1,000 marriages in the nineteen towns of this report during the five-year period 1714–1718. All priests reported a figure for marriages, suggesting that a more reliable and accessible record was kept for marriages. If the number of marriages is set against the total tributary decline of 2,065, and assuming that only two-thirds of these tributaries were married people (as opposed to widowed or single adults) then it is immediately clear that married people attached to these communities were losing ground fast, perhaps as much as a third: that is to say, for every three married couples who died or left, two were appearing to replace them. Over time, this sort of damage to the main body of tribute-paying adults could not be easily shouldered by hard-pressed towns.

Alongside this picture of mortality and marriage may be placed some tributary figures relating to the first two decades of the eighteenth century. The total number of tributaries was 5,105 in 1700, rising slightly to 5,385 in 1711–12. In the years down to 1720, a notable decline of 1,467 tributaries may be observed, or a loss of about one quarter. The absolute range found for all cases for the years 1712–1720 is quite large, with most communities of any size showing a considerable loss. If we correlate these figures with those for death and flight, we find a sizable discrepancy. In fact, the tribute amounts given for 1700 are from tasaciones accurately dated to the 1690s; those for 1711–1712 date to 1704–1705, and those reported in 1720 are for the general tasación of 1714–1715. The danger of accepting tribute figures from such reports as indicative of population size at a given moment in time are well known. A dual structure in the documentation is evident: only when detailed materials generated by administrators who found it useful to update the tax schedules are available may the annual cuentas of treasury officials be accurately dated. As Cook and Borah have noted: "The correction which would eventually be made would be manifested in an apparent sudden jump in the population . . . Even over large areas, although the fluctuations tend to cancel out, there remained some residue of bureaucratic lag."[36] More than one spuriously detailed curve of population change has been created from treasury accounts which have been incorrectly dated.

The loss from 1704–1705 to 1714–1715 (represented by the figures given in 1711–1712) is 1,170 *tostones*, 1 real, or about 22 percent. Minor updating had been carried out down to 1720, showing a loss of 1,467 tostones, 1 real, or

Table 12.3 *Changes in the tributary population of some Tzeltal towns in Chiapa from 1690s–1730s, with estimates of tributary deaths, flight and numbers of marriages during the years 1714–1718*

Town	Tributaries				Percent change, 1704–1715	Tributary, 1714–1718[e,f]		
	1690s[a]	1704–1705[b]	1714–1715[c]	1730s[d]		Deaths	Huídos	1714–1718[g]
San Miguel Huistán	111.0	77.2	119.0	119.0	+53.8	23	6	20
Tenejapa	178.0	170.2	234.0	234.0	+37.2	28	23	55
Oxchuc	570.2	636.0	618.0	618.0	−2.8	110	35	56
Cancuc	294.2	317.0	107.0	77.0	−66.3	108	(47)[l]	106
Tenango	170.2	152.2	93.2	23.2	−38.7	26	(11)[l]	48
San Martín	—[h]	36.3	63.0	46.0	+71.4	12	(5)[l]	24
Cuaquitepec	177.2	178.0	146.2	62.1	−18.0	33	21	21
Sitalá	101.2	99.0	60.0	60.0	−39.4	23	19	22
Ocosingo	330.3	366.0	218.2	218.2	−40.3	(56)[m]	(24)[m]	100
Sivacá	166.2	279.2	213.0	213.0	−23.8	(43)[m]	(18)[m]	51
Chilón	497.0	350.2	305.2[j]	52.2	−13.0	173	27	119
Yajalón	558.2	589.2	451.2[j]	99.0[k]	−30.8	180	95[n]	22
Tila	588.2	612.0	454.0	146.0	−25.8	200	(88)	80
Petalsingo	142.0	249.0	172.0	91.2	−30.9			
Tumbalá	333.2	329.2	266.0	266.0	−19.2	160	(66)[o]	60
Palenque	—[i]	75.0	50.0	51.0	−33.3	20	(9)[o]	60
Los Moyos	253.0	226.0	237.0	103.2	−4.9	71	30[p]	28
Huitiupa	338.2	328.2	181.0	62.2	−44.9	108	70	45
Bachajón	294.0	312.2	220.0	110.0	−28.6	77	30	80
Total	5,105.3	5,385.1	4,209.2	2,653.1		1,451	624	997

Notes to Table 12.3 (*cont.*)

Notes: A 2 following a tributary number represents 2 reales, i.e. one-half tributary.

Source: a: AGCA A3.16.340.4426(Ch): Cuentas generales de la Real Hacienda, tercio de San Juan (×2). These tributary numbers are derived from the servicio del tostón figures; thus the decimals are *reales*. b: Ac.16.224.3955(Ch): Cuentas, 1711 (as taken from tasaciones new in 1704–5). c: A3.16.205.3967(Ch): Cuentas, 1720 (as taken from tasaciones new in 1714–15). d:A3.16.297.4007(Ch): Cuentas, 1732–3. e–g: A3.16.295.3964(Ch): Cartas del Alcalde Mayor y curas del partido de los Tzeltales, viii–ix, 1718. Parenthetical figures are values derived by applying the ratio of deaths to huídos found in complete cases to those where one or the other figure is missing. Casados are given as pairs of married people. h–i: No figures are given for these towns at this date. j: These values from A3.16.295.3967(Ch): Cuentas, 1720. These two towns had been newly empadronated in 1720, with new lesser tasaciones of 153.2 and 312.2 respectively. k: One parcialidad from earlier times not given here with others. 1: No figure is given, but the priest said that many people had left "en busca de su quotidiana." m: The figure given does not distinguish between deaths and huídos. The numbers are divided by the general ratio. n: Says 37 tributaries left with their families and a further 57 other tributaries. o: No figure given, and some values given for towns together. p: Says 19 families and gives altogether 110 people. Taking one tributary per family, for 19, and multiplying this by 3.0, for 74 people, and taking a third of the residue to be tributaries, we derive 19 + 11 = 30 tributaries.

about 27 percent. By 1733, this group of towns was contributing only 2,652 tostones, 1 real, in servicio del tostón, or a further 37 percent decline from 1714–1715.[37] A loss in the order of about half is seen from 1704–1705 to the 1730s. Much of this loss is observed before 1715, and the priests' reports extend the period of difficulties. It remains an open question what portion of those said to have fled after 1714 were unaccounted for in the 1714–1715 tasación, how many of them never returned after 1718 and how many returned and died. There is plenty of evidence in the documentary record of the 1720s–1740s to confirm continuing depopulation (Table 12.2). Periodic outbreaks of the same sequence of epidemic disease and/or crop failure and pestilential visitations, always followed by famine, crippled the tribute-paying capacity of many communities. This was of concern to the various constituencies within the province. The Indians who did not wish to pay, in the words of a touchstone of the unchanging argument used on these occasions, "para los muertos y ausentes" (for the dead and absent) were not alone in their despair. Colonial officials and churchmen saw their comparatively fragile exploitative base dissolve in terms of severe disorder, and as MacLeod has suggested, Chiapa's *cofradias*, when they were permitted to function, tended to funnel resources away from the Church if possible and to bolster elements of local economic independence.[38] An exasperated Alcalde Mayor of Chiapa wrote in 1728 that "the fundamental thing about these Indians is their devotion to habit." He judged their most ingrained habit be a tendency to vanish when they were wanted. He failed that year to realize a large enough profit from the textile industry to compensate his debtors.[39]

In 1734, his successor, Gabriel de Laguna, observed in a perceptive account of the Indian communities' difficulties:

> One of the principal reasons for the decrease in tributaries which is being experienced in these regions is the lack of regular reckoning of the Indians' numbers, and no proof of current circumstances comes to their aid as they need it. Because illnesses such as measles, smallpox and other contagions are frequent in this province, it is usual that many people are lost, and especially those of a young age. Towns which suffer feel the decrease of tributaries straight away when all ages are affected, and others later, when the large number of young people who should have come of age to replace the many old ones who have died since the last reckoning [do not exist] . . . and this is why the alcaldes and other officials of the devastated community, having seen it ruined by having to supply part of the lacking tribute from their own limited belongings, abandon their towns with their families to escape the balance of what they owe; this is always the risk for officials. More commonly many others abandon the same community to avoid coming into such local office, which would certainly ruin them as well.[40]

He then cited a number of towns which were paying in 1734 at the rate established twenty years earlier, although they had been much reduced since

that time. The next year, Laguna wrote that the reducción of the Indians of Chiapa had not really been achieved in two centuries of effort.[41]

He did not have a high opinion of his charges: "The Tzeltal Indians who rebelled in 1712 are of indomitable constitution, mountain folk, enslaved to superstition, very quick to balk at any new thing ... remonstrating like barbarians unless one takes particular care with them."[42] Earlier in 1734, the officials of the towns of Zinacantán and Comitán wrote to the audiencia requesting that new censuses be taken, due to extensive epidemic mortality. In replying, the *fiscal* at Santiago de Guatemala noted that Comitán was difficult to count, because of the large number of *laboríos* who came and went routinely to the surrounding haciendas.[43] This slowness to update tribute records was a very longstanding problem in Chiapas. In 1678, a general tasación was formed. On average, the most recent tasación had been about fifteen years earlier and some towns had not seen a contador in 20–30 years.[44] Laguna noted that: "It is certain that in some towns one sees an increase in numbers of tributaries, but this does not contribute to the relief of the others, nor to those towns themselves, for the excess of tribute over that due is converted into funds for the private use of the town's council, rather than going to the public good."[45]

The case of Tila

Occasionally such representations would provoke action from higher authorities, and in the late 1730s a treasury accountant with the special function of recounting Chiapa Indian towns was appointed. He approached his task with some zeal, finally choosing to devote special attention to a secular parish in north central Chiapa. I have written in some detail elsewhere about the eighteenth-century history of the Tila district,[46] suggesting that it represents a particularly telling instance of extensive community dispersal. The contador said that his first inkling of unauthorized population dispersal from Tila and its subject village Tumbala had come when he examined the latter community's accounts and noted some equivocation amongst the sworn testament of townspeople summoned to give evidence. This puzzle deepened when the parish priest admitted to a vague knowledge of Indians living about eight leagues away, Indians whom he did not know, who did not come to him for mass, many of whom were certainly not baptized. As the contador made his way towards the place, he noted much "fear and malice" amongst the Indians he encountered. Eventually, hundreds of families were discovered living in hill sites at a considerable distance from the parish seat. These people were duly placed on the town's tax registers and the parish rolls. The community was then left to deal with a vastly increased tribute burden.[47]

The contador who found the satellite settlements at Chigabunte and the Bulugig near Tila discovered that many of the *principales* of the parish owned

the largest plots of land under cultivation. He condemned the social disintegration of the community which considerable coming and going between Tila and the hill sites had precipitated. He cited instances of manslaughter in the main towns, when returning men discovered infidelities had been practiced in their absence. A number of children up to the age of seven had never been baptized, the dead were often interred without benefit of mass, and hundreds of people had not heard mass for years. The *audiencia oidor* who reported on these events said that in Chiapa there were many such unauthorized sites, where Indians cultivated cacao untroubled by their community officials, whose oppression they had fled in the first instance. The audiencia officials were careful to blame the situation on local officials, entirely exculpating the provincial governor, making no reference to the plagues of locusts which even at that moment were causing such difficulty in much of the region. The tribute rolls swelled almost fourfold, to the dismay of the local citizens, who already had a large unpaid backlog of tribute to find.[48]

Through a repetition of his persistent investigations, the Tila contador succeeded in expanding the province's tribute rolls by over two thousand tributaries, an increase of about a fifth and the new tasaciones were not even completed province-wide.[49] And yet it is certainly true that there had been widespread high mortality and dislocation in the region for thirty years: the increase in tributary numbers in the late 1730s was due entirely to the ferreting out of dispersed populations previously unregistered with the authorities, populations which had settled into loose arrangements with their nominal local centers, living in a comparatively unmolested condition for much of the time.

The 1740s seem to have been a little less eventful in the countryside of Chiapa. The census of 1748, conducted through part of the province by the Church, reported marked dispersal of the population; the bishop remarked repeatedly in his evaluations of the character of the Indians in each town on their "love for living in the mountains."[50] By this date, the bishop and Tila's parish priests had become sufficiently comfortable with the existence of the settlements at Chigabunte and Bulugig to report them as if they were established adjuncts of community administration: a triumph of nerveless bureaucracy in the face of reality.[51]

By the 1760s, a kind of order had returned to Chiapa. The province had been recently split into two *alcaldías* to facilitate an easier and more lucrative application of the reparto system. The Church and the civil administration shared both the burden of the system's organization and the fruits of its operation.[52] There was apparently a general and modest recovery in the Indian population from the low levels of earlier decades, and an increase in the portion of the population which was miscegenated. Localized instances of disease and subsistence crisis persisted, but these were as nothing when

compared to the sequence of upsets which began throughout the province from 1768 and continued into the mid-1770s. This was not restricted to the bishopric of Chiapa, but rather affected the whole of the audiencia.[53] Here was a complex of disorders, but the principal damage was wrought by a plague of locusts. A Spanish writer of the 1790s noted that "Such was the disgraceful state into which Chiapa had fallen in the years 1767 and 1768 that one saw the settlements deserted and the roads strewn with bodies."[54] More than half the people had died, he said. These locusts were voracious and of incredible fecundity. He reports vividly that when they fell from the branches of trees in the noon-day sun, they could bury the hooves of horses standing nearby. The Spanish and mestizo population had set a bad example in all this, he went on, abandoning their farms for Guatemala and points beyond, failing to return and thus securing the general collapse of the province.[55] Such was the marginality of life for poor Spaniards at this time that they, a class of small property owners, could not be enticed to return to their sole source of income.

The destruction caused by this pestilence of locusts, followed by famine and food shortages made worse by hoarding of supplies in the capital, was most severe, certainly the most serious disruption to life in the eighteenth century in Chiapa. The question which pertains to this discussion is: was the mortality described as extensive as some sources suggest? The bishop wrote in 1772 that: "The lives of the Indians in each town can only be guessed at, because of the epidemics and famine they have suffered and in spite of the efforts made by your Royal representatives, nothing will induce those absent to return to their towns."[56] Only the overall decline could be reckoned with confidence, based on a count of those definitely still in the towns as set against those recorded at the most recent census. Similar complaints and reservations were expressed by parish priests in a report of 1771, submitted at the request of the alcalde mayor of Tuxtla *partido*.[57] One said that subsequent to his report, thirty people thought absent were found in a place distant from their town, their bodies so deteriorated that neither their ages nor their sexes could be determined. Clearly flight was not invariably a guarantee of survival. He went on: "And as in this town, so in the other two of my parish. About those whom I certify as being alive in the town there can be no doubt, but between those who have fled and those who have died, one could have some misgivings ... many of those who took flight to the mountains were taken for dead, and many of the dead were thought to have fled. This has become clear: the balance between them is difficult to describe."[58] And several did not try. Of thirty-three towns reporting, one-third failed to report both deaths and runaways. By the summer of 1771, there was still great disorder: one of the witnesses spoke of the "great barrenness in which the Indians find themselves living because of the poverty and misery in which they were left by the plague of locusts, which although it does not now

Table 12.4 *Deaths and flight in the tributary and total population of 22 Chiapa towns, 1770–1771*

Towns	A: Tributaries in 1770 (Sum of B+C+D)	B: Tributary deaths to July 1771	B/A	C: Tributary huídos to July 1771	C/A	D: Tributaries remaining in July 1771	D/A
Tapala	77	37	0.48	8	0.10	32	0.41
Pantepec	62	10	0.16	18	0.29	34	0.54
Ocotepec	93	65	0.70	15	0.16	13	0.14
Coapilla	53	25	0.47	20	0.38	8	0.15
Quechula	318	72	0.23	38	0.12	208	0.65
Chicoasentepec	40	2	0.05	19	0.48	19	0.48
Copainalá	382	160	0.42	41	0.11	181	0.47
Coalpitán	203	51	0.25	44	0.22	108	0.53
Ostuacán	103	43	0.42	12	0.12	48	0.47
Sayula	76	16	0.21	7	0.09	53	0.69
Tecpatán	500	41	0.08	29	0.06	430	0.86
Tuxtla	991	328	0.33	482	0.48	181	0.18
Istapa	75	8	0.11	52	0.69	15	0.20
Soyaló	59	14	0.24	25	0.42	20	0.34
San Gabriel	43	12	0.28	12	0.28	19	0.44
Jitotol	6	3	0.50	0	0.00	3	0.50
Solistahuacán	56	19	0.34	17	0.30	20	0.36
Tapilula	20	5	0.25	2	0.10	13	0.65
Comistahuacán	35	4	0.11	3	0.09	28	0.80
Solosuchiapa	34	13	0.38	14	0.41	7	0.20
Istapangajoya	68	10	0.15	28	0.41	30	0.44
Chapultenango	104	39	0.38	40	0.38	25	0.24
Total	3,398	977		926		1,495	

Notes to Table 12.4 (cont.)

Notes: A = 1.00 B = 0.29 C = 0.27 D = 0.44 as average from totals
B = 0.30 C = 0.26 D = 0.44 as $\bar{x}$ of entities percentages
Tributary deaths/total population deaths = 1:3.92
Tributary huidos/total population huídos = 1:2.31
Tributary deaths and huídos/total population deaths and huídos = 1:3.13

continue with such force it had last year, is still about, destroying the small amount of corn and beans which have been planted."[59] Complaint was general throughout the province that hunger was being aggravated by a policy of price-fixing in Ciudad Real which drove prices of basic foodstuffs ever higher.[60]

Fugitive migration after 1769

For the towns which reported, we first separate out the cases where full reporting is made in unequivocal language: the number of total tributary deaths, tributary ausentes, the number of both categories in the general population, and the number of tributaries left alive in the town at the time of the report (Tables 12.4 and 12.5). Cases of complete reporting show 29 percent of tributaries dead after one year, 27 percent had taken flight, and 44 percent remained alive in the towns at the time of the reports. The mean of the entities is similar. If the very large case of Tuxtla, capital of the alcaldía, where nearly 60 percent of losses were due to flight, is removed from consideration, we find the distribution at 28 percent dead, 18 percent absent, and 54 percent still alive and resident in the towns, so that the largest case does exercise a disturbing influence. It is evident that more than a quarter of the tributary population had died in one year, from a fifth to a quarter had taken flight in the same period, and about half were still in their communities. On average, the number of those dead set against those who had migrated suggests a ratio of about 2:1. A third of the decline was thus due to the Indians' desertion of their communities.

There is room for some doubt here. In many cases, we are not given an explicit statement of number of huidos expressed as tributaries or general population. The present estimate has been settled upon to avoid inflation of values, but given the extent to which *tributarios huidos* are cited, we must assume that there were more people absent than the list indicated. The conversion ratio for tributaries dead to total deaths is 1:2.31, illustrating an under-registration of dependent categories amongst those who left. This observation corroborates Farriss' suggestion that most flight was initiated by young males, whose dependants might later follow.[61]

Turning to the missing cases, we find that each lacks a different piece of information. A process of comparison and substitution is therefore necessary but worthwhile. "Tinkering" with the numbers for each town is too complex, the variables too many, the language too loose. However, if the aggregate of eleven cases is taken to determine missing values (Table 12.6) it can be achieved by employing the conversion values found from the complete list. One arbitrary decision has to be taken. That priests in ten towns did not state the number of tributarios huidos raises two possibilities. First, that flight was so extensive or their grip on the communities in their care so loose that it was

impossible to quantify in a report (and in two cases, priests did remark in marginal notes that there were many huídos but that they could not count them). Secondly, that there was no flight where it was not mentioned. Since, neither of these interpretations is absolutely provable or likely anyway, we take a middle view and add half the number of *tributarios muertos* as tributarios huídos, allowing the two extremes to cancel one another out. This is in place of the actual ratio of almost 1:1 suggested by the tributary figure (977 dead, 926 fled).

In the remaining cases we find a slightly higher death rate, a somewhat lower rate of flight and other variables about the same. The proportion of all cases together is about one-third dead, one-quarter absent and four in ten of the original population surviving and resident. The ratio of total deaths to huídos is about 2:1 which corresponds closely to the broad ratio established for the group of towns discussed for 1714–1718. Figure 12.1 shows the distribution of these levels of death and flight by town and parish. A distinctive pattern is suggested by this representation of the data. *Cabeceras* tended to display a greater level of both death and flight, the towns and villages in the north of the province had greater overall losses, and those which lay closest to the frontier were among the cases reported as experiencing flight too extensive to record. In 1769, average family size fell within a range of 1.9 to 3.1. By 1778, it was in a range of 3.9 to 4.2. Changes in the level of births and deaths could not alone account for such a transformation in less than a decade.[62]

Many sources confirm the impression that mortality and flight had been continuing over several years, but by 1772 the state of affairs in the region was settling down a little. A list of some towns dated 1772 (Table 12.7) which appeared in the 1771 list reveals a rapid repopulation of several communities which continued throughout the 1700s, as can be seen in two subsequent censuses. The increase in these towns is in the order of a half over one year, as reported by the parish priests; the large town of Tuxtla recovered to a level nearly twice its 1771 population.

The town of Jitotol shows a particularly instructive trend. A new padrón in 1772 showed thirty-four married couples and a further seventy people for a total of 138 in the village. In 1769, by a new reckoning for tax purposes, there had been sixty-five married couples.[63] The apparent absolute decline is about half. If the value for 1771 is interpolated here, we find that the priest reported only three tributaries left in the village, as many having died. The report severely underestimated depopulation due to migration, and gives an impression of much greater devastation than had actually taken place in terms of mortality. The problems of dispersal continued to attract attention and comment through the 1770s. Bishop Polanco wrote in 1778, having just conducted the most detailed census of the colonial era, that:

Table 12.5 *Death and flight in the tributary and total population of 22 Chiapa towns, 1770–1771*

Town	A: Total deaths to July 1771	B: Total huídos to July 1771	C: Sum of A + B	Ratio A/B
Tapalapa	100	8	108	0.926/0.074
Pantapec	91	18	109	0.836/0.165
Ocotepec	264	20	284	0.930/0.070
Coapilla	64	22	86	0.744/0.256
Quechula	238	122	360	0.661/0.339
Chicoasentepec	11	19	30	0.367/0.633
Copainala	355	41	396	0.896/0.104
Coalpitán	366	44	410	0.893/0.107
Ostuacán	283	12	295	0.959/0.041
Sayula	104	7	111	0.937/0.063
Tecpatán	378	29	407	0.929/0.071
Tuxtla	1,318	1,542	2,860	0.461/0.539
Istapa	14	52	66	0.212/0.788
Soyaló	29	81	110	0.264/0.736
San Gabriel	23	12	35	0.657/0.343
Jitotol	11	0	11	1.000/0.000
Solistahuacán	34	27	61	0.557/0.443
Tapilula	8	2	10	0.800/0.200
Comistahuacán	5	3	8	0.625/0.375
Solosuchiapa	13	14	27	0.481/0.512
Istapangajoya	33	28	61	0.541/0.459
Chapultenango	86	40	126	0.683/0.317
Total	3,828	2,143	5,971	

Ratio of A to B as average from totals = 0.641/0.359
Ratio of A to B as x̄ of entities ratios = 0.698/0.302

Many take themselves off to live with the infidel Lacandón Indians, and others have taken flight to diverse mountain sites, where they pass their lives, without God, without King and without Law. My experience ... and understanding leads me to believe that half of the men and women of the extensive territory which this bishopric comprises are infidels, and idolatrous, and we have come to this pass by having paid small attention to the laws of the Crown and the Mexican authorities prohibiting the Indians from living in the mountains.[64]

He then added that "I have reason to believe that this census lacks a sixth of the souls who exist because the Indians go to live in the mountains at great distance from their villages, fleeing from repartos and other burdens which impoverish them and drive them away."[65]

Informal settlement and the late colony

Table 12.8 monitors changes in the population of Chiapa from 1595 to 1778, the date of Polanco's census.[66] These data show increases in the share of total population in two subregions of the northeast provinces which lay closest to the inland frontier, and losses in the river basins and lowlands of the central province. That the general distribution did not change radically in 200 years, despite repeated reference to native migration, implies that these movements did not notably empty lands under Spanish control in any enduring sense. Arguably, the patterns of movement and uncontrolled settlement we have catalogued must have existed in some measure as early as 1595, barely three generations after the reducción of central Chiapa into congregaciones.

With the establishment of the intendancy system in the closing years of the eighteenth century, a new spirit of enterprise gripped colonial administrators, and a series of attempts to settle dispersed Indian populations on the frontier of Chiapa were linked to commercial expansion. The efforts of the Intendant of Chiapa to convince his superiors in the audiencia of the value of such new reducciones of population were couched in a language flavored strongly with the reasoning principles of the Enlightenment. Some of these village foundlings took hold as the uncontrolled territories of the fringe gradually disappeared and large-scale extension of comparatively efficient communication networks began to spread more generally through and between provinces. Often, the establishment of new communities must have given pause to the very oldest members of the towns involved: in 1798, the Intendant enthusiastically organized the reducción of a dispersed population around an area he had "discovered": a site called Bulugig, one of the two settlements brought under Spanish administration sixty years earlier by the contador at Tila. The Intendant found the Indians, numbering 300 families, living "sin Dios ni Inteligencia" in these hill sites.[67] Much of the spirit of busy administration at this late colonial date was simply the rationalization of reality and the manifestation of some Spaniards' desire to tighten their grip of cacao-producing regions of the frontier.[68]

As a coda to this chronological account, and as a case arguing against any assumption that dispersal was restricted to frontier or loosely controlled regions, there is evidence from a communication of 1819, long after the Intendancy's establishment, and closing on the date of Independence, concerning population dispersal near the highland community of Zinacantán, which is but one valley away from the Spanish city of Ciudad Real. This locality had a population in the mid-eighteenth century of about 1,500 people, rising to 1,900 by 1794.[69] In 1819 there were 2,269 people in the town, but 1,136 people, including 261 married couples, were found to be living in parajes away from the village of Zinacantán.[70] The priest, confronted with

Table 12.6 *Death and flight in the tributary and total population of 11 Chiapa towns, 1770–1771, partially reported and transformed, together with comparisons of all values for these dates*

Town	A: Tributary deaths to July 1771	B: Tributary huídos to July 1771	C: Tributaries remaining in July 1771	D: Total deaths to 1771	E: Total huídos to 1771
Chicoasén	12	—	7	45	—
Osumacinta	—	—	13	—	—
Cintalapa	(15)[a]	15[a]	15	—	—
Ocozocoautla	220[b]	—	149	480	—
Chiapa de Indios	60	—	53	150	—
Suchiapa	29	—	25	58	—
Ishuatán	14	18	—	—	54
Istacomitán	20	—	63	—	—
Pichucalco	8	—	45	—	—
Nicapa	30	—	42	49	—
Sunuapa	30	—	14	51	—

Notes: [a]Source implies that as many tributaries had died as had taken flight.
[b]Source says that a further 120 dead on haciendas, but does not say whether this should be taken to mean tributaries or general population. It is taken as the latter here.

Addition of missing values

In these eleven cases, there were 596 tributaries reported dead in the one-year period to July 1771. With the addition of a (conservative) half this many to account for those who had taken flight, we find altogether 298 more huídos. If the tributaries are applied to a ratio of 3.9 to calculate total deaths for the 5 cases which do not report, there are (179 × 3.9) 698, which together with the certain 833 reported deaths yields

1,531. All huídos will be (298 × 2.3) 685. Note that the total below for remaining tributaries includes a value of 25 for Ishuatán, assuming 44 percent left after all decline.

		A:	B: (%A)	C: (%A)	D: (%A)	E:	F:	E+F	E/F
Partial reports	(11)	1,345	596(0.44)	298(0.22)	451(0.34)	1,531	685	2,216	0.69/0.31
Complete reports	(22)	3,398	977(0.29)	926(0.27)	1,495(0.44)	3,828	2,143	5,971	0.64/0.36
All reports	(33)	4,743	1,573(0.33)	1,224(0.26)	1,946(0.41)	5,359	2,828	8,187	0.65/0.35

A: Tributary population in 1770 (is: sum of B + C + D)
B: Tributary deaths to July 1771 and B as percentage of A
C: Tributary huídos to July 1771 and C as percentage of A
D: Tributaries surviving to July 1771 and D as percentage of A
E: Total deaths in town's population
F: Total huídos to town's population

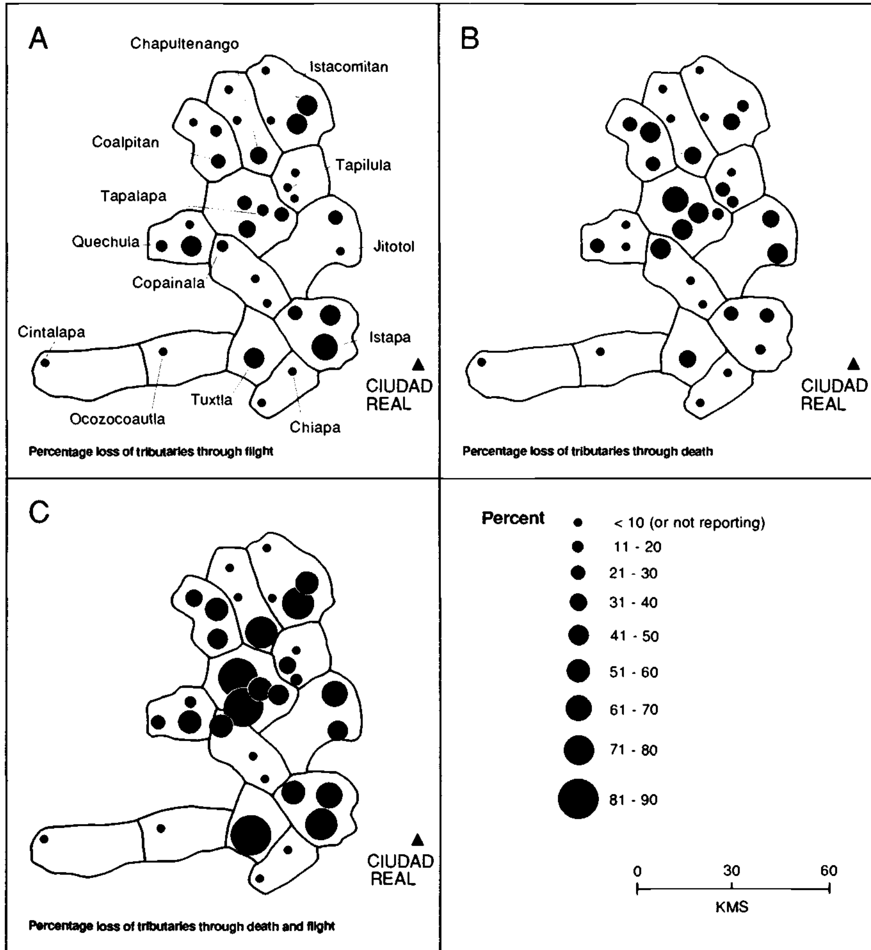

Figure 12.1 Changes in the tributary population of the Tuxtla parishes reported during 1770–1771

the discrepancy between record and reality, admitted that the dispersal was extensive and continuous.

The Indians of Zinacantán all had a house in the town, he said, and another where they worked their land. They came to the town to be married, baptized, taxed and buried. The land surrounding the town was not theirs in large part, and what there was lay absolutely barren. Other Indians lived, he said, in a state of wage slavery on haciendas in the countryside. Some of the hamlets enumerated were up to 40–50 kilometers from Zinacantán. Robert Wasserstrom has suggested that this dispersal at Zinacantán at this time was largely a working-out spatially of the pressures of employment opportunity

Table 12.7 *Changes in tributary numbers for certain towns in Chiapa (Tuxtla Partido) 1771–1772*

	Tributaries	
Town	1771[a]	1772[b]
Istapa	15	31
Soyaló	20	26
San Gabriel	19	21
Tuxtla	181	337
Chiapa de Indios	53	127
Suchiapa	25	72
Copainalá	181	130
Jitotol	3	34
Total	497	778
Increase from 1771 to 1772 = 281 (56.5%)		

Source: [a]As reported in curas' letters dated 1771: "Informaciones sobre las calamidades . . ." (AGCA A3.16.211.2988(Ch)).
[b]As reported in tribute correspondence of 1772: "Sobre la rebaja de tributarios en las retazas de los pueblos de Tuxtla . . . " (AGCA A3.16.300.4057(Ch)).

and decision-making amongst the Indians, who had lost land to Spaniards and mestizos near the main community and who (unless they remained to take work as traders, day laborers or servants) were pushed out into the surrounding territory.[71]

Conclusion

Both in the light of the literature from history and historical geography for other Latin American regions which has been cited here and of the findings for Chiapa presented, it is possible to conclude that rural Indian populations were highly mobile over time and through space during the colonial era, as they had been before the Spanish conquest. Amerindian people throughout Mesoamerica and South America were engaged from the beginnings of conquest in a process of adjustment to complex, altered circumstances. Taxes, coercive labor relationships, vulnerability to the destructive force of

Table 12.8 *Distribution of Indian population of Chiapas by regions at various dates*

	1595		1611		1683		1720		1778	
Region	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
City of Ciudad Real	1,848	1.95	1,098	1.38	958	1.27	618	1.15	1,537	2.48
Convent of Ciudad Real	14,553	15.38	10,712	13.46	11,660	15.41	10,401	19.39	11,610	18.78
Convent of Chiapa de Indios	15,183	16.05	12,448	15.64	14,054	18.58	9,490	17.70	4,546	7.35
Convent of Tecpatán	19,396	20.50	16,050	20.17	13,642	18.03	8,252	15.39	11,496	18.59
Convent of Comitán	14,242	15.05	10,290	12.93	5,318	7.03	3,640	6.79	6,346	10.26
Convent of Copanahuastla	10,642	11.25	6,968	8.75	6,904	9.12	7,219	13.46	7,873	12.73
Convent of Ocosingo	10,042	10.61	11,596	14.57	12,196	16.12	5,869	10.94	10,805	17.47
Guardiania of Huitiupa	2,872	3.03	3,662	4.60	2,688	3.55	2,468	4.60	2,741	4.43
Curate of Tila	2,818	2.98	2,936	3.69	5,062	6.69	3,627	6.76	4,020	6.50
Curate of Jiquipilas	3,015	3.19	3,820	4.80	3,127	4.19	2,043	3.81	884	1.42
Totals	94,611		79,580		75,609		53,627		61,858	

crop failure occasioned by drought or insect infestations, the periodic exacerbation of weak fertility and endemic high mortality by a quickening in the pace of epidemic disease – these were all met by a corresponding variety of devices. It would be wrong, however, to portray the various strategies of accommodation as having been invented by aboriginals as any sort of political lever when confronted with Spanish exigency. Relationships were immediately complicated by processes of racial miscegenation which rules out any simple dichotomy of oppressors and oppressed.

Eric Wolf's model of the closed corporate peasant community has endured, although it has been repeatedly challenged.[72] Now we speak of the permeability of boundaries between communities, groups and regions, in response to necessity and opportunity. Some writers have found this an unsatisfactory working interpretation; those who would invest the surviving elements of indigenous society with features of class find a spatial explanation for the persistence of native cultural enclaves does not sit well with attempts to portray native communities as having invented the instruments of their own preservation in some conscious way. Just as it would be unhelpful to suggest that every movement of every kind undertaken by native peoples was merely a working out on the ground of ecological pressure, it would be equally unsubtle to make too much of any element of planning in individual or mass movement. Efficient *milpa* agriculture and its practical concomitants have been at the heart of rural culture in Mesoamerica for a very long time. When Spaniards arrived in Chiapa in the 1520s, they described a landscape in which a settlement of 500 families might spread over a square *legua común* (about 25 square kilometers) of ground.[73] The need to ensure a productive fallowing system for land around villages pushed agriculture into outlying districts which, cleared and planted once, became part of a system in which they might be rapidly called back to use. Aside from an open frontier which certainly absorbed some portion of a mobile population in times of difficulty, and the attractiveness of participation in cash crop economies further afield (in this case, cacao in Soconusco and the Chiapa/Tabasco borderlands), the basic structure of land-use dictated a fluidity of residence and settlement within districts. It was unnecessary for migrants to define regions of refuge on the fringes of Spanish-controlled territory, when all of highland Chiapas was effectively a geographical challenge to the Spaniards. Administrators and mules might progress slowly across the diverse and difficult terrain of the province's mountains and hills: Indians criss-crossed the region on myriad footpaths and trails as they had always done.

It is indicative of the widespread complacency or ineffectiveness of priests and minor local officials that the regular movements of populations about the countryside proceeded unchecked except in times of the most extreme disorder. Fugitive migration and unsupervised settlement might provoke

comment regularly in correspondence, but action would only be taken when disaster threatened to disturb the accommodations which Spaniards had made with innately mobile subject groups to eke out a profitable living. Then a rare singularity of purpose would animate those several constituencies holding sway over Indian populations, so that public order and private purpose might be seen to be served. And finally, the degree of population decline after such upheavals may have to be modified downwards in terms of deaths, to more faithfully reflect those who removed themselves from the scene.

For Chiapas, at least, it is appropriate to view indigenous migration as both an adaptation to colonial circumstance and an extension of pre-conquest patterns of agricultural economy, determined by fragile ecological factors, and flexible cultural arrangements. This picture of migratory behavior can help to fill out our view of colonial life without elevating Indians to a position of spatial exceptionalism,[74] or assigning them crude roles as a fated, struggling class, or historical objects, or doomed anachronisms.

13

Migration and settlement in Costa Rica, 1700–1850

HECTOR PÉREZ BRIGNOLI

Introduction

Although the originality of the Costa Rican case within the Latin American context has been noted for some time,[1] there still exists no systematic study of migration during the period here under investigation. The most significant analyses that have been completed consider the phenomenon in the context of agricultural colonization in the "coffee century," that is the period 1850–1950,[2] and certainly in no way exhaust such a complex and large issue. The explanation of migrations is, however, a fundamental element of any interpretation of the evolution of Costa Rican society during the last 150 years.[3] It could not be otherwise in a society characterized by the existence of pioneering colonists for more than 200 years and which today confronts the very real problem of the closure of that same agricultural frontier.[4]

In this study we shall examine migrations and the occupancy of land during the period 1700–1850, that is during the final phase of the colonial period and the beginnings of political independence. From a structural perspective this period is extensive enough to allow us to appreciate long- as well as short-term tendencies, it also presents sufficient elements of continuity to be considered a transition phase from a colonial to an agricultural export economy with strong links to the world market.

The absence of systematic studies on colonial migration is explained, at least in part, by the relative lack of appropriate sources. The censuses and nominal listings of this period never include information about the prior residence of the persons included, nor do the marriage records in the parish registers, a useful source for the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is therefore not surprising, perhaps, that the interest of most investigators has turned to the process of city and town foundations, and the general occupation of land within the period in question. There has also been a strong emphasis on institutional and administrative aspects of this process.[5] In this study we shall study those same processes, but systematically utilizing

three types of information: the creation of parishes; census data on the distribution of population; and trends in an annual series of baptisms. As will be seen, in combination these allow one to establish with some precision the direction and tendencies in migration flows during the period under study.

The historical context

Isolation and growth are the two fundamental characteristics of the population of Costa Rica in this period. The demographic growth was as continuous as the steady but sure occupation of the land. External migration had little significance; in the period under review emigration was almost nil and the arrival of foreigners was only of qualitative importance. During the eighteenth century the main arrivals were of peninsular families, or others posted from different parts of the empire to serve in Costa Rica. During the nineteenth century the situation was modified. The newcomers were now businessmen, merchants and adventurers, almost all attracted by the coffee business, and the hope of making a fortune, as well as a number of teachers, liberal-minded professionals, and scientists. Such an influx was, however, qualitatively rather than quantitatively important. Almost all of the newcomers were incorporated into the ruling elite,[6] occupied important public positions and contributed in a decisive manner to developments in thought and education.[7]

The small population of Costa Rica (between 50,000 and 60,000 to 1800) was, from the initial stages of colonial rule, concentrated in the Central Valley (Figure 13.1). Isolation predominated among the creole and *mestizo* peasants; a very small indigenous population,[8] combined with minimal conditions for the development of an export economy, prevented any significant progress. From 1738 the trade in mules with Panama ceased almost entirely, while cacao cultivation in Matina made agonizingly slow progress, to virtually disappear by the end of the eighteenth century. More than any export business, its production became, from 1709, a source of much-needed cash for an economy starved of currency.[9] During the second half of the eighteenth century Matina was converted into a center of active contraband. In spite of the detailed differences between these locations, it should be stressed that trade was extremely small in scale, sporadic, and only of a retail type.[10]

In Nicoya and Guanacaste, in the Pacific north, cattle ranches predominated. Here again the population was very small; in 1751 Bishop Morel estimated it as 590 *ladinos* and 300 Indians.[11] Esparza, to the south, was an intermediate point of communication with the Central Valley, also close by the port of La Caldera. By the middle of the eighteenth century trade with Panama had terminated and there existed only "tres casas de paja," with some cattle ranches run by *mulatos* who were "nada aplicados al trabajo y

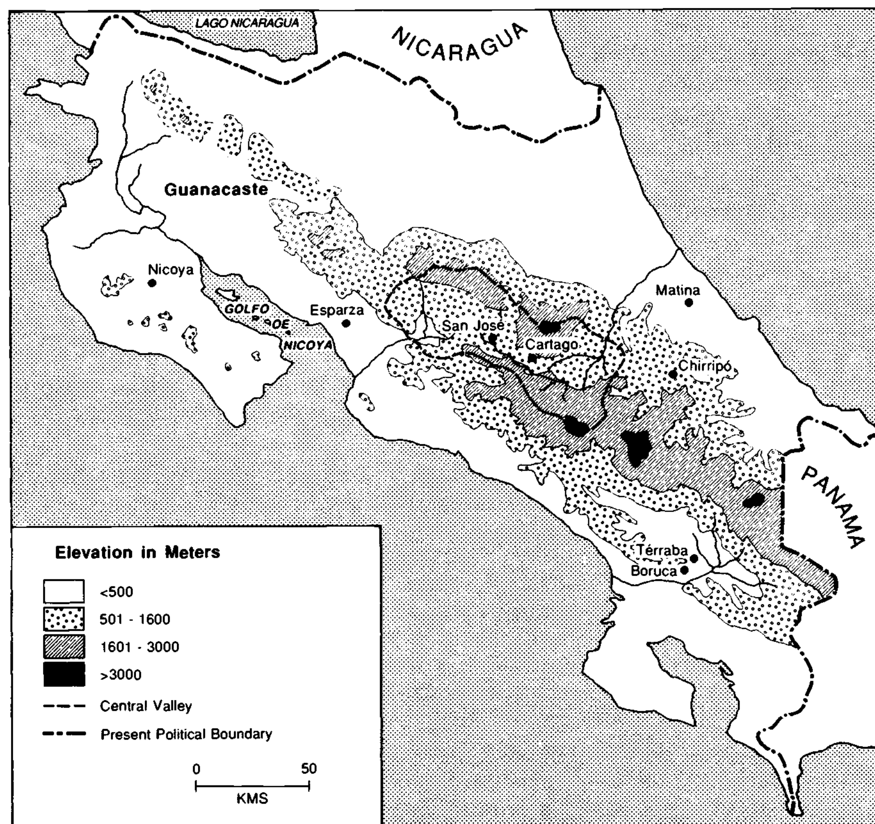

Figure 13.1 Physical features of Costa Rica

muy libertuosos."[12] The economy of the Nicoya livestock zone was distinctly oriented towards the north of the Central American isthmus, and participated in the active livestocking corridor of the Pacific lowlands that ran from western Nicaragua to southern Guatemala.[13]

A change in the opportunities afforded by the external market was slow in coming, but it finally arrived in two distinctive stages. The first was related to tobacco, and occurred from 1766.[14] The province of Costa Rica obtained permission to sell tobacco to Nicaragua, and in 1781 a factory was established in San José. Although the quality of the product left much to be desired, between 1787 and 1792 Costa Rica obtained the monopoly for the Central American market. That permitted a short, but notable economic boom, and reinforced a not inconsiderable migratory movement to the production zone in the western reaches of the Central Valley. From 1792 developments were much more limited since Costa Rica only had access to

the Nicaragua market, and it was, after all, trying to sell a product whose quality could not match that of competing regions. The search for new export products culminated in the decades of the 1830s and 1840s with the rise of coffee cultivation. The new stage was to become definitive: the first durable link to the world market was soon established.[15]

During the period 1750 to 1850 the social structure of Costa Rica changed very little. Without great riches, but with considerable inequalities of wealth, it was a world of peasants dominated by the most primitive commercial capital.[16] Scarcely any tribute Indians remained, and the rude and simple nature of everyday life could not but be noted by the occasional visitors. In 1751 Bishop Morel could note that:

> Estos son los pueblos que he visto y los caminos que he traficado en la provincia de Costa Rica. Las gentes que la habitan son dulces y sociables, pero llenas de trabajos y necesidades; el dinero que corre es muy poco y la manera usual el cacao ... Las mujeres se entretienen en tejer ropa de algodón, y con la labor de sus manos se visten a sí, a sus maridos y sus familias. En efecto esta provincia sería verdaderamente rica, si tuviera la fortuna de un puerto por donde sus frutos se hicieran comerciables.[17]

The situation was hardly much different in 1809 when the Governor, Tomás de Acosta, reported to the governing Junta in Spain:

> Por mi y por los papeles de estos archibos conosco que siempre fue pobre Costarrica, y por los R. Haz. se convence que nunca tubo comercio directo con la metrópoli, y también que el corto y futil que ha tenido y tiene por tierra con las provincias circumvecinas no es bastante para sacarla de su miseria, pudiendo aseverar a V.M. que ninguna está mas indigente en toda la monarquía, pues aquí se ven gentes vestidas de corteza de árboles y otras que para ir alguna vez a la Yglesia alquilan o piden prestada la ropa que han de vestir. Esto es ciertísimo, aunque incomprehensible al que no palpa, y por lo mismo solo el que tiene las cosas presentes puede hablar con propiedad sobre el lamentable estado de Costarrica y modo de mejorarlo.[18]

The establishment of parishes and the occupation of land

The establishment of parishes, as may be documented from the varied information that is extant in the Archbishopric archive in San José,[19] provides an adequately precise indicator of the importance of each new settlement node. The stages in such establishments were as follows: first, the residents of an area would construct a chapel or hermitage and request the occasional visit of the appropriate parish priest. Next an *ayuda de parroquia* (chapel of ease) would be established, which implied prior negotiations with the ecclesiastical authorities since such a dependency would require the payment of certain dues by the residents for the services to be provided. Finally, a full parish would be erected, this representing the fact that the settlement center had increased in size. The parish boundaries now had to be

defined, and the parishioners were obliged to pay all of the necessary operating costs. Thus, if one carefully monitors the various phases of the establishment of parishes, paying attention to the jurisdictional limits, one can make a first qualitative approximation as to the process of land occupancy and settlement. One can establish certain specific dates, identify the migration paths, and attempt some preliminary estimates of the size of some of the new settlements.

It is important to note that settlement expansion occurred in two well-defined zones, with little contact between them: the Central Valley and the Gulf of Nicoya. The mountains and the dense tropical forest converted the Central Valley into a veritable island, while Nicoya and Guanacaste maintained important ties with neighboring Nicaragua. The remainder of the province was scarcely populated and only the settlements of Matina on the Caribbean coast, and the Indian reductions of Térreba and Boruca in the south near the frontier with Panama, were worthy of mention.

The Central Valley

Though the population of Costa Rica grew at a relatively regular pace during the eighteenth century, there is little that one can say to define in any more precise way the pattern of such growth prior to 1750. The growth was moderate and basically three trends can be isolated: first, the growth of the population of Cartago (the colonial provincial capital) and its surrounding area; second, an increase in racial mixture; and third, the beginnings of the occupation of land by creoles and mestizos in the western section of the Central Valley. First Cubujuquí (now Heredia) and then La Villita (present-day San José) began to play important roles in this process.[20] The western zone of the Central Valley possessed particularly rich land for agriculture and livestocking, and relatively few geographical obstacles. Soon it was converted into a pivotal region of agricultural colonization and continued that role throughout the following century. The settlement pattern was, from its beginning, nucleated,[21] thus giving rise to villages and small towns dispersed in an extensive rural habitat that was devoted to subsistence production except for a few desultory attempts at commercial activities.

The phases of the settlement of the Central Valley can best be demonstrated by means of a map (Figure 13.2). Those centers populated by 1700 were principally located in the eastern section, and remain as relics of the conquest and colonization of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Encountering few Indians and fewer minerals in the west, the Spanish redirected their attentions to the eastern Atlantic slope, in the hopes of improved possibilities. Cartago was the only city of any importance; Ujarrás was now almost entirely without Indians and had become essentially a mestizo town. For the rest, there were no more than a handful of villages

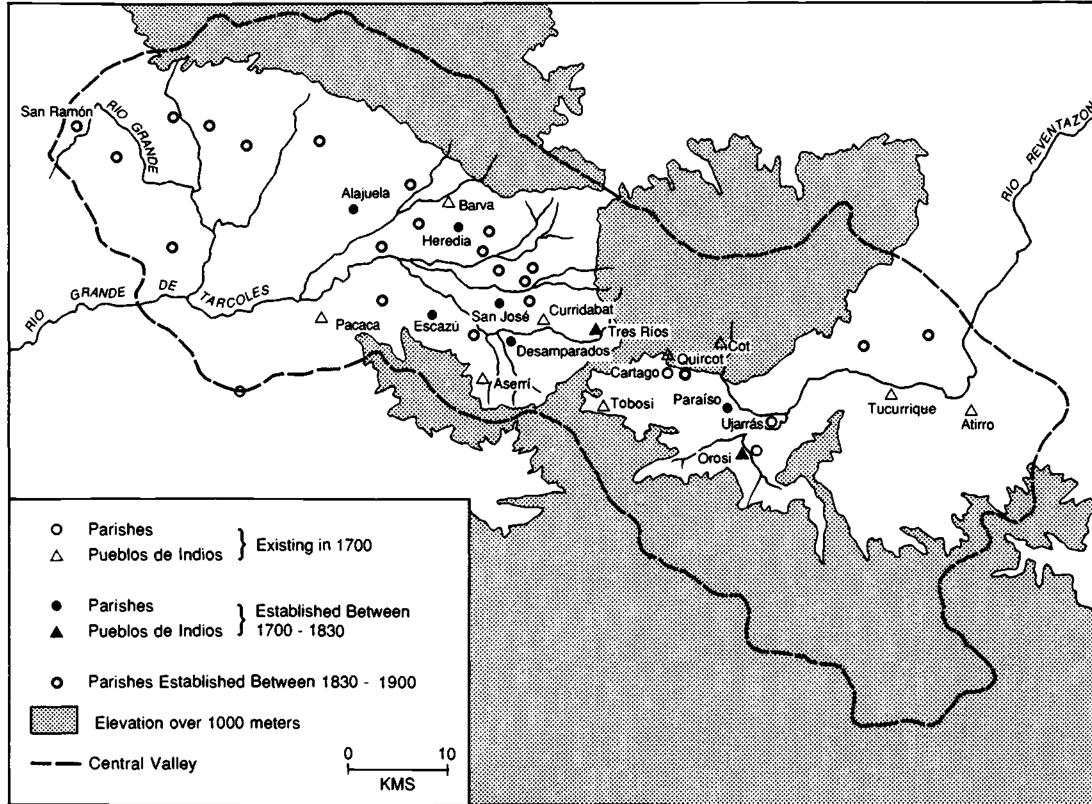

Figure 13.2 Establishment of parishes and *doctrinas* in the Central Valley, Costa Rica

under the care of Franciscan priests: Cot, Quircot, Tobosi, Tucurrique and Atirro. In the western section of the Valley only four reductions existed dating from the sixteenth century: Barva, Pacaca, Aserrí and Curridabat. In the course of the eighteenth century this pattern was to be completely inverted. Between 1700 and 1830 the parishes of Heredia (1706), San José (1739), Tres Ríos (1760), Alajuela (1790), Escazú (1799) and Desamparados (1825) were founded,[22] all in the western region. In the east only the parish of Orosí was established in 1756, with a few Indians transferred from Talamanca. Meanwhile the population of Ujarrás was relocated in a less unhealthy place in 1833, then changing its name to Villa del Paraíso. In summary, the agricultural and demographic expansion of this phase, prior to the coffee boom, was centered in the western portion of the Central Valley.

The foundation of parishes in the period 1830–1900, also shown on Figure 13.2, illustrates the dramatic effect of coffee cultivation on the occupancy of land; its expansion was rapid in all of the western part of the Central Valley, and also affected the eastern section, especially the basin of the Río Rentazón. Gradually the Valley became occupied, especially on the richest soils best suited to coffee below 1500m.

The Gulf of Nicoya

The settlement of the Nicoya region, second only to the Central Valley in significance, can be seen in Figure 13.3. Until 1700 the only settlements worthy of the name included Nicoya (as an *alcaldia mayor* dependent on Nicaragua), the township of Bagaces in a preeminently pastoral valley, and the city of Esparza that

> solo lo es en el nombre, por haber sido destruida en tiempos pasados por los enemigos y sólo tiene unas 5 o 6 casas, la iglesia parroquial y un convento de San Francisco que sólo puede mantener un religioso.[23]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the situation had changed notably. Population had expanded along three distinctive axes. The nucleus of the Bagaces valley now extended towards the southeast (Cañas) and northwest (Guanacaste), also receiving an important migratory influx from Rivas, in Nicaragua.[24] The new port of Puntarenas, opened officially by the colonial authorities in 1814, replaced the former port of Caldera, and gave renewed vigor to that which had always been the principal function of Esparza – a key entry to the Central Valley from the Pacific slope. In the Nicoya peninsula, mestizos established a new settlement of Santa Cruz around 1814, the region still maintaining close ties with Nicaragua.

The entire region became an integral part of Costa Rica in 1824, when the annexation of Nicoya and Guanacaste took place. The new economic perspectives presented to the entire region by the opening of the port of

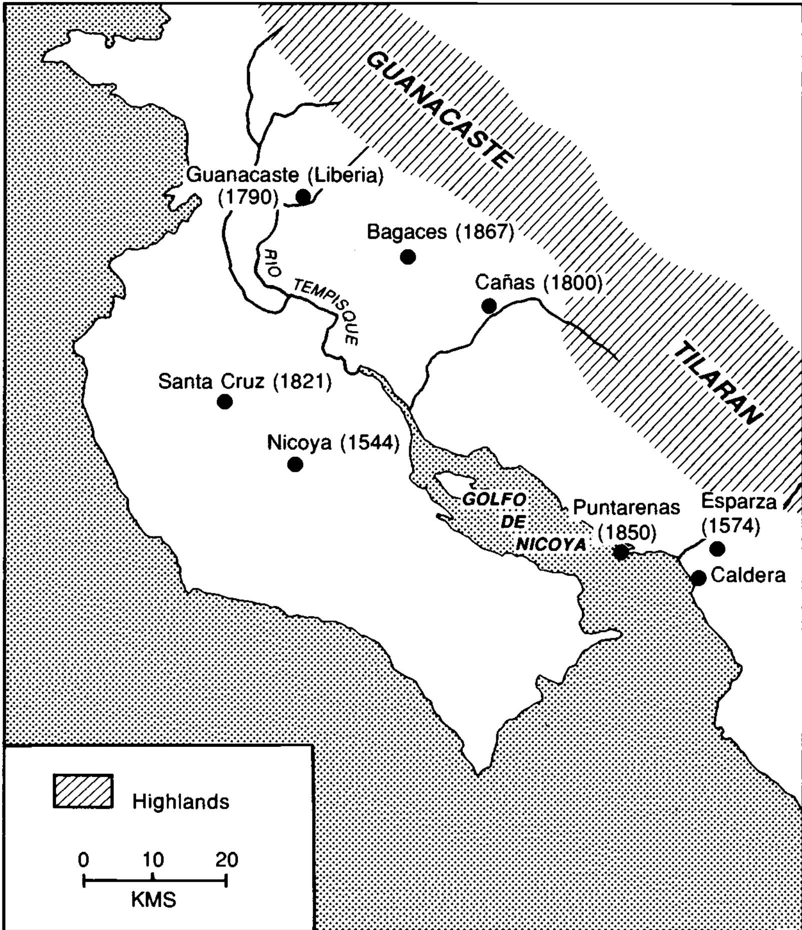

Figure 13.3 Establishment of parishes in the Gulf of Nicoya region

Puntarenas, and the surge in exports of tobacco from the Central Valley, were all closely related to the political outcomes of this eminently political episode.[25]

Regional population change

Having traced the general picture of change in late colonial Costa Rica, we may now examine some census data concerning the distribution of population by specific regions. We shall use only those censuses that are most reliable, avoiding that of Bishop Thiel.[26] We begin with the Bourbon census of 1777–1778, followed by those of 1824 and 1848, and terminating this

Table 13.1 *Population distribution in Costa Rica, 1778–1848*

Years	Central Valley East	West	Guanacaste & Nicoya	Térraba & Boruca	Total
1777–1778	8,835	12,325	2,983	480	25,275
	35%	49%	14%	2%	100%
1824	14,835	39,848	4,944	1,019	60,646
	24%	66%	8%	2%	100%
1848	20,913	26,370	10,770	1,074	95,127
	22%	66%	11%	1%	100%
1864	22,523	82,168	14,336	931	120,499
	19%	68%	12%	0.8%	100%

Sources: The data of 1777–1778 are taken from the original listings, completed where necessary with the aid of Juarros' *Compendio de la historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala.* Those of 1824 correspond to the census of that year in ANCR, Serie Provincial Independiente 939; the same with those of 1848 (ANCR, Serie Gobernación 26548). The 1864 figures are from the national census published in 1868.

study with the first national census of 1864. Although all of these counts are far from perfect, we may accept them with relative confidence (assuming a similar spatial coverage in all) regarding the percentage distribution of population.[27] The basic data are shown in Table 13.1.

The eastern section of the Central Valley steadily lost importance: from 35 percent of the total population in 1777–1778, its share fell to 19 percent in 1864. Conversely, the western section steadily advances from 49 percent in 1777–1778 to 68 percent by 1864. It is also worth noting that the demographic significance of this whole region is well established by 1777–1778. Guanacaste and Nicoya demonstrate their lack of dynamism, accounting for no more than 14 percent of the national total. The southern zone, represented by the reductions of Térreba and Boruca, shows a marginal and declining component of the total.

These trends may be better examined, including specific data on migration, at the micro-level, by way of aggregate series of baptisms. In Costa Rica's case baptismal registers are much more reliable than those of burials. This is brought about by the relative cultural and ethnic homogeneity of the population, a fervent general Catholicism, and the small relative size of each parish. The custom of considering all infants who died shortly after birth, but who had been baptized, as "angelitos," exerted a strong influence on parents to baptize all of their children as soon after birth as possible. This means that baptisms are an excellent index of births that occurred. Thus, if overseas immigration was negligible, and if there were no major regional differences in fertility, mortality and nuptiality, and the age-structure in the different

regions was similar, we may advance the following argument: the rate of increase of baptisms at the national level reflects average conditions; any increase in regional rates of baptisms above that of the national average may be interpreted as a result of net in-migration; inversely, any region showing baptismal rates below the national average may be considered a region of out-migration. In other words, if the births of a region increase (or decrease) in relation to the national average, the increase (or deficit) is the effect of migrants arriving in or departing from the respective regions. The quantitative data demonstrating such variations are shown in Figure 13.4 and Table 13.2.

Figure 13.4 shows the natural logarithm of baptisms from 1750 to 1830, that is, curves of relative growth. As is clear, the angular slope of each line is a measure of its rate of change. The upward demographic surge of the western section of the Central Valley is clearly evident around 1780. Equally, the stagnation of the eastern section is very visible from that same date. Guanacaste and Nicoya demonstrate very slow increases in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. The increase in baptisms in the Indian reductions of Térreba and Boruca should not be allowed to confuse the pattern: these trends are based upon less than ten baptisms a year, and thus they have little demographic relevance.

The rates of growth of these curves, derived from regression analysis, are given in Table 13.2. Also provided are two classic measures of confidence in the regression results: the standard estimation error, and the r^2, which indicates how well they fit with respect to linearity. The series of baptisms were separated into two distinct periods based upon their general tendencies, and one may note that the baptisms of the first period (1750–1780) appear to be less well registered[28] than those of the second period. The comparison *between* regions within each time period is, of course, still valid. Between 1750 and 1780 the western section of the Central Valley and Guanacaste increased more than the national average. These were, according to our hypothesis, regions of in-migration. Between 1780 and 1830 only the western section of the Central Valley (including its Indian pueblos) continues such demographic growth. The apparent stagnation of the population of Guanacaste and Nicoya in this period may be related to the disorganization and later collapse of the indigo economy of northern Central America. As mentioned previously, the rise of the livestock industry in that zone in the second half of the eighteenth century was primarily stimulated by the demand for such products as meat, hides, cheese and the like, by the peasants of the indigo haciendas of El Salvador and Nicaragua. For reasons that we do not have the space to go into here, the production of dye confronted a serious crisis from the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the civil wars in the period of the Federal Republic (1824–1838), yet another disruptive element was added.

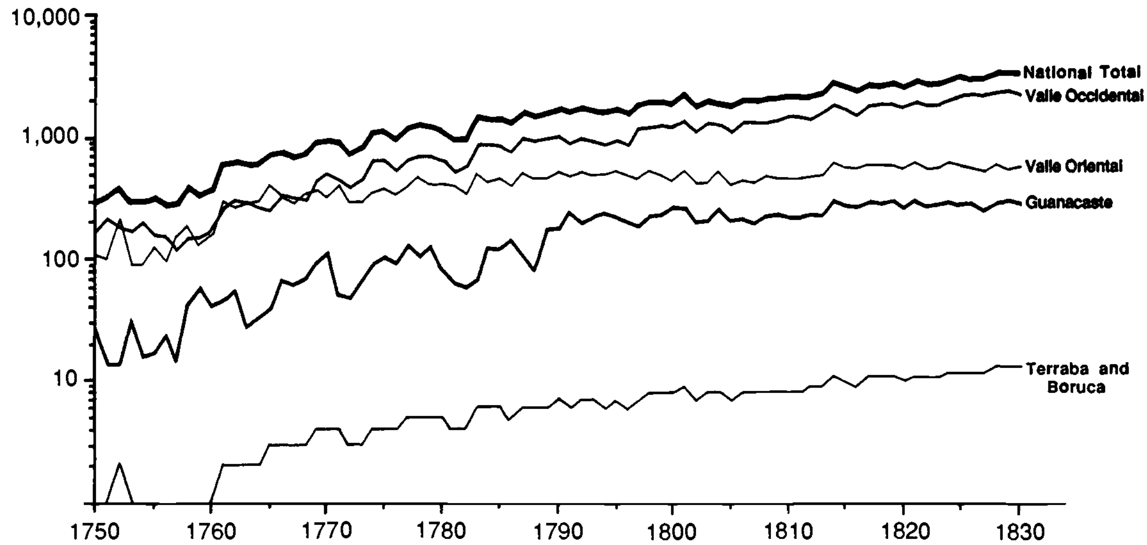

Figure 13.4 Regional and total trends in baptisms, Costa Rica, 1750–1830

Table 13.2 *Growth rates in annual baptism series, 1750–1830*

Period	Central Valley East	West	Guanacaste & Nicoya	Pueblos de Indios: West	Total
1750–1780	3.1%	6.1%	5.1%	5.8%	4.7%
(Standard error)	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.2
(r^2)	0.79	0.90	0.73	0.9	0.91
1790–1830	0.6%	2.4%	0.9%	2.1%	1.8%
(Standard error)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.08
(r^2)	0.34	0.94	0.57	0.89	0.93

Source: The series of baptisms were extracted from a larger work at present in preparation entitled *La población de Costa Rica, 1750–1950. Una historia experimental.*

Stages of settlement: two case studies

We may now examine on a smaller scale the basic characteristics of the settling of the Central Valley. There existed a basic pattern of settlement, observable at the local level. Once the "urban" center had been established (of which the erection of a parish was a critical key), a circular, ring-like process of expansion was initiated.[29] This not only signified the extension of the original settlement outwards, but also the foundation of other neighboring settlements. Heredia and San José in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively are good illustrations of this process of settlement which is still going on in some parts of Costa Rica.

Another pattern, complementary to the first, has to do with the classic penetration of the frontier, generally following lines of communication and access, searching out good soils and avoiding the more difficult physical hazards. This can first be seen in the colonization of the western part of the Central Valley during the eighteenth century, and afterwards in the second half of the nineteenth, with the penetration into the northwest of the Central Valley, from Alajuela towards San Ramón. Both patterns may be seen in Figure 13.2.

The circular expansion is observable in Figures 13.5 and 13.6. The first of these shows the population of San José and its barrios according to the censuses of 1824[30] and 1848.[31] The central nucleus and the villages of Tibás, Moravia, Guadalupe, Mojón, Zapote and Desamparados, grow rapidly, extending in an arc towards the east of the capital city. Doubtless, the cultivation of coffee was the determining factor in the expansion of these barrios through until 1848, although tobacco has also persisted till the present.[32] Escazú, a township of mestizos dating from 1799, and somewhat separate from San José, continued to increase in size, while the pueblos of

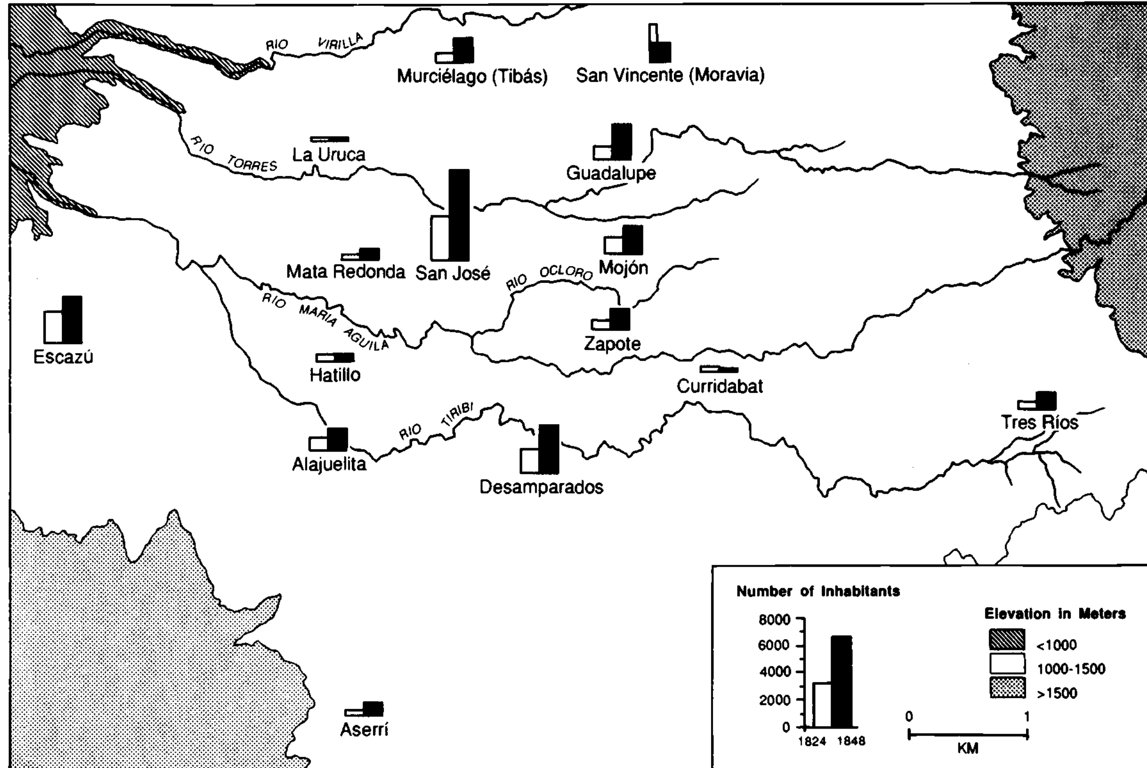

Figure 13.5 San José and its *barrios*, 1824–1848

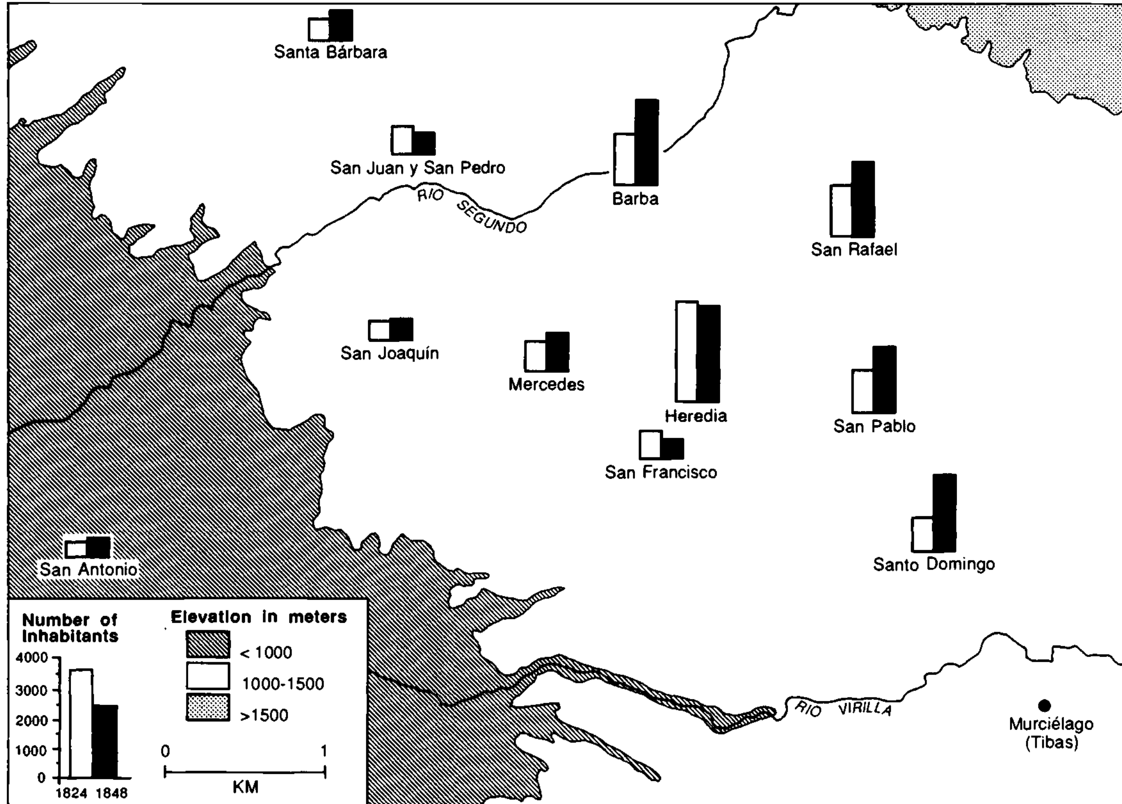

Figure 13.6 Heredia and its *barrios*, 1824–1848

Indians of Aserrí and Curridabat remained stagnant with very small populations. The settlement is more noticeable to the west of the capital: Uruca, Mata Redonda, Hatillo and Alajuelita are all barrios of dispersed settlers.

Figure 13.6[33] demonstrates the phases of change in the settlement of Heredia and its barrios between 1824[34] and 1848.[35] Here, whereas the central nucleus remains stagnant, or even diminishes in size, there is a notable expansion of population in an arc towards the northeast, in search of more elevated land appropriate to the cultivation of coffee. However, the cultivation of grain crops continued to be an important specialization throughout the time period under consideration.[36] Settlement spread to the southeast was of little significance.

Conclusion

Some general characteristics of the processes described above may now be isolated. The parameters of the case under study included a free peasantry with land available for colonization. But the effective occupation of the land was also controlled by other factors. There were, so to speak, various pushes that resulted in significant changes. First there was the demographic increase, especially amongst the mestizo population. In spite of that fact, one should note that in zones around Cartago and elsewhere, population density was not very high. In these circumstances certain socio-economic and institutional factors were also important. A good deal of the land was given over to extensive pasturage, and there is evidence of conflicts between farmers and ranchers as early as 1711.[37] On the other hand, the *pueblos* of Indians of Cot, Quircot, Tobosi, Tucurrique and later Osori, all maintained communal lands which they preserved from the incursions of mestizo colonists. For these mestizos there were three options:[38] to become tenants on the *ejidos* of Cartago or on Spanish estates; to settle on Crown land (of which there was very little); or to migrate to the west of the Central Valley, occupying land illegally and precariously.

Why was the western part of the Central Valley so attractive? One can suggest various incentives for such migration. The control of the colonial authorities was much less strict; the soils were fertile and there were many fairly level zones. The region also had several communication links with Esparza and the Pacific rim. This became a most important criterion when, in the second half of the eighteenth century, new commercial possibilities developed. Yet another incentive came in the form of the provision of certain governmental investment projects (bridges, trails), and a new policy of sale or donation of public land. Neither can one lose sight of the fact that there were clear interactions between demographic growth, changing patterns of resource use, and variations in economic circumstances, all of which combined to make some regions more advantageous than others.

It is also necessary to take this opportunity to identify the gaps in our present knowledge, and prospects for the future. We really know very little about the migrants themselves during the latter part of the colonial period. Even more difficult is the task of reconstructing the conditions under which they took their individual and group decisions. We simply lack the necessary sources to make any representative analyses. The possibility of undertaking micro-demographic analyses does, of course, exist, via the censuses, the parish registers, and notarial documents, especially for the new settlements of the western portion of the Central Valley. A study of that nature would doubtless be laborious, but it would probably reveal a great deal, and not only concerning migration. It would allow us to begin to write a new history of those peasants who, more than two centuries ago, began to forge the Costa Rica of today.

14

Seventeenth-century Indian migration in the Venezuelan Andes

EDDA O. SAMUDIO A.

Introduction

Most indigenous communities of the Venezuelan Andean region were located, by preference, in the fertile intermontane valleys, where the adoption of appropriate agricultural techniques made possible the development of stable population centers based upon intensive agriculture.

Most became established between 1000 and 1500 AD, that is just before the arrival of the Spanish in America, a period in which the pre-Hispanic cultures of the Central Andes reached a comparatively high level with respect to agricultural technology, pottery-making, and ceremonial center construction, factors which significantly influenced the northern Andean area.

The irrigation system used by the Indians of the Mérida region has suggested to some the possibility that they enjoyed a centralized administration and a special type of family structure upon which their agricultural economy depended.[1] Whatever the specifics of the internal social structure of these native groups, the Spanish encountered a densely populated area with rich agricultural and labor resources, both attributes that attracted the attention of the conquerors.

The arrival of the Spanish in this area brought about immediate modifications in the human landscape: it signified a reorganization of the Indian settlement structure after their population had been seriously affected by introduced diseases; it also witnessed the introduction of new crops and animals which also brought about significant changes in the physical environment. The *encomiendas* and land grants (*mercedes de tierras*) which derived from the rights of the conquerors rapidly became fundamental elements in the new socio-spatial formation of colonial Mérida. Under Crown authority new villages (*pueblos de encomiendas, pueblos de naturales, pueblos de doctrina*) became established. Their origins also initiated a struggle between opposing interest groups that was to last for almost a century. For its part the Spanish Crown wished to congregate and protect the Indians: on

the other hand it also had to fulfill its obligations to those who had undertaken the arduous task of conquest and colonization. This obligation meant that legally those who had first settled (together with their descendants) had rights to land grants, and inheritable encomiendas, both of which afforded them economic and political as well as social prestige.

On the other side of the colonial coin lay the Indians, removed from their homelands, their environment despoiled and their possessions confiscated. On many occasions, to prevent their return to their ancestral patrimony it was carefully and ruthlessly destroyed, all justified with the argument that it was the only means by which the Spanish could guarantee their indoctrination in the Catholic faith.[2]

Indian labor was indispensable for the cultivation of the native crops (tobacco, maize, cacao, cotton, etc.), and those brought from Europe (wheat, oats, sugar-cane, etc.), as well as for the herding of all types of livestock, and other economic enterprises initiated by the conquerors.[3] Without the presence of Indians the Spanish could not have fulfilled their needs, nor have guaranteed the permanence of the incipient urban centers, and even less have provided an excess of production destined for trade. For that reason, in great part the socio-economic arrangement of rural space in the Mérida region became closely associated with access to Indian labor and zones of easily cultivable land.

Though the indigenous population of colonial Venezuela has been well studied by several Venezuelan historians[4] and geographers,[5] most of these studies have concentrated on that portion of the country that formed the old province of Venezuela,[6] and even then very few of the studies have dealt with population migration. It is evident that much work still needs to be undertaken in regard to colonial migration, not least the use of many sources that have so far gone unreported, or lie uncatalogued in the many Venezuelan regional archives.

This study will concentrate exclusively upon Indian migrations within the Mérida region during the seventeenth century. It will briefly analyze the movements of Indians that occurred in the rural area belonging to the jurisdiction of the city of Mérida which comprised two administrative districts (*corregimientos*) of Indians. It will also include *indios concertados* who had abandoned their settlements of origin to migrate to Mérida. The characteristics of these spatial readjustments of population will be assessed, as will their impact on and relation to the economic development of the region during the period in question. It is important to note that the seventeenth century was characterized by frequent population shifts brought about principally by economic forces, such migrations including not only Indians moving to Mérida from rural areas, but also many others moving from other towns and other provinces.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century the Spanish foundation of

Mérida experienced its most significant economic expansion, thanks in the main to the agro-commercial activities undertaken in its immediate rural hinterland, in the *llanos* of Espíritu Santo de Gibraltar, in Barinas and Pedraza.[7] This peak of economic activities was also echoed in the several political and administrative modifications that took place, as well as significant developments in religious, cultural and urban life in the city.[8] However, it was also the final decades of the seventeenth century that witnessed the initiation of the economic crisis that was to be prolonged far into the next.[9]

Data sources

The study of migration in colonial Mérida is made possible by the existence of three basic types of data: first, the *padrones* of encomienda Indians completed under the authority of Alonso Vásquez de Cisneros (1619–1620),[10] and Modesto de Meler and Diego de Baños y Sotomayor (1655–1657).[11] Second, there are also many labor contracts (*conciertos y asientos de trabajo*) available from 1622 to 1688.[12] Third, a miscellany of other notarial documents also provides information on migrants.[13]

It is an unfortunate fact that very few parish registers of Mérida's rural settlements have survived, and only one very badly preserved book has been rescued for the city itself during the seventeenth century. Even more troubling is the fact that it is still not possible to utilize the sources contained in the archbishopric archive: for the last four years it has been in a permanent state of "reorganization."

The censuses of the encomienda pueblos always begin with a listing of the Indian authorities, next the tributary population with their families, and finally those said to be absent from the settlement. Within this last category are included not only absent tributaries, but also those exempt from payment (women, children and *reservados*). The reservados are normally males exonerated from tribute payment owing to some physical limitation or age. Finally in the padrón appear unmarried women, widows, and those women married to individuals of other settlements and ethnic groups, each and every one with their family members. The padrón ends with a tabulation of the main groups of the population of each settlement (*tributarios, caciques,* reservados, *ausentes*, and *chusma* – women and children).

This study uses data from the 1655–1657 *visita* because it affords one an excellent opportunity to assess the consequences of the pattern of rural settlement ordered to be established by Vásquez de Cisneros in 1619–1620.[14] This restructuring of Mérida's rural settlement was a key to the further stimulation of urban growth, the provisioning of the urban area, and the rapid increase in products for export from the region.

The *cartas de concierto* and *asientos de trabajo* allow one to monitor the migration of Indians who came to the city, as well as in part its surrounding

rural zone, to accept labor contracts for fixed periods of time.[15] These documents also provide one with the origin, occupation, salary, and age of the laborer, as well as the timespan of the contract.[16] The population censuses of the visitas provide data on sex and marital status, the destination of those who had left, and the origins of the *forasteros*, the non-local folk.

The environmental setting

The study will concern itself with migration to and within the jurisdiction of the city of Mérida, located in the central portion of the Venezuelan Andes. Its area occupied just over 11,000 square kilometers, and corresponded roughly to the extension of the present State of Mérida (Figure 14.1). While nowadays Mérida has lost jurisdictional control over the southern fringes of Lake Maracaibo, it does include areas that were previously excluded from its territory such as the Valle del Mocoties.

The whole region contains mostly Andean morphological features, with some lower elevations of the sub-Andean type of Monasterios.[17] The former includes high mountain peaks, with high-level intermontane valleys, these being ideal for the cultivation of a variety of tubers with their seasonal droughts and high insolation. The valleys soon became favored by the Spanish for the cultivation of wheat. Today the valleys are some of the densest populated in all of Venezuela.[18]

The sub-Andean areas, classified as part of the cultural sub-Andean pattern by Wagner,[19] provide the locations of some of the oldest settlements in the whole of the Venezuelan Andes. According to Monasterios[20] the preferred ecological niches are those of the abundant terraces and swampy floors of the principal rivers.[21]

Most of the Indians who were relocated by the Spanish in villages in the *tierra fría* zone specialized in the cultivation of wheat. This product, as well as providing food for Mérida's population, was exported by mule-trains to other cities in the province, as well as to the ports of Lake Maracaibo, especially important being that of San Antonio de Gibraltar, whence it was exported. A clear indication of the significance of the wheat trade is to be found in the *pósito* records of Mérida.[22]

In these cool highlands many other crops were also grown, including onions, beans, peas, barley, as well as that key staple of the indigenous population, maize. Although of secondary importance, the pasturage of animals provided both wool as well as being a significant source of draft animals. With each year of high Indian mortality, these animals became ever more significant to haul products out of and into the region.[23]

In the lower areas, along the swampy margins of the rivers, at altitudes that transformed the ecological niches from alpine to sub-tropical, the principal activity revolved around the cultivation of sugar-cane and the

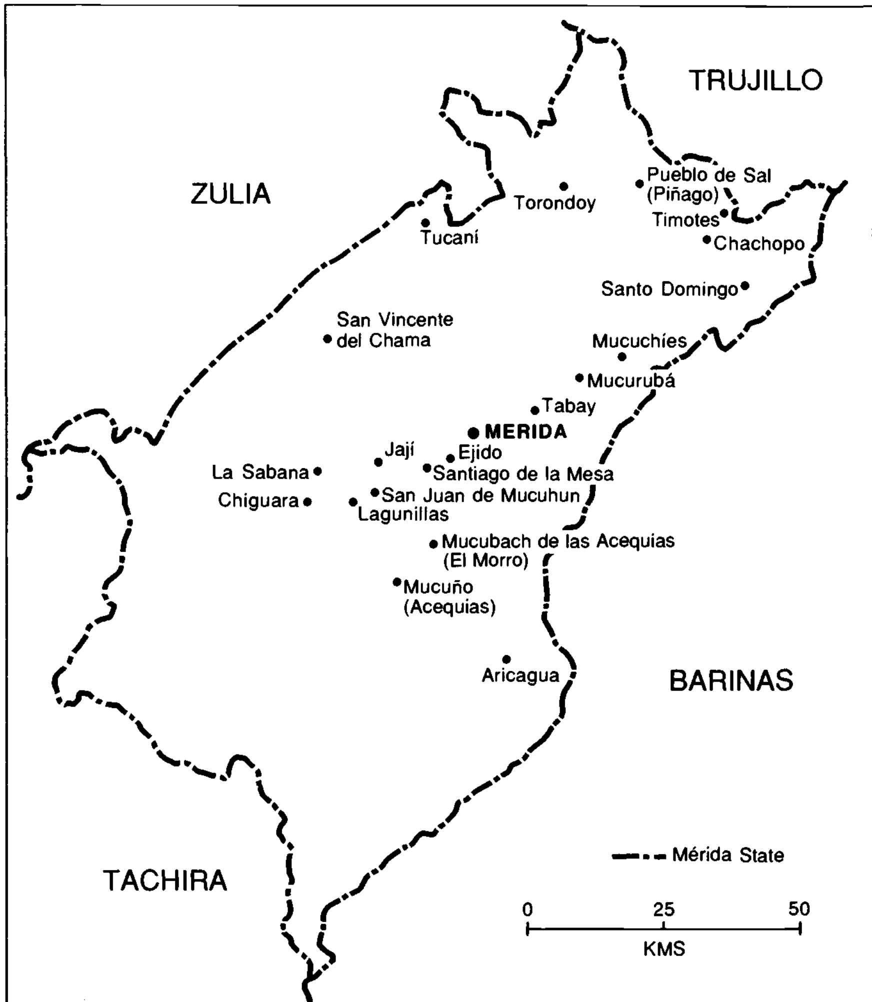

Figure 14.1 Settlements in the *corregimiento* of Mérida

processing of its by-products. One especially important sugar zone was that of Ejido (Figure 14.1), where a group of *encomenderos* established mills in the sixteenth century.[24] In the truly hot and humid lowland zones the principal crop was cacao, with large numbers of all types of cattle feeding on the rich grasslands. Here too *yuca* was cultivated, that staple of Indian diet outside of the highland core.

By 1600, the distribution of the agroproduction zones in the Mérida region reflected the impact of European penetration. The maize, potatoes and yuca of the Indians had given way to a much more complex pattern of European

Table 14.1 *Indian pueblos in the corregimientos of Mérida during the seventeenth century*

Corregimiento of Lagunillas	Corregimiento of Mucuchíes
Pueblos	Pueblos
Lagunillas	Tabay
Jají	Mucurubá
Mucubache (El Morro)	Mucuchíes
La Sabana	Santo Domingo
Tucani	Timotes
Mucuino	Chachopo
Mucuño de Acequias	Piñango (La Sal)

crops and livestock, the latter being used not only for meat in the towns, but also the hides and wool initiating small-scale artisan production. The removal of the Indian settlements, the changed ecosystem, and the use of men's labor by others reflected the onset of capitalist colonialism.[25]

With the formation of the new encomienda villages soon came the need to protect the Indians from their new masters. A new institution was created for just that purpose: the *resguardo*, or Indian reserve village. In the Mérida region the resguardos were administratively divided, with one put under the control of the Corregidor de Naturales of Lagunillas (or de Acequias), the other under his counterpart in Mucuchíes.

The corregimiento of Lagunillas was originally formed with eight villages all of which, except Mucuño de Acequias, were located below 2,000 meters. Another group of seven villages were placed under the control of a corregidor operating from Mucuchíes (Table 14.1)

Each and every one of these villages played a vital role in the economic development of Mérida, not only because they provided the daily provisioning of that city, but also because the fortunes of many of its residents were invested in rural properties. The whole sub-region became an important immigration zone for Indians fleeing from harsh work conditions, the arbitrary decisions of the local authorities, and legal obligations of the Crown. The forasteros were rapidly incorporated into the regional economy as wage-laborers.[26]

Population distribution and migration

One hundred separate encomiendas provided Indians to form the fifteen new pueblos established by Oidor Alonso Vásquez de Cisneros in 1619–1620 (Table 14.2), and some seventy-two encomenderos were thus affected by this redistribution of population. It is also important to note that each of the new

Table 14.2 *New pueblos de indios, Mérida province, 1620*

Pueblo	Number of encomiendas	Number of encomenderos	Number of tributary Indians
Lagunillas	8	5	188
La Sabana	9	5	210
Jají	13	11	213
Tabay	6	4	164
Timotes	3	3	133
Chachopo	3	2	161
Sto. Domingo	4	4	346
La Sal	5	3	130
Torondoy	6	4	116
Mucuchíes	6	4	152
Mucurua	6	6	201
Mucubache	11	7	169
Mucuño	8	8	168
Tucani	3	3	100
Mucuino	3	3	132
15	94	72	2,583

Source: ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vols. 2 and 4.

pueblos comprised populations of mixed origins, some from nearby, others from afar. Many Indians who were now forced to live together had quite different experiences in terms of their staple crops and their social customs. Even their languages were often quite different. To assist the assimilation process in each settlement each encomienda group was allocated space around the edge of the main plaza, the residences of each Indian group thus radiating outwards. On the plaza was sited the church and the house of the resident priest.[27]

Such forced migration helps explain why, after 1620, one finds Indians from the almost inaccessible northern sector of the Río Caparo basin in the pueblos of Mucuño de Acequias, and Mucubache de Acequias, both located on the banks of the Río Nuestra Señora, a tributary of the Chama. Their location can only be explained by their incorporation into the encomiendas of La Veguilla, Mucuchay, and Mucumaragua in the Valle de la Paz. Equally one can find evidence that Indians of the encomiendas of Los Curos, Valle de la Paz, Mucunamo and Aricagua were relocated in the pueblo of Jají. In the case of some Indians it is also possible to trace their pre-1620 movements. The encomienda Indians of Los Curos, for example, had been moved to that site, which lay close to the city of Mérida, by their encomendero Alonso Ruíz Valero, to work on a specific economic project.

If one compares the population data for 1619–1620 with those of 1655–

Table 14.3 *Pueblos de indios, Mérida Province, 1655–1657*

Pueblo	Number of encomiendas	Number of encomenderos	Indios utiles	Caciques	Capitanes	Reservados	Chusma	Ausentes[a]	Total
Lagunillas	10	5	124	6	1	28	524	9	683
La Sabana	5	3	96	4	0	15	374	6	489
Jají	9	9	92	6	0	7	219	9	324
Tabay	4	4	45	3	0	4	116	11	218
Timotes	3	3	56	3	1	8	139	1	207
Chachopo	2	2	89	2	0	12	258	5	361
Santo Domingo	3	4	155	3	1	32	475	3	666
Mucuchíes	4	5	88	5	0	14	255	1	362
Mucurabá	6	6	84	4	2	14	248	8	352
Mucubache	6	5	77	4	0	16	224	5	321
Mucuño	5	6	96	0	0	0	0	0	96
Aricagua	3	3	199	2	0	7	422	0	630
Tucani	2	2	24	0	0	14	43	7	81
Torondoy	2	2	33	0	0	17	74	8	124
La Sal	1	2	11	1	0	3	66	5	81
Valle de Chama	2	4	51	1	0	0	79	23	131
Ejido	3	2	28	1	0	1	96	0	126
Totals	70	67	1,348	45	5	192	3,612	101	5,252

Note: [a]These ausentes do not include absentee tributaries.
Source: ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vols. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10 and 14.

1657, it is clear that there had been a notable reduction in the total of tributary Indians (Table 14.3). In addition, the region had also experienced a notable reduction in encomiendas. There are two probable explanations for these changes: Indian mortality, or Indian migration. Evidence for the former has been discussed generally for New Granada,[28] the jurisdiction within which Mérida fell until 1777.[29] Evidence for the latter possibility may only be gleaned from the details contained within the local documentary records of the notaries public.

Some Indians simply moved from the new pueblos to follow the interests of their encomendero. For example those living in Mucuño de Acequias abandoned that pueblo and moved to Ejido where their encomendero maintained a sugar-cane mill (*trapiche*). They explained that the reasons for their move were the permanent hostility shown towards them by the other Indians of Mucuño, and the climatic conditions to which they could not adapt.[30] One may note, however, that their new location in Ejido pueblo did not only benefit their encomendero, but also allowed Mérida's urban population to benefit from their labor. They were obliged to work on the cattle ranches of the Río Albarregas fronting on to the city.

Other workers brought to work the *estancias* of Ejido included groups from Jají and Lagunillas.[31] Ejido was clearly growing in significance, not only for its encomenderos, but also as a supply point for Mérida itself.[32] Ejido had prospered so much that when the visita of Diego de Baños y Sotomayor took place there was an attempt to establish yet another village on the margins of its jurisdiction. Some 300 Indians were designated for this new pueblo, originating from five other pueblos and ten encomiendas (Table 14.4).

It is also evident that the attempt in 1619–1620 by Vásquez de Cisneros to establish new pueblos had not been altogether successful. Some of the missing persons in Table 14.3 can be explained by the fact that many of the Indians had no sooner reached their new pueblos, than they promptly turned around and returned to their encomienda villages, to be included later there in newly-established secular villages. Such was the case in San Juan de Mucuhun (San Juan de Lagunillas), Camucay, (Pueblo Nuevo de la Quebrada de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe) and Chiguará de Estanques.

Not only had return migration taken place in the region. In some cases Indians who were moving to one new official site had moved on further to establish unofficial new pueblos.[33] In the case of Jají, for example, some of the Indians had left that site for another closer to that of Ejido, with allegedly better natural conditions for agriculture. There they established the pueblo of Santiago de Los Indios (now known as Mesa de Los Indios).[34] Jají, having lost population in the same way, was provided with more settlers from La Sabana. These new Indians brought with them the image of San Miguel Arcángel which had belonged to the *cofradía* of La Sabana. For that reason the new settlement became known as San Miguel Arcángel de Jají.[35]

Table 14.4 *Origins of Indians used to settle the new pueblo of Ejido, 1657*

Pueblo	Encomienda	Encomendero	Indios tributarios	Cacique	Reservado	Chusma	Total
Jají	Mucutaque	Martín de Sulbarán	3	1	—	20	24
Mucubache	Mocosos	Martín de Sulbarán	9	—	1	22	32
Mucuño	Mucurumute	Antonio de Odroñez	3	—	1	9	13
Jají	Laderas	Manuel Mexía	5	1	—	17	23
Jají	Los Curos	Alonso Ruiz Valero	1	—	—	12	13
Mucuño	Las Cruces	Alonso de Mesa	14	—	1	21	36
Mucubache	Los Nevados	Pedro de Gaviria N.	1	—	—	—	1
La Sabana	Guáimaros	Francisco de Albarrán	16	—	2	39	57
Mucuño	Mucuchay	Pedro de Gaviria N.	7	1	1	44	53
Ejido	Aricaguas	Pedro de Gaviria N.	10	0	0	29	39
Ejido	Aricaguas	Alonso Ruíz Valero	10	0	0	20	30
Total			79	3	6	233	321

Indian pueblos and migration

The migratory movement of Indian population in the Kingdom of New Granada affected not only Indians working in areas dedicated to mining, but also in agricultural regions. The case of Mérida province is instructive, demonstrating as it does the short-range movements involved in moving Indians from one area of encomendero interest to another. It also clearly shows that the notion of the stable Indian forever working the lands and having no contact with, nor knowledge of, the world outside of his village, is patently false.

Two types of migration can be identified in the Mérida region: first, an urbanward movement from rural areas;[36] and second, an intra-rural movement. In spite of the fact that ordinance 36 of Vásquez de Cisneros had determined that no Indian be permitted to move from his new pueblo, and that any functionary or person aiding such relocations would be subject to legal sanction, many did so, and with the wholesale support and connivance of local officials. The legal niceties were, as in many other instances, ignored for the sake of economic and social demands.[37]

Urbanward migration

This type of migration can be explained by both the nature of the urban centers of attraction, as well as the conditions of the rural areas from which Indians moved. First, we may examine the characteristics and destinations of Indians who had migrated from twelve pueblos by 1655 (Table 14.5). Of the 340 ausentes of this census, some 22 percent had moved directly to the regional capital of Mérida. It is highly likely that many of the 25 percent whose final destination was not reported would also have moved to Mérida, thus inflating even further that city's figure. Interesting too is the differential rate of migration to Mérida from within the twelve pueblos. While some 60 percent of the Timotes Indians had moved there, only 7 percent of La Sal's had migrated to that city.

More than half of the migrants were females, mostly young unmarried women, who doubtless found many employment opportunities in Mérida. Most of the female migrants to Mérida found employment as domestic servants, while the males occupied jobs in artisan craft industries, muleteering, or "general services."

Trujillo was another significant urban destination for migrant Indians. Most of those who chose to move to Trujillo came from the eastern group of pueblos, including Torondoy, Chachopo, and Santo Domingo. Most of these were connected to Trujillo by relatively good trails, especially Torondoy which lay on the main route that connected Trujillo to San Antonio de Gibraltar.[38]

Table 14.5 *Destinations of ausentes from the pueblos de indios of Mérida province, 1655–1657*

		Destinations							
Pueblos	Ausentes	Not Known	Pueblos	Mérida	Gibraltar	Barinas	Trujillo	Pamplona	Santa Fe
Lagunillas	18	—	5	4	—	—	—	1	8
Mucuchíes	26	4	8	10	—	—	—	4	—
Mucurubá	23	11	5	7	—	—	—	—	—
Jají	38	14	15	4	4	—	—	1	—
Chachopo	35	6	11	5	1	—	12	—	—
Timotes	18	3	2	11	—	2	—	—	—
Santo Domingo	35	2	3	10	—	3	16	1	—
La Sal	15	7	6	1	—	—	—	1	—
Tucaní	12	—	5	2	4	—	—	1	—
La Sabana	15	6	1	7	—	—	—	1	—
Aricagua	69	16	42	11	—	—	—	—	—
Torondoy	22	8	—	4	—	—	8	—	2

Source: ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vols. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10 and 14.

Table 14.6 *Origins of contracted laborers from within Mérida's jurisdiction, 1622–1688*

	Sex							
Origins	M	F	GS	DS	APP	ART	AsART	Total
Province[a]	28	18	7	18	16	2	3	46
Mucuchíes	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1
Tabay	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1
Aricagua	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Torondoy	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1
Sn. Vicente	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Muchachó	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1
	30	22	9	22	16	2	3	52

Note: [a]Provincial totals include all those for whom specific origins were not given. GS: general services; DS: domestic service; APP: apprentices; ART: artisans; AsART: assistants to artisan.
Source: Archivo Histórico de Mérida, Protocolos, vols. 8–35.

Smaller numbers of Indians had also moved to other towns such as Barinas and Pedraza, on the upper llanos, and Gibraltar on the shores of Lake Maracaibo. A few had migrated as far as Pamplona and Santa Fe de Bogotá, the viceregal capital.

The data available from labor contracts also allows one to measure migration to Mérida. Here the evidence is that taken from notarial registers between 1622 and 1688, and includes all Indians employed in Mérida, whether they came from within its jurisdiction or from beyond. Some fifty-two Indians from Mérida's jurisdiction had come to the city to seek work (Table 14.6), a mere 42 percent of the total of Indians so contracted. Unfortunately, only in nine cases do the contracts specify the origin of the laborers.[39]

Males constituted a slight majority of these migrants, most finding employment as apprentices, with a few becoming assistants to artisans, or artisans themselves. The remainder worked in general services which probably included labor on the farm-plots and orchards of the urban landowners, as well as odd jobs in and around the urban residences. Most women were employed as domestic servants.

It is interesting to note the relatively extended range of settlements outside of Mérida's immediate hinterland that provided contracted labor during the period in question (Table 14.7). The greatest number came from settlements within Nueva Granada such as Tunja and Pamplona. The province of Venezuela, and other cities within Mérida province providing the next largest shares. One should note that since this labor force was not specialized, it is highly likely that the individuals involved were not particularly attracted by

Table 14.7 *Origins of contracted laborers from outside Mérida's corregimiento, 1622–1688*

Origins	Number of laborers	Percent
Mérida Province	11	15
La Grita	7	
San Cristóbal	4	
Venezuela Province	21	29
Coro	5	
Tocuyo	1	
Trujillo	3	
Caracas	4	
Barquisimeto	1	
Unknown	7	
Nueva Granada	35	49
Tunja	12	
Pamplona	9	
Santa Fe	5	
Ocaña	1	
Popayán	2	
Antioquia	1	
Salazar de las Palmas	1	
Cartagena	1	
Velez	1	
"Granada"	2	
Other cities	5	7
Quito	2	
Pasto	3	
	72	100

Source: AHM, Protocolos, vols. 8–30.

the employment opportunities of Mérida, but rather were escaping the onerous burdens that had been placed upon them by the local Spaniards. While some undoubtedly benefited from the economic growth that Mérida experienced during the first half of the seventeenth century, all enjoyed equality of wage rates with local laborers.[40]

Intra-rural migration

While the movement of Indians to the city of Mérida and other urban centers is significant during the seventeenth century, equally important was the migration between all types of rural settlements. Various explanations may be offered to better understand these movements. First, it is evident that

encomenderos were continually switching their laborers around from one encomienda site to another. In this way any encomendero with Indians at sites in both the Andean mountains, and out on the upper llanos, might well move groups of Indians from the Mérida region at times of harvest to use them at lower elevations, and vice versa. Such patterns of seasonal migration were also affected by the fact that since this region is characterized by a great diversity of ecological niches, ordered principally in relation to altitude, temporary migrations would often occur over short horizontal distances when such travel meant major changes in the economic and ecological base. This would be the equivalent to the central Andean pattern of vertical migrations posited by Murra and others.[41]

Another explanation of the permanent migration of other Indians might well be the effect of continual contact with neighboring rural settlements by way of commerce. Frequent social contacts might well lead to marriage and thus permanent migratory moves.[42] Such reasons as are here offered would explain why it is that in the cold climate of Santo Domingo one could find migrants from the sub-tropical environment of Lagunillas, or settlers from Chachopo in the isolated village of Acequias or the desolate reaches of La Sal.

The simultaneous use by Mérida urban residents of various of these ecological levels can also explain the movement of Indian population. Since there were cane mills in Ejido, cacao plantations in the lower Río Chama, and near Gibraltar, wheat cultivation in the Mucuchíes, Mucurubá and La Sabana valleys, and the even more famous tobacco plantations in Barinas and Pedraza, it is not surprising that Indians of Mérida's rural villages were recycled to new locations as and when labor was in demand.

In this case the marriage records also demonstrate that such migrations could lead to more permanent ties to communities other than of one's origin. The records of Durí (Trujillo) show marriage partners from Santo Domingo, and in Santo Domingo spouses from Durí.[43]

But not only was Mérida a reception area for immigrants. The census of 1655–1657 includes Indians who had escaped tributed payment in the home pueblos and had been registered as forasteros in pueblos de indios of Mérida's jurisdiction (Table 14.8). Not only did migrant labor find employment in the rural villages, but it is clear from the Mérida records that there was a steady contracting of forastero laborers to work for urban proprietors of estancias, sugar plantations and the like (Table 14.9).

Conclusion

The evidence available in the census records and labor contracts of seventeenth-century Mérida and its region makes it clear that migration, whether

Table 14.8 *Forasteros in Mérida's pueblos de indios, 1655–1657*

Pueblos	Origins of forasteros Mérida (city)	Venezuela	Nueva Granada	Total
Lagunillas	2	1	2	5
Mucuchíes	—	—	1	1
Mucurubá	—	3	—	3
Santo Domingo	1	6	—	7
La Sabana	—	2	2	4

Sources: ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vols. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10 and 14.

forced or voluntary in nature, was of great significance. Most of the forced migration was caused by the needs and demands of encomenderos who required control over labor that could more effectively utilize the natural resources as they were progressively discovered. With high Indian mortality there was also an almost continual need to readjust such village settlements as economic development demanded.

But the newly-established villages of the 1620s also brought with them other problems. Indians of very distinctive backgrounds often found it impossible to share the same settlement and thus hiving-off took place – the migration onwards of Indians who had been forced to move from their homelands to new villages. In that sense the process of new village foundation itself triggered yet further migration. The conflicts between the Indians of La Sabana and the *motilone* group who arrived to settle down and occupy land abandoned by the *jajíes* provides a classic example of this process.

Voluntary migration appears to have been mainly the movement of Indians (both tributary and non-tributary) listed as ausentes in their local village rolls, to seek the advantage of employment in the rural and urban environments close to Mérida. Most of these migrants were single, relatively young, and clearly ones who were willing to risk being repatriated should they be caught by the authorities. The city, after all, allowed the young male the possibility of becoming an apprentice to an artisan; for the young female the chances of finding secure employment in the house of one of Mérida's many wealthy families both ensured a relatively good life, and the chance of meeting a marriage partner quite different from those available in the home Indian village. To be in, or close by, the city meant to be nearer the source of economic, social and political power.

The evidence is very clear: migration to and from, as well as within, the Mérida region was common during the seventeenth century. Indians were continually on the move – searching for jobs, escaping a harsh master, looking

Table 14.9 *Forastero population contracted in Mérida, 1623–1688*

Date	Contractor	Years	Salary (pesos)	Bula	Enseñanza de la Fe	Curación	Good treatment	Food	Ethnic group	Origin	Work
28-05-1628	Juan Pacheco Maldonado	1	20	—	—	X	X	X	Indio	La Grita	Criador de burros
05-09-1628	Juan Pacheco Maldonado	1	20	—	—	—	—	—	Indio	Caracas	Criador de burros
21-12-1628	Diego Prieto Dávila	1	20	0	0	X	X	—	Indio	Caracas	Domador
12-02-1630	Diego Prieto Dávila	1	25	—	—	—	X	X	Mestizo	Tunja	Vaquero
26-10-1630	Juan Samudio	1	30	—	—	X	—	X[a]	Indio	Pamplona	Estanciero
06-05-1632	Diego Prieto Dávila	1	18	—	—	X	X	X	Indio	Venezuela	Vaquero
24-05-1632	Diego Prieto Dávila	1	30	—	—	—	—	—	Indio	N/S	Hacienda trabajador
02-12-1632	Juan Pacheco Maldonado	1	35	—	—	X	X	X	Indio	Santa Fe	Arriero
10-06-1633	Antonio Arias Maldonado	2	24	—	—	X	X	X	Indio	Quito	Vaquero
30-01-1636	Antonio de Monsalve	2	20	—	X	X	—	X[b]	Indio (pareja)	Coro	Arriero Vaquero
21-08-1655	Juan Carrillo de Rojas	1	30	—	—	—	—	X	Indio	Caracas	Arriero
18-06-1670	Alonso Dávila	1	30	X	0	X	0	X	Indio	Pamplona	Arriero
18-10-1688	María de Izarra	1	14	X	—	X	—	X	India (forastero)	N/S	Arriero Vaquero

Notes: [a]Received 2 *reales* each Saturday for his upkeep.
[b]Received payment in portions of brown sugar and honey.
N/S – Not specified.

Source: AHM. Protocolos, vols. 8, 11, 13, 22, 23, 28, 29, 35.

for a spouse. Colonial Mérida, in that sense at least, was very similar to many other areas of Hispanic America for which we still have to uncover archival sources and investigate the complexities of such migratory patterns. For colonial Venezuela that process has only just begun.

15

Indian migrations in the Audiencia of Quito: Crown manipulation and local co-optation

KAREN POWERS

While the traditional historiography of early Latin America poses a static colonial order in which urban-based Spanish elites extracted tribute and forced labor from stationary Indian communities, contemporary research, including that reported here, points to a more mobile, interactive pattern.[1] Recent findings indicate that the Spanish invasion of the New World set in motion one of the most dynamic movements of peoples ever experienced in the Western hemisphere. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the impositions of the colonial regime and the socio-economic dislocations that resulted, generated mass migrations of Indians away from their communities of origin. Because tribute and forced labor (the *mita*) were levied on their communal villages, Indians, in an attempt to survive, increasingly evaded these exactions by fleeing to Spanish cities and *haciendas*, or to other native villages. There they escaped the excessive demands of the Spanish state by losing themselves in urban or rural frontier settings, or by entering the employ of marginal Spaniards and Indian lords.[2]

So rampant was migration in the Andes that by mid-eighteenth century the *forasteros* (migrant Indians and their descendants) represented one-half the population of La Paz and one-third that of Cuzco.[3] The Audiencia of Quito, far from lying outside this process, may well turn out to be its most illustrative case. Indeed, it would appear from the record that the indigenous peoples of Quito may have been, at least chronologically speaking, in the vanguard of the Andean migration phenomenon. My research indicates that native migrations in the Audiencia of Quito were early and massive. As early as 1669 in the *visita* of one *encomienda*, Salomon calculates that there were already 239 forasteros present; they represented almost 7 percent of the total population of the encomienda and were reported to have been there since 1544 with the permission of the local *caciques*.[4] By 1585, migration had become so widespread that priests complained one-half of their parishioners had moved away to other districts. In that same year, Audiencia officials

debated over whether to begin collecting tribute in the Indians' places of residence instead of in their communities of birth.[5]

Similarly, the petitions and suits of the early seventeenth-century caciques are replete with complaints about tribute arrears owing to absent Indians. In 1619, the President of Quito, when asked to report to the King on the sorry fiscal state of Otovalo, declared that the major reason for that province's downfall was the out-migration of its inhabitants and the unpaid tributes they left behind. One *parcialidad* alone owed 100,000 pesos in back tributes which its caciques attributed to Indians who had migrated to other provinces.[6] Indeed, numerous bureaucratic reports of the period leave one with the impression that migration was a generalized phenomenon that had reached critical proportions by the early seventeenth century.

In addition, a brief analysis of the *padroncillos* (tribute listings of Indian towns) that I have collected for Ecuador reveals an absentee rate of between 50 and 60 percent for the *tributarios* of many sierran communities by the turn of the eighteenth century. Missing community members were enumerated as *indios ausentes* and reported to be residing in nearly all of the major urban centers of the highlands, as well as in rural *obrajes* (textile craftshops), haciendas, and the homes of Spaniards. When *ausentes seguros* – those whose location was known and from whom the cacique acknowledged receiving tribute – are also considered, the percentage of tributarios who resided outside their communities rises in some cases to as much as 95 percent by the late seventeenth century.[7]

Since the Indians of the Audiencia of Quito tended to migrate in families, we can safely assume that a substantial part of the total population of these towns was also absent, having departed with the tributarios. In short, both the Spanish and Ecuadorean archival data from the Audiencia of Quito repeatedly present a picture of widespread demographic instability.

The push factors that precipitated the mass migrations described above can be squarely attributed to excessive labor obligations, land divestment, official abuse, epidemics, occasional crop failures, and natural disasters in places of origin. The pull factors that attracted the migrants included exemption or escape from forced labor, lower tribute rates, land availability, better treatment and higher wages at their destinations. The crucial catalyst, however, appears to have been the question of labor. Although it has frequently been posited by scholars of seventeenth-century Spanish America that, owing to the absence of a mining mita, the Indians of the Audiencia of Quito enjoyed demographic stability and better living and working conditions than other natives of the Viceroyalty of Peru, this is far from the picture presented in much of the documentation.[8] Indeed, the archival record is replete with lawsuits, petitions, fiscal reports and official correspondence in which the protagonists complain bitterly about the enormous labor burden placed upon the Audiencia's natives and the resultant squeeze on community

resources that it occasioned. While not subject to the rigors of the Potosí or Huancavelica mitas, the Indians of Quito were responsible for meeting labor quotas for various types of mita; these included providing workers for the large obrajes, agricultural tasks, the provisioning of the cities, public works, transport, gunpowder factories, the wayside stations (*tambos*), *chasqui* messenger services, and for monasteries and convents. The Quito mita, known as the *quinto*, required that Indian communities provide one-fifth of their tributary populations for these activities, as opposed to one-seventh in most other parts of the Viceroyalty. In addition to these official labor exactions, personal service for priests, royal officials and private Spanish citizens remained rampant in the Audiencia throughout the colonial period.

The tremendous labor squeeze experienced by native communities prompted the caciques of Latacunga to proclaim in 1614 that black slaves were better treated than Indians because when a slave died his work was done once and for all; nobody demanded another slave to replace him as was the case with Indian workers. They also blamed excessive labor obligations and lack of rest for the continual out-migration of their subjects.[9]

While a full quantitative analysis of these population movements is presently underway, it promises to be a lengthy process. There is one issue, however, which is already abundantly clear and well-documented; while mass migration began as an Indian survival strategy, it eventually came to be manipulated in sundry, clever ways by the Audiencia's major interest groups. Every colonial sector in Quito attempted to either check the migratory flow or to channel it toward itself in an attempt to accrue a reliable source of tribute and labor. The traditional elites (the *encomenderos*, large *obrajeros* and prominent landowners, all prime beneficiaries of the mita) pushed for legislation which would control out-migration and maintain intact the state system of labor distribution – a system the effectiveness of which depended on the Indians remaining in place; the upstart obrajeros and small *hacendados* tried to attract migrants with higher wages, cash advances and paternal treatment; the caciques attempted to hold on to their labor supplies by orchestrating migrations themselves, and by luring Indians away from other communities with promises of land, luxury goods and attractive labor contracts; and last, but not least, the Spanish Crown engaged in various strategies to manipulate indigenous population movements in its own fiscal interests. It is primarily the latter type of manipulation – that is Crown manipulations of the migration processes and their repercussions in Quito – that this chapter will address.

From the 1560s onwards, the Crown and Audiencia officials led the way in a multi-sector attempt to harness the forastero population. They rewarded Spaniards and the natives alike for exposing truant Indians; they appointed special officials to round up *vagamundos* and aggregate them into artificial *ayllus* which were then attached to the Crown; and they also attempted to

channel migratory flows towards *parcialidades de la Real Corona* by offering Indians advantageous terms. These parcialidades first appeared in fiscal records in 1593 and grew rapidly in size and number throughout the entire seventeenth century.[10]

The proliferation of these parcialidades can be squarely attributed to Crown incentives such as a tribute rate three to four times lower than that of encomienda Indians, as well as exemption from the mita.[11] These enticements gave rise to mass migration toward *parcialidades de vagamundos de la Real Corona* from the 1590s. One poignant example of the success of this strategy was the tremendous increase of Crown Indians in Otovalo, where the parcialidad de la Real Corona grew by nearly 14,000 migrants in the twenty years between 1592 and 1612.[12] By the end of the seventeenth century Crown parcialidades had become practically synonymous with forasteros.[13]

That the Crown was able to manipulate the migratory process in its own interests is abundantly clear, but what requires further analysis is what exactly those interests were. How did the strategy of channeling migrations towards such parcialidades benefit the Crown? One of the reasons may have been the fact that such methods might have been a means of breaking the power of the encomenderos without having to make a frontal assault on the entire institution. Such a backdoor method may have been particularly desirable in a colonial backwater like Quito where, in the absence of mines and other lucrative enterprises, encomiendas constituted the only source of wealth and prestige. In relation to this, Santillán, President of the Audiencia, appealed to the King in 1564 to slow the pace of Crown incorporation of encomiendas and to allow him to continue to grant small encomiendas to worthwhile citizens. He claimed that in the absence of encomiendas or other rewards, anybody who was somebody was leaving the region, while the Audiencia was being overrun with "riffraff"; the latter were engaged in daily riots and altercations for want of something better to do.[14] What better way to stem the flow than to keep giving out encomiendas and then simply lure Indians away with offers of a better deal!

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documentation contains an abundance of complaints on the part of encomenderos that their Indians were migrating *en masse* to Crown parcialidades where royal officials were enumerating them all too easily on the rolls of the Real Corona. In 1626, one encomendero charged bitterly that any Indian who wished to be exempt from normal tribute and mita obligations had only to say that he was from Cuzco or some other distant province, and he would be attached to the Crown at the expense of his encomendero without further ado.[15] Of course, to be able to prove categorically that the manipulation of migration was indeed a surreptitious attack on the encomenderos, one would have to undertake a study of the movement of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century encomiendas in the entire Audiencia, a formidable task by any standard. However, once Javier

Ortíz de la Tabla's book on the sixteenth-century encomenderos of Quito is available it may be possible to say something more definitive on the issue.

A somewhat less speculative benefit of the incorporation of migrant Indians into Crown parcialidades was that it did indeed serve the fiscal interests of the royal administration. The forasteros of the Crown reportedly paid their tributes punctually and in full. This was probably due to their exemption from the mita, and their employment as artisans and in private obrajes where they frequently earned wages double those of *mitayos*.

The Crown strategy, however, did not operate without impediments and modifications as witnessed by the responses of other colonial actors. Traditional elites (especially those who depended upon tribute and forced labor) attempted to check the migratory flow toward royal parcialidades by pushing the Audiencia to pass decrees which would define the juridical position and treatment of forasteros in a way that was favorable to them. The Audiencia gave in periodically to this pressure and issued decrees ordering forasteros, even those belonging to the Crown, to perform the mita in their places of residence – this in spite of the fact that it had no authority to do so. When asked to submit reports to the Crown, in 1618 and 1631, on the feasibility of a general *reducción* of forasteros, Quiteño officials insisted that such a project would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, owing to the near institutionalization of *forasterismo* in the region's economy. They then suggested that the problem be resolved by ordering that forasteros throughout the viceroyalty have mita obligations wherever they resided, and admitted to having taken it upon themselves to pass local decrees to that effect on several occasions.[16] Evidently, the Audiencia of Quito was well ahead of the Duque de Palata who attempted to put this general reform into effect in the 1680s. In relation to the Audiencia's independence of action, Palata himself would complain fifty years later that Quito had represented the biggest problem of his administration owing to the frequent insubordination of its officials.[17]

The Audiencia's sporadic attempts to convert forasteros to mitayos, however, met with varying degrees of success. Documentation has surfaced during my research which indicates that on occasion forasteros were forced to participate in the mita, but more often than not they are depicted as indefatigable litigants who succeeded in obtaining royal provisions which confirmed in no uncertain terms their exempt status. Furthermore, their arguments were almost always couched in terms which pitted local elite interests against those of the Crown. For example the forasteros de la Real Corona of Cuenca, in a petition of 1666 against their assignment as agricultural mitayos, threatened that if made to undertake the mita they would only flee again and the Crown would thus lose its tributes. They also insinuated in a rather arrogantly worded statement that they should be rewarded for staying put and paying their royal tributes promptly.[18] This playoff between forced labor for private citizens and tribute for the Crown

appears time and again in Indian petitions; the implication is always that they are mutually exclusive obligations, that one will cancel out the other.

In short, my impression from the available data is that in spite of occasional Audiencia decrees ordering Indians to perform forced labor in their communities of residence, traditional elites did not have much success imposing the mita on the forastero population. Failing this, however, they frequently attempted to circumvent royal provisions by pushing for local ordinances which would change or restrict the definition of forastero. By the mid-seventeenth century, a forastero was defined only as an Indian who had migrated outside his *corregimiento* of origin and who was repeatedly resistant to being "reduced" to his community of birth. All Indians who migrated within their corregimientos were subject to tribute and mita in their original *pueblos*. In addition, any forastero who resided in a town for more than ten years or for reasons of marriage was automatically considered an *originario* or *llactayo* with all the obligations and privileges of that status.[19] Of course, it proved impossible to put these ordinances into practice, since caciques and *corregidores* were often remiss in searching their districts for short-distance migrants, and long-distance migrants frequently picked up and moved to another town before the ten-year limit.

Throughout the seventeenth century, Indian migrations to parcialidades de la Real Corona continued unabated as did elite efforts to stem the tide. Parallel to this conflict, however, other colonial interest groups developed a whole array of strategies to manipulate or subvert the phenomenon for their own benefits. In other words, the Crown manipulation of indigenous population movements itself became the target of subsequent manipulations on the part of Indians, caciques, Spanish bureaucrats and small obrajeros. So pervasive and refined did these subversions become that by the end of the seventeenth century the concept of the "parcialidad de forasteros de la Real Corona" had evolved into institutions which served local interests and ceased to have much, if anything, to do with the Crown.

The maneuverings of colonial actors with regard to Crown parcialidades included their exploitation for personal gain, their utilization as an indigenous survival strategy, and their eventual wholesale co-optation by government officials, both Spanish and Indian. What follows is an analysis of those machinations and their repercussions.

As mentioned above, the royal strategy of rounding up stray Indians or vagamundos, aggregating them into parcialidades de la Real Corona, and offering them a low tribute rate and exemption from the mita, motivated mass migrations towards Crown-controlled jurisdictions. These parcialidades de la Real Corona came to exist in every urban center and in nearly every Indian community of the colony. Evidently, the natives of Quito preferred to avoid the excessive exactions of their communities by attaching themselves to the Crown rather than retiring to remote areas where life was

precarious. Numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century observers reported that the desirable conditions offered by the Crown created a situation in which large numbers of Indians tried to declare themselves as vagamundos. The general tenor of these reports is that "now they all want to be vagamundos of the Real Corona."[20]

Quiteño Indians made an industry out of manipulating the Audiencia's differentiated tribute system. In 1694, the fiscal, Antonio de Ron, cites the lack of uniformity in tribute rates as a major push/pull factor of internal migrations. Indians migrated from communities with heavy tribute and labor obligations to those that were less burdened and frequently bribed Spanish officials to enumerate them in the rolls of the latter.[21] In other words, they shopped around for a better deal and incorporation into the Real Corona was, of course, the best deal of all.

The advantages of being incorporated into Crown parcialidades are evident in the abundance of suits which occurred over jurisdiction; Indian migrants were often counted twice, once in their community of origin and again in the Real Corona, a situation which resulted in many legal battles concerning the parcialidad to which they truly belonged. The documentation is replete both with the bitter charges of encomenderos that their Indians had been wrongfully enumerated in Crown parcialidades and with the persistent rebuttals of Indians who did everything within their power to hold on to their status as forasteros de la Real Corona.

An especially representative and telling example of this conflict would be the case of Don Juan Vásquez, an encomendero of Chimbo who claimed that several of his Indians were living in Cuenca where they had been attached to the Crown. They, of course, denied any such affiliation in spite of their imprisonment in the public jail and a protracted battle between the corregidores and both jurisdictions. Vásquez charged further that they had fled to Cuenca to avoid paying the enormous amount of back tribute (*rezagos*) that they owed in Chimbo; one was the alcalde of the encomienda and was thus responsible for the collection of the tribute. Vásquez' representatives insisted that this kind of subterfuge should not be allowed to continue because it had already become a general trend in the Audiencia: all Indians who owed tribute were trying to get themselves incorporated into the Real Corona.[22] The abundance and complexity of these suits often gives one the impression that migration patterns in the Audiencia of Quito were akin to an oversized game of musical chairs with the parcialidades de la Real Corona as the most coveted seats. More often than not, litigation ended in victory for the Crown Indians, frequently in spite of convincing evidence to the contrary; the effectiveness of the survival strategy founded upon movements to the Real Corona was thus enhanced and subsequent movement encouraged. It was a game that all Indians wished to play.

The utilization of Crown parcialidades as a survival strategy was paral-

leled by their exploitation for social mobility on the part of some Indians. The process through which parcialidades de la Real Corona were composed ended in the creation of numerous self-made caciques as well as the self-aggrandizement of some hereditary lords. This was especially true during the early aggregations of the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when the wholesale round-up of vagamundos took on the character of a free-for-all.

Those who came out on top in the aggregation process were frequently ordinary Indians who recognized an opportunity for social advancement and seized it; they collected as many Indians as possible both through force and cajoling, offered them to the Crown, and requested appointment as caciques of those they had rounded up. Similarly, a select group of existing caciques took advantage of the same opportunity in order to increase their wealth and power. The strategy succeeded not only in amplifying the internal labor forces in their communities (with Indians who were exempt from the mita), but in augmenting the number of tributarios under their control and hence their own importance to the Spanish regime.

This method of aggregating or agglomerating Indians seems to have its juridical basis in the visita instructions of 1570 forwarded to the Audiencia of Quito by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo; he states quite succinctly that any native, whether cacique or commoner, who exposes unreported Indians will be rewarded by being made the *principal* of those Indians.[23] There exist numerous suits over *cacicazgos* in the Quito region which attest to the frequent use of this practice and which question time and again the legitimacy of the caciques that it produced and bolstered.

One name that appears repeatedly in the role of master aggregator of vagamundos is that of Jorge Llacta, supposedly of Nazca, Peru (although alternately from Cuzco). His grandson claimed that he was sent to Quito by the Viceroy some time in the late-sixteenth century to round up forasteros and attach them to the Crown. As the story goes, he succeeded in creating parcialidades de vagamundos de la Real Corona in Quito, Cuenca, Jaén de Bracamoros, Chimbo, Riobamba, Latacunga, and Ambato. While his background seems rather dubious, he does appear repeatedly in the documentation as the cacique of various Crown parcialidades.[24]

Another pointed example is the famous Hati family of Latacunga which increased its wealth and power through the systematic aggregation of hundreds of forasteros. In 1656, Don Guillermo García Hati, in a suit over the indios vagamundos de la Real Corona of Latacunga contended that these Indians were "naturalizados, adquiridos y buscados" by his father Don Guillermo García Hati Zanipatín. In addition, there are some questions raised in the suit as to whether the Hatis were descended from an ordinary Indian who had prospered by means of his participation in the round-up of Indians in the late-sixteenth century.[25]

While some Indians manipulated the parcialidades de la Real Corona for individual survival and personal gain, others, along with their Spanish counterparts, engaged in the wholesale co-optation and institutionalization of the phenomenon. For the caciques of their original communities, the forasteros of the Real Corona became a reserve of tributarios to be hunted down or even deliberately placed outside the community for the purposes of collecting guaranteed tribute. In other words, the caciques of their towns of origin reported the Crown forasteros as *ausentes* on the tribute rolls and then secretly collected the communities' tribute from them in their place of residence. This means that many Indians of the Real Corona ended up paying double tribute: once to the Crown and again to the caciques of their community of birth. It was stated in an Audiencia discourse on the problem of forasterismo that these Indians willingly paid twice in order to be assured exemption from the dreaded mita; double tribute was like paying double protection money, the caciques were paid off to keep their mouths shut and maintain the migrants on the list of ausentes, and the Crown was paid to ensure status as non-mitayos.[26]

Their exemption from the mita enabled Crown Indians to earn double the wages of mitayos through labor as artisans or in private obrajes.[27] They represented a fall-back position for their original caciques who used their tribute either for personal enrichment or as a calculated community survival strategy. As long as the duplicity worked, here was a group of Indians on whom the cacique could count, Indians who, because of their legal status as forasteros, were not regularly subjected to the rigors of the mita and less prone to take off for parts unknown, Indians whose tribute was dependable because of their higher earning potential. It even appears from the evidence that some migrations to parcialidades of the Real Corona were orchestrated by the caciques themselves; migrations composed of family groups and even whole parcialidades are especially suspect. In this case, a cacique's subjects would constitute a type of economic colony, not unlike those of pre-Hispanic times, and their tribute might be considered "remittances back home."[28]

Through incorporation into the Real Corona, migrant Indians acquired a protected legal status which permitted them to remain safely in areas where there were higher paying jobs (paying higher than the mita); that is, their position as Crown Indians afforded them some security against being marched home by the *buscadores*.[29]

The caciques' manipulation of parcialidades de la Real Corona was not permitted to function as a solely Indian operation; rather it was shared with and was eventually preempted by Spanish officials and small obrajeros. It would appear that the corregidores, *tenientes* and *cobradores* eventually achieved the wholesale co-optation of the strategy. The corregidores of the Audiencia of Quito did not collect the tribute of encomienda Indians; rather, the encomenderos and their agents continued to exercise this privilege

themselves.[30] Hence, there is no mystery about the eagerness with which the corregidores incorporated as many Indians as possible into the Real Corona. There, they could have direct access to their tribute and greater opportunities for fraud. In 1677, in a desperate letter to the King, a group of Quiteño caciques reported that "there are no vagamundos because even the Indians who flee their communities end up paying tribute to the Crown, the proceeds of which are pocketed by the corregidores and their cobradores."[31] Indeed, the documentation indicates that the tribute frauds of the Audiencia's corregidores had reached startling dimensions by the end of the seventeenth century.

The role played by the small obrajeros in the exploitation of Crown parcialidades was, perhaps, a more interactive one than that played by other colonial interest groups. The obrajeros both took advantage of the ready labor supply that Crown parcialidades represented and, by offering higher wages and better treatment, functioned as well-defined destinations in the migration process. These small, unlicensed owners worked their obrajes with the wage labor of forasteros and continued to attract more of the same, thereby stimulating the growth of both the parcialidades de la Real Corona and the labor force available to the sector. This, in turn, caused the subsequent proliferation of small obrajes and *chorrillos* until, by the second half of the seventeenth century, their owners represented a strong enough interest group to challenge the traditional elites.

In 1680, the Crown's order to demolish all private, unlicensed obrajes prompted an avalanche of petitions from nearly all sectors of colonial society, including the Indians who protested strongly against the elimination of their livelihood. In 1684, the order was rescinded and the upstart obrajeros were permitted to "compose" their operations.[32] Finally, royal cédulas of 1689 and 1704 abolished the *mita de obraje* altogether and ordered that all obrajes be worked with contract labor (*voluntarios*).[33]

In conclusion, Indian migrations in the Audiencia of Quito began as a response on the part of the indigenous peoples to the abuses of the colonial regime. During the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this survival strategy began to be manipulated by the Crown which attempted to aggregate as many Indians to itself as possible by offering exemption from the mita and a lower tribute rate. The Crown's strategy served its fiscal interests well and may also have constituted a backdoor method of breaking the power of the encomenderos without having to suffer the pains of a frontal attack on that important socio-economic institution.

The process of aggregating vagamundos into parcialidades de la Real Corona also had the effect of producing many self-made caciques and of enhancing the power of a select group of existing local lords. The resulting growth and proliferation of Crown parcialidades provided small, unlicensed obrajeros with a much-needed labor force and succeeded in strengthening

their position as a colonial interest group by the second half of the seventeenth century.

Lastly, the caciques of their communities of origin used Crown Indians as a tribute reserve by continuing to collect taxes from them either for personal gain or as a community survival strategy. By the late-seventeenth century, however, this operation had been co-opted by Spanish corregidores who succeeded in converting the parcialidades of the Real Corona into their personal fiefdoms. In short the Crown's manipulation of indigenous population migration (the formation of parcialidades with forasteros) became the target of subsequent manipulation which ended in its transformation into a colonial institution which served a variety of local interests.

Notes

1 Introduction: towards a typology of migration in colonial Spanish America

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2 Indian migration and community formation: an analysis of *congregación* in colonial Guatemala

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31 Frederick P. Bowser, *The African slave in colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford University Press, 1974).

32 Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, Mita, migraciones y pueblos. Variaciones en el espacio y en el tiempo, *Revista Boliviana* 3 (1983) 31–59. See also Cook, *Demographic collapse*; and Enrique Tandeter's Forced and free labour in late colonial Potosí, *Past and Present* 93 (1981) 98–136.

33 Alejandro Málaga Medina, Las reducciones en el Perú, *Historia y Cultura* 8 (1974) 141–172; and the same author's Las reducciones en el virreinato del Perú (1532–1580), *Revista de Historia de América* 80 (1975) 9–45.

34 Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); Ann Zulawski, Mano de obra y migración en un centro minero de los Andes: Oruro, 1683, in Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz (ed.), *Población y mano de obra en América Latina* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985) 95–114; and in the same compilation, Carlos Sempat Assadourian, La crisis demográfica del siglo XVI y la transición del Tawantinsuyu al sistema mercantil colonial, 69–94. See also Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, Migración rural en los Andes. Sipesipe (Cochabamba, 1645), *Revista de Historia Económica* 1 (1983) 13–36; his: Migraciones internas en el Alto Perú. El saldo acumulado en 1645, *Historia Boliviana* 2/1 (1982) 11–19; and the same author's Migración urbana y trabajo. Los indios de

Arequipa, 1571–1645, in *De historia e historiadores. Homenaje a José Luis Romero* (Mexico, 1983) 259–281.

35 James Lockhart, *The men of Cajamarca. A social and biographical study of the first conquerors of Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972); for a specialized study see *Presencia italiana en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto Italiano de Cultura, 1984). See also Peter Boyd-Bowman, Spanish emigrants to the Indies, 1595–98: A profile, in *First Images* 2, 732–735; and Magnus Mörner, Spanish migration to the New World prior to 1810: a report on the state of research, in the same volume, 2737–2782. See also Boyd-Bowman, *Patterns of Spanish emigration to the New World (1493–1580)* (Buffalo, 1973); and for the sources, his currently published volumes of *Indice geobiográfico de 40,000 pobladores españoles de America en el siglo XVI* (vol. 1 [1493–1519], Bogotá, 1964; vol. 2 [1520–1539], Mexico, 1968). The other important source on the migrants is the *Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (3 vols., Seville, 1940–1946). See Claude Mazet, Population et société à Lima aux XVI et XVII siècles: la paroisse de San Sebastián (1562–1689), *Cahiers des Amériques Latines* 13/14 (1976) 53–100.

36 Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca.*

37 See especially Mörner, Spanish migration, 2755–2765; and Lockhart, *Spanish Peru.*

38 Recent work on the economic development of Spain between 1500 and 1900 allows for more mature analysis than has been possible in the past.

39 Although L. A. Clayton, Trade and navigation in the seventeenth-century viceroyalty of Peru, *Journal of American Studies* 7 (1975) 1–21, deals mainly with commerce, the information on shipping along the Andean coast is useful for study of migration.

40 To date, this type of research has been of a biographical nature. The stress has been on the families of the most important figures, the Pizarros, the Almagros. Yet thousands returned to Spain from the Indies. My own investigation of one of the men who returned, Francisco Noguerol de Ulloa, reveals that there was a network of ex-colonials who maintained contact with each other, and conducted business through this network. Systematic study of those who returned should be of great interest. James Lockhart, Letters and people to Spain, in *First Images* 2, 783–796, does allude to some who returned, especially those who settled in Trujillo. See also Theopolis Fair, The *indiano* during the Spanish Golden Age from 1550–1650. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Temple University, 1972). The recent work of Ida Altman is especially valuable; see Spanish hidalgos and America: the Ovandos of Cáceres, *The Americas* 43 (1987) 323–344; and Emigrants and society: an approach to the background of colonial Spanish America, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1988) 170–190.

41 See Cook, *Padrón.*

42 Luis Martín, *Daughters of the conquistadores. Women of the viceroyalty of Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983). Here the work of Boyd-Bowman is of exceptional value, in spite of shortcomings; see also Mörner, Spanish migration 2744–2745.

43 Ann Wightman is doing excellent work on this subject. See also Irene Silverblatt, Andean women in the Inca empire, *Feminist Studies* 4 (1978) 37–59; and the same author's Andean women under Spanish rule, in Mona Etienne and Eleanor

Leacock (eds.), *Women and colonization: anthropological perspectives* (New York, 1980) 149–185; and Asunción Lavrin, Women in Spanish American colonial history, in *Cambridge History*, 2321–2355. The bibliographical article at the end of the volume is of special interest.

44 Mellafe, The importance of migration, 308–309.

4 Migration processes in Upper Peru in the seventeenth century

1 Rolando Mellafe, The importance of migration in the viceroyalty of Peru, in Paul Déprez (ed.), *Population and economics: proceedings of section V of the Fourth Congress of the Economic History Association* (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 1970) 303–313.

2 Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, *El indio en el Alto Perú a fines del siglo XVII* (Lima, 1973); *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); Migraciones internas en el Alto Perú. El saldo acumulado en 1645, *Historia Boliviana* 2 (1982) 11–19; Mita, migraciones y pueblos. Variaciones en el espacio y en el tiempo, Alto Perú, 1578–1692. Unpublished manuscript.

3 Brian M. Evans, Census enumeration in late seventeenth century Alto Perú: the Numeración General of 1683/84, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981) 25–44; The structure and distribution of the Indian population of Alto Perú in the late seventeenth century. *Conference of Latin American Geographers Yearbook* (Muncie, 1985) 31–37; Migration in Alto Perú in the late seventeenth century: the evidence of the Numeración General, Paper delivered at Symposium on *Unity and Diversity in Colonial Spanish America* (Tulane University, 1983).

4 Jeffrey A. Cole, Viceregal persistence versus Indian mobility: the impact of the Duque de la Palata's reform program on Alto Perú 1681–1692, *Latin American Research Review* 19 (1984) 36–56.

5 *Tasa de la Visita General de Francisco de Toledo*, N. D. Cook (ed.) (Lima, 1975), xxxix–xliii.

6 See, for example, discussion in Cole, Viceregal persistence versus Indian mobility, and, more especially, in his unpublished PhD dissertation, The Potosí mita under Hapsburg administration: the seventeenth century (University of Massachusetts, 1981).

7 These were sixteen in number and comprised (1) Tarija, (2) Porco (partly), (3) Chayanta, (4) part of Cochabamba, (5) Carangas, (6) Paria, (7) Sicasica (except for the Yungas thereof), (8) Pacajes, and (9) Omasuyu. Outside of Alto Perú, as defined, were the provinces of the Collao, namely (10) Chucito, (11) Paucarcolla, (12) Asangaro, (13) Cabana, (14) Canas, (15) Tintacanches, and (16) Quispicanches. See Figure 4.1.

8 Especially Sánchez Albornóz, El indio en el Alto Perú a fines del siglo XVII; *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú*; Migraciones internas en el Alto Perú. El saldo acumulado en 1645; Mita, migraciones y pueblos. Variaciones en el espacio y en el tiempo, Alto Perú 1578–1692; Evans, Census enumeration in late seventeenth-century Alto Perú: the Numeración General of 1683/84; The structure and distribution of the Indian population of Alto Perú in the late seventeenth century;

Migration in Alto Perú in the late seventeenth century: the evidence of the Numeración General.

9 See for example la Palata's own "Relación del estado del Perú en los ocho años de su gobierno que haze el Duque de la Palata." Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. #3004.

10 "Instrucción que han de guardar los Corregidores en la Numeración General que se ha de hazer de los Indios, cada uno en su jurisdicción." A printed proclamation of 24 July 1684. Several copies exist, e.g. AGI, Charcas 270.

11 Thierry Saignes, De la filiation à la résidence: les éthnies dans les vallées de Larecaja. *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 33 (1978) 1160–1182.

12 Cole, Viceregal persistence versus Indian mobility.

13 According to frequent references in the *legajos* in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, dealing with the mita (Charcas 266–273), abandonment of families was frequent.

14 Evans, Census enumeration in late seventeenth century Alto Perú: the Numeración General of 1683/84, 38, and more especially: Migration in Alto Perú in the late seventeenth century: the evidence of the Numeración General.

15 Joseph de Villegas, Papel de dudas, AGI, Charcas 270.

16 Cole, Viceregal persistence versus Indian mobility.

17 Sánchez-Albornóz, Mita, migraciones y pueblos. Variaciones en el espacio y en el tiempo, Alto Perú 1578–1692; Evans, Census enumeration in late seventeenth century Alto Perú: the Numeración General of 1683/84.

18 Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires. Legajos 17.3.1 (La Paz), and 18.7.3 (Porco).

19 Just how inaccurate is open to debate. See Evans, Census enumeration in late seventeenth century Alto Perú: the Numeración General of 1683/84.

20 Plus a total of 507 absentees whose whereabouts were unknown, and some 657 of known residence, but who were not expected to return.

21 The "hilacatas" of Alto Perú had become notorious for their strong-arm methods. They were Indian officials directly responsible to the *caciques* (and usually related to them) responsible for mita and tribute collection.

22 Evans, Census enumeration in late seventeenth century Alto Perú: the Numeración General of 1683/84.

23 Villegas, Papel de dudas.

24 Other "reliable" returns include those from Pacajes, Larecaja, Oruro, Sicasica, and, in certain respects, Cochabamba. Those of Carangas and Paria are well arranged but difficult to use because of their state of preservation.

25 Evans, B. M., The structure and distribution of the Indian population of Alto Perú in the late seventeenth century.

5 " . . . residente en esa ciudad . . . ": urban migrants in colonial Cuzco

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1 Rolando Mellafe, The importance of migration in the Viceroyalty of Peru, in Paul Depréz (ed.), *Population and economics: proceedings of Section V of the Fourth*

Congress of the Economic History Association (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1970) 303–313. For studies which characterize colonial population patterns, see: David J. Robinson's Introduction to *Studies in Spanish American population history*, David J. Robinson (ed.), Dellplain Latin American Studies, no. 8 (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981); and Noble David Cook, Patterns of native American migration in the Viceroyalty of Peru: mitayos, mingas, and forasteros, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Charleston, SC, November 1986. Cook studied the origin of migrants to Lima in his: Les Indiens immigrés à Lima au début du XVIIe siècle, *Cahiers des Amériques Latines* 13/14 (1976) 33–50. The same volume contained Claude Mazet's analysis of Population et société à Lima aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: la Paroisse San Sebastián (1562–1689) 51–100.

2 I have analyzed migration patterns within the bishopric of Cuzco and described these consequences of indigenous migration in: From caste to class in the Andean Sierra: the seventeenth-century forasteros of Cuzco. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Yale University, 1983).

3 Bernabé de Cobo, *History of the Inca empire* (*c*. 1653), Roland Hamilton (trans. and ed.) (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979) 185.

4 For a more detailed account of Cuzco's economic growth, see Michele Colin's *Le Cuzco à la fin du XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine, 1966). The earthquake is described in folios 99–109 of the *Anales del Cuzco*, 1650–1750, compiled by D. Diego de Esquivel y Navia, Museo Arqueológico del Cuzco.

5 The forced resettlement is described in Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Indiferentes generales 1660, Informe de Juan de Moreyra, 18-XI-1654.

6 James Lockhart describes the impact of "tribute-bearing migrations" and the subsequent migration to urban zones in his analysis of *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: a colonial society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968). Lockhart believes that "[b]y 1550 this movement had already reached major proportions" (207). The priest's complaint is in AGI, Lima 471. Relación de la doctrina de San Pedro de Aquira, Cotabambas, 30-VIII-1689.

7 Noble David Cook begins his discussion of the population of Cuzco by noting that "There is no definite agreement on the size and nature of Cuzco when the Europeans first reached it in 1533," in *Demographic collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 212. Cook concludes that "a range between 150,000 and 200,000 is feasible" (219). The population of the city fell dramatically during the conquest and the civil wars: the Indian population around 1561 was between 12,100 and 13,300 (215). With the exception of the period immediately following the earthquake of 1650, the city's Indian population, sustained by a steady influx of migrants, probably hovered around the 10,000 range through most of the seventeenth century. Regarding the statement I just made, I can only repeat Cook's *caveat*: "until [a thorough study] is completed the present generalizations must be taken as tentative" (212). For this particular study of indigenous migration to Cuzco, the proportion of migrants in the population is of greater importance.

8 The reports of the parish priests are contained in AGI, Lima 471. Relación de la

parroquia de la ciudad, 16-VII-1690 and Relación de la doctrina de San Cristobal, 3-VII-1690.

9 Population data are taken from parish reports contained in the 1690 census of the bishopric of Cuzco found in AGI, Audiencia de Lima, Legajo 471. Padrón del obispado del Cusco, 1689–1690. These percentages are based on data from the five city parishes – of a total of nine – whose priests gave specific totals for forastero and originario populations. An additional three parishes reported the presence of forasteros but did not record how many; the last two parishes failed to comment on migrants in the total population.

10 I have characterized general population policies in: From caste to class in the Andean Sierra. For a detailed study of the administration of the mita, see Jeffrey A. Cole, *The Potosí mita, 1573–1700: compulsory Indian labor in the Andes* (Stanford University Press, 1985). For a discussion of *Stadtluft mach frei*, see Henri Pirenne, *Economic and social history of medieval Europe*, I. E. Clegg (trans.) (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1937) 50–51. The length of time that a migrant had to have spent in a city in order to be exempt from the mita varied during the colonial period. For the debate on urban residency requirements, see Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (hereinafter BNP), B1176. Memorial. 20-X-1692. Of course, such regulations could not and did not guarantee that an individual would totally escape the demands of a persistent kuraka, particularly if the migrant's native community was close to the urban zone.

11 AGI, Indiferentes Generales 1660. Carta de D. Pedro Vásquez de Velasco, 15-X-1648. Vásquez was more concerned with denouncing corrupt officials who used migrants to file grievances and initiate lawsuits than with protecting the Indians' rights.

12 Gabriel Haslip-Viera, The underclass, in Louisa S. Hoberman and Susan M. Socolow (eds.), *Cities and societies in colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 288. Haslip-Viera does not estimate the size of the underclass but asserts that "unemployment and crime were relatively predictable in those urban centers which were economically more stable, such as Cuzco, Guatemala City, and Querétaro" (290). Much more research on the underclass in Cuzco and in other colonial cities is needed.

13 Archivo Departamental del Cusco, (hereafter ADC), Corregimiento, Causas Criminales, legajo 72, 1582-1693; Diego Guamán Topa, maestro sastre, natural del pueblo de Urcos contra Miguel Hilaguita, maestro sastre, y su hijo Bernabe Hilaguita, 1664.

14 Archivo Arzobispal del Cusco, (hereafter AAC), Causas Matrimoniales, 17-234-2, Querella contra Diego Quispe, 1646.

15 See, for example, AAC, Liturgia 21.2, LXXV, 2, 30, Auto, cabeza de proceso y comisión contra una india nombrada Teresa Sisa, casada dos veces en Urcos y Guanta, 1698; AAC, Liturgia 21.2, XLIV, 5, 96, Expediente contra María Sisa, natural de Combapata, por haberse casado dos veces, 1700.

16 AAC, Causas Matrimoniales, 17-236-1, Querella contra Juan Poma, 1698. The document ends with this punishment, which probably did not resolve Sisa's and Poma's problems.

17 For a discussion of efforts to control migrants, see BNP, C2323. Autos que siguió [*sic*] los indios forasteros de la ciudad de Chachapoyas, 7-XII-1750, ff. 15–16. The

most noted example of the attempt to concentrate urban migrant populations into special zones was the community of Santiago, on the outskirts of Lima. In 1589, an anonymous informant who described himself as "one who had been in this country for a long time," wrote to Philip II that the Jesuits who were responsible for the spiritual guidance of the resettled Indians had built a vacation retreat in Santiago where all sorts of "illicit acts" occurred. AGI, Lima 130, Carta, sin firma, de 20-IV-1589. The Viceroy sent a follow-up letter to the King the next year. AGI, Lima 31, Libro I, no. 36, ff. 178–79V, Carta del Virrey al Rey, 27-XII-1590.

18 Cédula Real, Aranjuez, 26 de mayo, 1609, *Recopilación de leyes*, (1681, 1791), Madrid: Consejo de la Hispanidad, 1943, Libro VI, Título XV, Ley xviii, Tomo 2, 313.

19 AAC, Unclassified Box, #10, Ordenanza, Don Andrés Ygnacio en nombre de Don Constantino de Basconselos, 12-XII-1650, f. 2.

20 The migrant's will can be found in: ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 49-461, Francisco Maldonado, Testamento, 28-VII-1715, f. 775.

21 Patricia Seed, Social dimensions of race: Mexico City, 1753, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62 (1982), 569–606. Comparisons between Cuzco and Mexico City are necessarily limited by the differences in data bases and the contrasting racial composition of the two workforces. For example, the service sector in Mexico City showed a high mulato presence, a sector virtually unrepresented in the Cuzco data. The 1690 census of the city of Cuzco included only forty-five "negros and mulatos," less than 1 percent of the population. AGI, Lima 471, Padrón del obispado del Cuzco, 1689–1690.

22 The verbs "negotiated" and "arranged" must be used advisedly. In theory, Indians were "voluntarily" and "freely" entering employment; in practice, circumstances limited – or eliminated – some individuals' options. Details of the sampling techniques can be found in: From caste to class in the Andean Sierra. Of the 1,167 labor contracts, a definite majority – 83.4 percent – dated from the period 1 January 1630 to 31 December 1689. Generalizations and conclusions drawn from these entries are therefore the most reliable. The smaller samples for the 1690s, 1700s and 1710s are proportionately less useful. The extremely small samples from the pre-1600 period, the 1600s, the 1610s, 1620s, 1720s, and 1730s reduce the significance of these data entries and related percentages. The deteriorated condition and low number of *registros* limited the availability of pre-1630 materials. The data fall in the later years, however, is probably due to the disruptive impact on the urban labor market of the pan-sierra plague of the 1720s. The 25 registers examined for the period 1720–1729 comprise the highest decade total but only two registros contained relevant documentation. The 93 *conciertos de aprendís*, or contracts creating apprenticeships analyzed for this study are also concentrated in the 1630–1719 period.

23 One of the 1,167 conciertos was an open-ended agreement: in 1668, Joseph Guamán agreed to accompany a priest collecting charitable offerings in the provinces of Quispicanche and Canas and Canchis, pledging to work "as long as necessary" to complete the journey. Three years earlier, two Cuzco natives had undertaken a vaguer journey – "to go to all the provinces and towns and wherever it might be necessary" in order to collect offerings – but their contract was limited

to one year. ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 14, Caja 16, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 13-IV,1668, f. 393; Protocolo 32, Caja 130, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 1-VII-1665, f. 529V–530V.

24 Cosme Bueno, *Geografía del Perú Virreinal* (siglo XVIII), published by Daniel Valcarcel (Lima, 1951). The 1690 census is found in AGI, Audiencia de Lima, Legajo 471, Padrón del obispado del Cusco, 1689–1690.

25 Tables 5.1 and 5.2 include the following occupational codes used throughout the tables in this study: agriculture (100); transportation (300); personal and domestic service (500/600); construction (700); skilled crafts (800); and artisans (900).

26 The foreign-born contractees ranged from 62 to 80 percent of all transport workers, with the exception of the 1690s. In the smaller data samples, the figure rose to 100 percent. The comparable range for agricultural workers was 50 to 80 percent foreign-born workers, with occasional decades at 100 percent. The service categories show a 35 to 59 percent range for the foreign-born, with the low point falling in the decade following the devastating earthquake of 1650. Occupational patterns among immigrants to San Salvador and Guatemala City during the 1960s show parallel distribution concentrations in the transport and service sectors. Jorge Balán, Migrant-native socioeconomic differences in Latin American cities: a structural analysis, *Latin American Research Review* 4 (1969) 3–29.

27 For details of specific aspects of this shift in trade patterns, see Armando de Ramón, Grupos elitarios chilenos y su inculcación con la metrópoli peruana a fines del siglo XVII, 1691–1695, *XXXIX Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (Lima, 1970) and Demetrio Ramos, Trigo chileno, navieros del Callao y hacendados limeños entre la crisis agrícola del siglo XVII y la comercial de la primera mitad del XVIII, *Revista de Indias* 24 (1966) 209–231. The shift in prevailing trade routes is consistent with data from the conciertos which explicitly stated a convoy's destination.

28 ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 553, Box 71, Alonso Calvo, Concierto, 22-IX-1640, ff. 1347c–1348.

29 Contracts involving agricultural workers were divided into three main categories: herders, yanaconas, and general laborers. These detailed contracts were analyzed for length of contract, wage rate, cash advance, access to land, promised medical care, and food and clothing allotments. Because the specific terms of these agreements are linked to an analysis of rural labor patterns, I have discussed these conciertos elsewhere.

30 Both J. H. Rowe and George Kubler emphasized that coca was used only by the upper classes in pre-conquest society. J. H. Rowe, Incan culture at the time of the Spanish conquest, and George Kubler, The Quechua in the colonial world, in Julian H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1964). Later studies have amended that view. For various studies of the use and impact of coca, see Deborah Pacini and Christine Franquemont (eds.), *Coca and cocaine: effects on people and policy in Latin America*, Cultural Survival Report no. 23 (Peterborough, NH: Transcript Printing Co., 1986). Cieza de León wrote about coca consumption in chapter 96 of his *La crónica del Perú* (*c.* 1570), Edición Biblioteca Peruana (Lima: Editorial Universo, 1973), 220–221. The first quote is from page 220, the second from page 221.

31 AGI, Lima 471, Padrón de la doctrina de Tomopampa, 12-XII-1689.

32 Toledo's regulations on coca labor are found in BNP, B511, Ordenanzas del Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo, Lima, copia del 14-VIII-1604. The rules regarding the seizure of Indians' blankets, the cash advances, and the 24-day time limit are restated in BNP, A17, Disposiciones dictadas por el Cabildo y Regimiento de la ciudad del Cuzco sobre su mejor administración y normas que deben regir el trabajo particular y colectivo de los indios, 18-X-1573. As the index states, this document is "Missing its opening and closing pages. Damaged by fire." Toledo's regulations were the most comprehensive effort to control abuses in the coca zone, but they were certainly not the first such attempt. Cédulas Reales insisting that the Indians "not be forced into coca labor" were issued on 23-XII-1560 and 2-XII-1563. *Colección de Cédulas Reales dirigidas a la Audiencia de Quito, 1538–1600*, Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal, IX (Quito, 1935) 76–77.

33 AAC, Legajo 221, no. 7, Juicio, 1821, 35ff. The document contains Esquilache's pronouncement on coca labor, dated 1-XII-1618. Further testimony on the perils of coca labor can be found in BNP, B147, "Duplicado de la provisión en que se da licencia para que los 10 indios del trajen [*sic*] de la coca sirvan en la estancia de Chingara y se les confirman otros que tienen los señores marqueses de Oropesa," Lima, 20-VIII-1610. For an investigation of abuses in the coca zone, see AGI, Escribanía 534B, Residencias de tres Corregidores de la Provincia de Paucartambo en el Perú, Vista y sentenciada, 8-VIII-1680.

34 Although families frequently accompanied male Indians to their mita service in the mines, the practice was not common among hired agricultural workers. These are the only two contracts with such provisions. ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 590, Caja 83, Juan Flores Bastides, Concierto, 12-II-1646, f. 774 and Concierto, 16-II-1646, f. 778. The coca workers' contracts are drawn from this register and from Protocolo 591, Caja 83, Juan Flores Bastides.

35 In the service sector, the high proportion of laborers of unknown origins (13.3 percent) may slightly distort the actual relationship between native and foreign-born service workers. Contracts involving women workers more often failed to include the worker's origin as the scribes probably considered it more important to identify the home community of a male tribute payer. This service category is dominated by women workers, a feature which will be discussed in detail below.

36 Tucra's contract is found in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 473, Caja 155, Pedro de Cáceres, Concierto, 30-IX-1683, f. 507.

37 The married migrants' contracts are located in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 14, Caja 136, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 18-IV-1668, f. 914; Protocolo 92A-284, Pedro Fernández de Mosquera, Concierto, 24-V-1708, f. 20.

38 Several contracts from the 1660s and the 1670s reveal these wage differences. For the pastry-makers' contracts, see ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 675, Caja 136, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 26-II-1669, f. 425; Protocolo 585, Box 138, M. López de Paredes, Concierto, 12-II-1670, f. 788. Contracts for two cooks – who also had to serve as laundresses – are found in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 674, Caja 133, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 3-VI-1668, f. 928; Protocolo 675, Caja 136, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 12-VI-1669, ff. 796–797. In addition to higher wages, the pastry-makers were given cash to buy their own food supplies; cooks received "regular food." The notarial contracts did not

yield enough data to make a statement about "equal pay for equal work," but two additional contracts are particularly interesting. In 1655, a man was hired to sell bread at 25 pesos per year; in 1663, a woman with the same job earned 12 pesos. ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 654, Caja 105, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 29-X-1655, ff. 2164–5V; Protocolo 579, Caja 125, M. López de Paredes, Concierto, 15-IX-1663, f. 802.

39 ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 674, Caja 133, L. Meza de Andueza, Concierto, 5-VII-1668, f. 932. Failure to mention a salary could, of course, have been a scribe's error, but wages should have been mentioned in various places in the document. If Ynquillay received a large cash advance, that, too, would have been noted.

40 As indicated above, the nature of this job may have affected its high representation in the documentation.

41 Josefa Mallqui's contract is described in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 493, Caja 157, P. L. de la Cerca, Concierto de Ama, 27-IV-1684, f. 1050. That same register contains a variety of such contracts, including one in which an Indian wetnurse was hired by a Spanish woman to care for a mulato infant, the son of her slave. Concierto de Ama, 3-IV-1684, f. 1038. A more typical contract, complete with the standard provisions and stipulations, can also be found in that register: Concierto de Ama, 13-III-1684, f. 1004.

42 The pair's contract is described in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 568, Caja 92, M. López de Paredes, Concierto, 2-III-1650, ff. 863V-64. For an example of pay based on volume of chicha produced, see the contract issued to a migrant from Anta, Abancay, recorded in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 578, Caja 123, M. López de Paredes, Conciertos, 28-II-1662, f. 886. For a more standard contract, issued to a Cuzco native, see ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 579, Caja 126, M. López de Paredes. Concierto, 8-X-1663, f. 824. The documentation indicates that migrants were more likely than urban natives to be paid by volume produced, but the sample size is too small to form any firm conclusions.

43 The practice of guaranteeing contracts will be discussed in detail below. Guild activity among urban food producers is discussed by Lyman Johnson, Artisans, in Hoberman and Socolow (eds.), *Cities and societies in colonial Latin America*, 227–250. On pages 251–283 of that volume, Mary Karasch discusses "suppliers, sellers, servants, and slaves," based chiefly on data from late-eighteenth-century Brazil.

44 For a detailed discussion of the formation of guilds in Iberia and Spanish America, see Johnson, Artisans. His characterization of production and markets is from page 234. The guilds' increased representation in the workforce reflects the decline in other occupations but also indicates an expansion of the artisan sector in the late-seventeenth century. Mario Góngora has argued that this period of expansion was also one of declining prosperity for guild members. Mario Góngora, Urban social stratification in colonial Chile, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 55 (1974) 443. Johnson notes that the guilds' acceptance of Indian members should not be considered a sign of racial mobility: "It would be a great misrepresentation of colonial social reality to suggest that these changes in the racial characteristics of artisan trades meant that racism and discrimination had been overcome" (238). The following discussion concentrates on Indian craftsmen. Much more work must be done on the number of mestizo and mulato

craftsmen in the Cuzco area, their role in local production, and their involvement in the apprenticeship system. Slaves, too, could be trained as craftsmen. For a contract in which a Spaniard arranged for his slave to be apprenticed to a master carpenter see ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 764, Caja 2, Cristobal Lucero, Concerto de Aprendís, 12-II-1600, f. 78.

45 Felipe Guanca's contract is found in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 535, Caja 49, Domingo de Oro, Concierto, 4-XI-1632, ff. 1447V–48.

46 Johnson, Artisans, 244. The contract involving Lucas Corimanya and his anonymous wife is found in ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 94A-284, Pedro Fernández de Mosquera, Concierto de 28-XI-1707, f. 5.

47 An interesting contract from the beginning of this period indicates this trend: a woman identified elsewhere in the documentation as the owner of a silvershop apprenticed her son to a master craftsman, a silverworker. The shopowner was probably the relative of another mastercraftsman; she may have started the silvershop independently, but given the general patterns of guild membership in Cuzco, this seems very unlikely. ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 579, Caja 125, M. López de Paredes, Concierto de Aprendís, 27-X-63, f. 731. The contract in which the silvership owner hires a new employee is in the same register: Concierto, 17-IV-1663, f. 713.

48 Two of the women identified were widows; the third was described as the wife of an absent husband: "mujer con marido ausente." The resulting data gap prevents an accurate assessment of the role of female heads of households.

49 Contracts did not always contain the specific obligations of the fiadores, who often pledged that they would "fulfill the usual duties" of a guarantor. In cases where workers were advanced part of their salaries, fiadores were clearly responsible for compensating the employer if the worker departed before the advance had been repaid. For a specific example, see ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 284, Caja 94A, Jerónimo de Meza, Concierto, 27-VI-1705, f. 1.

50 Thirty-three contracts involving craftsmen contained useful material on fiadores. The low number of conciertos de aprendís which fully identified both the contractee and the fiador – only 12 of 94 contracts – severely limits the usefulness of the data.

51 Of the 1,167 general labor contracts, only 196 completely identified both the contractee and the guarantor involved; 12 of the 94 agreements creating apprenticeships supplied similar information. Nevertheless, the conciertos with identified fiadores provide some interesting information on the ties between Indian laborers, their families, and their home communities.

52 ADC, Archivo Notarial, Protocolo 629, Caja 128, Diego de Quiñonez, Concierto, 14-*V-1664, f. 1282, and Concierto, 25-IV-1664, f. 1283.

6 Frontier workers and social change: Pilaya y Paspaya (Bolivia) in the early eighteenth century

1 Alistair Hennessy, *The frontier in Latin American history* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978), 19.

2 See for instances: C. R. Boxer, *The golden age of Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962) 165–169, 241–243, 322–323 and *passim*; François Cheva-

lier, *Land and society in colonial Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), esp. ch. 3; Mario Góngora, Vagabondage et société pastorale en Amérique Latine, *Annales*, 21 (1966) 159–177; Silvio R. Duncan Baretta and John Markoff, Civilization and barbarism: cattle frontiers in Latin America, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 20 (1978) 603.

3 The province took its name from two rivers which flowed through it. One was the Pilaya which marked its southern boundary. The other was the Paspaya which, according to the *Diccionario geográfico de las Indias Occidentales o América,* was formed from the Supas and Acchilla Rivers and then flowed into the Pilcomayo which was the province's eastern boundary. Unfortunately to date no map, modern or from the colonial period, has been found which shows the course of the Paspaya River.

4 Thierry Saignes, "Une frontière fossile": la cordillère chiriguano au XVIII siècle, 2 vols. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Paris, 1974).

5 Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter cited as AGI), Charcas 270, Memorial ajustado de los autos de la Numeración Genl. que executó de orden del virrey Duque de la Palata y de las representaciones hechas sobre los despachos que dió en su virtud. The 1725 census for Pilaya y Paspaya lists a few people living on haciendas as being the children of Chiriguanos. Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires (hereafter cited as AGN), 18-5-1, La Plata, Padrones, 1725–1745.

6 Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre (hereafter cited as ANB), Tierras e Indios (hereafter, TI), 1714, 26, Autos sobre 8.000 pesos que piden a censo principal el capitán don Pablo Vaca Flores y su mujer sobre las haciendas de Río Pilaya, Carapari, etc.

7 Peter J. Bakewell, *Antonio López de Quiroga: industrial minero de Potosí colonial* (Potosí: Universidad Boliviana "Tomas Frias," División de Extension Universitaria, 1973) 15.

8 Carlos Sempat Assadourián, *El sistema de la economía colonial: mercado interno, regiones y espacio económico* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982) 156.

9 Bakewell, *Antonio López de Quiroga,* 13.

10 ANB, TI, 1714, 26.

11 This is evident in the 1725 census for the province: AGN, XIII-18-5-1, La Plata, Patrones, 1725–1754. Slaves were very important in the Peruvian wine-producing areas on the coast near Ica and Pisco. It is estimated that in the seventeenth century as many as 20,000 black slaves worked in that region. Assadourián, *El sistema,* 156.

12 On the reducciones and their impact see: Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, *La población de América Latina,* 2nd edn (Madrid: Alianza, 1977) 66–68; Daniel Gade and Mario Escobar, Village settlement and the colonial legacy in southern Peru, *Geographical Review* 72 (1982) 430–449; Thierry Saignes, Políticas étnicas en Bolivia colonial, siglos XVI–XIX, *Historia Boliviana,* 3 (1983) 1–30 and: De la filiation à la résidence: les ethnies dans les vallées de Larecaja, *Annales* 33 (1978) 1160–1181.

13 This is the case in seventeenth-century censuses studied by the author from Pilaya y Paspaya and from the mining city of Oruro. AGN, XIII-17-1-4. Oruro, Padrones, 1604–1786; IX-17-1-4, Alto Perú, Padrones 1645–1685.

14 ANB, TI, 1714 #26.

15 In 1725 in the Cinti Valley there were six landowners who only had two resident workers each and another six who only had one. AGN, XIII-18-5-1.
16 AGN, IX, 10-3-7, Representaciones y quejas de las provincias, 1689–1690, fs. 134, 134v.
17 There has been considerable debate about how this group evolved and exactly what their status was. See John V. Murra, Nueva información sobre las poblaciones *yana*, in *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975) 225–242.
18 Nathan Wachtel, *The vision of the vanquished* (Hassocks, Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1977) 132.
19 Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (hereafter cited as BN), 20.065-30, Noticia del origen de los indios llamados yanaconas del Perú y a continuación el extracto de lo dispuesto en las ordenanzas del Virrey F. Francisco de Toledo y de las leyes de la recopilación de Indias que tratan de los indios yanaconas, 6 February 1574.
20 See for instance the protest addressed by the Audiencia of Charcas to King explaining the landowners' position. AGI, Charcas 31, Audiencia of Charcas to King, 1599 (day and month not given), ff. 3–5.
21 In the mid-seventeenth century the testimony of both colonial officials and Indian leaders was in agreement on this point. The corregidor of the city of Oruro in the 1680s said yanaconas were "those who do not recognize caciques or governors and *allege* to be descendants of those who, since their first origin, were designated as such" (emphasis added) AGN, XIII-17-1-4. An Indian leader from the province of Pacajes in 1663 said Indians used "malicious subterfuge" to claim to be yanaconas and escape community obligations. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 868A, Don Gabriel Fernandez Guarache ... sobre puntos cotantes a la mita, Potosí, 1663.
22 This is evident in the manner in which information on yanaconas' origins is recorded in colonial censuses. AGN, IX-17-1-4; XIII-17-1-4.
23 BN 20.065-30.
24 In 1601 the King sent a royal Cédula (decree) to the Viceroyalty of Peru which abolished personal servitude. Although it was never enforced, throughout the seventeenth century the crown and various colonial officials continued to attempt to eliminate involuntary labor. The Cédula of 1601 is published in Miguel de Agia, *Servidumbres personales de indios* [1603] (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos, 1946) xxxi–lii. On Spanish philosophical positions on labor and attempts to abolish forced labor in Peru, see: Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, El trabajo indígena en los Andes: teorías del siglo XVI, *Historia económica y pensamiento social. Estudios en homenaje a Diego Mateo del Peral* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983) 19–44.
25 For instance, ANB, TI, 1697, #45, Diligencias de d. Felix Belasquez sobre el reclamo del indígena Juan Paco, como a yanacona de sus haciendas de Ympora y Ympora; ANB, TI, 1703 #15, Capítulos interpuestos por el indio Pascual Wallpa, contra el General d. Luis de Castro, corregidor y justicia mayor de la provincia de Pilaya y Paspaya, 28 July 1703; ANB, TI, 1717 #20, Juicio seguido por don Sánchez Paniagua y su hermano Gonzalo, contra un indio Juan Flores, alegando ser yanacona de su hacienda de Agua de Castilla, en Cinti, Provincia de Pilaya.

26 AGN, XIII, 18-5-1, La Plata, Padrones, 1725–1754.
27 This possibility is suggested by Clara López Beltrán for originarios in the Cuzco district. See her: Envejecimiento y migración en una comunidad andina: Livitaca en 1689. Unpublished manuscript cited with the permission of the author, 16.
28 In some cases an individual's origin is a town; in other cases only the province is given. For this reason I had no alternative but to group the forasteros for whom information is provided by province. However, it is important to keep in mind that provincial boundaries were often vague in the eighteenth century, and that sometimes province and ethnicity were confused. For instance, Chichas might refer to a province or a cultural group.
29 AGN, IX-17-1-4, Alto Perú, Padrones, 1645–1685.
30 This was an arrangement that Antonio López de Quiroga, the original owner for both estates, had specifically outlined in his will. ANB, TI, 1714 #26.
31 Henry F. Dobyns, An outline of Andean epidemic history to 1720, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 37 (1962) 511–512.
32 This was deduced because these females were frequently listed with their brothers who were minors.
33 Herbert S. Klein, The state and the labor market in rural Bolivia in the colonial and early republican periods, in Karen Spalding (ed.), *Essays in the political, economic and social history of colonial Latin America* (Newark, Delaware: Latin American Studies Program, University of Delaware, 1982) 102.
34 It appears from Klein's description that, in fact, these yanaconas may not have had the same arrangements with hacendados as those in Pilaya y Paspaya earlier in the century. For one thing, yanaconas in Chulumani seem to have been quite successful in marketing their own coca. Also, it seems that perhaps by the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century the term yanacona had become a synonym for *colono*, or resident hacienda laborer, who had to provide certain amounts of agricultural labor and personal services for his hacendado, and no longer had any association with the pre-Columbian or colonial yanaconas. See Klein, The state, 100–102.
35 For instance in 1697 Felix Belasquez, owner of the hacienda Ympora y Ympora in the San Juan River zone, claimed Juan Paco as his yanacona and based his claim on the fact that his mother and father (whose name was Pablo Paco) were his yanaconas. Juan Paco denied that these were his parents. ANB, TI, 1697, #45, Diligencias de d. Felix Belasquez sobre el reclamo de indígena Juan Paco, como a yanacona de sus haciendas de Ympora.
36 AGN, XIII, 18-5-1, La Plata, 1725–1754, Padrones.
37 An examination of seventeenth-century court cases in the ANB dealing with yanaconas shows that in those cases in which the final decision could be determined about half of the time it was favorable to the Indian.
38 For instance, after the Audiencia released Pascual Wallpa from involuntary servitude on the ranch of Doña Francisca Ibañez, the corregidor, apparently in an effort to assist Doña Francisca, imprisoned Wallpa's wife and children for debts they claimed he owed the ranch owner. ANB, TI. 1703 #15.
39 ANB, TI, 1703, #15, Diligencias de D. Felix Belasquez...
40 Examples of hacendados in Pilaya y Paspaya claiming people as yanaconas who said that by descent they were not yanaconas, and the support they received from

the local authorities, include: ANB, TI, 1717, 20, Juicio seguido por don Claudio Sánchez Panaigua y su hermano Gonzalo, contra un indio Juan Flores, alegando ser yanacona de su hacienda de Agua de Castilla, en Cinti, provincia de Pilaya; ANB, TI, 1703, 15, Capítulos interpuestos por el indio Pascual Wallpa, contra el general don Luis Castro, corregidor y justicia mayor de la provincia de Pilaya y Paspaya. Censuses also sometimes contained notations indicating that a person listed as an Indian had protested this classification because of the ethnicity of his parents. For example the 1684 numeration for the mining city of Oruro had six people listed as yanaconas who said they were not Indians. For instance, of Bartolomé Pérez the census taker noted: "He tells me his father was a quadroon and his mother a mestizo" AGN, XIII-17-1-4.

41 On this point see Saignes, De la filiation à la résidence; Políticas étnicas en Bolivia colonial; Valles e punas en el debate colonial: la pugna sobre los pobladores de Larecaja, *Histórica* 3 (1979) 141–164. Sánchez-Albornóz also discusses this possibility in Migración rural en los Andes: Sipisipi (Cochabamba), 1645, *Revista de historia económica* 1 (1983) 13–36.

42 Saignes, Políticas étnicas, 26–28.

43 Erick Langer, Mano de obra campesina y agricultura comercial en Cinti, 1880–1930, *Historia boliviana* 3 (1983) 72.

7 Student migration to colonial urban centers: Guadalajara and Lima

1 See, for example, Eric Van Young, Hinterland y mercado urbano: el caso de Guadalajara y su región, *Revista Jalisco* 2 (1980) 73–95; and his *Hacienda and market in eighteenth-century Mexico. The rural economy of the Guadalajara region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Ramón María Serrera, *Guadalajara ganadera: estudio regional novohispano, 1760–1805* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1976); Richard B. Lindley, *Haciendas and economic development, Guadalajara, Mexico at Independence* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983); Linda Greenow, *Credit and socioeconomic change in colonial Mexico. Loans and mortgages in Guadalajara, 1720–1820* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983); Thomas Calvo, Guadalajara y su región en el siglo XVII: aspectos demográficos, *Encuentro* 1 (1984) 5–16; Carmen Castañeda, *La educación en Guadalajara durante la colonia, 1552–1821* (Guadalajara: El Colegio de México, 1984).

2 I use the term "urban center" with the precautions recommended by Woodrow Borah and Sherburne Cook in: El centro urbano como foco para la emigración en la Nueva España, in Jorge Hardoy and R. P. Schaedel (eds.), *Las ciudades de América Latina y sus áreas de influencia a través de la historia* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1975) 114.

3 *Ibid.* 115.

4 *Ibid.* 116.

5 José R. Ramírez, Alumnos del Seminario de Guadalajara en el siglo XVIII, *Anuario de la Comisión Diocesana de Historia del Arzobispado de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Arzobispado de Guadalajara, 1980) 259.

6 Daniel R. Loweree, *El Seminario Conciliar de Guadalajara. Sus superiores, profesores y alumnos en el siglo XIX y principios del XX* (Guadalajara, 1964).

7 Archivo Nacional de Madrid, Sección de Códices, Libro 242b, *Catálogo de los colegiales del Colegio de San Martín del Perú.*
8 Anonymous, 1738, *Instrumentos y autos originales hechos sobre la fundación del convento de religiosas recoletas agustinas de la Gloriosa Santa Mónica de esta ciudad de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, 1857) 1–4, cited in Juan B. Iguíniz, *Guadalajara a través de los tiempos: relatos y descripciones de viajeros y escritores desde el siglo XVI hasta nuestros días, coleccionados y anotados* (2 vols., Guadalajara: Banco Refaccionario de Jalisco, 1950) 1, 1586.
9 Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin, *Curatos que tiene este Obispado de Guadalajara Nuevo Reyno de la Galicia . . . de la visita del obispo fray Francisco de San Buenaventura a su diócesis concluida el 7 de septiembre de 1760.*
10 Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Ramo de Temporalidades, vol. 69. "Informe del obispo de Guadalajara en 1767 pidiendo el Colegio de Santo Tomás para ayuda de parroquia y colegio de clérigos."
11 Biblioteca Pública de Toledo (Spain), Bornón Lorenzana Collection of Manuscripts, Ms. 45, 78 fols.
12 Jean Pierre Berthe, Introduction a l'histoire de Guadalajara et de sa région, in *Villes et régions en Amérique latine* (Paris, 1970) 71.
13 José Menéndez Valdés, *Descripción y censo general de la Intendencia de Guadalajara, 1789–1793* (Guadalajara: UNED, 1980) 161.
14 Berthe, Introduction.
15 Van Young, Hinterland, 76.
16 Carmen Castañeda, Sobre una fábrica textil u obraje establecido en Guadalajara en el siglo XVIII, *Boletín del Archivo Histórico de Jalisco* 4 (1980) 13.
17 *Ibid.* 15.
18 José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Guadalajara de México (1793–1821)* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica, 1904) vii.
19 Juan B. Iguíniz, La imprenta en la Nueva Galicia, 1793–1821: apuntes bibliográficos, *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqueología Historia y Etnología* 3 (1911) 254.
20 Alejandro Moreno Toscano and Enrique Florescano, *El sector externo y la organización espacial y regional de México, 1521–1910* (Mexico: INAH, 1974) 16.
21 *Ibid.*
22 *Ibid.* 17.
23 José Eucario López, *Cédulas Reales referentes a la Nueva Galicia. Extractos e Indices* (Guadalajara, 1969).
24 Documentos sobre la fundación y repartimiento del Seminario Conciliar Tridentino de Señor San José, in Francisco Alemán and Juan B. Iguíniz (eds.), *Biblioteca histórica jalisciense* (2 vols., Guadalajara: Imprenta de José Iguíniz, 1909) 1, 87–93.
25 Archivo del Seminario Mayor de Guadalajara, *Colección de decretos, órdenes y prevenciones relativas al gobierno económico y administrativo del Colegio Seminario Conciliar Tridentino de Señor San José, dadas por los ilustrísimos señores obispos* (hereafter Colección), "Decreto del obispo fray Felipe Galindo y Chávez, erigiendo el Seminario," 9 September 1696, fols. 10–12v.
26 *Ibid. Constituciones de 1699,* fols. 18–19v; chap. 2, De los colegiales, su número, elección y calidades.

27 *El Sacrosanto y Ecuménico Concilio de Trento* (trans. of Ignacio López de Ayala) (Madrid, 1789) 287.
28 Most useful in locating the many places listed in the matrículas were the following: Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge University Press, 1972); his *Mexico en 1742* (Mexico, 1962); and his *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton University Press, 1982); *Cuarto Centenario de la fundación del Obispado de Guadalajara, 1548–1948* (Guadalajara: Artes Gráficas, 1948); *Monumenta Mexicana. IV (1590–1592)* (Rome, 1971); *Atlas: Caminos de México* (Mexico: INAH, 1967).
29 Moreno Toscano and Florescano, *El sector externo,* 15–16.
30 James Lockhart, *El mundo hispanoperuano, 1532–1560* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1982) 15.
31 Guillermo Lohman Villena, Los regidores del cabildo de Lima desde 1535 hasta 1635. Estudio de un grupo de dominio, in Francisco de Solano (ed.), *Estudios sobre la ciudad iberoamericana* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983) 166.
32 Lockhard, *El mundo,* 16.
33 *Ibid.*
34 Richard Morse, *Las ciudades latinoamericanas. 1, Antecedentes* (Mexico: INAH, 1973) 91.
35 Francisco Mateos, *Historia general de la Compañía de Jesus en la Provincia del Perú* (2 vols., Lima, 1944) 1, 144–264.
36 Lohman Villena, Los regidores del cabildo.
37 *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de la Indias* (4 vols., Madrid, 1681) Título 22, Ley XXIV.
38 *Ibid.* I, Título 23, Ley X.
39 *Ibid.* Ley XXXV.
40 Menéndez Valdés, *Descripción y censo general.*
41 Henry Dobyns and Paul Doughty, *Peru: A Cultural History* (New York, 1976) 118.
42 *Ibid.*
43 Castañeda, *La educación,* 280–281.
44 Dobyns and Doughty, *Peru,* 119.
45 Jorge Hardoy, La ciudad y el campo en América Latina. Un análisis de las relaciones socioeconómicas, in J. Hardoy (ed.), *Las ciudades en América Latina. Seis ensayos sobre la urbanización contemporánea* (Buenos Aires: SIAP, 1972) 81.
46 Richard L. Kagan, Universities in Castile, in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *The University in Society* (Princeton University Press, 1974) 34–60.
47 Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II* (2 vols., Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1976) 1, 418.

8 Migration, mobility, and the mining towns of colonial northern Mexico

Acknowledgments The author wishes to thank Richard Boyer, John Kicza, and Stuart Voss for their comments on this study.

1 For a sampling of the patterns discovered in colonial Mexico, see Linda L. Greenow, Marriage patterns and regional interaction in late-colonial Nueva

Galicia, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981) 119–148; David J. Robinson, Population patterns in a northern Mexican mining region: Parral in the late eighteenth century, *Geoscience and Man* 21 (1980) 83–96; David J. Robinson, Indian migration in eighteenth-century Yucatán: the open nature of the closed corporate community, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981) 149–174; David J. Robinson and Carolyn G. McGovern, La migración regional Yucateca en la época colonial – el caso de San Francisco de Umán, *Historia Mexicana* 30 (1980) 99–125; Michael M. Swann, The spatial dimensions of a social process: marriage and mobility in late colonial northern Mexico, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric and spatial structure in colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979) 117–180; Michael M. Swann, *Tierra adentro: settlement and society in colonial Durango* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982) 91–92; Carolyn G. McGovern-Bowen, Colonial Patzcuaro, Michoacán: a Population Study, unpublished PhD dissertation (Syracuse University, 1986); and David J. Robinson, Patrones de migración en Michoacán en el siglo XVIII: datos y metodologías, in Thomas Calvo and Gustavo López (eds.), *Movimientos de población en la región centro-occidente de México* (Mexico, El Colegio de Michoacán, 1988) 169–205.

2 For examples of these migrations, see Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: a socio-economic history, 1520–1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 100–103.

3 See Rosemary D. F. Bromley, Disasters and population change in central highland Ecuador, 1778–1825, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric and spatial structure in colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979) 85–116; and Juan A. Villamarin and Judith E. Villamarin, Chibcha settlement under Spanish Rule: 1537–1810, in *ibid.* 75–85.

4 Empirical evidence of intraurban residential change is presented in a number of studies, including David J. Robinson and Michael M. Swann, Geographical interpretations of the Hispanic American colonial city: a case study of Caracas in the late eighteenth century, in Robert J. Tata (ed.), *Latin America: search for geographic explanations* (Chapel Hill: CLAG Publications, 1976) 1–15; and David J. Robinson, Córdoba en 1779: la ciudad y la campaña, in Raul C. Rey Balmaceda (ed.), *Homenaje a Federico A. Daus* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geográficos, 1979) 279–312.

5 See Rolando Mellafe, The importance of migration in the viceroyalty of Peru, in Pierre Depréz (ed.), *Population and economics* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1970) 306–307. Some of the best examples of the relationship between mining productivity and population instability are found in colonial Peru. For details on regional patterns, see Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, Migración rural en los Andes: Sipesipe (Cochabamba, 1645), *Revista de Historia Económica* 1 (1983) 13–36; Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz, Migraciones internas en el Alto Perú: el saldo acumulado en 1645, *Historia Boliviana*, 2/1 (1982) 11–19; Jeffrey A. Cole, *The Potosí mita, 1673–1700* (Stanford University Press, 1985); Jeffrey A. Cole, Viceregal persistence versus Indian mobility: the impact of the Duque de la Palata's reform program on Alto Perú, 1681–1692, *Latin American Research*

Review, 19 (1984) 37–56; and Peter J. Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian labor in Potosí, 1545–1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

6 For further descriptions of the differences, see Peter Gerhard, *The northern frontier of New Spain* (Princeton University Press, 1982) 29.

7 For an interpretation of the northward advance of settlement that relies solely on the pull of mining as the principal explanatory factor, see Juan Gómez Quiñones, The origins and development of the Mexican working class in the United States: laborers and artisans north of the Rio Bravo, 1600–1900, in Elsa Cecilia Frost, Michael C. Meyer, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez (compilers), *El trabajo y los trabajadores en la historia de México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1979) 463–505.

8 See James Lockhart, Introduction, in Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of early Mexico: variants of Spanish American regional evolution* (UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1976) 13.

9 The pattern was verified using census data on the origin of residents in late-colonial Parral. See Swann, The spatial dimensions, 137–138. It was confirmed using vital registers for the population of the same town. See Robinson, Population patterns, 92.

10 Mining activities were a principal influence on subregional demographic trends. See Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 159–160.

11 *Ibid.* 391.

12 For an account of the different stages, see David A. Brading, Mexican silver mining in the eighteenth century: the revival of Zacatecas, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60 (1970) 666.

13 Alistair Hennessy claims that "the rise and fall of the populations of the mining towns is indicative of the restlessness of many mining communities." See Alistair Hennessy, *The frontier in Latin American history* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978) 74. For specific examples of relationships between population fluctuations and variations in silver production, see Marcelo Carmagnani, Demografía y sociedad: la estructura social de los centros mineros del norte de México, 1660–1720, *Historia Mexicana* 21 (1972) 419–459; and Richard L. Garner, Zacatecas, 1750–1821: a study of a late-colonial Mexican city. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 1970).

14 Studies of Parral, for example, have described strong connections with dependent agricultural centers and with other mining districts. For late-colonial patterns, see Robinson, Population patterns, 92. For earlier developments, see the classic study by Robert C. West, *The mining community in northern New Spain: the Parral mining district* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949). An interesting example of how migration entered into the symbiotic economic relationship between mining and agriculture is provided by Klein. In his study of the effect of declining production at Potosí on the coca-growing pueblos in the district of Yungas, he found that increased mining activity meant increased coca consumption. Eventually, the coca producers found additional markets, but when mining was revived in the 1830s, the coca production once again boomed and in-migration rose. See Herbert S. Klein, The impact of the crisis in nineteenth-century mining on regional economies: The example of the Bolivian

yungas 1786–1838, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric*, 315–338. Perhaps the most instructive works on the relationship of a mining center with its hinterland are the two early essays by Cobb on Potosí. See Gwendolin B. Cobb, Potosí, a South American mining frontier, in Adele Ogden, *et al.* (eds.), *Greater America: Essays in honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945) 39–58; and Gwendolin B. Cobb, Supply and transportation for the Potosí mines, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 29 (1949) 24–45.

15 This critical difference makes it difficult to generalize about migration patterns in different mining economies. Equally important were the various settlement systems that evolved in the mining cores. Potosí, in Peru, was not part of a wider, integrated network of mining towns. See Bakewell, *Miners of the Red Mountain.* In Mexico, the traffic between the silver centers formed a dense and lively network of exchange and interaction that facilitated migration. See Hennessy, *Frontier,* 16 and 75.

16 For examples, see Peter J. Bakewell, Zacatecas: an economic and social outline of a silver mining district, 1547–1700, in Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of early Mexico. Variants of Spanish American Regional Evolution* (Los Angeles, Latin American Center, University of California, 1976), 199–229.

17 Henry G. Ward, *Mexico in 1827,* vol. 2 (London: H. Colburn Co., 1829) 145.

18 Hennessy, *Frontier*, 112.

19 See Gerhard, *North frontier,* 27.

20 The two points are made in separate studies. On the racial characteristics of northern mines, see David A. Brading, *Miners and merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1910* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) 146. On the origin characteristics of mineworkers, see David A. Brading, Grupos étnicos: clases y estructura ocupacional en Guanajuato (1792), *Historica Mexicana* 21 (1972) 465.

21 See Robert McCaa and Michael M. Swann, *Social theory and the loglinear approach: the question of race and class in colonial Spanish America* (Syracuse University Department of Geography Discussion Paper Series, no. 76, 1982) 57.

22 Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) 122.

23 The social significance of this condition is explained in Jorge Chapa, Wage labor in the periphery: Silver mining in colonial Mexico, *Review* 4 (1981) 513.

24 Brading, *Miners and merchants,* 146.

25 Brading, Grupos étnicos, 465.

26 McCaa and Swann, *Social theory*, 53.

27 The map is based on a number of different sources. Information on the location of stock-raising and crop-cultivation zones was taken from the following: Nicolás de Lafora, *Relación de viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de la América Septentrional perteneciente al Rey de España (1766–1771)* (ed.), Vito Alessio Robles (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939); and Juan Agustín de Morfi, *Viaje de indios y diario del Nuevo México* (ed.), Vito Alessio Robles (Mexico: Porrúa, 1935). For information on the regional road network and the principal towns and mining centers, see Peter Gerhard, *México en 1742* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1962).

28 For details on the founding and early rise of Durango, see J. Lloyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927)

124; Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver mining and society in colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) 23–24; and François Chevalier, *Land and society in colonial Mexico: the great hacienda* (trans.) Alvin Eustis, (ed.) Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963) 39.

29 Parral's rise is described in West, *Mining community*. See also Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *La frontera con los Indios de Nueva Vizcaya en el Siglo XVII* (Mexico: Banamex, 1980).

30 Early strikes at Chihuahua instigated a flood of migration toward the north. See Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Los paisanos: Spanish settlers on the northern frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) 88.

31 For details on this reversal, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 66.

32 The characteristics of the highway in Nueva Viczaya are described in West, *Mining community*, 84. For comments on the development of the route in central Mexico, see Peter W. Rees, Origins of colonial transportation in Mexico, *Geographical Review* 65 (1975) 323–334.

33 For a full description of one of these routes, see Robert C. West and James J. Parsons, The Topia road: a trans-Sierran trail of colonial Mexico, *Geographical Review* 21 (1941) 406–413.

34 See, for example, Max L. Moorhead, Spanish transportation in the southwest, 1540–1846, *New Mexico Historical Review* 33 (1957) 107–122; and Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's royal road: trade and travel on the Chihuahua Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

35 For an overview of agricultural developments, see Richard J. Morrisey, Colonial agriculture in New Spain, *Agricultural History* 31 (1957) 24–29; and Donald D. Brand, The early history of the range cattle industry in northern Mexico, *Agricultural History* 35 (1961) 134–135. The ecological basis for different types of agricultural land-use is outlined in West, *Mining community*, 66–67. Cultivation of subsistence and commercial crops in the area during the colonial period is discussed in Campbell W. Pennington, *The Tarahumar of Mexico: their environment and material culture* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1963) 39–63.

36 Comments pertaining to the evolution and characteristics of the northern hacienda are found in Robert G. Keith (ed.), *Haciendas and plantations in Latin American History* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1977); Magnus Mörner, The Spanish American hacienda; a survey of recent research and debate, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53 (1973) 183–216; David A. Brading, *Haciendas and ranchos in the Mexican Bajío* (Cambridge University Press, 1978); and, Modesto Suarez Altamirano, La hacienda Mexicana: una comparación entre el latifundio de los Sánchez Navarro y la hacienda de Guadalupe de Cieneguilla, *Communidad* 59 (1976) 10–37.

37 See Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 69–70.

38 For a model describing the evolution of this dependence, see *ibid.* 22–31. Other sources provide specific examples of how the interdependence between mining centers and their agricultural hinterlands operated. See the following: Chevalier, *Land and society*, 166–168; Hennessy, *Frontier*, 74; Jones, *Los paisanos*, 96–97; Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 7; and Carlos Prieto, *Mining in the New World* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973) 65–75.

39 Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 155.

40 The context of these raids is explained in Max L. Moorhead, *The Apache frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish–Indian relations in northern New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968). For a description of the depredations in late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya and a statistical evaluation of their results, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 71–74.

41 The reasons for the decline of silver production at the end of the seventeenth century are described in Bakewell, *Silver mining and society*, 225; and M. F. Lang, *El monopolio estatal del mercurio en el México colonial, 1550–1710,* (trans.) Roberto Gómez Ciriza (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1977). Brading described the 1760s as the only decade of the eighteenth century when silver production did not rise and the 1700s as a period when the northern mining industry once again expanded. See David A. Brading, La minería de la plata en el siglo XVIII: el caso Bolaños, *Historia Mexicana* 18 (1969) 317. He also points out that the mining industry in the north boomed in the 1770s because of general cost reductions and a series of bonanzas and that the boom continued because investment capital entered the economy. See Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 158.

42 Three of the many contemporary works that chronicle this revival include chapter 8, The state of the mines of New Spain, in Alexander von Humboldt, *Political essay on the kingdom of New Spain* (ed.) Mary Maples Dunn (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973) 145–183; Francisco Javier de Gamboa, *Comentarios a las ordenanzas de minas dedicadas al catholico rey, nuestro señor don Carlos III* (Madrid: 1761); and Ward, *Mexico in 1827*, vol. 2.

43 See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the north Mexican states*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1884) 599.

44 West, *Mining community*, 24.

45 Humboldt, *Political essay*, 148.

46 For comments on the early development of these mining centers, see Chevalier, *Land and society*, 148–184.

47 See West, *Mining community*, 48.

48 There were some exceptions to this. Repartimiento was used in several of the northern mining districts where Indian populations were particularly sparse. See Chapa, Wage labor, 520. Debt peonage was used on haciendas and estancias in the north from the time of colonization and repartimiento was used to supply agricultural workers for the Parral district into the eighteenth century. See Chapa, Wage labor, 531; and West, *Mining community*, 72. Pennington holds that there were many instances of slavery and impressed labor in the mines but West found that only a small number of Indian slaves were used in the Parral mines and Negro slaves also were uncommon. See Pennington, *Tarahumar*, 21; West, *Mining community*, 52; and Vincent V. Mayer, Jr., The black slave on New Spain's northern frontier: San José del Parral, 1632–1676. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Utah, 1975).

49 Under these conditions, repartimiento went into use in Parral in the 1660s. See Chapa, Wage labor, 522.

50 For details, see Ignacio del Río, Sobre la aparición y desarrollo del trabajo libre asalariado en el norte de Nueva España (siglos XVI y XVII), in Elsa Cecilia

Frost, Michael C. Meyer, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez (compilers), *El trabajo* (Mexico City: El colegio de México, 1979) 92–111.

51 See Chapa, Wage labor, 517.

52 See Bakewell, *Silver mining and society*, 128; and Lockhart, Introduction, 21.

53 Campbell W. Pennington, *The Tepehuan of Chihuahua: their material culture* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969) 43.

54 West, *Mining community*, 49.

55 See del Río, Desarrollo del trabajo, 99–100.

56 West, *Mining community*, 50.

57 Pennington, *Tepehuan*, 39.

58 West, *Mining community*, 49.

59 Pennington writes that neither encomienda nor repartimiento labor was obtained from the Tarahumar but there were numerous instances in which the Tarahumar were subjected to impressed labor. The Jesuits generally opposed the attempts of civil authorities to impose forced labor systems on the Tarahumar; however, the Indians occasionally sold themselves as laborers on Spanish farms and in the northern mines. See Pennington, *Tarahumar*, 22; and Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of conquest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962) 28.

60 Spicer, *Cycles of conquest*, 36.

61 See West, *Mining community*, 49, 118.

62 The Yaquis migrated voluntarily and some travelled as far as the mines of Guatemala. Hu-DeHart argues that in carrying out their seasonal patterns of labor migration, the Yaquis slowly constructed a rotational system of migration that created demographic instability in their pueblos and actually helped secure their lands from Spanish incursion. Their flexibility made them an indispensable part of the mining economy. For further details, see Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Missionaries, miners and Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981) 4–5, 41, and 52.

63 Spicer, *Cycles of conquest*, 53.

64 Pennington, *Tarahumar*, 22–23.

65 Bakewell, Zacatecas, 215.

66 *Ibid.* 204.

67 For descriptions of this sort of residential segregation, see Spicer, *Cycles of conquest*, 300; Robinson, Population patterns, 87; and Gerhard, *North frontier*, 30.

68 See Garner, Zacatecas, 1750–1821, 79.

69 The reference to the 1604 census is made in Jones, *Los paisanos*, 97. The results of the enumeration are described in Woodrow Borah, Francisco de Urdiñola's census of the Spanish settlements in Nueva Vizcaya, 1604, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 35 (1955) 398–402. The problem of displacement reached grave proportions in the Bajío in the 1770s. Brading describes many Indians being forced out of villages and into vagrancy. See Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 228–229.

70 West, *Mining community*, 49.

71 Spicer, *Cycles of conquest*, 300.

72 These rules are described more fully in Garner, Zacatecas, 1750–1821, 77.

73 See Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 146.

74 Jones, *Los paisanos*, 163.
75 *Ibid.* 251.
76 See Chevalier, *Land and society*, 173.
77 Philip W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and silver: the northward advance of New Spain, 1550–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 14.
78 See Jones, *Los paisanos*, 85; and Bakewell, *Silver mining and society*, 79.
79 This process in the Bajío is described in John Tutino, Life and labor on the north Mexican haciendas: the Querétaro–San Luis Potosí region: 1775–1810, in Elsa Cecilia Frost, Michael C. Meyer, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez (compilers), *El trabajo* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1979) 343–344.
80 Jones writes that "in the eighteenth century, the most notable population trend in the province [of Nueva Vizcaya] was internal migration from Durango to Chihuahua, primarily." See Jones, *Los paisanos*, 88.
81 See D. B. Grigg, Migration and overpopulation, in Paul E. White and Robert I. Woods (eds.), *The geographical impact of migration* (New York: Longman, 1980) 65.
82 Sherburne F. Cook, Migration as a factor in the history of Mexican population: sample data from west central Mexico, 1793–1950, in Pierre Depréz (ed.), *Population and economics* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1970) 279.
83 For a review and general description of these censuses, see Woodrow Borah, The historical demography of Latin America: Sources, techniques, controversies, yields, in Pierre Depréz (ed.), *Population and economics*, 190–191. Other reviews of the execution, purpose, and characteristics of these censuses include David G. Browning, Preliminary comments on the 1776 population census of the Spanish empire, *Bulletin of the Society for Latin American Studies* 19 (1974) 5–13; David G. Browning and David J. Robinson, Census legacy from the Spanish empire, *Geographical Magazine* 48 (1976) 225–230; and Dominic K. Peachey, The Revillagigedo census of Mexico, 1790–1794: a background study, *Bulletin of the Society for Latin American Studies* 25 (1976) 63–80. Lombardi describes different types of documents that loosely functioned as censuses or as demographic reports and provides comments on their interpretation and use as migration sources. See John V. Lombardi, Population reporting systems: an eighteenth-century paradigm of Spanish imperial organization, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history*, 11–12.
84 For a review of studies using marriage registers to trace migration patterns, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 92. Morin argues that the impact of migration on local populations was clearly visible in the vital registers. See Claude Morin, Los libros parroquiales como fuente para la historia demográfica y social Novohispana, *Historia Mexicana* 21 (1972) 397. Borah and Cook discuss the use of registers and contend that marriage records are most useful in studying migration and baptismal registers are of little value. See Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, The urban center as a focus of migration in the colonial period: New Spain, in Richard P. Schaedel, Jorge E. Hardoy, and Nora Scott Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from its beginning to the present* (Chicago: Aldine, 1978), 384. For a discussion of the problems of tracing migratory paths by means of entries in parish registers, see David J. Robinson, *Research inventory of the Mexican collection of colonial parish registers* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah

Press, 1980), xlii–xliii. Cook maintains that it is impossible to determine the nature and timing of all the moves a person made between birth and entry into each of the registers. See Cook, Migration, 280.

85 The period of the Bourbon censuses was given this label by Borah. See Borah, Historical demography, 188–189.

86 For a discussion of the characteristics of the padrones, visitas, informes, cartas annuas, and other records useful in reconstructing population patterns in the north, see Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain: a research guide* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981), 14–17. Gerhard discusses the locations, types, and quality of different demographic reports relating to northern Mexico. See Gerhard, *North frontier,* 31–35.

87 See Jones, *Los paisanos*, 12–14, for a discussion of the censuses carried out in northern Mexico in the late-eighteenth century and for comments on the interpretation of different categories of information contained in the censuses. For a brief review of the demographic sources for late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 97–106.

88 Most of those that survive are found in the Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 102 and 1536, and Audiencia de Guadalajara, 255.

89 For a discussion of this problem, see Greenow, Marriage patterns, 120–121; and Huw R. Jones, *A population geography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981) 208.

90 See Greenow, Marriage patterns, 119; and Brian M. Evans, Census enumeration in late seventeenth century Alto Perú: the Numeración General of 1683–1684, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history,* 29.

91 Greenow, Marriage patterns, 119.

92 See John K. Chance, The urban Indian in colonial Oaxaca, *American Ethnologist* 3 (1976) 610.

93 Evans, Census enumerations, 29.

94 Borah and Cook, Urban center, 384.

95 Robinson, Indian migration, 151.

96 Robinson, Population patterns, 91.

97 John K. Chance, *Race and class in colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford University Press, 1978) 175.

98 Brading, Grupos étnicos, 461.

99 Evans, Census enumeration, 29–33.

100 Robinson, Population patterns, 91.

101 Brading, for example, reported that 77.7 percent of the adult male workforce in Guanajuato in 1792 was born locally. See Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 248–249.

102 See, for example, Cook, Migration, and Borah and Cook, Urban center. Tjarks described different migration fields for the various racial groups settled at the San Antonio presidio in Texas in the late-eighteenth century. See Alicia V. Tjarks, Comparative demographic analysis of Texas, 1777–1793, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 77 (1974) 330.

103 Moreno Toscano produced a series of maps of late-colonial migration fields for Orizaba and several towns in the Bajío but the methods that were followed in constructing the maps are not clear. See Alejandra Moreno Toscano, Regional

economy and urbanization: three examples of the relationship between cities and regions in New Spain at the end of the eighteenth century, in Richard P. Schaedel, Jorge E. Hardoy, and Nora Scott Kinzer (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from its beginnings to the present* (Chicago: Aldine, 1978), 411. Robinson and McGovern used maps of origins to portray migration fields for separate parishes in eighteenth-century Yucatán. See Robinson and McGovern, Migración regional, 112–113. Maps of migration fields have also been used to show historical differences in the origins of marriage partners in Parral. See Robinson, Population patterns, 93. Others have used information from vital registers to reconstruct these types of fields. See, for example, Greenow, Marriage patterns, and Leon Yacher, *Marriage, migration, and racial mixing in colonial Tlazazalca (Michoacán, Mexico), 1750–1800* (Syracuse University Department of Geography Discussion Paper Series no. 32, 1977).

104 Both approaches are followed in Robinson, Indian migration, 160–167.

105 These terms were used by Greenow to describe different spatial and temporal characteristics of migration fields. See Greenow, Marriage patterns, 130–143. Tjarks writes of "expanding" fields at the end of the eighteenth century. See Tjarks, Texas, 334.

106 Robinson, Population patterns, 91.

107 For a useful discussion of compilation and analytical procedures, see Trent M. Brady and John V. Lombardi, The application of computers to the analysis of census data: the bishopric of Caracas, 1780–1820, in Pierre Deprèz (ed.), *Population and economics*, 271–278. Procedures used in extracting and tabulating migration data contained in an 1811 census of Mexico City are described in Alejandra Moreno Toscano and Carlos Aguirre, Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México durante el siglo XIX: perspectivas de investigación, in Alejandra Moreno Toscano (ed.), *Investigaciones sobre la historia de la ciudad de Mèxico*, vol. 1 (Mexico City: INAH, 1974) 3. Other interesting compilation techniques for this type of data are described in Browning and Robinson, Census Legacy.

108 Cook devoted considerable attention to this problem and devised a system for dividing the adult population in several partidos into three groups: (i) those born within the partido of residence; (ii) those born in a partido adjacent to the one in which they resided; and (iii) those born elsewhere. See Cook, Migration, 280.

109 Problems in defining jurisdictional boundaries are discussed in David G. Browning, David J. Robinson, and U. A. Miles, Cartographic problems of mapping population distributions in colonial Spanish America, *Bulletin of the Association of University Cartographers* 8 (1976) 21–36. For a discussion of the effects of late-colonial jurisdictional consolidation, fragmentation and name changes on attempts to delimit boundaries, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 106–111.

110 These variables included household number, sex, age, race, occupation, origin, civil status, and household size.

111 The package used was dBaseII, Version 2.3D. For a description, see Wayne Ratliff, *dBaseII: Assembly language relational database management system* (Culver City: Ashton Tate, 1982).

112 The classification system used to group occupations and to determine occupational status was based on a multivariate examination of 1788 Parral, a fitting basis for a classification of jobs in late-colonial mining centers. See McCaa and

Swann, *Social theory*, 61–68. The system took into account interactions between occupation and race, age, sex, marital status, and residential status.

113 The maps in Figure 8.3 show the origins for 630 household heads who were not locally born but who reported specific origins in Mexico. Individuals with origins in Spain (34) were not included, nor were those whose origins were unknown (278). Thirteen individuals reported non-specific Mexican origins. These included the following: Nación Apache; California; Michoacán; Norte; Provincia de Sonora; Tarahumara; Tierra Caliente; and Tierra de Fuera.

114 See Paul M. Roca, *Spanish Jesuit churches in Mexico's Tarahumara* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979) 195.

115 For comments on the founding of Uruachi, see Pennington, *Tarahumar*, 21. Details on the early history of Cajurichic are found in Gerhard, *North frontier*, 189–190.

116 See Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1765*, (ed.) Vito Alessio Robles (Mexico: Porrúa, 1937) 146.

117 Gerhard, *North frontier*, 187–190.

118 See Spicer, Cycles of conquest, 34; and Pennington, *Tarahumar*, 21.

119 The great bonanza and the rush that took place are described in Thomas E. Sheridan and Thomas H. Naylor (eds.), *Rarámuri: a Tarahumar colonial chronicle, 1607–1791* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1979), 41–43.

120 Spicer, *Cycles of conquest*, 37.

121 Gerhard, *North frontier*, 187.

122 Sheridan and Naylor, *Rarámuri*, 63.

123 Gerhard, *North frontier*, 187, 190.

124 The population figures are taken from *ibid.* 43, 90. The comment on the Tarahumar workers is found in Pennington, *Tarahumar*, 22.

125 Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración*, 149.

126 Lafora, *Relación*, 162. Gerhard maintains that the Apache incursions became so severe in the Cusihuiriachic district because of the disappearance of the Concho and the loss of the human buffer they provided. See Gerhard, *North frontier*, 187.

127 Sheridan and Naylor, *Rarámuri*, 88.

128 Pennington, *Tarahumar*, 58.

129 "Relación de Cusihuiriachic, 1777." The original manuscript is found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms 2449, Relaciones topográficos de pueblos de México, 1777–1778, vol. 1, ff. 173–179. Photocopies of the relaciones are on file at the Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley.

130 The largest of the late-colonial strikes were made in the 1780s. In 1788, the population of the real stood at 10,750. See Roca, *Spanish Jesuit Churches*, 140.

131 Gerhard, *North frontier*, 217–218.

132 *Ibid.* 218.

133 José Ignacio Gallegos, *Durango colonial, 1563–1821* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1960), 93.

134 Gerhard, *North frontier*, 217.

135 *Ibid.* 218.

136 Gerhard, *México en 1742*, 43.

137 West, *Mining community*, 24.

138 Robinson, Population patterns, 87.

139 Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración*, 124.
140 Robinson, Population patterns, 84.
141 *Ibid.* 84–87.
142 Peter Masten Dunne, *Pioneer Jesuits in northern Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944), 43–44.
143 See Gerhard, *North frontier*, 206; and Pennington, *Tepehuan*, 19.
144 Alonso de la Mota y Escobar, *Descripción geográfica de los reynos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, y Nueva León (1604)* (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1940) 202–203.
145 For details, see Gerhard, *North frontier*, 205–206. Establishment of the Guanaceví presidio is described in Max L. Moorhead, *The presidio* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975) 15.
146 See Gerhard, *North frontier*, 206, 218.
147 Gerhard, *México en 1742*, 43.
148 The secularization and associated changes are described in Swann, *Tierro adentro*, 107–108.
149 Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración*, 87.
150 The necessary vital registers exist for Parral, are incomplete for Cusihuiriachic, and are not available for Cajurichic and Guanaceví. See Robinson, *Research inventory*, 40–42.
151 For a concise discussion of selectivity and migration differentials, see Everett S. Lee, A theory of migration, *Demography* 3 (1966) 47–57.
152 E. G. Ravenstein, The laws of migration, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48 (1885) 167–227.
153 For a general overview, see Douglas Butterworth and John K. Chance, *Latin American Urbanization* (Cambridge University Press, 1981) 51–72.
154 *Ibid.* 1–32.
155 Mellafe, The importance of migration, 310.
156 See Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 251.
157 See Bromley, Disasters, 85.
158 It is clear that birthplace interacted with many socio-economic and demographic traits and that some of the strongest interactions were with race, age, and occupational status. See McCaa and Swann, *Social theory*, 52–53.
159 For details on sex ratios in late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 207–214.
160 René Salinas Meza, Caracteres generales de la evolución demográfica de un centro urbano Chileno: Valparaíso, 1685–1830, *Historia*, Universidad Católica de Chile, 10 (1971) 194.
161 See Lyman L. Johnson and Susan Migden Socolow, Population and space in eighteenth-century Buenos Aires, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric*, 352.
162 Bromley, Disasters, 92.
163 See Borah and Cook, Urban center, 390.
164 For details on age structures in late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 214–225.
165 See Borah and Cook, Urban center, 396.
166 For details on marital status patterns in late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 225–236.

167 See Lee, Theory, 56–57.

168 Robinson, *Research inventory*, xliv. For details on the racial composition of jurisdictions in late-colonial Nueva Vizcaya and a description of patterns of miscegenation, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 174–207. For an example of cross-tabulations involving race and origin, see Tjarks, Texas, 393.

169 Greenow, Marriage patterns, 144–146.

170 Robinson and McGovern, Migración regional, 109.

171 Among the adults in late-colonial Parral, Spaniards and Indians exceeded their expected numbers and mixed-race migrants fell short of the expected totals. See McCaa and Swann, *Social theory*, 57. Brading also found higher rates of migration among the Spaniards. See Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 465.

172 Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 465.

173 Chance, *Race and class*, 175.

174 For details on this, see Peter Boyd-Bowman, A Spanish soldier's estate in northern Mexico, 1642, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53 (1973) 96.

175 See John C. Super, The agricultural near north: Querétaro in the seventeenth century, in Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of early Mexico*, 234–235.

176 See Leslie Lewis, In Mexico City's shadow: Some aspects of economic activity and social processes in Texcoco, 1620–1670, in Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of early Mexico*, 127–128.

177 See Johnson and Socolow, Population and space, 350. Brading has argued that creoles were attracted to the civil bureaucracy and avoided business and the professions. See Brading, *Miners and merchants*, 208–214.

178 The restrictive effects of debt peonage are explained in Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and market in eighteenth-century Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 261.

179 Padrón de Real y Minas de Río de Cajurichic, Real de Cajurichi, no. 10. The modal pattern that Eras fits consists of the most popular characteristics among the variables that were measured. Joseph Eras did not represent the majority of migrants as measured by each variable; however, he did share the socio-demographic characteristics of the greatest number of migrants in the greatest number of variables.

180 Padrón de Real de Santa Rosa de Cosiguriachi, no. 87.

181 Padrón de Real de Santa Rosa de Cosiguriachi, no. 107.

182 Padrón de Real de Minas de San José de Parral, Real de Parral, no. 32.

183 Padrón de Real de Minas de San José de Parral, Real de Parral, no. 76.

184 Padrón de Real de Guanaceví, no. 52.

185 Padrón de Real de Guanaceví, no. 18.

186 This concept is discussed in all treatments of migration theory and processes. See Lee, Theory; and Paul E. White and Robert I. Woods, Spatial patterns of migration flows, in Paul E. White and Robert I. Woods (eds.), *The geographical impact of migration* (New York: Longman, 1980) 30.

187 Cook, Migration, 281.

188 Borah and Cook, Urban center, 396.

189 Van Young, *Hacienda and market*, 35.

190 For a review of these works, see Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 123–125.

191 Moreno Toscano and Aguirre, Migraciones, 13.
192 *Ibid.* 8.
193 Padrón de Real de Minas de San José de Parral, Barrio de San Nicolás, no. 79.
194 Padrón de Real y Minas del Río de Cajurichic, Real de Cajurichi, no. 124.
195 Padrón de Real y Minas del Río de Cajurichic, Real de Santa Rosa de Uruachi, no. 10.
196 Padrón de Real de Guanaceví, no. 71.
197 Padrón de Real de Santa Rosa de Cosiguriachi, no. 94.
198 Padrón de Real de Minas de San José de Parral, Real de Parral, no. 5.
199 Padrón de Real de Minas de San José de Parral, Real de Parral, no. 254.

9 Migration patterns of the novices of the Order of San Francisco in Mexico City, 1649–1749

1 Robert Ricard, *La conquista espiritual de México* (Mexico, 1947) 155–165.
2 Elena Vázquez, *Distribución geográfica y organización de las órdenes religiosas en la Nueva España, siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1965) 11; Lino Gómez Canedo, Archivos Franciscanos en México, in Ignacio del Río (ed.), *Guía del Archivo Franciscano* (2 vols., Mexico, 1975), 1, xv; Stella González, Los Franciscanos en Yucatán, unpublished paper (Mexico, 1984); Carmen Castañeda, *La educación en Guadalajara durante la colonia, 1552–1821* (Guadalajara, 1984) 70–73.
3 Virve Piho, *La secularización de las parroquias en Nueva España y su repercusión en San Andrés Calpan* (Mexico, 1981) 127.
4 Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la nación mexicana* (Mexico, 1940) 310.
5 *Alegaciones en favor del clero, estado eclesiástico i secular, españoles e indios del obispado de Puebla*, fol. 86v.
6 *Ibid.* fol. 5.
7 The fact that there are also very few parish registers extant for the period before 1645 is also a very interesting coincidence.
8 Francisco Morales, *Ethnic and social background of Franciscan friars in seventeenth-century Mexico* (Washington, 1973) 5–9.
9 Simón Fajardo, *Estatutos Generales de Barcelona para la familia cismontana* (Seville, 1634).
10 Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Fondo Franciscano (hereafter INAH/FF), vol. 63, no. 1418. For example: "Fray María Rhini, Ministro General de la Orden, comunica la necesidad de mayor observancia de los estatutos," July 1671.
11 INAH/FF, vol. 13, no. 395, "Fray Hernando de la Rúa, Comisario General de Nueva España, comunica la necesidad de mandar más frailes a Nuevo México"; Del Río, *Guía*, has an abundance of information about the Franciscan colonization of the north of New Spain.
12 Del Río, *Guía*, 23–36. Francisco Morales, *Inventario del Fondo Franciscano del Museo de Antropología e Historia de México* (Mexico, 1978) ix–xxviii.
13 Morales, *Ethnic and social background.* I would like to thank Francisco Morales for his guidance in the preparation of this essay.
14 Morales, *Inventario*, xxii.
15 Morales, *Ethnic and social background*, 6. "El Convento de los Recoletas de San

Cosme se autoriza como noviciado en 1665, su fin era observar más rigurosamente las reglas franciscanas."

16 James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America* (Cambridge, 1983) 10–11.

17 Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica*, Book 4, ch. 25; Morales, *Ethnic and social background*, 16–17.

18 INAH/FF, vol. 63, no. 1403, "Fray Francisco de Somoza, Comisario General de Indias [dice] que se debe dar el hábito a los novicios sin reparo de que sea criollo o español con tal de que tengan las cualidades que piden las Constituciones Generales," Madrid, 23 June 1671.

19 See, for example, INAH/FF, vol. 10, no. 855, Andrade Moctezuma, José Joaquín, hijo de Pedro Andrade Moctezuma de Gertrudis Montes.

20 Morales, *Ethnic and social background*, 55.

21 Hayho Chávez (ed.), *Códice Franciscano, siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1941), 132–133, "Item ordenamos que ningún indio ni mestizo pueda ser recibido al hábito de nuestra Orden, ni los nacidos en esta tierra puedan ser recibidos, si no fuera por el Padre Provincial y Discretos de la Provincia juntamente, y la recepción de otra manera hecha sea si ninguna."

22 Elsa Malvido, Cronología de epidemias y crisis agrícola en la época colonial, in Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido (eds.), *Ensayos sobre la historia de las epidemias en México* (2 vols., Mexico, 1982) 1, 171–176.

23 "Alegaciones," fol. 5v.

24 *Ibid.* fol. 27v.

25 Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1973) 66.

10 Migration to major metropoles in colonial Mexico

1 For major statements on the "culture of poverty" and "marginality" respectively, see Charles A. Valentine, *Culture and poverty* (University of Chicago Press, 1968), and J. E. Perlman, *The myth of marginality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). Noteworthy recent syntheses on recent migration that attempt some historical dimension are Bryan Roberts, *Cities of peasants* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978), and Douglas Butterworth and John K. Chance, *Latin American urbanization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

2 Some examples of the best of this work include Michael M. Swann, The spatial dimensions of a social process: marriage and mobility in late colonial north Mexico, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric and spatial structure in colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979) 117–180, and Linda L. Greenow, Marriage patterns and regional interaction in late colonial Nueva Galicia, and David J. Robinson, Indian migration in eighteenth-century Yucatán: the open nature of the closed corporate community, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981) 117–147; and 149–173. Other important earlier studies of colonial Mexican migration are Sherburne F. Cook, Las migraciones en la historia de la población mexicana, in Bernardo García Martínez *et al.* (eds.), *Historia y sociedad en el mundo de habla español. Homenaje a José Miranda* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1970) 355–377; Woodrow Borah and

Sherburne Cook, El centro urbano como foco para la emigración en la Nueva España, in Jorge E. Hardoy and Richard P. Schaedel (eds.), *Las ciudades de América Latina y sus áreas de influencia a través de la historia* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones SIAP, 1974) 113–131; and Alejandra Moreno Toscano, Regional economy and urbanization: three examples of the relationship between cities and regions in New Spain at the end of the eighteenth century, in Richard P. Schaedel *et al* (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from its beginnings to the present* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978) 399–424.

3 See the collection of essays published as Pedro Carrasco and Johanna Broda (ed.), *Estratificación social en la Mesoamérica prehispánica* (Mexico City: INAH, 1976).

4 Frances F. Berdan, *The Aztecs of central Mexico* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982) 45–66.

5 Edward E. Calnek, The internal structure of Tenochtitlan, in Eric R. Wolf (ed.), *The valley of Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976) 287–288.

6 See the section on "The North" in Ida Altman and James Lockhart (eds.), *Provinces of early Mexico* (UCLA Latin American Center, 1976), and Leslie Scott Offutt, Urban and rural society in the Mexican north: Saltillo in the late colonial period. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1982) 1–11.

7 John K. Chance, *Race and class in colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford University Press, 1978) 83–87, 123.

8 Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish rule* (Stanford University Press, 1964) 282–287.

9 James Lockhart, *The men of Cajamarca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972) 22–26.

10 John C. Super, *La vida en Querétaro durante la Colonia, 1531–1810* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983) 181, 196.

11 Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, & silver* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952; 1969 printing) 193–197; Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the sixteenth century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952; Stanford University Press edn of 1967) 183–189.

12 Offutt, Urban and rural society, 185.

13 Chance, *Race and class*, 151–155.

14 P. J. Bakewell, *Silver mining and society in colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) 124–129; and D. A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, Colonial silver mining: Mexico and Peru, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52 (1972) 557–560.

15 Chance, *Race and class*, 144–151; Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and market in eighteenth-century Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) 29–36.

16 John C. Super, Querétaro obrajes: industry and society in provincial Mexico, 1600–1810, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 56 (1976) 212–213.

17 John E. Kicza, The great families of Mexico: elite maintenance and business practices in late colonial Mexico City, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62 (1982) 429–457.

18 These points are developed at length in John E. Kicza, *Colonial entrepreneurs:*

families and business in Bourbon Mexico City (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

19 Linda Jo Arnold, Bureaucracy and bureaucrats in Mexico City: 1742–1835. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Texas at Austin, 1982) ch. 4 *passim.*

20 Marta Espejo-Ponce Hunt, Colonial Yucatán: town and region in the sixteenth century. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1974) 65–67, 513–536.

21 Super, *La vida en Querétaro,* 115–124.

22 Kicza, *Colonial entrepreneurs,* 144–145.

23 Archivo de Notarias del Departamento del Distrito Federal, José Antonio Burillo, 26 August 1784, 14 January 1792, 16 January 1793, and 30 December 1793; Margaret Chowning, A Mexican provincial elite: Michoacán, 1810–1910. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Stanford University, 1984) 45–46.

24 Alejandra Moreno Toscano and Carlos Aguirre Anaya, Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México durante el Siglo XIX: perspectivas de investigación (Mexico City: Seminario de Historia Urbana, INAH, 1974) 9; Michael E. Scardaville, Crime and the urban poor: Mexico City in the late colonial period. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Florida, 1977) 57–58; Rodney D. Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación de la Independencia: estudio de su población según los padrones de 1821–1822* (Guadalajara: Unidad Editorial, 1983) 62.

25 John Kicza, The legal community of late colonial Mexico: social composition and career patterns, in Ronald Spores and Ross Hassig (eds.), *Five centuries of law and politics in central Mexico* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology, 1984) 127–131; Paul Ganster, Churchmen, in Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (eds.), *Cities and society in colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986) 150–153.

26 Archivo General de la Nación (hereinafter cited as AGN), Padrones, V 60, ff. 68–78.

27 Carmen Castañeda, *La educación en Guadalajara durante la Colonia, 1552–1821* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1984) 281–295.

28 *Ibid.* 373–377.

29 *Ibid.* 290–291, 376.

30 Felix Osores, *Noticias bibliográficas de alumnos distinguidos del Colegio de San Pedro, San Pablo, y San Ildefonso de México,* 1 (Mexico City: Viuda de C. Bouret, 1908) 239–240; Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico,* 4 (Mexico City: Imprenta de J. R. Lara, 1851) 217.

31 John E. Kicza, Business and society in late colonial Mexico City. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1979) 358–360.

32 Biblioteca Nacional, Lista de los abogados que se hallan matriculados en el Ilustre y Real Colegio de México, 1804, 1812, and 1824.

33 Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From impotence to authority: the Spanish crown and the American audiencias, 1687–1808* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977) 3–4, 34.

34 Kicza, Business and society, 418–421. Considerable information on the medical profession throughout colonial Spanish America is available in John Tate Lanning, *The royal protomedicato: the regulation of the medical profession in the Spanish empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985).

35 *Diario de México*, 18 March 1806, 28 March 1807, and 14 April 1816.
36 AGN, Historia, vol. 468, 18 March 1808.
37 AGN, Historia, vol. 452 (1809) and 503 (1795).
38 Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya, Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México, and a modified version of the same piece, Migrations to Mexico City in the nineteenth century: research approaches, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 17 (1975) 27–42; Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación.*
39 Scardaville, Crime and the urban poor.
40 Chance, *Race and class*, 144–151.
41 Scardaville, Crime and the urban poor, 53–54; Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya, Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México, 5; Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación*, 57.
42 Scardaville, Crime and the urban poor, 52.
43 Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya, Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México, 25.
44 Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya, Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México, 13; Scardaville, Crime and the urban poor, 59; Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación*, 62.
45 Moreno Toscano and Aguirre Anaya, Migraciones hacia la ciudad de México, 20–22.
46 Scardaville, Crime and the urban poor, 57; Chance, *Race and class*, 151.
47 See the examples of Guadalajara and Guanajuato during the Wars of Independence in Richard E. Boyer and Keith A. Davies, *Urbanization in 19th century Latin America: statistics and sources* (UCLA Latin American Center, 1973) 37–40.
48 Whereas the Hidalgo Revolt drove many people into Mexico City as a place of refuge, the 1813 epidemic and relative peace in the hinterland, except for the south, impelled many to leave. Boyer and Davies, *Urbanization*, 41–44; Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemic disease in Mexico City, 1761–1813* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965) 177, 180–181.
49 Anderson, *Guadalajara a la consumación*, 61, presents the most systematic evidence that migrants as a group resembled the social structure of the natives of the cities.
50 Jorge González Angulo Aguirre, *Artesanado y ciudad a fines del siglo XVIII* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983), 103–121 *passim.*
51 Jaime Rodriguez Piña, Las vecindades en 1811: tipología, (Mexico City: Seminario de Historia Urbana, INAH, 1976) 68–96.

11 Marriage, migration, and settling down: Parral (Nueva Vizcaya), 1770–1788

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1 David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder, CO, 1981) 6.

2 Michael M. Swann, *Tierra adentro: settlement and society in colonial Durango* (Boulder, CO, 1982), develops a nine-stage model for the settling of Nueva Vizcaya in which migration is the critical variable in the growth and decay of mining communities (25–31).

3 Linda L. Greenow, Marriage patterns and regional interaction in late colonial Nueva Galicia, in Robinson (ed.), *Studies*, 144–6.

4 See David J. Robinson, Patrones de migración en Michoacán en el siglo XVIII: datos y metodologías, in Thomas Calvo and Gustavo López (eds.), *Movimientos de población en la regional centro-occidente de México* (Mexico, 1988) 190–191, for a bibliography of studies based on marriage records.

5 Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 92, calls for a study of the role of marriage in the geographical integration of population. Robinson gains important insights into the significance of migration in a Yucatecan community by studying the birthplaces of *parents* reported in baptismal records (Robinson (ed.), *Studies*, Indian migration in eighteenth-century Yucatán: the open nature of the closed corporate community, 149–174). Widespread and repeated migrations found in these data strongly challenge the conventional notion that eighteenth-century Yucatecan villages constituted closed corporate communities.

6 The censuses of 1777 and 1778 are located in the *Archivo General de Indias* (AGI), Indiferente General, Legajo 102. The census of 1788 was extracted from microfilm: *Archivo Municipal de Parral* (AMP), film 1788a frames 91b–167b. David J. Robinson, in Population patterns in a northern Mexican mining region: Parral in the late eighteenth century, *Geoscience and Man* 21 (1980) 86, reports figures taken from a summary table at the conclusion of the 1777 census.

7 For a discussion of the 1788 census see my Calidad, class, and marriage in colonial Mexico: the case of Parral, 1788–90, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64 (1984) 480–483. I plan eventually to construct family histories of all the Parralenses mentioned in the censuses and parish books.

8 Archivo de la Parroquia de San José de Parral (APP), *Informaciones matrimoniales*, legajos varios. These documents, along with the extant parroquial records of the local ecclesiastical court, *cofradías*, and correspondence as well as recently recovered documents from the municipal archives, have recently been microfilmed and may be purchased from the Centro de Información del Estado de Chihuahua, Apdo Postal 1152 Suc. 'C', Zona Postal 31170, Chihuahua, México.

9 APP, *Informaciones matrimoniales*, 15-V-1770 and 1-XII-1775. Don Franco Antonio reiterated his "ánimo de morar en el [Parral]" in 1775. Libro IX de Matriminios, entry number 347, 12-XII-1775. AGI, Censo de 1777, households 38, 52 and 621. AGI, Censo de 1778, House no. 7 "Plazuela de Betancurt," no. 3 "a la orilla del Arrollo de la Vivorilla," and no. 18 "Arriva del colegio." AMP, Censo de 1788, Households 50 and 368 (in the village). María Josefa appeared as "del Valle de San Bartolomé" in 1777 and was accompanied by a younger brother, "mercader" aged fourteen, also from "d[ic]ho Valle."

10 Robinson, Patrones de migración, 17; see also the discussion by Greenow, Marriage patterns, 119.

11 Robert C. West, *The mining community in northern New Spain: the Parral mining district* (Berkeley, 1949). Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 139, characterizes late eighteenth-century Parral as "an area long since over-run by the settlement frontier."

12 Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 127. West's comments, *The mining community*, 24, on the decay of Parral's mines in the 1750s with the insinuation that it continued through Humboldt's time does not seem to accurately describe mining activity in the 1770s and 1780s.

13 APP, *Informaciones matrimoniales*, 31-VIII-1770. The principal difference between Doña María's assertion of her wishes and several other cases where women either forced men to honour nuptial promises or used the nuptial preliminaries to publicly disavow promises of marriage, was Doña María's ability to sign her name; fewer than 5 percent of Parral brides signed the marriage documents. See other cases dated 17-XI-1770 and 21-V-1774. The banns documents reveal much individual volition – and perhaps even love – manifested not only by men but also women for whom the ecclesiastical court offered refuge as well.

14 David A. Brading, *Miners and merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) 248–249.

15 Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 73.

16 Robinson, *Studies* 4, emphasizes the importance of analyzing both those who moved and those who did not.

17 Robert McCaa, Migración y sociedad, Parral, Chihuahua: 1777, 1930, paper presented at the symposium *Movimientos de población en la región centro-occidente de México*, Mexico, 21–22 July 1986. The cohort survival method of estimating net migration has proven particularly useful in the hands of demographers working with modern censuses, but is not likely to be of much benefit in teasing migration patterns from colonial censuses because of the vast variations in quality, content, and coverage. In the case of Parral, the 1777 census has excellent birthplace data, but the 1778 census has none and in 1788 this information is reported for only about half of the adult male population. The second census has the best coverage, and the last probably adequate coverage for adult males, but the lowest for females and for children.

18 Women have been excluded from the analysis because of the substantial fraction with missing information.

19 It should not be surprising that the linkage rates for Parral are considerably higher than the 13 percent computed by Patricia Seed for Mexico City in: Social dimensions of race: Mexico City, 1753, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62 (1982) 569–606. In Mexico City, greater spatial mobility and administrative adversities faced by the colonial authorities make the exercise less fruitful than elsewhere. Moreover, Seed's search seems to have been restricted to heads of households in the census of 1753, thus casting a net in the direction of only a small proportion of the potential catch. As we will see below in discussing household residence patterns, marriage does not mean the immediate establishment of a new household. For another example of tracing see Lyman L. Johnson and Susan Migden Socolow, Population and space in eighteenth-century Buenos Aires, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric and spatial structure in colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, 1979) 353. They find that Buenos Aires artisans in the 1780s were also extremely mobile with only 10 percent traceable between lists compiled two years apart.

20 Misidentification of placenames due to the use of synonyms would not seem to be

at issue because most of these places are well known and mentioned frequently in the documents contained in the Parral archives. Swann's maps *Tierra adentro*, 10, 16, 21, 93, and 109, as well as Robinson's work, Population patterns, on Parral were extremely helpful in locating many places as was Francisco R. Almada's *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía chihuahuenses* (Ciudad Juárez, 1968).

21 Examining the subset of those who presented nuptial testimonies within three years of the padrón reveals proportionately more mulatos in the census (16/47), coyotes (0/21), lobos (0/5), and indios (3/9) than in the banns documents.

22 Agreement between groom's calidad in the banns documents and censuses was lowest for that of 1777 at 55.5 percent for 119 cases in which the ethnic character was known in both documents. In 1778 and 1788 calidad in the census agreed with that in the marriage testimony for 68.6 percent of the linked grooms (of 121 and 86 cases, respectively). Unfortunately the 1778 census does not report occupations; it would be interesting to compare consistency between occupations using closely spaced observations.

23 Greenow (Marriage patterns, 130ff.); Swann (*Tierra adentro*, 144ff.). Robinson's work on Uman parish in the Yucatán shows a steady rise in the proportion of infants born to migrant parents from 25 percent in the 1690s to 75 percent in 1808–12, when migration had become the principal means of escaping tribute obligations (Robinson, *Studies*, 154). At the other extreme is Cook's study of Yanque parish in Andean Peru, where the proportion of exogamous marriages never exceeded 25 percent. See N. David Cook, Eighteenth-century population change in Andean Peru: the parish of Yanque, in Robinson, *Studies*, 262–264.

24 This pattern is imaginatively portrayed in a series of cartograms by Robinson (Population patterns, 93, Figure 6), which was the first study to use marriage records in analyzing migration in and around Parral.

25 APP, *Informaciones matrimoniales*, legajos varios. See note 9.

26 Robinson (*Studies*, 149). Nancy M. Farriss, Nucleation versus dispersal: the dynamics of population movement in colonial Yucatán, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58 (1978) 209–216.

27 The suggestion that this finding is a function of the method by which the dataset is constructed seems unconvincing. Here only married couples are under scrutiny. They are traced into a later census, and the ages of their children are used to assay whether prenuptial cohabitation was likely or not. One would suppose that the risk of scandal was greatest at the posting of the banns, but the authorities invariably sought to end illicit cohabitation by persuading couples to marry. It seems unlikely that after marriage the locally born continue to conceal formerly illegitimate children while migrants do not.

28 Kuznesof discusses a matrilocal residence pattern typical of late colonial São Paulo. See Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, Clans, the militia and territorial government: the articulation of kinship with polity in eighteenth century São Paulo, in Robinson (1979), 210. The apparently strong correlations between headship and calidad or occupation disappear once availability of parents is taken into account.

29 The answer must be conditioned by the linking context: apparent lack of persistence may be due to omissions from a padrón or an inability to trace either bride or groom because of variations in names (although not spelling because of relentless searching by means of phonetic transformations). Robinson's discus-

sion (Patrones de migración) of gains and losses in marital migration seems to overlook migrants moving back to the home parish after marriage.

30 Greenow (Marriage patterns 121), for example, laments the difficulty of distinguishing casual, transitory, or permanent migrations in the birthplace of bride and groom.

31 Michael M. Swann, The spatial dimensions of a social process: marriage and mobility in late colonial Northern Mexico, in Robinson, *Social fabric*, 137. Swann correctly concludes that the migration field for Parral in 1777 was highly localized, but concludes that in both Parral and San Miguel del Mezquital (Durango), "the population was far more mobile than has previously been assumed" (139).

32 See also Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Los paisanos: Spanish settlers on the northern frontier of New Spain* (Norman, 1979), 88. Robinson (Population patterns, 85) also emphasizes the continual flux and migration in the northern mining centers during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Elsewhere Robinson advances the thesis that: "It may well be that spatial and social identity were two sides of the same coin ... proximity in both a spatial and temporal sense remained highly significant. Such opportunities were not, however, open to all groups in society. While those low in the social order might emulate their masters they were rarely permitted equivalent opportunities for free movement and choice. Indeed, it might be argued that the ability to participate in activities through an extended range of socio-spatial scales was in itself a sign of status" (Robinson, *Social fabric*, 13). Among men who married in Parral, the high ratios of movement and the diversity of birthplaces for men of all social groups, whether defined in terms of occupation or calidad, suggest that on the Northern frontier material constraints may have been more important than social or psychological restraints imposed by authorities in explaining migration differentials of various social groups.

33 Swann, *Tierra adentro*, 392.

34 Consider the attributes of María Josefa Saenz' servant in the 1777 and 1778 censuses. In the first she was listed as a widowed mulata, María Antonia Lugo, aged 48 from Chihuahua, but later she appeared as "María Antonia Escovedo" although her age was properly noted. The Saenz household contained five servants in June 1777, but only two eighteen months later.

12 Informal settlement and fugitive migration amongst the Indians of late-colonial Chiapas, Mexico

Acknowledgments. I would like to thank Dr. Linda Newson, of King's College, London, for a most helpful vetting of an earlier draft of this paper, and Christine Smyth for editorial assistance. All errors are, of course, my doing.

1 Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian people and the challenge of Spanish conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1982) *passim*, ch. 6.

2 Noble David Cook, *Demographic collapse: Indian Peru 1520–1620* (Cambridge University Press, 1981) 84–5; Noble David Cook, La Población de la Parroquia Yanahuara, 1738–47: un modelo para el estudio de las parroquias peruanas, in Franklin Pease (ed.), *Collaguas I* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1977) 29–30.

3 Stern, *Peru's Indian people*, 126, 154, 186. Such concealment of child populations has implications for the way in which parish register materials are interpreted.
4 Linda A. Newson, Indian population patterns in colonial Spanish America, *Latin American Research Review* 20 (1985) 59.
5 William Taylor, *Landlord and peasant in colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford University Press, 1972) 28.
6 Miles Wortman, *Government and society in Central America, 1680–1840* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 181, citing Archivo General de las Indias, Audiencia de Guatemala 948 (hereafter AGI AG), "Cartas Respuestas de los Curas."
7 W. George Lovell, The historical demography of the Cuchumatán highlands of Guatemala, 1600–1821, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982) 210–211; also W. George Lovell, *Conquest and survival in Colonial Guatemala: a historical geography of the Cuchumatán highlands, 1500–1821* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985) 83–84, 87–88, on abandonment of *congregaciones*.
8 Michael M. Swann, *Tierra adentro: settlement and society in colonial Durango* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982); David J. Robinson, Population patterns in a north Mexican mining region: Parral in the late eighteenth century, *Geoscience and Man* (1980) 92–93, measuring exogamous marriage at an average of 37 percent with an absolute range between 10 percent and 70 percent.
9 Kevin Gosner, Umán parish: open corporate communities in eighteenth-century Yucatán, paper presented at the Association of American Geographers, 1979, 5–7; Kevin Gosner, The Tzeltal revolt of 1712: a brief overview, revised version of a paper presented at the International Congress of Americanists, Vancouver, 1979, 6 and 18 (note 8a); David J. Robinson and Carolyn G. McGovern, La migración regional yucateca en la época colonial: el caso de San Francisco Umán, *Historia Mexicana* 30 (1980) 99–125.
10 Juan and Judith Villamarin, Colonial censuses and tributary lists of the Sabana de Bogotá Chibcha: Sources and issues, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric and spatial structure in colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1979) 45–92, especially after p. 56.
11 Rosemary Bromley, Disease and population change in central highland Ecuador, 1778–1825, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric*, 85–116.
12 Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah, The population of Yucatán, 1517–1960, in *Essays in population history: Mexico and the Caribbean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 2, 114–120, 178.
13 Nancy Farriss, Nucleation versus dispersal: the dynamics of population movement in colonial Yucatán, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58 (1978) 187–216; Nancy Farriss, Indians in colonial Yucatán: three perspectives, in Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (eds.), *Spaniards and Indians in southeastern Mesoamerica: essays on the history of ethnic relations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983) 1–39; Nancy Farriss, *Maya society under colonial rule: the collective enterprise of survival* (Princeton University Press, 1984), especially chs. 2 and 7.
14 Farriss, *Maya society under colonial rule*, 223.
15 For an account of the historical geography of Chiapa and Soconusco, see chs. 4

and 5 of Peter Gerhard's *The southeast frontier of New Spain* (Princeton University Press, 1979). The most recent and detailed account of Chiapa's economy is by Robert Wasserstrom, *Class and society in central Chiapas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), chs. 2–4; and Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: a socioeconomic history, 1520–1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), ch. 4.

16 Murdo MacLeod, *Spanish Central America*, 76–77, 239.

17 Robert Wasserstrom, *Class and society in Central Chiapas*, and Robert Wasserstrom, Spaniards and Indians in colonial Chiapas, 1528–1790, in MacLeod and Wasserstrom (eds.), *Spaniards and Indians in southeastern Mesoamerica*, 90–100.

18 For accounts of the relationship between dominant labor systems, regional economy and indigenous survivals, see Linda Newson, Indian population patterns in colonial Spanish America, 51–58, Murdo J. MacLeod, An outline of Central American colonial demographics: Sources, yields and possibilities, in Robert Carmack, John Early and Christopher Lutz (eds.), *The historical demography of highland Guatemala* (State University of Albany, 1982) 14–15.

19 My estimates for the contact population of Chiapa are based on work I have prepared for my PhD dissertation, and are based on comparison of various sixteenth-century sources and on epidemic mortality models (ch. 3, Part 2). The estimate I accept is larger than that of Gerhard, *The southeast frontier of New Spain*, 160.

20 Antonio de Remesal, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales y Particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1964), Book 8, ch. 24. no. 4–5, ch. 25, no. 1–2; Sidney Markman, Pueblos de españoles y pueblos de indios en el reino de Guatemala, *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas* (Universidad Central de Guatemala, 1971).

21 Remesal, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales y Particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala*, cites a royal cédula of 5 May 1577 to the effect that by that date, Indians who had already moved back in large numbers to their "sitios antiguos" should be newly reduced into congregaciones: Book 9, ch. 25, no. 2. AGI AG 168, l.xii.1570; AGI AG 395, 20.xi.1579; AGI AG 395 17.i.1583. For litigation between 1599–1603, see Archivo General de Centroamérica (hereafter AGCA) A1.10.61.644 (Ch) various dates, 1604.

22 They are: Palenque (1703): AGCA A3.16.357.4529; Tizapa (1708): A3.16.293.3942; Istacomitán (1708): A3.16.358.4590,4609; Tuzantán (1720): A3.16.258.4626; Cancuc (1732): A3.16.297.4011; San Gabriel (1737): A3.16.359.4649; Cerrillo (1737): A3.16.359.4640; Chicoasentepec (1739): A3.16.360.4655; Chicoasen (1740): A3.16.360.4658; San Pedro (1740): A3.16.360.4656; Zinacantán (1740): A3.16.360.4678; Tuxtla Soconusco (1750); Tonalá (1750): A3.16.361.4670; Acala (1752): A3.16.361.4673; Tapachula (1755): A3.16.361.4680; Petalsingo (1755): A3.16.361.4676; Coapilla (1757): A3.16.361.4681; Chiapa de Indios (1759): A3.16.300.4045; Tapachula (1765): A3.16.351.4053.

23 The absolute range is from 2 percent for Petalsingo, which was a single community, to over 80 percent at Istacomitán, which was split into three parcialidades. Both were near the frontiers of the province in the north.

24 These summaries all accompanied new *tasaciones* for tax purposes.

25 Kevin Gosner, The Tzeltal revolt of 1712: A brief overview; see note 9 above.
26 Nancy Farriss, *Maya society under colonial rule: the collective enterprise of survival*, 164.
27 W. George Lovell, *Conquest and survival in colonial Guatemala: a historical geography of the Cuchumatán highlands, 1500–1821*, 80–82, on the distinctiveness of parcialidades in west Guatemalan communities during the colony and since; and in this volume.
28 Cases of exogamous marriage between towns divided into parcialidades often exceed a third or a half in mid-eighteenth-century towns. Detailed accounts of these sources will appear in my dissertation.
29 Cook and Borah, *Essays in population history: Mexico and the Caribbean*, 2, 114–115.
30 For a detailed treatment of these changes see Robert Wasserstrom, Spaniards and Indians in colonial Chiapas, 1528–1790 in MacLeod and Wasserstrom, *Spaniards and Indians*, ch. 3.
31 Herbert S. Klein, Rebeliones de las comunidades campesinas: La República Tzeltal de 1712, in Norman McQuown and Julian Pitt-Rivers (eds.), *Ensayos de antropología en la Zona Central de Chiapas* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1970); Robert Wasserstrom, Spaniards and Indians in colonial Chiapas, 1528–1790, 106–117; Kevin Gosner, The Tzeltal revolt of 1712: A brief overview; Kevin Gosner, Soldiers of the Virgin: an ethnohistorical analysis of the Tzeltal revolt of 1712 in highland Chiapas. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1983).
32 AGCA A3.16.295.3964: Alcalde Mayor Manuel Bustamente Vivero; *Informe* of priests for various parishes follows in same *expediente*, and summary of tribute debts accumulated also.
33 All sources contained in notes to Table 12.3.
34 AGCA A3.16.295.3964: Carta del cura de Yajalum ... "Fuera de 64 que han muerto en otras provincias."
35 AGCA A3.16.295.3972–3: Alcalde Mayor Felipe de Lugo, 24.ix.1720.
36 Cook and Borah, *Essays in population history*, 1, 330.
37 AGCA A3.16.297.4007: "Razón de los tributos de la provincia de Chiapa ... " This new tasación was probably made no later than 1731 or early 1732.
38 Murdo J. MacLeod, Papel social y económica de las cofradías indígenas de la colonia en Chiapas, *Mesoamérica* 5 (1983) 70–71.
39 AGCA A3.16.358.4620: Alcalde Mayor Martín Joseph de Bustamente, 26.viii.1728.
40 AGCA A3.16.359.4635: Alcalde Mayor Gabriel de Laguna, 6.iv.1734.
41 AGI AG 375.7.ii.1735, f. 53v.: Alcalde Mayor Gabriel de Laguna, "Nómina de todos los curatos ... "
42 AGI AG 375.7.ii.1735, f. 69v.
43 AGCA A3.16.359.4636,4637: Zinacantán and Comitán respectively.
44 AGI AG 29, 12.v.1679.
45 AGCA A3.16.359.4634: Alcalde Mayor Gabriel de Laguna.
46 Rodney C. Watson, La dinámica espacial de los cambios de población en un pueblo colonial mexicano: Tila, Chiapas, 1595–1794, *Mesoamérica* 5 (1983) 87–108.

47 AGI AG 102: "Testimonio de las diligencias hecha en el reconozimiento de el paraje de Chigabunte y Buluxib de la provincia de Zendales," Contador Romero, 28.xii.1737; also the letter of the *justicia mayor* of Ciudad Real, 15.i.1738; also A3.16.359.4646: "Testimonio de la Real Cedula . . . ," Fiscal y Contador Joseph Antonio de Herrante.
48 AGCA A3.16.359.4646: "Testimonio . . . "
49 This amounted to some 8,000 pesos in increased revenue. By 1743, the community was already requesting that tribute debts newly accumulated be pardoned: AGCA A3.16.359.4641: "Autos sobre el pueblo de San Matheo Tila." An extensive famine and persistent disease were cited as reasons for the town's difficulty.
50 Archivo Histórico Diocesano de San Cristóbal (hereafter AHDSC): "Cordillera a virtud del orden para que se destierre todos los pueblos (de Chiapa y Soconusco)," 1748, fols. iv–vi.
51 *Ibid.* letter of the cura of Tila.
52 For the applications of the reparto in later eighteenth-century Chiapa, see Wasserstrom, *Spaniards and Indians, passim*, ch. 4.
53 In fact, it extended beyond. Yucatán experienced the same complex of disasters in 1769–1773. Nancy Farriss has cited AGI Audiencia de Mexico in this respect.
54 British Museum, Add. MS 17573 (ff. 82–89): "Noticia Topográfica de la Intendencia de Chiapa," 1794.
55 *Ibid.*
56 AGI AG 556: Cartas y expedientes, 1771–4. Expediente del Señor Obispo de Chiapa, letter of 1772, undated.
57 AGCA A3.13.241.2988: "Informaciones sobre las calamidades de la provincia de Tuxtla." Alcalde Mayor Juan de Oliver, 24.vi.1771.
58 *Ibid.* letter of the cura of Sunapa.
59 AGCA A3.13.241.2988. Some remission of tribute was given: A3.16.361.4689.
60 AHDSC: "Diligencias para matar la langosta, revivir las siembras y auxiliar a los yndios que se mueren de hambre en el Obispado": 29.i.1771.
61 Nancy Farriss, *Maya society under colonial rule*, 73.
62 AHDSC: padrón of Jitotol, 1769 and 1772.
63 AGCA.A3.16.300.4958 (Ch): Padrones y tasaciones de 1769; A1 and DSC: "Estado que manifiesta el número de habitantes que havía en esta provincia de Ciudad Real de Chiapa y Soconusco," 7.vii.1778.
64 AGI AG 949: "Expediente del Obispo de Chiapa sobre la visita . . . "; letter of 28.xi.1778.
65 AHDSC: Bishop Polanco, letter of 7.vii.1778, in the census of the same year that he conducted.
66 Sources for this table: 1595: AGI AG 161, *Memoria* of Bishop Ubilla; 1611: AGI Audiencia de Mexico 3102, l.x.1611; 1683: AGI Contaduría 815, "Razón de las Ciudades. Villas y Lugares vizindarios y tributarios . . . ," in which, after f.12: Chiapa, 20.iii.1683; 1720: AGCA A3.16.295.3967, *Servicio del tostón* tally for same year; 1778: AHDSC: "Estado que manifiesta el número de habitantes que havia en esta provincia de Ciudad Real de Chiapa y Soconusco," 7.vii.1778.
67 AGCA A1.10.62.649, for Salto de Agua, 1793–1805; A1.12.19.269, for Los Naranjos, 1800; A1.12.19.275, on roads between Palenque and Bachajón, 1821; A1.12.19.271, on rediscovery of Belugig and its reducción.

68 Hundreds of tributaries were registered in Chiapa but had been found living in the towns and countryside of the Tabasco borderlands as early as the 1740s. Many had lived there for decades. Great mobility of the population in this district is suggested by the surviving documents: AGCA A3.16.353.4501, 22.xii.1741.
69 AGCA A3.16.360.4678, 21.vi.1740, "Nueva matrícula de Zinacantán" and A3.16.353.4509 (no date); for 1794: A3.16.362.4698.
70 AGCA A1.12.19.274, on parajes; AHDSC: "Padrón de los tributarios de Zinacantán," 1816.
71 Murdo J. MacLeod and Robert Wasserstrom (eds.), *Spaniards and Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983) 95.
72 Eric Wolf, Closed corporate peasant communities in Mesoamerica and central Java, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1957) 1–18. Farriss, *Maya society under colonial rule*, 222, calls the Wolf model into question in light of her findings on migration in Yucatán.
73 Antonio de Remesal, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales y Particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala*, Book 8, ch. 24, no. 4.
74 For a discussion of the debate over spatial exceptionalism in theoretical models of socio-economic activity, see Edward Soja, The socio-spatial dialectic, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70 (1980) 207–225.

13 Migration and settlement in Costa Rica, 1700–1850

Acknowledgments The author wishes to thank Dr. Carolyn Hall for her valuable comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

1 See, for example, Preston E. James, Expanding frontiers of settlement in Latin America. A project for future study, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 20 (1941) 183–195.
2 See Wilburg Jiménez Castro, *Migraciones internas en Costa Rica* (Washington, 1956); Gerhard Sandner, *La colonización agrícola de Costa Rica* (2 vols., San José, 1962–1964). A particularly original and intensive study of the colonization process in the northwest portion of the Central Valley is Mario Samper, Generations of settlers: a study of rural households and their markets on the Costa Rican frontier, 1850–1935. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of California, 1987).
3 The best analysis of the role of migrations in such interpretations appears as ch. 5 of Lowell Gudmunson, Costa Rica before coffee: society and economy on the eve of agro-export-based expansion. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Minnesota, 1982). A Spanish edition is soon to be published in Costa Rica.
4 On this theme the most detailed analysis is Carolyn Hall, *Costa Rica. Una interpretación geográfica con perspectiva histórica* (San José, 1984) ch. 4.
5 In this perspective see Carlos Meléndez, *Costa Rica. Tierra y poblamiento* (San José, 1977); Cleto González Víquez, San José y sus comienzos, in *Obras históricas* 1 (San José, 1973) 473–510; Francisco María Núñez, Aclaración de la fecha en que se fundó San José, *Memoria de la Academia de Geografía e Historia de Costa Rica* 4 (1952) 3–12; Luis Felipe González Flores, *Origen y desarrollo de las poblaciones de Heredia, San José y Alajuela durante el régimen colonial* (San José, 1943).
6 Cf. Samuel Stone, *La dinastía de los conquistadores* (San José, 1975).

7 Cf. Luis Felipe González Flores, *Historia de la influencia extranjera en Costa Rica* (San José, 1943).
8 In 1737 Governor Francisco de Carrandi estimated the indigenous population to be some 600 in all of the *reducciones* of the Central Valley. See León Fernández, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica* 9 (Barcelona, 1907) 325–326. In 1802 Governor Tomás de Acosta reported that the number of tributary Indians in all of the province was 340. Fernández, *ibid.* 277.
9 León Fernández, *Historia de Costa Rica durante la dominación española* (Madrid, 1889) 408.
10 See Juan Carlos Solórzano, El comercio de la provincia de Costa Rica, 1690–1760. Unpublished history thesis (University of Costa Rica, San José, 1977); and his: Comercio y regiones de actividad económica en Costa Rica colonial, *Geoistmo* 1 (1987) 93–110.
11 Visita apostólica y descripción topográfica, histórica y estadística de todos los pueblos de Nicaragua y Costa Rica, hecha por el Illmo. Señor D. Pedro Agustín Morel de Santa Cruz, Obispo de la Diócesis, en 1751, y elevada al conocimiento de S.M.C. Fernando VI, en 8 de setiembre de 1752, in León Fernández, *Conquista y poblamiento en el siglo XVI (relaciones geográficas)* (San José, 1976) 428–444.
12 Informe sobre la provincia de Costa Rica, presentado por el Ingeniero don Luis Diez Navarro al Capitán General de Guatemala, don Tomás de Rivera y Santa Cruz, Año de 1744, in *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* 11–12 (1939) 579–600:581.
13 See Elizabeth Fonseca, *Costa Rica colonial, la tierra y el hombre* (San José, 1984) 259–283.
14 See Victor Hugo Acuña, Historia económica del tabaco. Epoca colonial. Unpublished history thesis (University of Costa Rica, 1974).
15 Hall, *El café y el desarrollo histórico-geográfico de Costa Rica* (San José: Editorial de Costa Rica, 1976).
16 See Gudmunson, *Costa Rica before coffee*; Mario Samper, Los productores directos en el siglo del café, *Revista de Historia* (Heredia) 7 (1978) 123–217, especially 126–127 and 130–149; Iván Molina Jiménez, El capital comercial en un valle de labriegos sencillos (1800–1824). Análisis del legado colonial de Costa Rica. Unpublished Master's thesis in history (University of Costa Rica, 1984).
17 Morel, Visita apostólica.
18 Fernández, *Colección*, 10, 315.
19 See Gerardo Mora Brenes, La creación de parroquias y la expansión agrícola de Costa Rica (siglo XIX). Unpublished typescript, Escuela de Historia (Universidad Nacional, Heredia, 1982).
20 Meléndez, *Costa Rica*, 185–199.
21 The interests of both civil and ecclesiastical authorities were not far removed from this action: both were anxious to collect taxes and tithes.
22 The dates were established by Monseñor Thiel, *El Mensajero del Clero* 9 (1896) 31. In some cases they are approximate since the original documents concerning the establishment of the parishes and their dependencies are no longer available.
23 Relación de la provincia de Costa Rica por su gobernador D. Juan Gemmir y Lleonart, año de 1747, in León Fernández, *Colección*, 9, 368–373.

24 This is especially notable in the new town of Guanacaste, established in 1769. See Meléndez, *Costa Rica*, 143–171.
25 *Ibid.* 203–209.
26 Monografía de la población de la República de Costa Rica en el siglo XIX, *Revista de Costa Rica en el siglo XIX* (San José, 1902). As is shown in my unpublished article, La población de Costa Rica según Obispo Thiel, the estimates of that author, made at the end of the nineteenth century, are unreliable and cannot be preferred to those of the principal censuses.
27 It would be foolhardy, on the other hand, to calculate rates of intercensal change without making the necessary prior adjustments to the censal figures. Since such a method is, as yet, unrealized, the figures have to be used extremely cautiously.
28 The state of conservation of the documents is another important factor. In this period one notes annual fluctuations much greater than in that which follows. The incidence of a number of years in which the annual figures in Guanacaste fall below 100 are probably a case in point.
29 I use the term "circular" to emphasize the idea of diffusion around and from the nucleus. Of course each settlement was affected by local topographical features and neighboring settlements. The pattern appears to be similar to that which Hudson calls "adapted spread," even though the model that author calls "environmental conflict" is also present in many cases. See John C. Hudson, Theory and methodology in comparative frontier studies, in D. H. and J. O. Steffen (eds.), *The frontier: comparative studies* (Norman, 1977) 11–31.
30 Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica (hereafter ANCR), Serie Provincial Independiente 939.
31 ANCR, Serie Gobernación 6747.
32 See Carlos Araya Pochet, *La evolución de la economía tabacalera en Costa Rica bajo el monopolio estatal (1821–1851)* (San José, 1981).
33 Note that there is a difference in the scale of the histograms used in Figures 13.5 and 13.6.
34 ANCR, Serie Gobernación 9245.
35 ANCR, Serie Municipal 2905 and 4993.
36 See Patricia Alavarenga Venutolo, Capitalismo y comerciantes en la transición hacia el capitalismo. Un estudio microeconómico de la región de Heredia. Unpublished history thesis (University of Costa Rica, San José, 1986).
37 Fonseca, *Costa Rica colonial, la tierra y el hombre.*
38 *Ibid.*

14 Seventeenth-century Indian migration in the Venezuelan Andes

1 See for example, Mario Sanoja and Iraida Vargas, *Antiguas formaciones y modos de producción venezolanos* (Caracas, 1974) 188.
2 In the case of Mérida, the Ordenanzas of 1620 expressly state that:

a cuya causa los padres no les podían bien doctrinar y se an muerto indios sin confesion y baptismo, y para que en adelante tan graves daños se remediasen, y cesasen estos y otros inconvenientes mandé hacer dichos diez y siete pueblos de indios con doctrina entera para que ellos fuesen doctrinados y sacrementados.

ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 2, Ordenanzas que hiciera el Oidor Vásquez de Cisneros, 1620, fols., 759–838.

3 Mérida's development of artisan industries from the sixteenth century is of significance. Its production of hats and carpets was sold over an extensive area of northern South America. See Edda O. Samudio A., El trabajo artesanal en el período colonial, *Frontera* 2 (1980) 24–38; and José R. Febres Cordero, Industrias antiguas, *Boletín del Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Mérida* 3 (1945) 5.

4 Amongst others one might cite: Eduardo Arcila Farías, *Economía colonial de Venezuela* (2 vols., Caracas, 1973); and his *El régimen de la encomienda en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1966); Antonio Orellano Moreno, *Orígenes de la economía colonial* (Caracas, 1973); Federico Brito Figueroa, *La estructura económica de Venezuela colonial* (Caracas, 1963), and his: *La formación del oriente venezolano* (Caracas, 1966); Guillermo Morón, *Los orígenes históricos de Venezuela* (Madrid, 1954). Regarding mission settlements in colonial Venezuela there are a number of studies: Buenaventura de Carocera, *Misión de los Capuchinos en Cumaná* (2 vols., Caracas, 1968); and his: *Misión de los Capuchinos en Guayana* (3 vols., Caracas, 1979); Fernando Campo de Pozo, *Historia documentada de los Augustinos en Venezuela durante la época colonial* (Caracas, 1968); Manuel Acereda La Finde, *Historia de Aragua de Barcelona del Estado de Anzoátegui y de la Nueva Andalucía* (Caracas, 1959). Also very useful is John V. Lombardi, *People and places in colonial Venezuela* (Bloomington, 1976).

5 Amongst the most important is the series of analyses prepared by Marco Aurelio Vila. These cover all the Venezuelan states and were published between 1950 and 1966. See for example M. A. Vila, *Aspectos geográficos de Trujillo* (Caracas, 1966). Of key importance is Pablo Vila, *Geografía de Venezuela* (2 vols., Caracas, 1960–1965). For the Andean area there is Irma Guillén, *Bases históricas del poblamiento de los Andes venezolanos* (Merida, 1978).

6 It is clear from my own researches that this is probably due to the fact that Mérida, while forming part of the present state of Venezuela, was still firmly under the control of New Granada until 1777, and even afterwards still maintained important ties with the west, rather than with Caracas.

7 From the sixteenth century the Mérida residents expanded their economic activities towards the Barinas-Pedraza zone. There they established tobacco plantations and cattle ranches which required slave labor as well as Indian tribute labor. While Mérida is in the highlands, it should be noted that its major products in order of significance were: tobacco, cacao, wheat, and sugar-cane. See Edda O. Samudio A., *Comportamiento socio-económico de Mérida en el siglo XVII* (Mérida, 1987).

8 In those decades Mérida was the seat of the Corregimiento de Mérida del Espíritu Santo de la Grita. During this period the Jesuit College (1628) and the Convents of Santa Clara (1651) and San Francisco (1657) were founded in the city.

9 The factors of this crisis are described in Edda O. Samudio A., *Las haciendas del colegio franciscano Javier de la Compañía de Jesús en Mérida, 1628–1767* (Caracas, 1987).

10 For details of these surveys see: Visita del Oidor don Alonso Vásquez de Cisneros, ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 2, "Ordenanzas que hiciera el Oidor ... " Mérida, 1620, fols. 759–838; vol. 4, Documentos sobre lo proveido respecto de la

administración eclesiástica por el Oidor Alonso Vásquez de Cisneros. Mérida, 1619, fols. 1–513; vol. 6, Visita del Oidor a la encomienda de Mucunoc de Antonio de Gaviria. Mérida, 1619, fols. 1–143; vol. 7, Visita a la encomienda de las Piedras y a las parcialidades indígenas del Valle de la Sal y otras de la jurisdicción de Mérida. 1619, fols. 1–277; vol. 15, Informacion de la visita de Alonso Vásquez a las parcialidades de Mocochopo, Mocobás y Barbudos. 1619, fols. 383–481.

11 The details of the survey and census of 1655–1657 come from: ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 1, Informaciones tomadas judicialmente, por el Oidor Juan Modesto de Meler en Mérida y parcialidades indígenas de su jurisdicción respecto de la administración civil y religiosa de ellas. Mérida, 1655, fols. 1–412; and in the same volume, Investigaciones hechas en el Valle de Chama por comisión del Oidor Juan Modesto de Meler para practicar la visita a esa población e información de la administración civil y religiosa. Mérida, 1655, fols. 794–952; vol. 2, Información de la visita del Oidor a las parcialidades de Tabay, Mucurubá y Acarigua del vicindario de Mérida. Mérida, 1655, fols. 400–1021; vol. 3, Visita practicada en Mucurubá y parcialidades indígenas anexas del partido de Mérida por el Oidor Juan Modesto de Meler. Año 1655, fols. 1–452; vol. 8, Visita del Oidor a la encomienda indígena de Pedro de Gaviria Navarra en los ejidos de Mérida. Año de 1655, fols. 645–769; vol. 9, Información de la visita sobre el pueblo de Santa Lucía de los Timotes. 1655, fols. 499–722; vol. 15, Información de la visita del Oidor Juan Modesto de Meler a las parcialidades de Lagunillas y sus agregados. Año 1655, fols. 1–389.

12 This is a source material that has been under-used in analyses of colonial Spanish America. The data used in this study were derived from a careful reading of all notarial documents in twenty-eight volumes of the AHM, Protocolos, vols. 8–35.

13 The powers thus granted permit one to analyze some attempts to recapture Indians who had fled encomienda settlements in other parts of the province and beyond. Examples are: AHM, Protocolos, vol. 5, Poder otorgado por Sebastián Lazón de la Vega para solicitar indios de sus encomiendas. Mérida, 27 August 1618, fol. 358; and Poder que otorga Diego de Ruicado para que los indios de su encomienda que se encuentren fuera de su pueblo y encomienda en todo el Nuevo Reino de Granada y fuera de él, sean regresados a su lugar de origen. Mérida, 3 January 1631, fol. 228.

14 It is of interest to note that the documentation that deals with the visita of the Corregidor of Tunja, Beltrán de Guevara, to Mérida in 1602, suggests that the first attempts to modify the spatial arrangement of the pueblos of Indians commended to encomenderos, stemmed from his orders, and that in 1602 he tried to group villagers around a community church that he had established at the site of another encomienda. However, at the date of the Vásquez de Cisneros survey two decades later, no such modifications were apparent. See ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 9, Visita que hizo el Capitán Antonio Beltrán de Guevara, Corregidor y Justicia Mayor de Tunja a Mérida. 1602, fols. 340–596.

15 These are notarized contracts in which are set out the conditions of the individual who is to be hired, the payment to be made, the duration of the contract, and other obligations of both parties. See the discussion in Alvaro Jara, Importaciones de trabajadores indígenas en el siglo XVII, *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 124 (1958) 32–45. Also Edda O. Samudio, El régimen contractual en la ciudad de

Mérida: conciertos y asientos de trabajo urbano, 1604–1621, in Edda O. Samudio A. (ed.), *Sumario sobre el trabajo colonial* (Caracas, 1984) 32–58.

16 It is important to note that as well as Indians all other ethnic groups participated in the process of labor contracting. Here only Indians' contracts are included.

17 See Maximina Monasterios, *Poblamiento humano y uso de la tierra en los Andes venezolanos. Estudios ecológicos en los páramos andinos* (Mérida, 1980) 176–180.

18 This is a suggestion of Maximina Monasterios about which several investigations are at present underway.

19 Erika Wagner, Prehistoria de los Andes venezolanos, *Acta Científica Venezolana* 23 (1972) 181–184; and also her: Los Andes venezolanos: arqueología y ecología cultural, *Ibero Amerikanische Archiv* 4 (1976) 81–91.

20 Monasterios, *Poblamiento*, 179–180.

21 When Rodríguez Suárez, founder of Mérida in 1558, distributed the Indians, he did so using basically valley settlement and population systems. Thus there were encomiendas of the Valle de San Miguel (Río Chama), Valle de Nuestra Señora (Río de Nuestra Señora), Valle de las Turmas (also Río Chama), etc.

22 The detailed records of the *pósito* (public granary) of Mérida allow one to estimate the significance of the outlying villages to urban demand. When, in 1680, the city was undergoing a severe crisis, most of the wheat was delivered by residents from their haciendas around the Indian villages. See as a sample: AHM, Protocolos, vol. 32, Escritura de obligación de Juan Fernández de Rojas con el Pósito. Mérida, 2 July 1680, fol. 110. A useful study is Ana Elisa de Briceño, El pósito de Mérida: siglo XVII. Unpublished history thesis (Universidad de los Andes, 1981).

23 In spite of the use of beasts of burden the Indians were not totally exempt from serving as carriers. The Indian also soon demonstrated his grasp of both muleteering and the geography of the colonial trails, thus rendering a key service to the regional economy.

24 This settlement was established early in the sixteenth century in the extreme lower limits of the *ejido* of the city at an altitude of some 1,170 m. It was long characterized by its ethnic heterogeneity and its sugar production.

25 The *resguardos* were instituted and organized for the *pueblos de indios* of Mérida in 1594, from the seventy-nine pueblos that then existed in its jurisdiction. By 1620 the remaining population could be grouped into no more than fifteen "pueblos nuevos," these constituting what was thought to be a model of rural spatial organization.

26 The ranks of forasteros were much more extensive when one includes the many mestizos, blancos and pardos that were listed in the census returns. Here only Indians are considered.

27 This settlement form was an attempt to minimize friction amongst the different groups. The cacique of each group was given an allotment of land abutting the plaza. For comparative details see Juan A. and Judith E. Villamarin, Chibcha settlement under Spanish rule, in David J. Robinson (ed.), *Social fabric and spatial structure in colonial Latin America* (Ann Arbor, 1979) 85–116.

28 See Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, La población indígena de Colombia en el momento de la conquista y sus transformaciones posteriores, *Anuario Colombiano de Historia y de la Cultura* 2 (1964) 239–293.

29 Mérida was founded on 9 October 1558 by Juan Rodríguez Suárez who led an

expedition from Pamplona, for which reason it was to form an integral part of New Granada. Later it was incorporated within the corregimiento of Tunja until 1607 when the corregimiento of Mérida del Espíritu Santo de la Grita was established. By royal edict of 1622, the Province of Mérida was established (with the same limits), and by another royal edict, dated 1678, having lost the benefits of a capital city region, it was made part of the province of Maracaibo. That province was eventually annexed to the Captaincy General of Venezuela in 1777.

30 Another similar case was that of the deep hatred between the Indians of the encomiendas of Aracay and Pueblo Llano, added to the settlement of Santo Domingo. See ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 10, Información sobre la visita del Oidor Diego de Baños y Sotomayor al pueblo de Santo Domingo. 1657, fols. 723–892.

31 In the Ordenanzas of 1620 it was established that the Indians of the pueblos of Tabay, Mucurubá, Mucuchíes and the other settlements of the Acequias should work in the estancias of the Río Albarregas; similarly the Indians of Lagunillas and Jají should work the estancias of Ejido since the climate was warm and moist, very similar to their native settlements. See ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 2, 1620, fols. 803–804.

32 The same Ordenanzas noted that the land was very fertile and abundant in maize and other products with which the city could be supplied. *Ibid.* fols. 803–804.

33 Another settlement that was transferred was that of Mucubache de Acequias, whose inhabitants, with official blessing, moved to the place called Campú, on the slopes of El Morro, a site close by the Río de Nuestra Señora. ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 2, Información sobre la visita del Oidor Juan Modesto de Meler. 1655, fols. 340–380.

34 Edda O. Samudio A., Los pueblos de Indios en Mérida colonial, paper presented at the First National Meeting of Humanistic and Educational Investigations (Caracas, 1986) 6.

35 Edda O. Samudio A., Informe sobre la fundación de San Miguel de Jají, paper presented to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Mérida, September, 1986.

36 It should be pointed out that in the pueblos de indios there were also registered *indios ordinarios* of the city of Mérida.

37 Ordenanza 36 ordered that Indians must remain in their settlements for any move was prohibited, and in the case of any infractions the culprits should be returned to their settlements and any officials involved in the illegal process would be sanctioned before the law. However, once an Indian had been working more than ten years in such a place, or had married and settled down, they were protected from any such forced removal. ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 2, 1620, fol. 819.

38 Trujillo formed part of the axis of penetration to the west extending via Coro and El Tocuyo to the Andean region. See Manuel Pérez Vila, *Ciudades cuatricentenarias* (Caracas, 1976).

39 Regarding the Indians who were contracted in the city of Mérida, it should be remembered that some of them may have been *mitayos*. The urban *mita* required the regular migration of tribute-paying Indians in work parties to the city to perform a variety of tasks.

40 ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 2, Ordenanzas del Visitador Oidor Alonso Vásquez de Cisneros. 1620, fol. 398v.

41 See, for example, John Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima, 1975) 59–116.

42 The Ordenanzas also stipulated that no Indian was to be prevented from contracting marriage with anybody from another encomienda, or of any other racial group. ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 2, fols. 800–838.

43 ANC, Visitas de Venezuela, vol. 10, Información sobre la visita del Oidor Diego de Baños y Sotomayor a la población de Santo Domingo. 1657, fols. 723–892.

15 Indian migrations in the Audiencia of Quito: Crown manipulation and local co-optation

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1 See the various studies of Nicolás Sánchez-Albornóz: Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú (Lima, 1978); Mita, migraciones y pueblos. Variaciones en el espacio y en el tiempo, *Revista Boliviana* 3 (1983) 31–59; Migración rural en los Andes: Sipesipe (Cochabamba), 1645, *Revista de Historia Económica* 1 (1983) 13–36; Migración urbana y el trabajo. Los indios de Arequipa, 1571–1645, in *De Historia a historiadores: Homenaje a José Luis Romero* (Mexico, 1982) 259–281; Migraciones internas en el Alto Perú: El saldo acumulado en 1645, *Historia Boliviana* 1 (1982) 11–19. Thierry Saignes, Ayllus, mercado y coacción colonial: el reto de las migraciones internas en Charcas, siglo XVII, unpublished paper; Las etnías de Charcas frente al sistema colonial (siglo XVII). Ausentismo y fugas en el debate sobre la mano de obra indígena, 1595–1665, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 21 (1984) 27–75. Brian Evans, in this volume. Ann Zulawski, Migration and labor in seventeenth-century Alto Perú. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Columbia University, 1985). Ann Wightman, From caste to class in the Andean sierra. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Yale University, 1983). N. David Cook, Patterns of native American migration in the Viceroyalty of Peru: mitayos, mingas, and forasteros. Unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Charleston, 1986. Rolando Mellafe, The importance of migration in the Viceroyalty of Peru, in Paul Depréz (ed.), *Population and economics* (Winnipeg, 1979) 303–313. David J. Robinson (ed.), *Studies in Spanish American population history* (Boulder, CO. 1981). Julio Estrada Ycaza, Migraciones internas en el Ecuador, *Revista del Archivo Histórico de Guayas* (1977) 5–26.

2 "Marginal Spaniards" in the sense that they were marginal to the state labor distribution system; that is, Spaniards who were not recipients of *mitayo* labor.

3 Sánchez-Albornóz, *Indios y tributos*, 9.

4 Frank Loewen Salomon, *Los señores étnicos de Quito en la época de los incas* (Otovalo, 1980) 188–190.

5 Alberto Landázuri Soto, *El régimen laboral indígena en la Real Audiencia de Quito* (Madrid, 1957) 44–45.

6 Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Quito 10, Doc. 55, Carta del Presidente Antonio de Morga a su Magestad, 15 April 1620.

7 Representative examples for this period would be the enumerations of the towns of Mulahalo, Chambo and Patate. In the town of Mulahalo (Corregimiento of Latacunga), 148 of the 253 *tributarios* (58 percent) were absent from the community in 1706; in Chambo (Riobamba), there were 163 absent tributarios out of 326 (50 percent) in 1695; in Patate (Latacunga) there were 139 absentees out of 251 (55 percent), and when Indians living on nearby haciendas and obrajes were added, 240 of the 251 (95 percent) of the town were living outside of the community in 1685. Archivo de la Orden de San Francisco (hereafter ASF/Q), 8–22, Padroncillo ... del pueblos de Mulahalo ... de los tercios de 1708; Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito (hereafter ANH/Q), Tributos, Caja 4, Padroncillo del pueblo de Chambo, 1698; ANH/Q, Tributos, Caja 4, Padroncillo de los indios tributarios del pueblo de Patate, 1685.

8 Robson Tyrer, The demographic and economic history of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian population and the textile industry, 1600–1800. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of California, 1976). Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, Obrajes y obrajeros del Quito colonial: cuestiones y cálculos, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 37 (1983) 235–277. Suzanne Austin Browne, The effects of epidemic disease in colonial Ecuador. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Duke University, 1984).

9 AGI, Quito 28, Memorial de los agravios y molestias que el cacique y sus indios reciben de un español llamado Gabriel de Villafuerte que está dentro del pueblo de Puxilí donde ha fundado un obraje, 1614.

10 Documentation on administrative efforts to expose and aggregate stray Indians in Quito is quite abundant. Some especially representative sources are as follows. The round-up of vagamundos and their aggregation into artificial ayllus and attachment to the Crown is described in AGI, Quito 8, Cap. 25, Carta del Presidente Santillán al Rey, 15 January 1564; AGI, Quito 8, doc., 29, Carta de la Audiencia de Quito a su Magestad, 22 January 1578; Salomon, Los señores, 239. The composition of *parcialidades de vagamundos de la Real Corona* got underway in the 1560s, but did not appear in the records as bona fide tribute-paying entities until 1593. See ANH/Q, Real Hacienda, Caja 3, Libro de la Real Hacienda deste año de 1593 de la Cuenta del Contador Francisco de Cáceres, fol. 57; AGI, Contaduría 1536, doc. 26, Cuentas tomadas por el Contador Pedro de Zorrilla a los oficiales reales, 1594, fols. 30–31. ANH/Q, Cacicazgos, vol. 7, Autos de Agustín Lema contra José Chapla y Lema sobre el cacicazgo de la parcialidad de Suichi, Pueblo de Guarno, 1666; this document states that during the visita of Matís de Peralta in 1620, an Indian who reported four "unvisited" tributarios would be exempt from tribute obligations for life.

11 All available *cartas cuentas* for the seventeenth century record a tribute rate of between 2 and 3 pesos a year for Crown Indians. These documents are scattered throughout the Presidencia de Quito, Tributos and Indígenas series in the ANH/Q. Some typical examples are: Indígenas, Caja 4, Tasa de los indios vagamundos de Tumbaco, 1643 (3 pesos); Indígenas, Caja 10, Carta Cuenta de los indios vagamundos de la Real Corona del pueblo de Yaruqui, 1669–72 (2 pesos). Tyrer reports that the tribute rates of encomienda Indians varied greatly according to region and economic possibilities, but usually ranged between 5 and 9 pesos a year

from the 1620s to the end of the colony. See Tyrer, Demographic and economic history, 130.

12 AGI, Quito 9, doc. 132, fol. 818, Carta del Licienciado Diego Zorrilla a su Magestad, 20 April 1613.

13 The terms vagamundos and forasteros were used interchangeably in Quito documentation.

14 AGI, Quito 8, doc. 1, Carta del Presidente Santillán al Rey, 1564.

15 AGI, Lima 43, no. 2, Cédula real sobre la edad de tributar y el problema de asentar indios de encomienda en las parcialidades de la Real Corona como forasteros en perjuicio de los encomenderos en Quito, 23 March 1626.

16 AGI, Quito 10, doc. 31, fol. 160v., Carta del Presidente Antonio de Morga a su Magestad, 20 April 1618; AGI, Lima 44, no. 9, fols. 86–94, Parecer de la Audiencia de Quito sobre la reducción general de indios, 1 April 1631. I would like to thank Efraín Trelles who brought this document to my attention while working in Seville.

17 Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (hereafter BN/M), no. 3.069/30, fols. 76–82, Relación que hizo de su gobierno el duque de la Palata . . . Virrey del Perú . . . al Conde de Moncloa, su sucesor, 18 December 1689.

18 ANH/Q, Indígenas, Caja 9, 12-I-1666, Petición de los forasteros de la Real Corona de Cuenca sobre la mita, 1666.

19 ANH/Q, Indígenas, Caja 19 28-VII-1692, Juicio de don Fulgencio Santi, cacique principal del pueblo de Chapacoto (Chimbo) de los indios arrieros forasteros y camayos contra Doctor Juan González de Ortega, presbítero y los vecinos hacendados del dicho asiento de Chimbo, 1692.

20 AGI, Lima 44, no. 9, fols. 86–94.

21 AGI, Quito 74, El fiscal, Antonio de Ron, sobre fraudes de tributos en la provincia de Quito, 15 July 1694.

22 ANH/Q, Indígenas, Caja 9, 22-III-1666, Pleito de Pablo Gordillo y consortes, indios naturales del pueblo de San Pedro Sicchay, jurisdicción de la ciudad de Cuenca con el Capitán don Urban de Aredondo, 1666.

23 AGI, Quito 8, doc. 10, fol. 102v., Instrucción que se le dió al Licenciado Francisco de Cárdenas para el modo de hacer la visita de los repartimientos de términos [de Quito], 1570.

24 ANH/Q, Cacicazgos, Caja 14, Don Francisco de Anasca sobre el cacicazgo de la Real Corona de Ambato, 1806.

25 ANH/Q, Cacicazgos, Caja 3, 1-VIII-1656, Don Guillermo García Hatim cacique principal del pueblo de San Miguel y Don Luis de Figueroa sobre el gobierno de los indios vagamundos de la Real Corona de Latacunga; ANH/Q, Cacicazgos, Caja 4, Probanza de Doña Lucía Hati Pussana contra Guillermo García Hati, fol. 81v., San Miguel, 1687.

26 AGI, Lima 44, no. 9, fols. 86–94.

27 There are numerous documents in both Quito and Seville which refer to this wage differential. Two are: ANH/Q, Obrajes, Caja 8, no. 2, which reports that the carders of the mita made only 18 pesos per year, while contracted carders earned 36 pesos; ANH/Q, Indígenas, Caja 171, 29-VII-1595, describes "free" carpenters in the city of Quito as earning 2 pesos a day, while those in the mita earned 2 pesos a month. This may be an exaggeration, but nevertheless makes a point.

28 Both Thierry Saignes and Ann Zulawski have suggested this for their Bolivian data.

29 A *buscador* was a type of bounty-hunter who searched the Audiencia for absent Indians for the ostensible purpose of returning them to their communities of origin. In the second half of the sixteenth century, buscadores were usually favored over Indian caciques and prominent Spaniards who were officially appointed by the authorities of the Audiencia. Two examples would be don Pedro Zambiza, a cacique, who in 1587 received a commission for the Audiencia of Quito to search for sixteen Indians of the town of Quinche who had fled to the city of Quito, and don Alonso de Peñafiel, a Spaniard, who in 1569 was appointed to round up Indians from the province of Quijos who were resident in the Corregimiento of Quito. AGI, Quito 26, Probanza de don Pedro Zambiza, indio principal y señor del pueblo de Zambiza en la Provincia de Quito, fols., 24v–29, 1600; BN/M, Ns. 3044, Memorial tocante a cosas de la gobernación de los Quijos, fol. 478, *c.* 1569–1570. During the seventeenth century, the buscadores were the agents of caciques and corregidores as well as self-appointed thugs all of whom engaged more frequently in blackmailing Indian migrants for financial gain than in their repatriation: AGI, Quito 33, Carta de los caciques de Quito sobre agravios, 1 September 1677; AGI, Quito 72, Autos de la Visita hecha a dicha Audiencia por don Mateo de Mata Ponce de León, fol. 186v, 1679–1697.

30 AGI, Quito 74, Sobre fraudes de tributos en la provincia de Quito.

31 AGI, Quito 33, Carta de los caciques de Quito sobre agravios, 1 September 1677.

32 The act of "composing" or "composición" was a legal procedure through which illegally acquired economic resources such as land or, in this case, unlicensed textile factories, were regularized by payment of a fee to the Crown. Since the economy of the Audiencia of Quito was largely based on the textile industry, the "composición" of illegal obrajes was commonplace throughout the seventeenth century.

33 AGI, Quito 69, Documentos respectivos a la visita hecha por don Fernando Ruíz de Valasco en los obrajes de la provincia de Quito, 1676–1704.

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