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The Möbius Strip

A Spatial History of a Colonial Society: Central Guerrero, Mexico, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
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Abstract

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A Spatial History of a Colonial Society:

Central Guerrero, Mexico, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

Jonathan David Amith

2000

This thesis explores the political economy of space in central Guerrero (jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla) during the colonial period. Spatial politics comprehends the complex interaction of structure and process, of institutional domination and individual agency; it is a sphere of contention affecting all levels of society, from individuals and their households to the nation-state and its mechanisms for control and coercion. Moreover, colonialization involves a determined effort by an invading society to redefine politico-administrative units, redirect commodity flows, and foster new patterns of allegiance to communities, regions, and country. Colonization, therefore, entails both the conquest of physical space and the ability to set terms according to which space is defined, including the legal basis of boundaries, the geographical ascription of rights and duties, and the rules and regulations involving the mobility of colonial subjects. For these reasons this dissertation addresses issues important to social theory and to understanding the transformation of non-Western societies.

The complexity of the diachronic transformation of space in central Guerrero is illustrated through an analysis of land tenure, migration, and commercial exchange, three salient

and contested aspects of hispanic conquest. The struggle over land emerged at a time of intense debate over the moral obligations of landowners to make land productive and over the rights to dominion of infidel societies. Colonial migration involved spatial processes significant to social theory, particularly *place making* and *place breaking*: the patterns of identity that crystallize and dissolve as individuals move beyond community boundaries. Trade—from capitalized commerce to itinerant peddling—created complex patterns of socioeconomic relations instrumental in restructuring the colonial landscape. All these issues are explored in their empirical and theoretical dimensions.

Finally, as one transformational process dovetailed into another, the colonization of space continually produced counter-trends. This constant formation of new geographies of power (from communities to exchange systems) is another theme of this dissertation, which concludes with a study of grain markets and provisioning, and the tension that resulted when a rural elite countered the centralizing forces of urban capital and consumer demand in the mining center of Taxco.

To my parents, Avraham and Marcia Amith,
who can now finally stop holding their breath

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Acknowledgments

As I explain in the preface below, this project began as an ethnographic venture, an effort to explore the changing dynamics of intervillage relations among Nahuatl-speaking communities in the Balsas River basin of the state of Guerrero, Mexico. During fieldwork I lived in two communities for almost five years: just under three and a half years in Ameyaltepec and close to one and a half years in San Agustín Oapan. For obvious reasons, it is a commonplace of anthropological work to feel an immense amount of gratitude to the people who are so welcoming in their demeanor and so giving with their knowledge, for to a degree that is rare in other disciplines, ethnographers owe much of their careers to individuals and communities whose very names, in fact, are often intentionally changed by academic authors in the final public statements—articles, books, and presentations—that are the permanent and often sterile reminders of what was a rich and rewarding field experience. Here I would like to thank the residents of Ameyaltepec and Oapan (unfortunately still nameless in their collective identity) for their hospitality and acceptance. However, certain individuals were particularly significant to me. In Ameyaltepec Gregorio Jiménez and the late Juan Celedoñio lent me their houses; Victórico Jiménez did the same in San Agustín Oapan. The warm friendship of my neighbors in Ameyaltepec (Costa and Marcelo Venancio, and the late Gabriel de la Cruz) and in Oapan (Florencia Marcelino and Inocencio Jiménez) made my stay a pleasure and made me feel more a part of a community and family than I could have ever hoped. My ability to understand Nahuatl is a direct result of the patience and care of dozens of people, many of whom appear in my fieldnotes in comments next to particular words, which record the detail with which they explained meaning and use. A few teachers stand out: in Ameyaltepec, Pánfilo Lorenzo, don Luis

Lucena, Gabriel de la Cruz (all deceased), Cristino Flores, and don Juan de la Rosa; in Oapan, Florencia Marcelino.

My understanding of the history of the Balsas River basin was gained through innumerable conversations with village elders. Many individuals showed me their family papers and titles, and village authorities in Ameyaltepec, Oapan, Ahuelicán, Xalitla, Ahuehuepan, San Miguel Tecuiciapan, San Francisco Ozomatlán, and San Juan Totolcintla permitted me access to various types of village archives. My particular thanks those of Tecuiciapan, who let me study their communal titles even though at the time I was living in San Agustín Oapan, a village with which they have had an interminable (and still ongoing) conflict dating to the early eighteenth century *composiciones*. My appreciation and interest in the history of the region began in these communities. It motivated my continued search into the colonial and nineteenth-century archives for what is the modern state of Guerrero.

In Chilpancingo the authorities and workers in the Delegación de la Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria, the Registro Público de la Propiedad, and the Archivo Histórico del Estado were incredibly helpful, often permitting me to freely photocopy material for my research. Sr. Minutti, then *subdelegado* of the state agrarian reform office, was particularly kind and sensitive to the needs of historical research and at times lent me his office so that I could peruse what were the still unprocessed *títulos primordiales* of several indigenous villages in central Guerrero. In Mexico City the archivists of the federal office of the Reforma Agraria (when it was still located on Fray Servando and Simón Bolívar) were kind enough to permit me to stay well into the late evening as well as to photocopy much material that I was later able to examine at my leisure in Mexico and the United States.

Much of the above material, however, pertains to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, periods of time that remain outside the scope of the present thesis. For the colonial period the

main source of my material was the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. I would like to thank the directorship and staff for their efforts in making this archive so user-friendly—from the efficiency of their photocopying services to their continual efforts to index the massive documentation housed in the *galerías*. My particular thanks to Roberto Beristain, whose knowledge of the historical archives of Mexico is a resource he gladly shares with all researchers.

Many individual scholars shared their materials and knowledge with me. Sonia Lipsett and I together put together a guide to the then unindexed volumes of the Ramo Indios; Dori Burnham, Peter Guardino, and I sorted and indexed uncatalogued *alcabala* ledgers from the state of Guerrero (Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Juan Carlos Grosso had previously separated out the documentation dealing with these *alcabalatorios*). My research assistant at the Universidad de Guadalajara, Carlos René de León, was indefatigable and extremely conscientious in putting much of the material from the ledgers into an electronic database. It was a pleasure to work with him for two years, and the data and analysis presented in chapters 8 and 9 owe much to his efforts. Juan Manuel Pérez Zavallos was kind enough to give me a copy of his transcription of an early document dealing with the Taxco region in AGN-Tierras, vol. 18; and Danièle Dehouve sent me a photocopy of the Ovando reports in AGI-México Indiferente 107(1) fols. 104 ff. Finally, Norma Vargas has provided an excellent artistic rendition of a ca. 1690 map (map 5f) from AGN-Tierras, vol. 3514, exp. 1.

A significant section of this thesis comprises eight appendixes, covering pages 930 to 1255. Included are tables and indexes of primary data that I have altered for presentation here, in the hope that some of the information will be of use to future researchers and students of colonial Guerrero, particularly scholars from this state, or from other areas of Mexico, who wish to access primary material on the history of their state or country. Included are summary accounts of political relations among indigenous villages, demographic trends, indigenous and non-

indigenous landholdings (*composiciones* and *mercedes* in particular), tables of colonial officials of the three jurisdictions (Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla) that are at the center of this thesis, and additional documentation on particular facets of the colonial history of central Guerrero (from a copy of the original 1782 donation by Dr. D. Manuel de la Borda of a vast hacienda in the Iguala Valley to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, to an account of the final division of this estate in 1892 by order of the Supreme Court of Mexico). I have added this material for several reasons. First, in conducting research for a doctoral dissertation only a small fraction of the documentation consulted and knowledge gained ever makes it into articles and books; it is my belief that once having completed research and writing, scholars should make as much of this unused or summarized material available to others who might find it helpful. Second, by depositing this thesis in the libraries of Mexican research institutions and including a documentary appendix, in some way this thesis might be able to contribute to future research and thus aid in the study of a state, region, and country to which I feel fondly attached.

At Yale University I was fortunate enough to be part of an anthropology department that has been supportive far beyond the call of duty—from financing my original foray into the field to learn Nahuatl (at a time, between my first and second years of graduate school, when few departments would permit and support a full year of language study in the field), to keeping me "on the books" long enough so that the few times I called up the graduate school before submitting my thesis an administrator would have to apologize for the "mistaken computer record of the date of my original enrollment." If the "sink or swim" metaphor can be used for the graduate experience, I undoubtedly treaded water and did the doggy paddle for a few too many years (thinking perhaps that the water was deeper and the shore further away than was actually the case). The length and depth (or perhaps thickness) of the present thesis should not, however, be thought of as weighted retribution to those who did not toss me an opportune life preserver,

but rather the result of the faith the department has traditionally shown in their students, who once accepted are allowed to pursue their own academic interests and personal goals (though this may lead to other projects besides the thesis itself) without the "hands-on" control that sometimes occurs.

Within the department of anthropology at Yale and the history department at the University of California, San Diego, four professors have offered me encouragement and a challenging intellectual environment that have been instrumental in my academic formation. Enrique Mayer joined the faculty at Yale about the time that I returned to the United States in 1994. His work in political economy, peasant society, and Latin American ethnohistory has been a helpful reminder of the importance of the basic issues of history, economics, and politics in shaping the present situation of Latin American rural society. And his friendship and support made my experience in New Haven much more enjoyable. Eric Van Young has provided the clearest model for my work, and readers will undoubtedly recognize my concern with "spatial history" as a reflection of the pathbreaking legacy of his work over the past two decades. In certain fields it is suggested that one select and focus on a target audience. Throughout my research and writing I have always had in mind directing my work and trying to approach the research standards, theoretical sophistication, and literary craftsmanship that Eric has established in the field of colonial history. At Yale, William Kelly and Harold Scheffler were among my first professors, and are among the few who remain on the faculty. My appreciation for their efforts goes far beyond a recognition of their patience and gratefulness for their longevity. When after over a decade in Mexico I returned to New Haven in 1995 and timidly tendered him a chapter to comment, Bill's offer to be a reader and to guide me through the final stages of thesis writing were key to reintegrating me into the fold. His breadth of knowledge, clarity of thought and exposition, and warm and professional attitude toward others have been an inspiration since I first

met him. His ability to isolate the core of any theoretical problem and perceive the flaws in any improvident argument have been both immensely helpful and, more importantly, a challenge to aspire to his own high standards of scholarship. Finally, Hal Scheffler is the professor most responsible for me having finished this thesis. Throughout the years he has been supportive of my work in linguistics, anthropology, and history—efforts at interdisciplinary research that other less tolerant advisors would have dismissed as wayward wanderings too far off the beaten career track. It is perhaps a bit of an oxymoron to hand in a 928-page thesis while thanking ones advisor for demanding clear, concise arguments and presentation of data. So I won't publicly thank him for this. But Hal's impact can be felt in the short shrift I give to many of the trendy topics that seem to dominate "postmodern" anthropology and cultural studies. I was lucky to have an advisor whose idea of what constitutes anthropology and scholarship did not change with the editorship of the major journals and who's support for his student's is not based on how closely they follow his own research priorities and theoretical interests.

Finally, to my family. This thesis is dedicated to my parents who throughout the years supported me with their love (plus an occasional laptop) and advice ("It's the thesis, stupid!). Words cannot express my appreciation for their understanding and for all else that they have given me. Finally, to Donna Perry, my lovely new wife who over the past two years has provided both the encouragement and distractions needed during the final stretch. We were married as planned on 6 August 2000, a few days after I finished this thesis—an unspoken condition for beginning married life. She has made finishing this dissertation the second-best thing that has happened to me this year. Thank you for putting everything in perspective.

CONVENTIONS

The vast majority of primary documentation in this thesis has been consulted in the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico in Mexico City. The distinct branches (*ramos*) are cited in abbreviated form; a key may be found at the beginning of the bibliography. Within each ramo, the first number of the citation refers to the volume (bound) or, in some cases, *legajo* (loosely tied group of *expedientes*). Following this, in all cases where an *expediente* number exists, I have cited the document according to this. Only when the *expedientes* are not numbered do I cite by folio. Thus AGN-I 76/3 refers to the *ramo* Indios, vol. 76, exp. 3. A citation such as AGN-GP 59/fols. 7f–10f refers to General de Parte, vol. 59, folios 7f–10f. When a date for the document can be given, it is included in the citation. However, many expedientes, particularly in the *ramo* Tierras, cover such an extended period that a parenthetical reference to period is not given. Occasionally neither expedientes nor folios are numbered; in these cases the date of the document is given. Most such material is in General de Parte.

The abbreviation Indif-Alc refers to what I have identified as the ex-Indiferente de Alcabala. This refers to a set of documents that were originally separated from a general corpus by Juan Carlos Grosso and Juan Carlos Garavaglia. Peter Guardino, Dori Burnham, and myself then went through the material for Guerrero and catalogued it, placing it in boxes organized according to *receptoría* and date. The citations for this material (most of which are in chapters 8 and 9, is identified by *receptoría*, *caja*, and *expediente*.

Throughout the dissertation I have referred generally to central Guerrero and, within this area, to north-central and south-central Guerrero. First, even though the state of Guerrero was not formed until 1849, carved out of sections of the states of Oaxaca, Morelos, and Mexico, I have decided that it would be most expedient to refer to the area under study by this state name, even

though anachronistic. Central Guerrero refers generally to the area covered by the colonial jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, Tixtla, and Acapulco. The first two make up what I refer to as north-central Guerrero, and the latter to make up south-central Guerrero (see particularly maps on pp. xi and xii).

When Spanish colonial documents are cited, I have maintained the original orthography; only accents and some punctuation have been added for clarity. There are few Nahuatl words in this disseration. I have used an orthography that indicates vowel length (through a colon) and glottal stop (through an apostrophe following a vowel).

Finally, readers will find a glossary at the end of the dissertation. Here terms that might not be familiar are defined; throughout the dissertation the majority of the most commonly used terms have been placed in roman type to avoid the proliferation of italics.

Preface

History. Say it's anthropology.
Anthropology. Say it's history.

Robert Darnton: "Publishing: A Survival Strategy"

For quite some time I've felt that the anthropological equivalent of the 1945 perfume blurb "Promise her anything, but give her Arpege" was to write a good proposal for faculty approval and then get into the field to find out what you can really deliver when you get back to the tower. In the ad campaign, readers were never presented with a nonplussed sweetheart pleading for the once-promised jewels, just as nowadays we seldom hear of an anthropology grad student returning with notes on the political economy of potato cash-cropping, only to be told by the department that before leaving he or she had promised a treatise entitled "The Culture of Colonization and the Colonization of Culture: Mimetic Magic and Western Medicine in Patacamaya, Bolivia."

But, on the other hand, perhaps *trop c'est trop*. Few anthropologists depart for the field with a proposal to study changing patterns in contemporary intervillage relations and return more than a few years later with a thesis entitled "The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of a Colonial Society: Central Guerrero, Mexico, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries." This brief preface is an attempt to justify this rather radical shift in focus and, some might say, in discipline (pun intended), while at the same time providing the reasoning and intellectual justification for writing an ethnohistorical dissertation when the fieldwork data (gathered over close to five years of research) is rich enough to support a fully ethnographic dissertation.

The most concise explanation is that this thesis began as an effort to answer a very simple question: How have the Balsas River basin communities been able to maintain their Nahua ethnic identity through almost 500 years of colonization? One approach to such a query would have

been to document the society and culture of resistance that has characterized these villages through the past half millennium. However, as anyone researching such processes is bound to find out, such historical acts of refusal are almost impossible to document on the same geographic scale as that upon which contemporary ethnography is based. My initial response to this problem of scale was to shift positions and disciplines, setting out to document and analyze in diachronic perspective the regional context within which these Nahuatl-speaking communities have developed. In a sense this was the beginning of the Möbius strip metaphor that eventually became the title of this dissertation, for the effort to understand modern patterns of ethnic identity can be understood as a continual weave between resistance and exclusion, between the historical legacy of colonialism and the future objectives of ethnic groups within the modern nation-state.

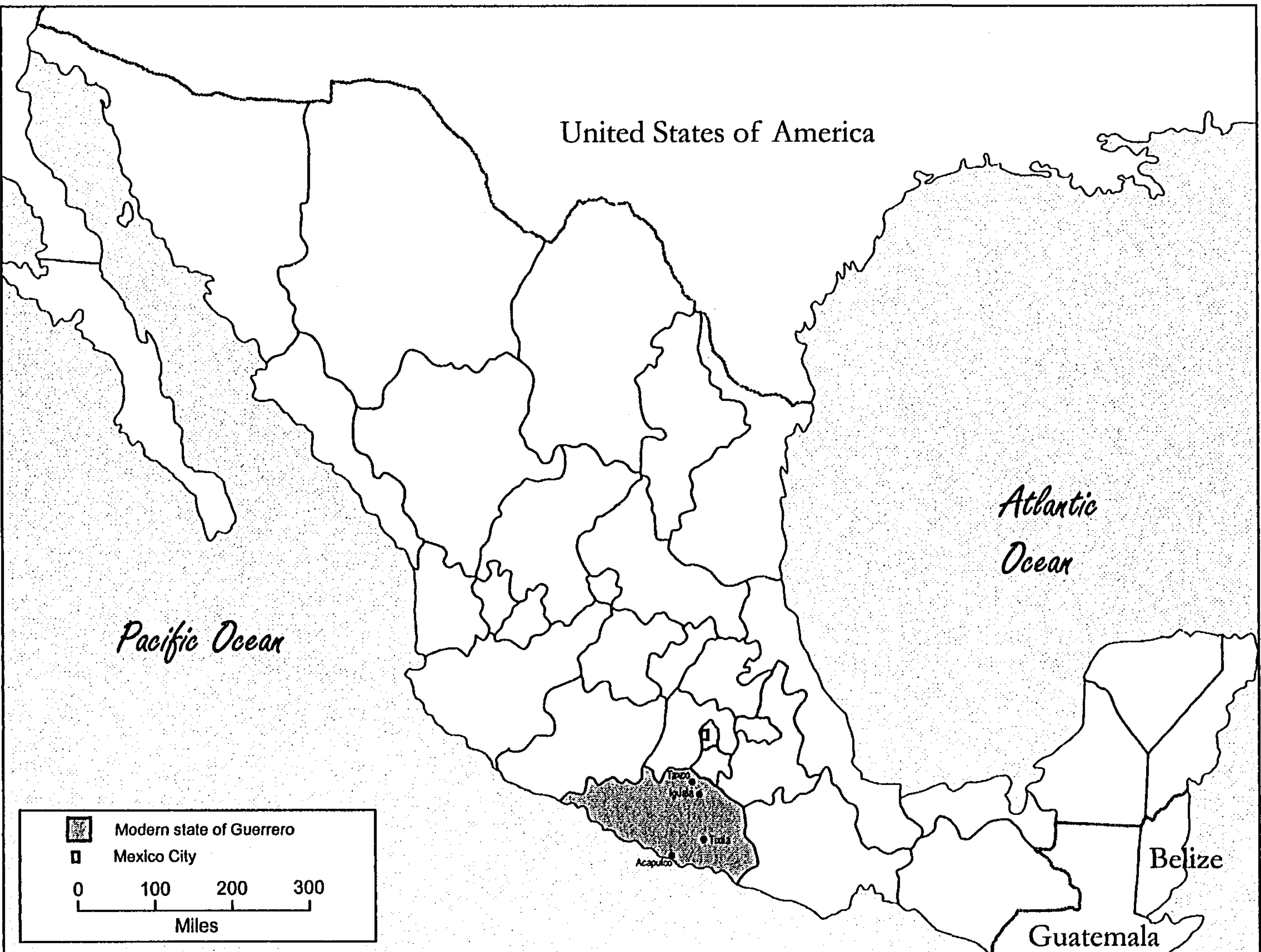
My effort to treat these issues is hardly novel: it is almost pro forma for ethnographies to include introductory chapters on "the physical setting" and "the historical background." What is unusual is the depth of the ethnohistorical investigation. It would, of course, strain credulity to call this dissertation the "historical background" to my ethnographic research but, in a way, that is what it is. Equally absurd, however, would have been the pretension to cover this historical background, or the colonial experience, in a couple of dozen pages, with little archival research and little understanding of the vast literature and pointed debates on the hispanic colonization of the New World. At one point in writing up my research I came to the realization that (because of both the problems of scale and the questions that each academic field and its literature addresses) it would be difficult to combine ethnohistory and ethnography in one book. I opted, in a fairly traditional way, to begin at the beginning: the early conquest period.

Yet although the time period covered by this dissertation lies squarely within the historical domain, the issues it explores and the literature it addresses are much more fully within the realm of social science. I focus on rural and peasant society and attempt to incorporate much

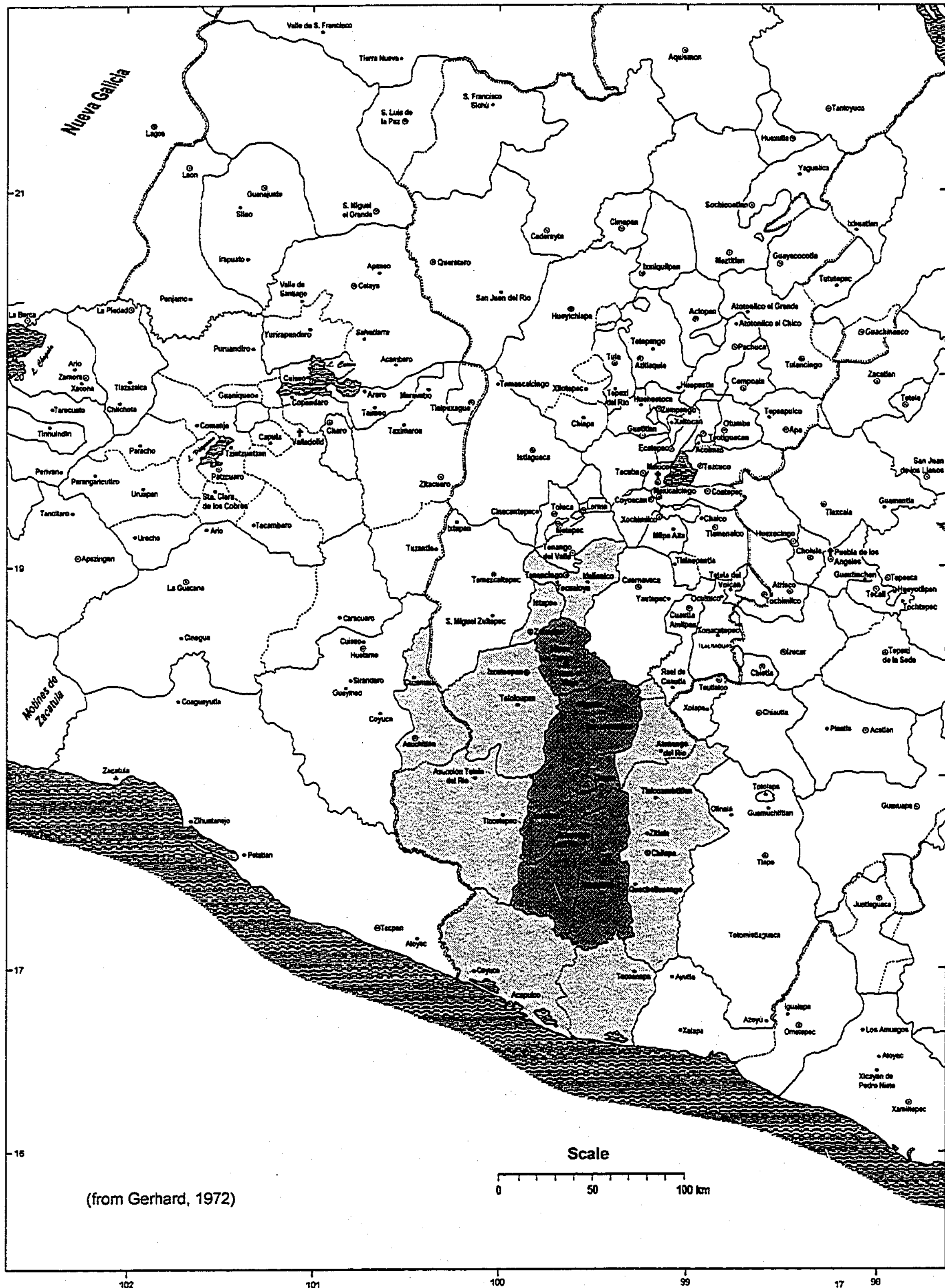
of the concern with space and geography that has become increasingly important in anthropological literature. Other major issues—property rights, migration, and market systems—are topics not unfamiliar to either historians or anthropologists. But the ethnographically informed history that I seek to present goes beyond a concern with the persistence of the past in the present and with the relevance of present practices for interpreting those of yesteryear. Nor does it simply seek to find topics of interest to both disciplines. Rather, I hope I have used my anthropological and ethnographic training to become sensitized to the nuances of rural life and to ask ethnographically informed questions of the past. Some anthropologists might question the temporal framework of this thesis, and some historians might find the discussions of place making and market systems somewhat far afield. Those who do so will undoubtedly feel that they have chosen the right field for themselves. I myself have been not quite so sure, and I have tried as much to merge as to cross disciplines.

Having let the cat out of the bag, it's time to return to Arpege. About the time I started graduate school, interdisciplinary research was in vogue, and certain universities were even offering joint degrees in anthropology and history. No promises were made to me before I started researching this thesis, and no undue expectations for the future were harbored. But I remember having heard that a successful career would begin with a thesis that could be easily converted into a book. Then, shortly after beginning to write my dissertation, I read Robert Darnton's comments given in the epigraph above, and I felt some vindication for having taken a somewhat eclectic path. But nowhere did he offer perhaps the most useful advice: "Keep it short!" *Caveat scriptor et caveat lector.*

Orientation Map: Modern Mexico and the state of Guerrero



Orientation map: Colonial jurisdictions of central New Spain



(from Gerhard, 1972)

Orientation map: The jurisdictions of central Guerrero during the colonial period

(after Gerhard, 1972)

Scale

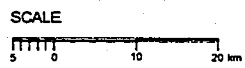
0 50 100 km

Orientation map:
Indigenous villages in the jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, Tixtla, and Chilapa after the congregaciones

Pilcaya
Noxtepec
Cacahuamilpa
Teticpac
Chontalcuatlan
Real y Minas de Taxco
Acuitlapan
Acamixtla
Cacalotenango
Atzala
Tlamacazapa
Tecalpulco
Cozcatlán
Taxco el Viejo
Huistac
Teocalcingo
Tlaxmalac
Iguala
Tuxpan
Huitzuco
Tepecuacuilco
Cocula
Zacango
Mayanalán
Comala
Temalaca
Atenango del Río
Copalillo
Papalutla
Ahuelicán
Tulimán
Mezquitlán
Ameyaltepec
Oapan
Tecuiciapan
Oztutla
Ozomatlán
Mezcala
Oacacingo
Tetelcingo
Ostotipan
Totolcintla
Tlalcozautitlan
Tlaquicingo
Mitlancingo
Xochipala
Tepostlán
Tehuastitlán
Huitziltepec
Apango
Ahuacacingo
Xitopontla
Zitlala
Zumpango del Río
Atliaca
Pochutla
Acatlán
Chilapa
Petatlán
Tixtla
Chilpancingo
Quamecatitlan
Atzacualoya
Palantla
Ayahualulco
Petaquillas
Mochitlán
Ayahualtempa
Quechultenango
Colotlipa
Xocutla
Nancintla
Teozintla
Dos Caminos
Chacalinitla

30'
15'
18°00'
45'
30'
15'

45'
30'
15'
99°00'
45'



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

We want to be taught to feel, not for the heroic artisan or the sentimental peasant, but for the peasant in all his coarse apathy, and the artisan in all his suspicious selfishness.
—George Eliot
"The Natural History of German Life"

THE REALIST AND THE ROMANTIC: SPATIAL STRUCTURES AND SPATIAL PRACTICES IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL WRITING

Literary realism—epitomized in its critique of the quixotic by Eliot's spiny phrase—is associated with ideas not now in vogue. Contemporaries to Eliot saw it as a counterweight to a morally based idealism, in which the author would present "models of irreproachable excellence for readers to imitate."[1] The Realist author, on the other hand, would often distance himself or herself from moral authority and omniscient control by feigning cognitive (though not material) ignorance of the scene created.[2] Yet this facade of a distanced and impersonal perspective was belied by a type of structural involution in which a complex series of narrative techniques would allow an offstage presence of authorial intentionality through which morality and commentary

1. Stoneman (1978:104). The epigraph from George Eliot is cited both by Kearns (1996:4), who offers an insightful appraisal of Realism, and Stoneman (1978:105). There is much written on Realism, the works by Devaney (1997:esp. chap. 6), Lukács (1972), Stern (1973), and Watt (1957:chap. 1), as well as the essays in Williams (1978a), were used for this introduction. Stern (1973:28) refers to Realism's focus on the "richness of the represented world; its weightiness and resistance to ideals." For the change of a medieval concept of realism opposed to nominalism, to the modern view of realism opposed to idealism, see Watt (1957:chap.1) and Wellek (1963[1961]).

2. Thus Eliot could wonder about the final uniting of Dorothea and Will with the words that "it was never known which lips were the first to move towards the other lips"; cited in Williams (1978c: 261). One might wish that historians prone to the novelesque be so modest in their claims to envisioning the past. In this regards, note Gombrich's (2000:8) rather critical review of Schama's *Rembrandt's Eyes,* in which he does credit the author with prefacing his departures and fancies "with such words as: 'We would not be far from the truth in imagining . . .'" Knight (1999:559), makes a similar though more wryly expressed point ("Maybe the sources tell us these things; it is not clear") about Vanderwood's *The Power of God against the Guns of Government*, where one finds descriptions of morning coffees as "strong" and phrases such as "[the priest rides out of town] with a wary eye cast back over his shoulder." Knight, undoubtedly not alone, probably hoped for a more overt caveat to the author's implication of psychic clairvoyance to distant thought and action.

were reintroduced into the text through a backstage door. As one commentator has noted, "one of the paradoxes of Realism is that the novelist's passion for the real results in a fuller exploitation of the expressive possibilities of the form and a more self-conscious craftmanship. Once the novelist has bowed out of the novel, it is necessary for him to engineer 'an elaborate orchestral or suggestive structure whereby meaning *emerges*—as a function of the structure itself.'"[3] Realist authors were certainly aware of their commanding role—Flaubert was able to discover, and then state, that "Madame Bovary, c'est moi"—but they would insist on a discretionary voice that would (or should) disappear behind the text, at least in comparison to the intrusive narratives that had preceded their literary revolution.[4] It is in this way that the Realist movement offers a counterpoint to much of recent social science, for while Realist authors receded from view, leaving behind a structural foundation of authorial intervention, (post)modern anthropologists and historians often take an almost contrary approach, by directly intervening in the text, and indeed recognizing this intervention as the sine qua non of reflexive, discursive social science. Such intervention is both celebrated as a personalized vision and, somewhat paradoxically, presented as the means to achieve a heteroglossic narrative, allowing other perspectives to pierce through the rhetorical fabric—giving voice to people without voice and history to people without history.[5]

3. Williams (1978c:264). The citation within is from Cecil Jenkins in the same anthology (Williams 1978a). In this regard, Jenkins is most clear: "In a word, the irony is that the more impersonal he is, the deeper the writer himself is involved. The more he realizes his fiction in terms of the objective world the more also, paradoxically but logically, he is structuring and increasing his own subjective awareness; the more he distances his world artistically, the more he achieves himself in projection in relation to the world. So that in practice, whether we call realism the concretizing of a private vision in terms of the real or a rectification of reality in the service of a private vision, objectivity and subjectivity are from the point of view of the writer not in contradiction. On the contrary, they are necessarily interdependent and interfused" (Jenkins 1978:12–13).

4. The citation from Flaubert is given in Jenkins (1978:12).

5. This perspective predominates in the collection of essays presented by Clifford and Marcus (1986). There is certainly, however, an element of illusion in flaunting authorial intervention while at the same time asserting that while "polyvocality was restrained and orchestrated in traditional ethnographies by giving one voice [that of the ethnographer] a pervasive authorial function . . . once dialogism and polyphony are recognized as modes of textual production, monophonic authority is questioned" (Clifford 1986:15). As

The question of the impact of authorship—of "subjectivity" on "objectivity," and therefore of both "factual accuracy in the art of the imaginary"[6] and its mirror image, the impact of the imagination in the proffering of facts[7]—is but one aspect of narrative that was brought to the forefront by the Realists (and "rediscovered," in the aforementioned mirror image, by those who assert that "the notion that literary procedures pervade any work of cultural representation is a recent idea in the discipline [of anthropology]"[8]). Another question for the Realists was the nature and identity, as well as the most adequate representation, of the subject of any given text. Here the novel (along with the painting), increasingly sought the commonality of human existence. Not surprisingly, more and more it found this to be located in the common, shared experiences of everyday life, an initially shocking—at least for late nineteenth-century literary and artistic sensibilities—descent into the most quotidian of events: a rejection of both Classical ideals and the Romantic "inner vision." For history there was a parallel movement away from the narratives of great men and their politics and wars and toward a new social "history without names," one of whose early practitioners was Michelet, who in the mid–nineteenth century aspired (adumbrating recent trends) to write "the history of those who have suffered, worked,

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one critic has noted, "the heteroglossia so passionately advocated by many of the authors begins, in the aggregate, to look alarmingly like monoglossia" (Brown 1996:729).

6. Williams (1978b:78). See also Wellek (1963[1961]), who notes as well Richard Brinkmann's complete reversal of the common interpretation in asserting that "'the subjective experience . . . is the only objective experience'" (p. 237).

7. This connection is brought to the fore (in a style reminiscent less of Flaubert than of Groucho Marx reading a contract to Chico in *Night at the Opera*) by observations such as "An ethnography is a fantasy . . . It is not a reality fantasy like 'Dallas,' nor a fantasy reality like the *DSM III*; it is a reality fantasy of a fantasy reality. That is to say, it is realism, the evocation of a possible world of reality already known to us in fantasy" (Tyler 1986:139; and this in a book that asserts how literary styles (*sic*, not skills) have entered ethnographic writing): "All of the essays collected here point toward new, better modes of writing" (Clifford 1986:25).

8. Clifford (1986:4).

declined and died without being able to describe their sufferings."[9] Clearly many of the issues now at the forefront of "progressive" academia (such as writing the story of those who are "unable to describe their sufferings") have an ancient past. I do not say this from a "presentist" perspective, what Stocking has called writing history "for the sake of the present" in order to legitimize a present point of view, but rather from the contrary position: to point out how by "overlooking" previous efforts in a similar genre and vein, modern-day scholars carve out their own innovative niche.[10] Indeed, both modernism and postmodernism—as well as new histories and anthropologies—share one thing in common: a strong belief in the uniqueness of their own moment and the radicalness of their own perspective.

Yet the subject of study of the "new history," particularly as it developed in the early twentieth century, was not simply those who had been unable to write of and reflect on their own experiences. Rather, this history, epitomized by the *Annales* school, had a strong materialist and analytic tendency, paralleled in a sense by a functional, impersonal trend in anthropology. Thus the Romantic tinge so conspicuous in Michelet (yet so absent in Realism) faded further out of the

9. Michelet (1842), cited in Burke (1990:8). The phrase "history without names" is from Comte; see Burke (1990:9). Anderson (1991:197–203) specifically notes that Michelet was the first to explicitly speak "for dead people" and states that this "reversed ventriloquism helped to open the way for a selfconscious indigenismo, especially in the southern Americas. At the edge: Mexicans speaking in Spanish 'for' pre-Columbian 'Indian' civilizations whose languages they do not understand" (pp. 198–99).

On Michet, see Crossley (1993) and Mitzman (1990), both of whom emphasize the Romantic element in this historian's perspective. Rearick (1974:chap. 3.2) likewise stresses the counter-Enlightenment element in Michelet in focusing on his contributions to folklore studies. For Michelet's championing of Vico, see Berlin (1976); for his role in folklore studies, see Rearick (1974:chap. 3.2). Berlin (1976:93) mentions that through Michelet, the Realist writers Balzac and Flaubert were familiar with Vico, whom they admired as a great thinker.

10. The quote is from Stocking (1965:215). For an attack on postmodern tendencies to portray the Realist past as naively uncritical of the problems of representation and to fail to see nuances and reflexivity in the Realist perspective, see Devaney (1997). In some way this one-dimensional interpretation of the past parallels what Ortner (1995) has called the "ethnographic thinness" of studies of subaltern politics and divisions.

picture.[11] Yet recently, in both the social sciences and the humanities, the pendulum has swung back to the romantic image of struggles "against the current," toward a new exaltation of resistance and agency, and (contrary to Realism) toward the implicit belief that there is "a scale of dignity in subject matter."[12] The history of those who "died without being able to describe their sufferings" has become re-romanticized, with a constant search, in the best Romantic tradition (though the modern Romantics deal with collectivities, while their nineteenth-century counterparts stressed the individual), for those who have broken free of the structural constraints on thought and action.[13] Flaubert had remarked, "Let's have no more heroes and no more monsters,"[14] a phrase that echoes the epigraph in its search for a middle ground of narrative that, in avoiding moralistic extremes, seeks to portray "the psychological ambivalence and social

11. This was the case in both the *Annales* and British Marxist schools of social history as well as in the structural-functionalism of British anthropology.

12. Wellek (1963[1961]:253).

13. For Romanticism and the individual, see Wittkower and Wittkower (1963), among many works on the subject of Romanticism and the exceptional individual. Furst (1979:esp. chap. 3) deals with the Romantic protagonist in the framework of hero vs. anti-hero, with the Romantic notion a type midway between the more fully heroic personage of *Sturm und Drang* movement and the "ironic self-detachment" of the modern anti-hero. Unlike the hero of subaltern and resistance studies, altruistic heroes dedicated to a social cause, the nineteenth-century Romantic counterpart was more introverted and isolated, related of course to the concept of genius. Indeed, a constant tension in Romantic literature and philosophy is precisely this tension between the celebration of individuality and the consecration of the universal. In general terms, what characterized Romanticism was precisely this now self-centered, now world-centered outlook. A heightened inner sense co-existed with a heightened outer sense. Each served as a point of departure. Each made for a more of less recognizable mode of reflection. Evidently, the expressive and the hierophantic theory of art proceeded from the Romantics' more self-centered preoccupations, whereas the holistic and the organic theory set out from his world-centered, or nature-oriented, outlook. As Weidmann (1986:101) notes in regards to this tension, "in general terms, what characterized Romanticism was precisely this now self-centered, now world-centered outlook. A heightened inner sense co-existed with a heightened outer sense. Each served as a point of departure. Each made for a more of less recognizable mode of reflection. Evidently, the expressive and the hierophantic theory of art proceeded from the Romantics' more self-centered preoccupations, whereas the holistic and the organic theory set out from his world-centered, or nature-oriented, outlook. . . . [Each theory] strove to achieve a synthesis which included the self, the world and its ultimate ground." And, in the same vein, "Thus from the chill solitude of the transcendental ego he could escape into the warm immediacy of an oceanic oneness. From the horror of total absorption threatened by the latter he might again take refuge in a sovereign consciousness of self" (p. 106).

14. Cited in Williams (1973b:76).

complexity of [being]."[15] Much of the recent literature on resistance, on "counter-hegemony" and the defiance of dominant discourse, can be read, in part, as a slighting of this French writer's admonition and a return to Romanticism with its strong emphasis on actions and extremes that break the mold.

Finally, a third aspect to be explored by the Realists was, as Lukács notes, "the organic, indissoluble connection between man as a private individual and man as a social being, as a member of a community."[16] Realism was the first literary movement to take this proposition seriously, and in this sense foreshadows much of what is now considered the modern historians' and anthropologists' concerns with agency and structure. At the same time, the link between the individual and society was forged by situating characters within a historical contexts, the details of which were of primary concern to the novelist. In this sense Realist literature adumbraded the modern academic's forays between fact (documented events) and fiction (theoretical abstraction), a more global representation of the constant tension in academia between the particular and the universal. Again a paradox emerges, for while scholars in both the humanities and social sciences have often aspired to the literary genres, Realist writers sought to anchor the truth and authenticity of their fiction in the minutiae of the material world and the certitude of historical events woven into their texts. In this sense the detailed description of the printing process in Balzac's *Lost Illusions*, Melville's erudite exploration of whaling custom and law, and Robbe-Grillet's neurotically meticulous accounting of banana groves, are all ways of centering privately imagined fictional characters in the midst of a historical and material world of public reality. It is truth by association (the opposite effect of that achieved by historians who highlight the imagined element of historical narrative by mixing fiction, or reflexive contemplation, into their

15. The quote is from Ortner (1995:175), who has "resistence" for "being."

documented text[17]). Again it was perhaps Flaubert who took this effort to anchor the imagination in the material to an early extreme in *Sentimental Education*, for "despite the fictional nature of the main events, the novel is still regarded by historians as an invaluable source of information about the period extending from 1840 to 1851 and in particular about the year 1848."[18]

Three points, relevant to this dissertation, have been raised as a result of this brief exploration of the Realist perspective and its implications for historical and anthropological literature. First there is the question of authorial intervention. This issue has been recently introduced into the current mode of anthropological and historical writing often, remarkably, as if it represented a novel insight into textual production, which it certainly is not.[19] Yet while I have refrained from any overt "reflexivity" in the text that follows, which is a detailed socioeconomic history of spatial dynamics, there is a strong theoretical "agenda" as well as a commentary—both on colonial society and, implicitly, on much of recent historiography and anthropology. Viewed from another perspective, the question becomes one of whether there is any moral undercurrent or justification to a political economic analysis of a colonial society, and whether the pages that

16. Lukács (1972:8). For an excellent study of the this tension in the academic endeavor, see Tiryakian (1962).

17. See, for example, the quintessential expression of this historical approach in Schama (1991), which might be compared to its counterpart from a literary perspective, Graves (1934).

18. Williams (1978b:88). The author continues: "Flaubert's documentation of the historical background involved a labour of heroic proportions. He read 132 historical works on the period; he took extensive notes from the papers and periodicals of the time; he went to the Bibliothèque Nationale and consulted the manuscripts which still form the basis of the historian's study of 1848 ; he was in correspondence with eye witnesses of the events of the February and June Revolutions; in short, he sought to know all that could possibly be known about the period, from the fashions in clothes of each year to the sort of menu that was available in 1847 in the Café de Paris" (pp. 88–89).

Fictional writers are rarely as meticulous; for a enjoyable letter of a historian to an aspirant to historical fiction, see Darnton (1990).

19. For old observations presented as new insights, see Devaney (1997). For example, she quotes Andrzej Gasiorek to the effect that postmodernists consider that it is "'we' who are doubting, ironic, self-reflexive and detached, whereas 'they' are innocent, gullible, benighted and unable to stand back from the beliefs of the day. We pit 'our' self-reflexive scepticism against their 'naive' realism in an act of gross historical condescension" (p. 125).

follow can be considered, despite the heavy focus on political economy, at least partially a humanistic endeavor.

Second there is the matter of the topic of research, what has been referred to above as the discussion over the "proper" target of the literary text or of historical and anthropological exegesis. In the Realist era this discussion derived from the question of whether a literary exposition or artistic expression should tend to some ideal of beauty and truth, or whether it should seek elegance in the patterns of everyday life and veracity in the common experiences of social interaction. For modern academic ventures, the question of topic involves a parallel, though somewhat distinct, debate, one that has often been articulated in the clash between old social history and new cultural history, between "grand theories" and interpretative analysis, between explanation and understanding, or between a political economic anthropology of social institutions and collective enterprises and a more recent trend to cultural studies and literary styles, including testimonials and first-person narratives. Thus there is somewhat of a parallel between the Realist writer satisfied with the "peasant in all his coarse apathy, and the artisan in all his suspicious selfishness" and the modern academic seeking to document the lives of popular and plebeian society: both approaches seek to bring into closer focus society as it "really is."[20] Yet the recent proliferation of terms of opposition in the historical and anthropological literature—counter-culture, counter-hegemony, and counter-mapping, among other locutions—points to another direction of much recent research, a move toward those social groups and collectivities that challenge or resist dominant social formations and structures. This literature is more prone to document action over apathy, selflessness over selfishness, heroes over monsters; it implies, therefore, "a scale of dignity in subject matter." From Michelet's concern with "those

20. For colonial Mexico, see, for example, the works of Boyer (1995), Cope (1994), and Kinsbruner (1987), all of which deal with the lower, more common levels of society.

who have suffered, worked, declined and died without being able to describe their *sufferings*" the concern is now more on those who have died without being able to describe their *defiance*.

Thus a more specific question about the "proper" topic of discourse would be how the themes of this dissertation fit in (if they fit in at all) not only with recent efforts to provide readers with a better feel for the entire social fabric, but with the acts of defiance that have become a concern of approaches such as that known as "subaltern studies," which generally targets the resistance, survival, and agency of those previously considered weak and neglected. More directly stated: does a spatial history of an area of New Spain offer a new perspective to the study of colonization and colonial societies and the tensions and conflict that such an endeavor entails?

Finally, there is the problem of the individual and society or, again from another perspective, of process and structure. For the Realists, as Lukács noted, the question was resolved through the literary creation of the *type* and the definition of reality not as what did happen, but as what could (and often did) happen.[21] The historian and anthropologist utilize a similar type-token approach, for the case studies they present are culled from, at least implicitly, a more general pattern, and there is often an implied "typicality" to the particular events that are presented. Yet this problem of the relationship between the individual and society has multiple facets. At one level, that just mentioned, is how particular cases can be taken to exemplify more general situations. This is a question of representativity, captured in turn by the tension that exists between the general and the particular, between nomothetic "science" and idiographic "description."[22] At another level, the difficulty relates to the possibilities of individual action in engaging, countering, or negating structural constraints. Whatever terminology is employed (be

21. On the type in literature, see also Wellek (1963[1961]:242ff.).

22. In geography this debate was particularly strong in relation to Hartshorne's suggestions and the subsequent dispute over his work; see Entrikin and Brunn (1989) and the works contained therein, particularly Entrikin (1989).

it, for example, the structuration theory of Giddens or the habitus concept of Bourdieu), the theoretical difficulty resides in presenting an analysis that intrinsically embraces both structure and process, both sociocultural constraints and individual agency. Yet whereas the problem of the representativity of a "type" affects Realist literature as well as both anthropology and history, questions of structure and process, of social reproduction and agentivity, lie solely in the domain of the latter two academic disciplines. That is, while Realists were the first literary movement to problematize the relationship of social milieu to individual identity and action, the issue is of *theoretical* significance only in the social sciences and some endeavors in the humanities, such as history. Here again a spatial history is particularly pertinent, for perhaps more than any other social phenomenon, spatialization involves a constant interaction between individual and society. This is because at one end of a continuum spatial formations are profoundly personal and responsive to or reflective of individual practice, while at the other they constitute a central element of authoritarian state politico-administrative power.

The preceding pages have explored some of the issues raised by Realist literature—questions about authorial intervention, assertions about the appropriateness of the quotidian for literary exploration, and concerns with the ways in which the social milieu articulates with individual behavior—as a means of approaching contemporary debates in the social sciences and humanities. First there is the problem of authorial intervention and how meaning emerges from structure "engineered" in the text itself. This facet of the dissertation—a deliberate attempt to create meaning through form—is most apparent in part 2, which follows a brief initial section on the natural and social environment within which the events explored in this dissertation take place. Part 2 presents the main points of discussion, it comprises a series of six chapters centered on the rural province of Iguala and two adjoining jurisdictions: that of Taxco to the north, with its urban mining center in the town of that name; and that of Tixtla to the south, a relatively poor

area located along the trade corridor to the Pacific coast (all located in the modern-day state of Guerrero; see orientation maps). These chapters deal, broadly speaking, with questions of land, labor, and capital and their spatial concomitants in the area studied: territoriality and the rural enterprise, peasant farmer migration and place-making, and patterns of commercial exchange and the flow of goods. This structure of presentation is meant to highlight the fact that the essential factors of production and distribution in the rural environment have a spatial component, and that political economy can be fruitfully explored and analyzed from a geographic perspective. From this vantage point, colonization develops and plays itself out in myriad conflicts over spatial patterns; for New Spain some have been quite well studied (the forced nucleation of indigenous peasants in "rationally" planned centers) while others are less understood (late colonial struggles between traditionalists and liberals over the right of provincial authorities to limit and control the spatial extension of grain and labor markets). Space thus becomes a particularly contested arena of dispute, pitting state efforts at politico-administrative and sociocultural control against social groups and individuals who seek to forge their own spatial identities, patterns of movement, and definitions of community and place, often in overt or covert opposition to more institutionalized arrangements. Colonization, therefore, involved not simply the occupation of space, but its very definition. A spatial study, in sum, involves issues that were salient in the colonial period and that are significant to contemporary debates in the social sciences and humanities.

The first and third parts of this dissertation, which frame the major argument of part 2 (the first establishing the context and the third exploring the final outcome), also explore oppositions and tensions in the definition of space. First, "Terrain and Territoriality: The Natural and Social Context of Land and Property," offers a dichotomous interpretation of the geographical "stage" upon which subsequent events explored in this thesis took place. Here, in addition to an ecological perspective that focuses on climate and topography (though also

offering an analysis of colonial descriptions of the land), I include a chapter on legal and customary rights to land. Most obviously, this represents the simple (and not particularly unusual) assertion that although "land-man" questions are ecological in a fundamental sense, they are also very much a matter of rights to nature (for *land* is, in essence, *earth* that has been socially delimited and culturally defined[23]). The principal argument, that the early Spanish colonists were strongly influenced by a Patristic and moral discourse on property (not a Roman one as has frequently been alleged), is developed in chapter 3. This chapter follows after a fairly traditional ecological argument (chapter 2) that stresses the productive potential of the land, a factor that along with distance from urban markets was to play a primary role in subsequent patterns of migration and land acquisition. Yet the juxtaposition of these two chapters is meant to establish a dialectal theme—here of an opposition between natural resources and human discourses in shaping human geography in the area of study—that is repeated throughout.

The third and final part of this thesis—"Absolute Property and Spatial Politics: Struggles for Control over Grain in the Late Colonial Period"—echoes the dichotomous structure of the text, though with a different set of oppositions. As explored in these two chapters (10 and 11), a key struggle in central Guerrero during the late colonial period was that between rural entrepreneurs in the Iguala Valley intent on selling maize in the most lucrative markets they could access, and urban miners from nearby Taxco who sought to control the distribution of grain so as to insure a steady supply of cheap maize, which was used both as food and fodder. This struggle, however, was not only between two different entrepreneurial classes, rural merchants and farmers versus urban miners and consumers, with often conflicting interests, but between two distinct political economic theories, each with a clear spatial component. Urban miners argued for a

23. Or, from the Lockean perspective, to which "labor" has been added. Lockean concepts of property were extremely important in the English colonists' defense of their own land rights, as against those of the

medieval conception of markets, in which provincial authorities had the right to limit export from their region until local needs had been met; rural merchants argued for the validity of absolute property rights to grain, which would enable them to market provisions wherever they saw fit. The colonial judicial and executive apparatus was, therefore, required to mediate between two sectors of the economy (miners versus merchants/landowners) and two political economic discourses (a fading moral and regional paradigm versus a new liberal assertion of the free market). And although state political economy was definitely shifting to the liberal paradigm, which promoted national markets and integration as well as centralized, absolutist power, the fiscal interests of Spain remained heavily tied to mining, which could best be promoted by an increasingly arcane ideology: state intervention in prices and regional rights over provisioning.

Finally, viewed in its entirety, there is a clear, and indeed almost classic, dialectical framework to this thesis, one that goes beyond the oppositions and dichotomies already mentioned to explore a deep-rooted and endemic tension in rural-urban relations. At its basic level, this study demonstrates that there was a steady progression of events that seemed to lead toward symbiotic rural-urban integration, particularly in terms of land ownership and regionalized grain markets, but that this progression also contained the seeds of conflict and the threatened dissolution of any rural-urban symbiosis. The seventeenth century saw a rapid takeover of the Iguala Valley by entrepreneurs from the central highlands and by the encomendero of the principal valley community: Tepecuacuilco. By the end of this period, however, the encomendero line, now married into a mining family from Taxco, had acquired virtually uncontested control of the valley (some 150,000 to 200,000 hectares), as highland landowners lost interest and abandoned their initiatives in the region. Over the first half of the eighteenth century, this land

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Indians and crown; see Lebovics (1986), Tully (1980, 1993a, 1993b, 1994) and Williams (1990:esp. pt. 3) For Spanish justification of dispossession, see Pagden (1987a, 1995a:esp. chap. 3).

passed into the hands of a miner, don José de la Borda, who was actively involved in obtaining low-priced maize for the Taxco mines and urban populace. With the stated goal of helping indigenous tenant farmers, by midcentury de la Borda had expelled the last major rancher from the Iguala Valley. This move was instrumental in triggering massive migration of Indian peasants into the valley, where they established residence in dozens of newly founded tenant settlements (*cuadrillas*). In part the result of the increased demand that accompanied this demographic shift to the valley, in part the result of a boom in Taxco mining, and in part the result of the liberal-period boom in inter- and intracolonial commerce, merchant capital flowed into the northern Iguala Valley. Viewed from the perspective of a *longue durée*, the progression of events in this urban-rural environment—land acquisition by Taxco miners, immigration of a indigenous peasants to the rural hinterland, and the influx of commercial capital to the northern valley—suggests a well-known pattern whereby an agrarian hinterland emerges next to and then is integrated into a market centered on an adjacent, food-deficient urban area. Indeed, by the late colonial period the principal factors of rural production were in place: land was concentrated in urban hands, wage labor could potentially be contracted by landowners (from the vast numbers of indigenous peasant migrants), and capital (the commercial capital brought into the Iguala Valley by entrepreneurs and merchants) was available for possible investment in agrarian production. Yet not only did rural wage labor fail to develop (for reasons that will be discussed), but the hinterland's commercial elite, which controlled the agrarian economy, quickly acquired the economic and political resources to resist unfavorable terms for the hinterland's integration into a regional grain market.

The denouement of a process that seemed headed toward a prototypical solar-system economy of regional integration was, instead, the exacerbation of conflict over market structure as new tensions surfaced between rural and urban elites, each with their own agendas of

economic development and their own discursive resources, which they found in either the new liberal political economy or the old moral economy of regionally controlled systems of guaranteed subsistence. This end result exemplifies the effects of what may be considered to be an inherent conflict of interest between rural and urban society and suggests that direct integration of these areas requires that town-dwelling elites exercise either economic (higher prices) or political (structured markets) power while at the same time drawing upon a political economic theory of grain markets to support their efforts. When their rural counterparts have the politico-economic means and theoretical arguments to resist this power, as they did in the Iguala Valley, they might well be able to hinder integration into this vertical, urban-centered structure of control.

Thus the basic sequence of events at the core of this study of central Guerrero is land acquisition, migration, and the capitalization of a rural economy. And the major topics of analysis are the conflicting socioeconomic processes and discursive practices, many involving spatial considerations, that wove through rural-urban relations in the area under study. Yet the conscious choice to explore these issues and to organize this thesis around the relationship between spatial structures and spatial practices does not simply represent a desire to contribute to the literature on the political economy of space in a colonial society. It also contains a methodological statement, reflecting a belief in the importance of combining a political economic approach, which is necessary to establish the structure of constraints that often impinge upon the actions of social groups and individuals, with an exploration in what is essentially a history of ideas, necessary to reveal the conflicting discursive practices (such as a moral or liberal approach to grain markets, or European perspectives on indigenous rights to *dominium* and colonists rights to land) that were being articulated at any given moment in history and that provided the material for the rhetorical practices of social groups and individuals as they engaged each other and the state. Thus spatial practices can involve either the reconstruction of space (and place) through the movement of

people and objects across a landscape, or it can involve political and discursive practices, such as the redefinition of administrative boundaries, or arguments involving rights over space, as occurred when regional authorities sought to exercise control over property rights to "private" grain within their jurisdictions. Moreover, this thesis emerged from a belief in the advantages, and indeed necessity, of "historically and theoretically deep immersion in specific regions and locales" in order to understand the complex social fabric of rural society in colonial New Spain.[24] This is made particularly clear in the central chapters (4 through 9), which are premised on the idea that the socioeconomic processes explored therein are intrinsically related and closely intertwined. Thus, for example, to arrive at a full understanding of the influx of commercial capital into the hinterland during the late colonial period, extensive work on other facets of the regional milieu, particularly demographics and shifting state policies on trade, need to be fully explored.

In the preceding paragraph I suggested that the structure of this thesis has been in a sense "engineered," in the Realist tradition of structured text, to communicate a certain perspective—both theoretical and methodological—on the interpretation and analysis of the spatial aspects of socioeconomic processes as they develop in colonial societies. One ramification of this approach is that the dissertation is not about any particular social group or economic sector. Rather, each particular process had its own salient actors. Land acquisition featured struggles between indigenous communities and colonial agrarian entrepreneurs, though the former often comprised individuals or factions who allied with colonists who would also at times fight bitterly among themselves. Migration and place making in new locales was dominated by the actions of peasants who left their home communities, and much of the tension that resulted concerned the efforts—by

24. The quote is from Mallon (1993:378) in her discussion of William Roseberry's essay in the same volume.

hacendados, colonial authorities, and indigenous villages—to control the resources, particularly tribute and labor, represented by these mobile individuals. Indeed, the struggles that developed around migrants varied according to the identity of the dominant groups most adversely affected by their movement. Trade revolved more heavily around the actions of the colonial elite, but here too the actions of itinerant peddlers and muleskinners were important in creating commercial networks that were less formalized than those focused on urban centers or that revolved around the actions of highly capitalized merchants. Finally, the struggle over grain markets had both a spatial (rural versus urban) and a class (poor peasants and urban workers versus rich miners and rural merchants) dimension, although by the end of the colonial period it appears that class considerations were beginning to predominate over those based on caste (as had perhaps been the case in early times) or on locality.

In eschewing a study primarily focused on a particular social group, be it based on caste identity, on gender, or on relative position in webs of productive or commercial relations, the question arises as to how this dissertation fits in with the historical perspective that received its strongest earliest articulation with Michelet and has since become a dominant trend in recent historical and anthropological literature: the study of "those who have suffered, worked, declined and died without being able to describe their sufferings." A concern with these subaltern groups, moreover, has not simply been about a new subject of research and analysis; rather, it has also brought into focus a concern with social processes that had hitherto received scant attention in the literature, but have since emerged as central questions in historical and anthropological writings: resistance, survival, and agency. As a "spatial history," this dissertation deals with a wide range of social groups—elites and nonelites, colonists and Indians, landowners and peasant migrants—that includes many not normally associated with the literature on resistance, survival, and agency.

Yet to differing degrees (the question of resistance less so than that of survival and agency), this thesis is relevant to these issues.

The epigraph of this study was selected to problematize one aspect of studies that stress resistance, for it suggests that as we are "taught to feel . . . for the heroic artisan or the sentimental peasant" we are often taught to disparage, or neglect, "the peasant in all his coarse apathy, and the artisan in all his suspicious selfishness." One unfortunate result of studies of resistance has been a zealous pursuit of the most active and socially conscious sectors of subaltern groups.[25] There is a saying among anthropologists that each fieldworker "gets the tribe he or she deserves" (I first heard this from the lips of a Brazilian anthropologist who decided to do fieldwork among the Argentine military)[26] and at times one gets the feeling from subaltern studies of rural society that the researchers (historians and anthropologists) have perhaps felt they deserve a little more agency and consciousness from the subjects of their study than had been the legacy of their predecessors. As a result, one important and much needed shift that has occurred has been an expansion of the domain of the political, a move that began with the works of Hobsbawn and Thompson but that has continued, perhaps to a point of danger. At times in the literature it has become difficult to distinguish resistance from acquiescence (which might just be strategized delay). The potential to become a hero is considered to be latent in all those who are dominated. To the extent that for social scientists resistance has become the subtle undercurrent to daily

25. The question of representativity (of how representative of particular social classes are those who offer overt, or even covert, acts of defiance) is seldom dealt with in the literature. One effect of expanding the domain of resistance to many acts of everyday existence is to make the question of representativity moot. This is not to say that the subjects of study need to be representative (in fact I would argue that this is not the case), but simply that the language of social scientific and historical texts is often disarmingly general.

26. In fairness, he deserved much better. Perhaps the most famous case of an anthropologist who got stuck with a rather unlikable tribe, though he probably felt that he did not deserve it, was Colin Turnbull (1972), who wore his rather disconsolate heart on his sleeve in *The Mountain People*.

existence, false consciousness threatens to disappear as an analytic category[27] and the major question of rebellion has become *when*, not *why*.[28] There has been much critical discussion of these issues, focusing on questions of intentionality and reflexive action, on factionalism within subaltern groups and peasant communities, and on the ambiguous motivation and meaning of much thought and action.[29] For these reasons, particularly the problem of documenting intention, in looking at spatial practices I have tended to avoid the language of resistance, though at the same time recognizing that such actions often do run counter to the interests of the dominant political and economic elite. This is particularly true in regards to indigenous defense of community land and migration (or flight), both of which are actions that challenge, if not resist, certain aspects of the colonial spatial regime and social order. Yet here a paradox should be obvious, for migration, though at some level a challenge to colonial controls over indigenous society, also implies abandonment of community.[30] Resistance in one frame of action might suggest surrender in another. A focus on only one frame of reference mitigates this dilemma.

There is another related issue that has not been treated extensively in the literature but that deserves mention, particularly in how it pertains to indigenous groups: that of survival. E. P. Thompson once remarked, in reference to the liberal perspective on provisioning and subsistence needs, that whereas the invisible hand may balance the market in the long term, people live in,

27. Here see Scott's (1990:chap. 4) treatment of the issue of false consciousness.

28. This seems to have occurred with Scott (1990), in which resistance becomes almost an a priori condition of the dominated. See the critique in Gal (1995). For a discussion of ambivalence in action, see Ortner (1995). Stern (1987a:9–10) notes the shift in focus as follows: "In this perspective, the relevant question becomes not why a politically dormant and traditionalist peasant mass suddenly became insurrectionary, but rather why, at specific moments, ongoing peasant resistance and self-defense increasingly took the form of collective violence against established authority."

29. On the manner in which community cohesion is a major factor contributing to riot and collective violence, see Bohstedt (1983) and Magagna (1991). For the ambiguous nature of much social action, see Adas (1980), Gal (1995), and Ortner (1995), as well as some of the essays in Scott and Kerkvliet (1986).

30. Here also see Farriss's (1978) discussion of flight and settlement patterns.

and their needs must be met, in the short term. This points to a major problem in the literature on survival, one best exemplified by the subtitle to Farriss's influential book on the Maya under colonial rule: "The Collective Enterprise of Survival."[31] Corporate groups, cultural patterns, and collectivities might well survive in the long term, but, paraphrasing Thompson, people live (and die) in the short term. A historical study of many indigenous villages that exist today (and here too the definition and delimitation of such units is often no easy task) reveals occasional periods of total abandonment of a particular village, and other times when the population dipped to less than a dozen inhabitants. In such circumstances, academic celebrations of survival might perhaps be more tempered than they sometimes are.

Linked to the question of survival is that of the continuity over time of the unit of analysis, be it village, cultural patterns, or ethnic group. Saussure, in talking of identity, notes that "if a street is demolished, then rebuilt, we say that it is the same street even though in a material sense, perhaps nothing of the old one remains. Why can a street be completely rebuilt and still be the same? Because it does not constitute a purely material entity."[32] One can take a similar approach, and pose a similar question, to the persistence of collective identities and corporate entities: if a village is destroyed, and then rebuilt, can we say that it is the same village? A classic affirmative response might be that since the village is a collective and corporate unit, it survives, as a social institution, beyond the death of its individual members. Moreover, by dealing in an institutional and structural context, and in a long-term framework, social scientists and historians avoid the rather unpleasant material details of "collective survival" in the short term of individual life spans. Yet even at an institutional level, survival is problematic. If one takes a formalist, Barthian perspective on group identity, which stresses boundary maintenance over substantive

31. Farriss (1984).

32. Saussure (1959:108).

continuity, survival becomes a question of the permanence of divisions, which are determined as much by external powers of exclusion as by internally focused collective endeavors of inclusion.[33]

Moreover, the term *survival* itself unfortunately tends to imply an original state of existence and perseverance over time. Yet as the historical evidence presented in chapters 6 and 7 demonstrates, indigenous community identity was being continually restructured and reproduced during the colonial period, occasionally being created in completely new locations. The emergence and construction of indigenous community identity, in fact, is part of the spatial practices of Indian migrants, who were often fleeing their home village. Moreover, as I attempt to show, place making involves place breaking, and there is a constant tension between new and old communities, between points of origin and points of destination. One example is that of Palula, the case history documented and analyzed in chapter 6. Here the original inhabitants were first forcibly relocated to their cabecera (head village) of Tepecuacuilco, before fleeing to an outlying sujeto (subject village). The abandoned site of Palula was then occupied by migrants from still another head village, Oapan, who at first placed themselves under the tutelage of the Tepecuacuilco authorities, though they later began to assert their own patrimonial rights to the land at Palula.

A situation such as this brings into focus the problem, for it is unclear in what terms it might be useful to refer to the "survival" of Palula. A detailed diachronic study (rather than a consideration of only the two endpoints of a process of change over time) reveals complex spatial practices and an ebb and flow of spatial structures—a sort of developmental cycle of community, that is explored in the aforementioned chapter. Other examples abound. Thus apparently Tuxpan, in the northern Iguala Valley, was also resettled by migrants who were not descendants of the

33. See Barth (1969).

original inhabitants. This ambiguous situation is reflected in the two names of this small village that appear in the documentary record: Pueblo Nuevo (New Village) and Tuxpan (the prehispanic name). The latter is the one that survived, giving an illusion of continuity from the prehispanic period that would have been lost had the name Pueblo Nuevo endured. Other "Indian" villages were formed much later. Maxela, for example, was established on rented land by eighteenth-century migrants from the indigenous community of Ameyaltepec. In the twentieth century various circumstances allowed Maxela residents to register their land as communal property, a regime usually reserved for indigenous villages able to produce a primordial title from the early colonial period. In other words, Maxela, a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco that was abandoned for most of the colonial period, acquired one of the most marked characteristics of indigenous identity (communal property) only as a result of the agrarian reform brought about by the Mexico Revolution of 1910. Its indigenous identity, therefore, was not a matter of survival (for it was essentially "dead," i.e., unoccupied, from about 1595 to 1750), but rather the combined result of the spatial practices of indigenous migrants and their descendants and the changing parameters of national agrarian law. In sum, though the question of survival is not directly dealt with in the body of this dissertation, the spatial structures and processes that are explored are pertinent to this problem and the issues it raises.

Finally there is the question of structure and agency. In *The Road to Botany Bay*, Carter offers an alternative to what he calls "imperial history," a history that "reduces space to a stage." Instead, he calls for an exploration of "the *intentional* world of active, spatial choices . . . [on] the spatial forms and fantasies through which a culture declares its presence."[34] The spatial history of colonization as it is offered in the following pages has been inspired by Carter's interest, and his own description of his work as a "spatial history." But the treatment of the topic here is different,

34. Carter (1988); the first two quotes are from p. xvi, the third from p. xxii.

much more concerned, for one, with political economy and with detailed descriptions of the movement of people and objects through colonial space. There has also been an effort to tie this analysis more closely to the geographical literature on space and place.

The spatial domain has been chosen as the constant thread that runs through this dissertation primarily because it is particularly amenable to analysis from both a structural and a processual perspective; the spatial organization of society is affected by the social actions and cultural perspectives of both colonizer and colonized. A spatial history thus offers the possibility of exploring one of the most constant issues of social science research: the relation between society and the individual or, in a less dichotomized perspective, between social groups at different levels of abstraction and extension. An important aspect of spatial studies is the manner in which they articulate a concern with both social structures that are imposed on individuals and groups, i.e., the legal, political, and administrative frameworks or parameters of space, and with individual action (processes) by which human agents affect the contours of space around them. An analysis of the spatial domain, therefore, involves an awareness both of the role of power in imposing a top-down definition and delimitation of space and of the role of spatial practices of social groups and individuals in replicating or reconstructing the spatial arrangements of institutionalized systems. Space is, in effect, a playing field. As such it is partially defined by those who make the rules of the game, yet can be consistently altered by those who move upon its surface and, occasionally, struggle to change these very rules, redrawing administrative boundaries, transforming the way in which the state links the individual to locality, or creating dissident social and cultural spaces within a context of domination and control.

The geographical literature on space and place provides an ideal framework to explore the interaction of structure and agency precisely because this literature itself covers such a range of perspectives. At one end, and in this sense the quintessential expression of a humanist

geography that stresses the subjectively experienced and human aspects of place, is the work of Tuan, for whom place, defined by individual experience, becomes as much an ego-centered psychology as a social scientific concept.[35] For him regions depend "on the individual's consciousness and sense of self within society, and on her or his sense of unity with other people."[36] At the other end is positivist geography, with its neoclassical foundations and stochastic methodologies, represented by central place theory and related trends in regional science.[37] Likewise, the study of the spatial aspects of trade covers widely divergent levels of analysis, from the study of peddlers and itinerant merchants who operate in the interstices of more formally structured systems, to world-system theory. An analysis of trade ranges, therefore, from a formal analysis of the decisions involved in the spatial trajectories of individual marketing to the structural developments and implications of exchange on a global stage.[38] And even in cartographic practice, often the exclusive domain of state bureaus of organization and control or of landowners and cadastral agencies keen on asserting and documenting property rights to land, counter-strategies can be developed at local levels that challenge imposed definitions of spatial boundaries and territorial rights.[39] Yet there are severe limitations at both ends of the positivist-

35. See the works of Tuan cited in the bibliography, as well as those of Relph, who also takes a phenomenological approach. For an early collection asserting the importance of humanistic geography, see Ley and Samuels (1978).

36. Gilbert (1988:218).

37. Here, see particularly the works of W. Alonso, Haggett, and Isard cited in the bibliography. Within anthropology C. Smith has been particularly influential in disseminating the ideas of central place theory; see the works of hers cited, particularly her two edited volumes. Hassig (1985), like Smith a student of William Skinner, who was a pioneer in anthropological geography, used the geographical systems analysis of central place theory in his historical examination of changing market structures in pre- and postconquest central Mexico.

38. For peddlers, see Fontaine (1998) and Vassberg (1996:esp. chap. 2); for a formal analysis of itinerancy, see Plattner (1975). The literature on world-system theory is vast, stemming particularly from the work of Immanuel Wallerstein. For a critical review, see Stern (1988).

39. For estate maps, see Buisseret (1996) and Harvey (1993); for state mapping project and property relations, see Kain and Baigent (1992). See Peluso (1995) for the concept of "counter-mapping"; for the

humanist continuum. While the humanistic approach (particularly that of Tuan) neglects the elements of power in geography, focusing instead on the spatial extension of meaningful experience, the positivist approach neglects experience and the identities and meanings that are forged between individuals and the places they inhabit, preferring a region defined and delimited either by shared characteristics (Hartshorne's definition) or by patterned networks of relations among differentiated groups (as in locational theory).

By exploring the spatial aspects of regional transformations, this dissertation seeks to mediate between positivist and humanist geography, and between structure and process. In this way it seeks to provide a context for exploring agency while retaining a strong focus on structural constraints, which include the power to define and delimit space. Yet it is not simply that action, considered as spatial practices, takes place within spatial structures, but that the structural framework itself was frequently changing, and under constant pressure from above and below.

However, this dichotomous approach, which looks at pressures from above and below that affected structure and process in the spatial aspects of society, works better in certain domains than in others. Migration (chapters 6 and 7), for example, is a social phenomenon particularly sensitive to factors that constrain mobility (which included both state efforts to dictate residence and sentimental bonds felt by individuals to community and kin) while its repercussions clearly reflected the fact that it was considered an act of defiance to spatial control (here it constituted challenges to both colonial and community authorities). At times covenants of accommodation seem to have been reached that facilitated an uneasy balance between spatial mobility and spatial stability but, as chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate, in a colonial state where

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relationship of different cartographic traditions to different perceptions of space in an early colonial context, see Mundy (1996).

control depended so heavily on the fixation of persons in space, such arrangements were inherently unstable.

The struggle between urban and rural elites over the delimitation of grain markets (chapters 10 and 11) represents another illuminating case of the complex interaction between spatial structures and spatial practices. In this case the urban authorities in Taxco sought to redefine their jurisdiction through the incorporation of the province of Iguala, the agrarian hinterland of the mining center. In the 1760s Taxco succeeded in gaining control over the Iguala Valley and began to argue that according to the
tradition of regional authority over grain distribution they now had the right to limit maize exports from their newly expanded jurisdiction. The agrarian elite of the valley countered by arguing not only for the right to free markets. They also asserted that the new Taxco/Iguala jurisdiction was not a region in the traditional sense (or not a "traditional" region), and that therefore the customary rights of regional authorities, even if they were to be recognized, were not operative. Thus an initial struggle over jurisdictional limits was followed by a discussion of the meaning of the new jurisdictional space in regards to marketing structure. In other words, the rural elite challenged the urban-based administrative definition of region with a historical one: given that the joint Taxco/Iguala jurisdiction was ahistorical, and not based on any valid structure of historical identity, it was not a valid unit for the recognition of a moral spatial economy of grain.

This introduction began with an epigraph from a Realist writer, offered to challenge a romantic, heroic vision that has penetrated various aspects of modern anthropological and historical writing. Going beyond Eliot's phrase, Realist literary theory—with its proscription of authorial intervention, its allegiance to quotidian experience, and its sensitivity to the influence of the social milieu on individual identity and action—was presented as a foil against which to

discuss current trends in social scientific and historical writing and, in the process, situate the present dissertation in its discussion of these issues. One point made was that this thesis has been structured in such a way as to highlight the constant tension between spatial structures and spatial practices, and between socioeconomic and discursive aspects of structure and agency. Moreover, these issues are not discussed simply as part of an effort to contribute to a geographically based social science literature, but rather as an assertion of the importance of spatial patterns and processes in shaping the colonizing experience. In this manner the present study may be considered a move that partially remedies what Soja has called a "historicism of theoretical consciousness that . . . has tended to occlude a comparable critical sensibility to the spatiality of social life, a practical theoretical consciousness that sees the lifeworld of being creatively located not only in the making of history but also in the construction of human geographies, the social production of space and the restless formation and reformation of geographical landscapes: social being actively emplaced in space *and* time in an explicitly historical *and* geographical contexualization."[40]

A second aspect of the Realist approach—its concern with the quotidian and with common shared experiences—also bears on recent historical and social scientific research. In each of these two disciplines this concern is certainly not new: for history this subject of study can be traced back at least to Michelet, and for anthropology to Vico and the German counter-Enlightenment, though antecedents exist in ancient times and the Age of Discovery.[41] What is new in the literature, however, is a series of related analytic concerns that have become of theoretical importance in several modern academic disciplines. In the preceding pages three of these have been mentioned: resistance, survival, and agency. Some caveats to the use of the first

40. Soja (1989:10–11).

41. See Hodgen (1964).

two were briefly pointed out. They are dealt with only obliquely in this thesis, although certainly the in-depth exploration of migration in chapters 6 and 7, of place making and place breaking, has a significant bearing on the question of survival.

Agency is more directly dealt with, particularly in its relationship to the continuous tension between spatial structures and spatial practices. It is here—in the interplay between structure and process—that the third concern of Realism relevant to anthropology and history is examined: its sensitivity to the influence of the social milieu on individual identity and action. In this dissertation this interplay is explored in one domain in particular: that of space. One of the reasons for this focus has already been mentioned: the manner in which spatial patterns are influenced by the interplay between structure and process. Yet there is also a reason why the colonial experience is itself not only particularly sensitive to spatial practices, but also offers a unique ground on which to conduct a spatial history. This is the topic explored in the second section of this introduction.

COLONIZATION AND SPATIAL HISTORY

The title of this dissertation asserts that it is a "spatial history of a colonial society." With this statement two points are raised, one by negation and the other by affirmation. The first is that this is a spatial and not a regional study. There is a reason for this, which will be explained in the first part of this section. The second is that this is a historical study of a colonial society. Again there is a reason why a colonial society is of particular interest for spatial analysis and why a diachronic exploration of spatial structures and processes is so important in this situation.

In the previous section, two major approaches to region have been presented: an experiential, humanistic geography that emphasizes the experience of place by individual human actors, and a positivistic geography that focuses on region as a heuristic tool, "a mental category

to be employed in classifying or organizing geographical data."[42] The first approach explores regionalism as a form of identity in some way felt by its inhabitants, or at least manifested in some sort of private or public expression of meaning, often symbolically mediated. This involves a definition of region "as a specific set of cultural relationships between a group and particular places. It is based on a certain awareness among its inhabitants of their common culture and of their differences from other groups."[43] The second definition of region involves an analytical abstraction from social processes (be they political, economic, or social) to a spatial, social scientific idiom. This perspective covers the neoclassical models of locational theory, the mode of production models of locality studies, and the processual models of structuration theory, all of which have one major point in common: they are concerned less with the cognitive aspect of place and more with the manner in which social events play out within and create spatial systems, and how these patterns are recognized and categorized by social science research. These two approaches may be taken as exemplifying how, if at all, regional studies might be pertinent to a history of colonial New Spain.

The utility of the experiential model essentially depends on the degree to which regional space was a valid cognitive category pertinent to how colonial subjects identified themselves or interpreted the colonial landscape. Did, in other words, these individuals feel or think in regional terms? However, models that might be appropriate to understanding the development of a regional consciousness, such as the *genres de vie* (styles of living) concept of Vidal de la Blache and the "imagined community" framework of Anderson, seem particularly inapt for colonial New Spain. The model suggested by the French geographer is most appropriate to undercapitalized rural societies, that is, societies characterized by a lack of productive and commercial relations

42. Paasi (1986:116).

43. Gilbert (1988:210). For an attempt to define regional culture in Mexico, see Lomnitz (1992).

that extend beyond the *pays*, considered to have emerged as "the integrated result of physical, historical, and socio-cultural influences surrounding the human relationship to milieu in particular places."[44] There were many factors that influenced the development of this approach, which rejected the environmental determinism that had preceded it and embraced the Romantic vision of the particularities of places and their cultures.[45] Yet Vidal's model, which was essentially concerned with human-land relations, acquires validity only in the context of long-term occupation of specific regions, *pays*, that forged an identity through the repeated interaction of society and milieu.

For colonial New Spain, the question is whether this type of inchoate and historically based regional identity did emerge, that is, whether there were recognized regionally differentiated life-styles or, at least, cognitive models shared by spatially contiguous social groups that prioritized place as the principal element of sociocultural identity. It would seem that this was not the case, though this does not preclude the fact that culturally based isoglosses for the colonial period might in retrospect have some validity for ethnohistorical study. The foci of identification for colonists might well have included allegiance to points of origin in the Iberian peninsula, or networks of kin and social contacts that clearly had a spatial component. In this sense space certainly matters for research. But there is little evidence that these sentiments were ever translated into anything approaching regional consciousness or spatial sentiments. The regional focus of indigenous society is equally hard to document although, as I suggest in chapter 6 in a discussion of efforts to reestablish indigenous rights to Palula, some sort of regional structure

44. Buttimer (1978:60); see also Buttimer (1971).

45. Thus one of the major influences on Vidal was Michelet; see Buttimer (1971:16–17). For an excellent discussion of nineteenth-century geography, important for its exploration of the links between geography and anthropology, see Livingstone (1992). One result of Vidal's impact was the emergence of a scholarly tradition in France especially devoted to "small-scale regional monographs of particular French *pays*"; Livingstone (1992:271).

based on prehispanic patterns of political authority might have continued into the early colonial period. But again, such systems are both hard to document and little studied.[46]

The regionalized antecedents of Spanish society did, however, have one clear impact on colonial society: the spatial fragmentation that had formerly characterized peninsular law, customs, and traditions continued to form the bedrock of colonial legal culture (see chapter 3). The timeless quality of the Spanish legal system, with laws remaining "on the books" long after they had been nominally superceded by other legislative, judicial, and administrative decrees, in effect led to a system of regional law without regional society, at least not regional society in the sense it had acquired in the Old World. In this dissertation, the most illustrative case of this tension between regional law and regional society is that which occurred when Taxco authorities sought to extend their jurisdiction over the agrarian hinterland of the urban mining center in order to be able to take advantage of traditional rights that enabled provincial jurisdictions to inhibit the exportation of grain until local provisioning needs had been met. In other words, the urban authorities sought to mold regional spatial extension (at least in terms of administrative authority) to take advantage of spatially circumscribed rights that originated in Western Europe before Colbertian mercantilism and then absolutism had begun to forge a national space at the expense of provincial autonomy. Regionalization in this colonial case was not a historical pattern that emerged out of long-term evolution of society and milieu but was, instead, a pragmatic discourse of regionality in a colonial situation in which the historical geography of such units of provincial administration reflected the impact of a wide range of factors, from prehispanic patterns of indigenous authority to early colonial encomienda and corregimiento assignments, but apparently

46. The continuance of indigenous forms of political and social organization generally was at the level of the *a:ltepe:tl*; see among others Gibson (1952, 1964), Lockhart (1992), Haskett (1987, 1991a), García Martínez (1987, 1990), and Licate (1981).

did not include the evolution of self-sufficient provincial systems salient in the consciousness of its inhabitants.

The regional identities perceived by Vidal de la Blache in France had developed over time as the result of continuous interaction between society and milieu. According to his model, they emerged from the bottom up as part of an almost natural, or genetic, process of socio-spatial evolution. A quite different model is that of the "imagined community" most eloquently, though not uniquely, expressed by Anderson.[47] The importance of such symbolic representations of spatially based identities is lucidly presented by Paasi in a theoretical discussion of "the emergence of regions and the constitution of regional identity," a discussion that is heavily indebted to the structuration model pioneered by Giddens and Pred.[48] According to Paasi, the "institutionalization of a region is a process during which some specific level of the spatial structure becomes an established entity which is identified in different spheres of social action and consciousness and which is continually reproduced in individual and institutional practices (e.g. economic, political, legal, educational, cultural, etc.)."[49] Key to this process of regional development is the parallel formation of institutional shape and conceptual (symbolic) shape, "as the emergence of institutions is naturally linked with the increasing employment of the name and other territorial symbols and signs of the region."[50] Thus whatever the pattern of territorial or politico-administrative segmentation of space that might exist (and it would be rare for state societies to lack these divisions), institutionalization occurs only with the emergence of a series of symbolic representations and cultural mechanisms oriented to the reproduction of a social

47. Anderson (1991).

48. From the subtitle of Paasi (1986). See also Pred (1983, 1984, 1990) and Giddens (1984).

49. Paasi (1986:105).

50. Ibid., 126.

consciousness of regional identities. In this sense a region is clearly an "imagined community" for, "in fact, all communities larger than primoridial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined."[51] There are many ways in which such symbolic and sentimental representations of regions might emerge: regional names (such as Costa Chica, Costa Grande, Tierra Caliente, La Montaña, to name but a few that are documented for postindependence Guerrero); regional literatures such as novels and newspapers that promoted a consciousness and feeling for the *patria chica*; educational programs (including museums, maps, and public architecture) that focus on and teach about patterns of regional differentiation, particularly in the cultural realm.[52]

In New Spain, however, many of these symbolic elements and cultural patterns of representation seem to have been absent. Administrative units certainly did exist, but it is hard to imagine any particular attachment to these provincial units; they do not seem to be particularly salient for individual or group identity. Although a few regional names do date to the colonial period (such as the Bajío), there appears to be a notable lack of names (and nicknames) for vernacular regions and their inhabitants. For example, one can scarcely imagine late colonial

51. Anderson (1991:6).

52. I have not encountered any of the regional names in colonial literature for what is now the state of Guerrero. Likewise, regional mass media, such as newspapers, does not seem to have existed in Guerrero before the late nineteenth century and regional texts, such as those produced by Ignacio Altamirano (1834–93) were likewise a postindependence phenomenon. On naming and vernacular regions in general, see Jordan (1978), Shortridge (1984, 1985), and Zelinsky (1980). For the importance of the novel in regional identity, see Gilbert (1960). For the regional novel in Latin America, see Alonso (1990); see also Jordan (1994a, 1994b). Anderson (1991:29–32, 48) notes that the first Spanish-American (not *regional* Spanish-American) novel was published in 1816. On the role of newspapers, Paasi notes: "Studies on the history of Finnish newspapers indicate that local newspapers have been crucial for the emergence of a number of new provinces from the end of the 19th century onwards. Through their market areas, these papers have created a feeling of togetherness, transmitted ideal criteria for regional identification and maintained the elements of the structures of expectations in the regions" (p. 129). I have not been able to document any colonial newspapers in what is now the modern state of Guerrero; Anderson (1991:61), who treats of nationalism, not regionalism, in the Spanish Americas, notes that till the end of the seventeenth century presses in New Spain existed only in Mexico City.

citizens identifying themselves as from the Costa Chica, or La Montaña, as many individuals from Guerrero would do today. Likewise, social concern with regional differentiation and self-conscious regional identification seems not to have emerged in Spanish America until after independence, perhaps sometime in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. In part this occurred under the influence of European concepts in history and literature; but in part the postindependence political fragmentation of Mexico and the emergence of regional caudillos whose core power bases were often spatially circumscribed also played a role.

Thus in the sense of a *genre de vie* or an imagined community, *region* seems to have had little relevance for the inhabitants of colonial New Spain, whose spatial history was truncated at both ends. Colonization began with an abrupt break of many patterns of prehispanic geography,[53] and colonizers in New Spain had neither the history nor the time to forge the regional systems and spatial bonds that would have created the *genres de vie* that they had experienced in the peninsula. And at the other extreme, the colonial period came to an end before many of the social and cultural mechanisms for imagining community at a regional level (that which was located between village and nation) were in place. But if region as an experiential element has little significance for New Spain, the question arises as to whether it has any heuristic or analytical value for historians studying this colonial society. The answer is undoubtedly yes in one sense. As a category for "classifying or organizing geographical data," regions are "good to think"; they are a useful analytical tool for exploring and understanding structures and processes that characterize or extend over areas within a nation.[54] The utility of the concept, however, is often

53. Gibson (1964) famously showed that many of the postconquest units (corregimientos and parishes, in particular) were built upon prehispanic socio-spatial relations (cf. Licate 1981; Lockhart 1991b). Yet for the most part these were the a:ltepe:tl, and not any larger units that might have existed.

54. The phrase is from Van Young (1992b), who offers an excellent introduction and analysis of regional studies in general, and those of Mexico in particular. The collection of essays in Van Young (1992a) is the best introduction to the literature and the problem of the region in Mexican history, from the colonial period to the present.

challenged on two grounds: that regions cannot be unambiguously delimited and that they are difficult, if not impossible, to precisely define.

As one geographer has noted, there are no simply spatial processes, but only "particular social processes operating over space."[55] The "problem" of clear-cut regional boundaries can, therefore, easily be considered a more circumscribed statement of a problem common to the geography of all social processes: the delimitation, both in terms of sociocultural attributes and spatial extension, of the unit of analysis. Perhaps in certain cases, such as that relating to zones of politico-administrative authority, regions are easier to delimit than in others, though even here questions of interstitial and extra-territorial relations make it difficult to defend the idea that power, in any meaningful social scientific sense, is coterminous with formal jurisdiction. In other cases boundaries are even more elusive. Yet for decades this same issue of the boundaries of social processes has been dealt with in anthropological theory with little anguish. And once space is considered a simple dimension of social structure and process, these anthropological solutions to the "boundary problem," such as those developed in network theory, can be applied with little difficulty.[56]

A more serious problem with region as a unit of analysis concerns precisely its flexibility as a heuristic concept, its ability to be applied to a multitude of research domains. Regions can be climatological and topological, representative of modes of production or webs of distribution, coterminous with informal networks of political power or formal units of administrative authority. They can be cultural or cognitive, historical or imagined. Regions, in this sense, seem to reach their outer limits at the points where the phenomenon being studied becomes too thin to

55. Massey (1985:11). In this regard space is like time; paraphrasing Grotius (and substituting *space* for the original *time*): "for space, of its own nature, has no effective power; for nothing is done by space, though everything is done in space"; cited in Johnson (1950:336; see chap. 3, n. 117).

interest the researcher. Many scholars have pointed to this malleability as central to the heuristic value of the regional concept. Hartshorne, for example, states simply that "a 'region' is an area of specific location which is in some way distinctive from other areas and which extends as far as that distinction extends. The nature of the distinction is determined by the student using the term; if not explicitly stated, it must be judged from the context."[57] A more recent scholar has made a similar observation:

> The definition [of a region] depends on the aim of the study; whether, for instance, it be to understand the operation of a national economy, of a nation's political structure, or its degree of social heterogeneity. In historical analysis, including the analysis of contemporary trends, one of the most useful ways to use the concept of region is heuristic, in which the region does not have clear geographical boundaries. The areas included within a region may both alter over time or change depending on which aspect of the region is chosen for study.[58]

Therefore the problem of delimitation and definition go hand in hand, as does their solution: it is by establishing the definition of a region in accord with the "aim of the study" that the problem of limits is made more manageable, if not solved for practical, research purposes. Yet as increasingly varied social processes become the object of study, the spatial plane appears more variegated, and regions proliferate along with the structures and processes that define them. Even within a specific domain such as that of markets and trade, classes, castes, and commodities might all play out differently in the spatial dimension. This does not mean that market systems do not exist, but that in certain contexts (and colonial New Spain might be one) spatial structures (which include the geographies of legal and customary rights) and spatial practices might be a more promising line of exploration than that of regional systems, even in the realm of markets and trade.

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56. Here I am thinking of the analysis suggested by Barnes (1969) and Mitchell (1969b); see also the other essays in Mitchell (1969a).

57. Hartshorne (1959:130), cited in Paasi (1986:116).

58. Roberts (1992:228).

It is in regard to markets and trade, in fact, that the regional nature of colonial New Spain has been so vociferously stated: many previous studies of the economy of New Spain have pointed directly to this domain as quintessentially "regionalized," primarily the result of high transportation costs that hindered the formation of a national market. These issues are extensively explored in chapters 8 and 9, which suggest the necessity of studying the ways in which different commodities are moved through different spaces by different groups of people: a spatial study that is an implicit critique of what has been a dominant concern over the question of national versus regional market. Historically, in Europe national market integration was achieved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in part as regional barriers were attacked by an absolutist state convinced of the necessity of a centralized economic and fiscal policy and the advantages of free trade and open markets (interpreted in accord with liberal eighteenth-century political economy). Yet as argued below, for colonial New Spain it can be suggested that market regionalization was not simply a vestige of past systems to be overcome, but, as was the case in Taxco, it emerged precisely as a defensive reaction of provincial urban elites to the threat posed by national integration, particularly of grain markets. Another common perspective on colonial markets has focused on urban centers as the principal pole of attraction for solar-system markets. Again, other approaches might prove useful: an exploration of marketing patterns from the rural perspective of the Iguala Valley, for example, seems to reveal a decided reluctance of rural elites to market produce in regional centers that were not competitive with more distant, and more lucrative, outlets. This tension over market structure between urban miners and rural agrarian entrepreneurs was exacerbated by two additional factors. For the miners maize was both food for workers and fodder for animals; it was a cost of production and thus market competitiveness (i.e., higher prices) had a direct and detrimental effect on the economic viability of the major urban industry. For the major hinterland merchant, moreover, maize was used to maintain a highly

capitalized transport enterprise, which had developed in response to shifting patterns of intercolonial trade.

This section has explored several basic premises. The first is that *region* as a conscious experience of place was absent from the colonial ontology: sentiments that might have existed were destroyed, sentiments that might have developed were inchoate, and sentiments that might have been fomented were still in embryo. The second is that *region* as a heuristic device "to be employed in classifying or organizing geographical data" is useful only after a simplification of the range of the "social processes operating over space" that are the object of study. By exploring the spatial aspects of a wide range of social events (land takeover, migration, and exchange being the most fundamental in this dissertation) it is difficult to maintain *region* as an analytical tool except in a most general sense. Thus although *region* is used as a term of reference in this thesis, it should be understood not as a formal or functional spatial unit, but only in the most general terms as an area of focused interest.[59]

This second section began with a reference to the implications of the subtitle of this thesis: that this dissertation should be considered a spatial and not a regional study, and that spatial history is a particularly fruitful way to explore the social dynamics of a colonial society such as New Spain. This approach contends that colonization develops and plays itself out in myriad conflicts over spatial patterns, and that a history and exploration of these struggles—their basis and justification, their development and partial resolution, and their continual resurgence and reformulation according to the changing structures of colonial society—provides a necessary complement to understanding the political economy of colonial societies.

59. For a concise definition of formal and functional regions, see Van Young (1992b:7, n. 9). Basically, a formal region is defined by similarity of features within a given space; a functional region is defined by the interdependence of various elements within a given space.

There are many reasons why an exploration of the spatial dimension of New World colonization is such a rich area of study. For one, many of the most contentious issues of the early contact period can be considered geographical in a comprehensive sense of the term. An initial debate within the Spanish state and church over the rights of infidels to *dominium*, which included the general issue of indigenous sovereignty and territorial rights, developed into more specific debates over property rights on a case by case basis in which space (particularly the distance between indigenous village and colonial agrarian enterprises) was a prime consideration. The sixteenth century also represented a period of tension between conflicting cultures of territoriality and property rights, as well as contending conceptions of space itself.[60] An additional area of struggle concerned settlement. In the second half of this same century, the crown undertook an extensive program of forced relocation of increasingly decimated indigenous villages, a restructuring of rural space that was partly motivated by a pragmatics of conquest (to facilitate the religious conversion and secular administration of the indigenous population) and partly by a belief that equated urban settlement with rational civilization.[61] And finally, the early colonial period was marked by a tributary system characterized not simply by state efforts to extract wealth from newly conquered lands, but also by meticulous control over intercolonial patterns of distribution and exchange. Old European laws against regrating and forestalling were transferred to the New World in an effort to promote direct marketing of agrarian produce, mostly grain. But other colonial forms of direct state intervention over the spatial dimensions of markets and trade also developed, including viceregal administration of crown and encomendero tribute, as the crown would order tribute maize taken to be sold in the food deficient mining towns of

60. For the former, see chapter 3 below; for the latter, see particularly Mundy (1996).

61. On the congregación program, see Gerhard (1975, 1977) and García Martínez (1987:passim). On the planning and design of the nucleated towns of forced resettlement, see Crouch, Garr, and Mundigo (1982); see also Rama (1996:chap. 1).

central New Spain (see chapter 10). Yet these were only the earliest and most striking examples of what may be referred to as a conquest of space, not simply through physical occupation, but also through policies affecting how space, place, territory, property, settlement, and exchange were defined and delimited.

Spatial considerations are also important for understanding the late colonial period. The final half-century before independence seems to have witnessed a resurgence in the administration and restructuring of colonial space, and policy shifts were paralleled by the increasingly complex spatial practices of the colonial population, both indigenous and non-indigenous. For example, the Bourbon state undertook a series of administrative reforms meant to centralize and rationalize the administration of the colonies; many of these can be explored and analyzed in their spatial dimension. Among these changes was the restructuring of the fiscal branch of colonial administration after the *visita* of José de Gálvez. This has often been viewed as an element of the rationalization and centralization of politico-administrative control: jurisdictional boundaries of tax districts (*alcabalatorios*) were redrawn and the tax farms that had dominated collection were replaced, in 1777, with direct administration by crown officials who perceived a portion of the taxes collected (usually 14 percent) as salary. Yet if these measures are viewed in strictly fiscal terms, as an effort to increase crown revenues (which they certainly were), the significant spatial implications of such restructuring would be slighted. Before centralization, provincial administration of the alcabala was an important weapon in molding the shape of interregional exchange; the relative strictness of localized taxation had an effect on marketing patterns, as merchants were attracted to districts with favorable schedules or policies.[62] Therefore centralization, by affecting a certain level of provincial autonomy, had an impact

62. It is for this reason that corporate groups within certain tax districts would bid for the right to collect the alcabala; the assignment of a tax farm to entrepreneurial businessmen, who at times lived outside the

beyond that affecting levels of state revenue: it created different patterns of local political tensions and interregional exchange patterns. There were many other changes during the late colonial period that had profound effects on the spatial dimension of New Spain. The abolition of a prohibition on intercolonial trade created a sudden and dramatic surge in the importation of Guayaquil cacao (from Ecuador) through the Pacific coast port of Acapulco. And the destruction of sugar plantations in Santo Domingo in the 1790s not only created an international demand that was met to a great degree by expanded production and commercialization of sugar in New Spain, but set in motion events within the colony that apparently led to shifts in patterns of regional production and interregional exchange.

Awareness of these events is certainly nothing novel. Undoubtedly any study of Bourbon administrative reform, of sugar production in colonial America, or of cacao trade between the southern and northern hemispheres would cover these developments. Likewise, studies of the early colonial period inevitably mention the congregación, or forced resettlement, program; and more specialized articles and books have dealt with grain marketing and legislation. What is novel in this thesis is that its primary focus is on spatial structures and spatial practices as the common thread linking quite diverse events, both those of colonial administration and those involving the response of colonized peoples to the conquest.

THE MÖBIUS STRIP: CONCLUSION

This introduction has approached the present thesis from two perspectives. The first, explored through the foil of Realist literary theory, has been to situate the dissertation in the context of contemporary trends and debates in the social sciences and humanities, particularly the nature and

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jurisdiction of their tax farm, inevitably led to conflict between local business and outside speculative interests.

impact of authorial intervention, the characteristics of the subject of study, and the importance of achieving an analytic perspective that balances structure and process through a clear exposition of the context (particularly the constraints) within which social action occurs. A spatial history of colonial society has been offered as a particularly effective way to explore the third point: the dynamics of structure and process as they played themselves out through the period under study. Yet this approach also has critical consequences for questions such as what should be the primary subject of study and the nature and impact of authorial intervention on moralized discourse and analytical focus. In regards to the former, by focusing on spatial patterns, no single subject of study (indigenous peoples or colonists, elite or subaltern, rural or urban) has been put forth as the dominant theme of this thesis. Rather, the central concern is what may be called the geography of social interaction, the fields upon which a wide range of groups and individuals act, from state institutions to itinerant peasants. In regard to authorial intervention, a deliberate attempt has been made (as with Realist texts) to avoid any directly manifested voice (or any assertion that voice is being "given" to others). Nevertheless, this should not be construed as in any way indicative of a belief in the possibility of noninterventionist writing. Rather, the form of this thesis has been in a sense engineered in a "suggestive structure whereby meaning *emerges*—as a function of the structure itself"—and this meaning involves a commitment to the importance of both structure and agency as the key elements to understanding the development of social forms.

The second perspective, elaborated upon by emphasizing the differences between a regional and a spatial approach, has been to establish the way in which the present study fits in with the historiography of colonial societies and, specifically, of New Spain. Here it was argued that a particularly useful way to understand this society is through a spatial history, an exploration of the spatial conflicts engendered by colonization. In order to justify such an approach two points needed to be made: the advantages of a perspective that explores spatial structures and

practices as opposed to one that takes a more strictly or traditionally regional approach; and the assertion that colonial societies, in particular, present an unusual opportunity for studying the spatial dimensions of social change.

To begin with, by definition colonization represents the control of one society by another, and the administrative apparatus of the European colonizing state has often been particularly concerned with questions of categorization and classification, of territorialization and geographic control, of administration and trade. In this sense it inevitably comes into conflict with autochthonous society and culture, while forging patterns that are novel even within the arena of Western "civilization." Moreover, given that so much of colonial development is new, the spatial patterns that develop often reflect a high degree of agency of colonists and colonial subjects, perhaps more so than would be the case in a society with a long tradition of more formalized and institutionalized geographic units and a greater cognitive saliency of spatialized identities. Finally, Spanish colonization in particular developed during a period flanked by two major debates that had profound implications for the geography of conquest and colonization. The first concerned the rights of infidels to *dominium* and the proper relationship of Spaniards and Indians. Each of these achieved unique expression in the New World. For example, the question of indigenous political and property rights (of territorialization in its broadest manifestation) was embedded in contemporary political and religious struggles on the European continent, although the newly conquered domains and colonists' demands created a distinct context for Old World legal discourse. And unlike previous patterns of interaction between conqueror and conquered, in New Spain the two republic system developed as a unique mechanism to erect political and geographic barriers between one group and the other. The second major debate that flanked the Hispanic colonial endeavor revolved around late eighteenth-century developments such as a liberal political economy and the emergence of the absolutist European nation-state, both of

which had profound implications for spatial manifestations of society as it related to questions of trade, markets, administrative jurisdictions, and political authority. As Colbertian mercantilism, physiocracy, and liberalism grabbed hold of political economic discourse in Europe, new definitions of space, particularly economic space, emerged. The colonial experience, in other words, was ending just as liberal political economy was asserting itself, along with absolutism, as the dominant trend in state formation and economic exchange. As a consequence the principal protagonists of colonial society were able to articulate their demands in competing discourses, none of which had yet achieved unchallenged ascendancy in official policies.

It is these concerns—and in the end a reluctance to recognize in this thesis any clear-cut separation between one spatial unit and another, between structure and process, between political and moral economy, and between institutional authority and individual agency—that gave rise to the metaphor of the title: the Möbius strip, a mathematical concept that creates the illusion of a dimensionality where it is in effect nonexistent. In its broadest manifestation, this trope suggests the futility of pursuing any particular path of analysis under the assumption that other contrary concerns will remain safely tucked away on a continually hidden and not particularly relevant underside. Rather, as with the Möbius strip, if one pursues any line of thought and investigation long enough, one will eventually wind up facing structures and issues that initially appeared to be located on the other side of seemingly impermeable boundaries. In sum, the more multifaceted social analysis becomes, the more difficult it is to study spatial patterns and social processes in isolation.

At its most basic level, then, the title's metaphor is relevant to a integrated way of understanding the interrelationship among distinct spatial patterns, such as those associated with politico-administrative authority, land tenure systems, demographic movements, and commercial exchange—the principal elements of spatial structures and processes explored in this thesis,

which explores the conflicts that developed as the result of overlapping spatial patterns. For example, in one case study, emigration from the Tixtla-Chilapa jurisdiction to the Iguala Valley (treated in chapter 7), it was precisely the conflict between the spatial extension of administrative authority on the one hand and demographic flows and the concomitant dispersed social networks that were formed on the other that created tensions is the social geography of central Guerrero. In another case, that of grain markets (chapters 10 and 11), the metaphor of the Möbius strip symbolizes the necessity of achieving an analytical synthesis between elements such as legal structures (including state-sponsored laws and popular traditions relevant to the spatial dimensions of socioeconomic interaction) and spatial practices (the manner in which individuals and groups engaged in the movement of commodities through space).

Finally, then, this thesis represents an effort to explore a variety of social structures and processes in their spatial dimensions. It is based on the sentiment that, as one geographer already cited has noted, there are no simply spatial processes, but only "particular social processes operating over space."[63] And it adds the assertion that the space that these processes occupy is in constant flux, a ubiquitous bone of contention between social groups and individual actors at times in conflict and at times simply differing—in histories and identities, in structures of feeling and patterns of residence, in specialized production and webs of exchange. This thesis is, then, a study of how space was experienced and constructed, how conflicts in this realm were created and resolved, and how, most basically, the colonial process can be approached as a spatial history.

63. See n. 55 supra.

Part 1

Terrain and Territoriality

The Natural and Social Context of Land and Property

CHAPTER 2

THE LAY OF THE LAND

INTRODUCTION: THE CULTURE OF ECOLOGY

It had been a rather long day, as days tend to get in 110-degree heat and hilly terrain—particularly for an anthropologist intent on documenting land tenure in a society in which concepts of land ownership and use were changing dramatically under the impact of a booming trade in "indigenous artisanry" and the increasing relegation of agriculture more to the symbolic than the subsistence realm, that is, more of a way of maintaining a "peasant lifestyle" than of making ends meet within the household economy. Every day now for close to a month I had walked through the countryside with my teacher, identifying land plots and their history on the basis of sketches made the night before from detailed aerial photographs that, together, measured some 10 square meters. For some reason today had been particularly difficult; I was hot and exhausted. So when the village sneaked into sight, peering out between several hills still to be contested, I decided to refresh myself by pouring the water of my gourd canteen over my head, secure in the belief that my second wind would meet the small challenge left and suffice to take me the remaining few miles. About the same time I started pouring I heard a few words of advice: *ma:ka, nika:n xtlah a:tl* ('Don't do it, there's no water around here!), the peasant equivalent, I guess, of the urban American's "Lock the car door behind you!" to a small-town visitor—in both societies advice so basic that it is heard only with neophytes unfamiliar with the local terrain. I had been wrong—my second wind did not suffice—and my friend had been right—there was no water around. About half an hour later, thoroughly dehydrated, I sat down in

the meager shade of a miserly tree, waiting for someone to pass by with a canteen not so brazenly empty as mine.

Several months later, and well into the dry season, I was finishing up my survey of land tenure and toponyms when I walked past a small pool (perhaps puddle would be a more accurate description) by the side of a path. My companion that day took a drink and, knowing my interest in place names, told me that this gloomy spring, scarcely a couple of quarts in content, had a name: "A:gwah Sa:rkah" (a borrowing from Spanish meaning "Light-Blue Water"). I had known, of course, that many places with water had names, large areas of land (*parajes*) surrounding a watering hole or a natural spring visited daily by humans and animals alike. But here it was the watersite itself (and a quite meager one at that) that was named. When I returned to Ameyaltepec, I curiously started telling people where I had been—to A:gwah Sa:rkah—half expecting someone to ask me where it was. It turned out, of course, that everyone knew its precise location and no one seemed surprised that I would mention I had been there; in an environment invariably on the verge of drought no water was too trifling to name nor too insignificant to visit. A few months ago A:gwah Sa:rkah would have seemed an oasis.

Water too is a source of pride, and those who live in the hillside village of Ameyaltepec, with a nearby waterhole that dwindles to a trickle during the dry season, are extremely disdainful of the filtered water that valley dwellers get from the river. When older Ameyaltepequeños go to neighboring San Juan Tetelcingo, located on the northern banks of the Balsas River, to buy ceramics or palm, or consult several of its well-known *curanderos* (curers), they will invariably take their own gourd canteen, that they fill before departing at the village spring. Not only are they wary of the ability of San Juanecos to surreptitiously make little animals (such as worms or insects) appear in the liquids (of any type) they venomously offer to unsuspecting and soon-to-be-ill strangers, but Ameyaltepequeños claim that the river water from San Juan doesn't fill them

up (*xtixwis*, 'you won't be satisfied'). Indeed, one old man from Ameyaltepec is famous because, in a story that is probably as apocryphal as it is telling, when he suddenly got thirsty during a fiesta in San Juan, he took leave of his guests and ran back to his village (about an hour round trip) to fill up a canteen with fresh spring water.

Water for drinking is one thing (it usually comes up from the ground) and water for crops is another (it usually falls from the sky). The relation of human society to each is distinct. If knowledge and naming permits most residents of the Balsas River valley to navigate their way through a land that is parched for all but a few summer months of shocking green, such terrestrial erudition is inadequate to deal with the vicissitudes of precipitation, which depends more on divine will and saintly favors than anything else. Thus one finds that many of the religious ceremonies that cluster at the opposing cusps of the rainy season are overt petitions for rain. During San Marcos and Santa Cruz, in late April and the first days of May, rain is sought to soften the earth; during Ascención and Santa Cruz (again), in mid-August and mid-September, rain is sought to ripen the maize. Failure at either of these two moments can be dramatic: earth left too hard to accept the plow or maize plants left barren just as their ears come to fruition. Moreover, timing is one of the most important aspects of rain and a few days difference might have unfortunate results. For example, once, immediately after the fiesta of San Miguel (September 29) and a couple of weeks into a drought, Ameyaltepequeños took the Virgen de la Concepción down from her altar and, after a short procession around the village, placed her back inside the church at floor level so that they could directly approach her with supplications for rain. By San Francisco (October 4), when their entreaties remained unanswered, they took the Virgen—again with procession, music and flowers, and seemingly unperturbed by her lack of response—and placed her back on the altar. Several days later in rained; and I expected to hear again of the patron saint's compassion and power. There was, however, no celebration. The rain

had come a few days too late; instead of nourishing the maize through its final days of growth, the water would now fall on the already-drying stalks, threatening to generate mildew and mold that would make what little grain could be harvested completely inedible.

While mapping and praying are divergent ways that men and women access earthly and heavenly waters, there is one type of individual who can mediate between these two extremes: a *caballero*. Literally meaning "horseman" (from *caballo*, 'horse'), but most commonly extended to mean "gentleman," the quintessential *caballero* in the Balsas River region is Santiago (Saint James), the Spanish patron of the Spanish *reconquista* and the New World conquest—a knightly figure now fully incorporated into the indigenous pantheon, where he is a powerful force for both good and evil.[1] But certain people—women as well as men—can also be *caballeros*, with special powers derived from the fact that their consciousness (*tlamachilistli*) resides in two places—on earth and in the heavens.[2] *Caballeros* are formed during gestation: a pregnant woman might awaken to find that her child has left her womb. She must return immediately to sleep, lest her child (or, it seems, his or her soul) remain in the heavens. Apparently most return, but they now have a consciousness in the heavens that accompanies them throughout their lives. This can be dangerous, for *caballeros* are notoriously jealous and violent and will throw each other to earth—a shooting star marks the path of descent that must inevitably end with the destruction of both consciousnesses and the death of the *caballero*'s corporeal body on earth.

The most commented power of *caballeros* is their ability to find, or to summon, water. A friend once told me of another villager who had held out his hand in a greeting; in his palm was a

1. In the Balsas River region, Santiago is commonly referred to as Santiago Caballero, a clear allusion to his iconic image as a saint riding a horse, his right, sword-wielding arm extended upward in attack. For the role of Santiago in the New World, see Fernández et al. (1993); Myers, Simmons, and Pierce (1991); and Silverblatt (1988).

2. The most common and concise definition of a *caballero* is that he or she has two "consciousnesses" *o:me itlamachilis*.

small pool of water and a tiny fish, proof of the welcomer's status as a *caballero* and, extraordinarily given the secrecy *caballeros* seek to maintain, his desire for celebrity above anonymity. Another acquaintance mentioned that he had once gone to help someone in his field and, after working for some time had gotten very thirsty. It turned out that neither had brought along water. The landowner then walked a short distance away and moved a rock slightly to the side; behind it there was a small spring, and my friend got his drink. He knew the land well, however, and there never had been any water there. Its appearance revealed the invisible hand of a *caballero* who had made water spring forth on command. Finally, I was often told of a parish priest who had resided in the nearby village of Oapan; he was famous for his ill temper and his adherence (to the point at which he apparently was at one time was excommunicated) to Latin liturgy and other practices that were ended by Vatican II. But he too was a *caballero* and was known in Ameyaltepec and neighboring villages as someone who could foretell the amount of rainfall a coming season would bring. His powers of prediction as a fearsome *caballero* seemed to fit well with his vitriolic character and his priestly "connections."

It would not be overly interpretive, I think, to link the powers of *caballeros* over both celestial and terrestial waters to the dichotomization of their "souls," a tandem vision that operates in coupled worlds. Nor would it be a stretch to suggest that this manifest concern with water is a direct reflection of both its scarcity and indispensability. The Balsas River valley is one of the driest and hottest regions in central Mexico, and the scant rain that does fall tends to evaporate very quickly, increasing the risk of agriculture even beyond what the scarcity of water would imply. The culture of water just discussed, therefore, saturates an environment that appears to be a natural bedrock for such concerns.

The types of ideas just discussed are more of the ethnographic than the ethnohistorical record. Such rich details tend to dim as one delves into the past; beyond human memory it is rare

to find evidence for such beliefs about water or the environment. This is true even for central Guerrero, which is unusual in that in the early seventeenth-century a local Spanish priest, bachiller Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, was entrusted with the task of recording and reporting what he described as the "heathen supersititions" of the Indians native to the area.[3] The supplications he recorded read like a litany of the anxieties and activities of peasant life. There are, among others, prayers to help one cut wood; hunt deer, birds, and other animals; fish with hooks or traps; plant maguey, maize, squash, sweet potatoes, and assorted other crops; cure aches of the teeth, the eyes, the chest, the mouth, and the stomach; set bones; recover from scorpion bites; and appease anger or provoke love. But there is no petition for scarce water or rain, as if the short texts that Ruiz de Alarcón recorded were too petty for the higher deities that might be able to solve this problem. Nor is there any mention of such petitions in the few inquisition records from the area. One merchant, embroiled in a prolonged factional dispute in the indigenous village of Iguala, was accused of having two serpents (one with horns of gold and the other with horns of silver). But these were said to be related to his wealth and his success in politics and litigation (see chapter 11). Another series of "witchcraft" accusations concerned efforts to predict the arrival of the Manila Galleon, which brought goods from the Orient that were a boom to the economy of south-central Guerrero (see chapter 8). Traders from south-central Guerrero would solicit the services of seers who could follow the journey of this famous ship, seeking a windfall much as peasants seek rainfall.

So in the end, and in the absence of adequate data, an approximation to the culture of ecology in the colonial period relies on a sort of leap of faith, the legitimacy of ethnographic data for ethnohistorical research involves a series of not-so-small steps of deduction from the given to

3. There are two English translations of this work: Andrews and Hassig (1984); and Coe and Whittaker (1982).

the imagined. From one perspective this seems to be not so precarious a presumption: maize agriculture and a dependency on rainfall is a constant from the prehispanic period, and there is no evidence of significant climatic changes over the last five hundred years. From another perspective, however, there were great transformations: religion did change—the spiritual conquest—and this undoubtedly had at least a formal effect on the numinous relationship of earthly society to heavenly water. The image of a *caballero* is as postconquest as the horse, as is the Virgen de la Concepción. And although the belief that one could induce rain through ritual or prayer is a preconquest (and probably close to universal) phenomenon, it might well be that the ascription of powers to a human (*caballero*) is a particularly local and syncretistic belief. The absence of any form of ritual activities pertaining to rain in Ruiz de Alarcón is somewhat striking in this regard.

There is another key difference between modern and colonial times. During the latter there was one solution to drought that was much more available than now: migration. One of the principal arguments of this thesis is that indigenous peasants shaped their environment more with their feet than with their hands or their minds (in the sense of ritual prayer or technological innovation). Agency, in this respect, was planted firmly on the ground, and during the late eighteenth century the Iguala Valley was witness to a massive migration of mostly indigenous peasants from the Balsas River valley (chapter 6) and from the mountainous terrain surrounding Taxco to the north and Chilapa and Tixtla to the south (chapter 7). The points of origin and destination of these mobile entrepreneurs was closely tied to the natural and human ecology of central Guerrero: fleeing the dry Balsas River valley and the rocky mountain soil for the fertile plain of the central Iguala Valley and, particularly, the northern section that was more blessed with rain. Indeed, much more so than at present, indigenous peasants during the colonial period could control their environment by shifting their location; nowadays the latter can be controlled

(still through migration), but only at the expense of a peasant lifestyle, sacrificed to a greater dependency on wage labor in countryside or city. The modern predominance of ritual and religious solutions to ecological impediments, therefore, to might to some degree reflect the increasing impact of spatial and structural restraints on the mobility of indigenous society. And thus the focus on seasonal mobility and permanent migration in colonial times (chapters 6 and 7) in some ways compensates for the lack of data on more ethereal "man-land" relations during this historical period.[4]

This thesis, then examines the relationship of society to environment, but from a much more "grounded" perspective, one that looks at human-nature interaction as a regional socioeconomic process. This is not to negate that more strictly cultural relations, such as those described above, did indeed exist. Rather, it is in part first a confession that that such relations are difficult to access in the colonial record. Second, and more importantly, it involves an assertion that the colonization of New Spain involved a transformation of space in which direct human actions—legal changes in the concept and definition of territory and property, migration and the creation of new communities, memory and the attempted recreation of past settlements and societies, the formation of markets and itinerant trade, the capitalization of rural enterprises, and struggles for control over the fruits of the earth—were powerful forces in creating new regional patterns of human occupation and use of the land. All these processes will be explored in subsequent chapters; here the goal is to examine the ecological underpinnings of central Guerrero society, to present an overview of certain basic aspects of the environment—its more empirical characteristics and how it was perceived—before proceeding on to an exploration of

4. This perspective runs counter to at least one trend in historiographic and ethnographic studies: that mobility and large-scale migration is a recent phenomenon. As I discuss in the introduction to chpater 6, I believe this biasis toward (post)modern mobility as a unique and recent phenomenon is a particularly pernicious example of the lack of historical depth to many ethnographic studies.

how this space was lived in and transformed by human action and occupation from the mid–sixteenth century to the end of the colonial period.

AN APPROACH TO THE ECOLOGY OF CENTRAL GUERRERO

Ecological factors affect regional development in diverse manners. Besides the cultural patterns discussed above, they have more mundane influences: on productive potential, settlement patterns, human contact, and the transport and exchange of goods. However, even within a strictly ecological framework there exist two basic points of departure. The first is "natural": those aspects of the physical environment that limit the possible "geographical expressions of social priorities,"[5] which include the elements of agricultural production, settlement patterns, and commercial exchange just mentioned. These natural circumstances, invariably challenged by human necessity and technological advance[6] are, nevertheless, as ideal as the "isolated state" of Von Thunen, the "isotropic landscape" of central place theory, or the "threshold" considerations of itinerant market analysis (three bastions of positivistic spatial analysis).[7] Often it is simply the case that the cost of making a particular environment conducive to settlement, to agriculture or ranching, or to transport, is momentarily too high. Ecological barriers are shaken, if not

5. This phrase is taken from Guelke (1982:25).

6. The theory that the natural environment places a limit on agricultural productivity and demographic growth has been critically examined by Boserup (1965, 1981, 1990), whose work has spawned a lively debate on questions of carrying capacity, demographic limits, and technological innovation.

7. These terms, part of what Johnston (1991) has called positivistic geography, are mentioned because this geography has been highly influential in studies of Mexico and Latin America. German locational theory has influenced the research of three of William Skinner's students who have worked in Mexico and Guatemala: Smith, Hassig, and Lomnitz (see their works cited in the bibliography), all of whom have conducted innovative and ground-breaking work in Mexico and Guatemala. Von Thünen's model has informed one of the few regional studies on changes in land use in colonial Mexico (Van Young 1981; see also Ewald 1976b). Finally, behavioristic and decision-making models have dominated discourse on a range of topics including migration (see the introduction to chapter 6 below, and in particular the references to studies by scholars such as Swann and McCaa).

shattered, by demographic change that affects demand and supply, and by market structures that orient production and distribution.[8] Intensification of agriculture turns pasture into grain fields and the enticement tendered by consumption centers can turn a foreign and nefarious terrain into an often-frequented and benevolent lattice of exchange routes traveled by early entrepreneurs of commercial development.[9] Analysis must thus consider a second point of departure, "artificial" in the basic sense of the word: "contrived through human art." It contemplates the way in which historically specific needs and expectations (along with particular cognitive orientations to space and the environment), shape the manner in which human society interacts with its surroundings.[10] To a great extent, then, the ecological approach to history suggested here is concerned not so much with the environment as an autonomous force in history, but with the continual thrust

8. This reference to demography and market is not intended to slight the impact of caste and class factors that were so significant in the development of colonial political economy in the Spanish and Portuguese Americas. The classic agrarian debate on the relative weight of political (class) versus economic (demographic) factors grew out of Brenner's critique of French social history (see the summary anthology by Aston and Philpin, 1985). For New Spain a somewhat parallel debate has emerged, though not so clearly articulated, around the relative efficacy of caste distinctions as barriers to indigenous participation in economic development.

Two key approaches to the study of agricultural innovation are that of Boserup, mentioned above in n. 5, and that of Jane Jacobs (1969), who focussed on the role of urban demand (cf. to the demographic pressure of Boserup) in stimulating the production of agricultural surplus.

9. The three foci that I have mentioned so far—cultural, ecological, and economic—parallel Tarrant's (1974) isolation of three major theoretical approaches of agricultural geography: social-personal, environmental, and economic (cf. also to the three "durations" of Braudelian history).

10. An analysis of the interaction of regional culture and praxis with ecology and political economy is a major goal of this thesis. Livingstone (1992:262ff.) gives a concise account of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century debates within emerging regional geography between "geographical causation" and "the transformative dominance of human agency." Cronon (1983) provides a vivid account of how the perception of resources is related to the cultural orientation of settlers who see the landscape as a complex of commodities. Cf. also Entrikin and Brunn (1989) for articles that, taking as a point of departure Hartshorne's *The Nature of Geography*, discuss the reltionship between chorographic and cognitive interests in geography.

against ecological barriers that human society effects (and is driven to effect—by factors such as demography and demand) over time.[11]

In central Guerrero,[12] emergent patterns of regionalization depended heavily upon the interdependent influence of natural and human ecology. Variations in these factors between north- and south-central Guerrero stimulated distinct patterns in the growth of productive and commercial relations, the direction of demographic movements and settlement patterns, the consolidation of transport networks, and struggles over land tenure as well as the means of production and distribution of agricultural and industrial goods. Differences between north- and south-central Guerrero in each of these sectors constituted the basis for evolving patterns of rural-urban relations that came to dominate and differentiate late colonial central Guerrero into two basic regional patterns. This bifurcation of colonial central Guerrero, then, was not simply the consequence of natural divisions. To a great extent the divergent processes were influenced by a cultural landscape that, during the first century after conquest, emerged out of the interplay of prehispanic political geography, postconquest demographic change (death and migration), and the Spanish conceptions of indigenous social and spatial organization that influenced the implementation of early colonial resettlement policies. These issues are dealt with in subsequent chapters (particularly 4–7).[13] In this chapter I offer a brief introduction to the ecology of central Guerrero and to early perspectives on the environment that were implicit in the destination of

11. For a brief discussion of the autonomous aspects of ecology, see Worster (1990:1089–90).

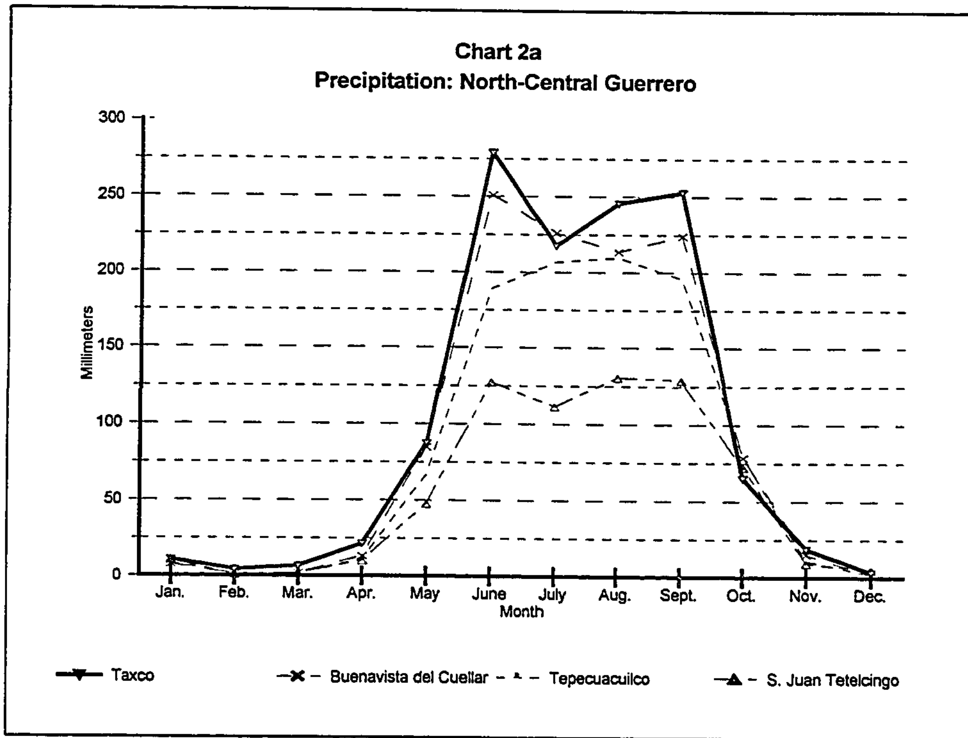
12. I use the term "central Guerrero" to refer to the area that during the colonial period was included in the alcaldías mayores of Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla.

13. Other facets of colonial society such as migration patterns, the activities of commercial capital, and the production and commercialization of grain were more closely related to market variables. These are discussed in chapters 8–11.

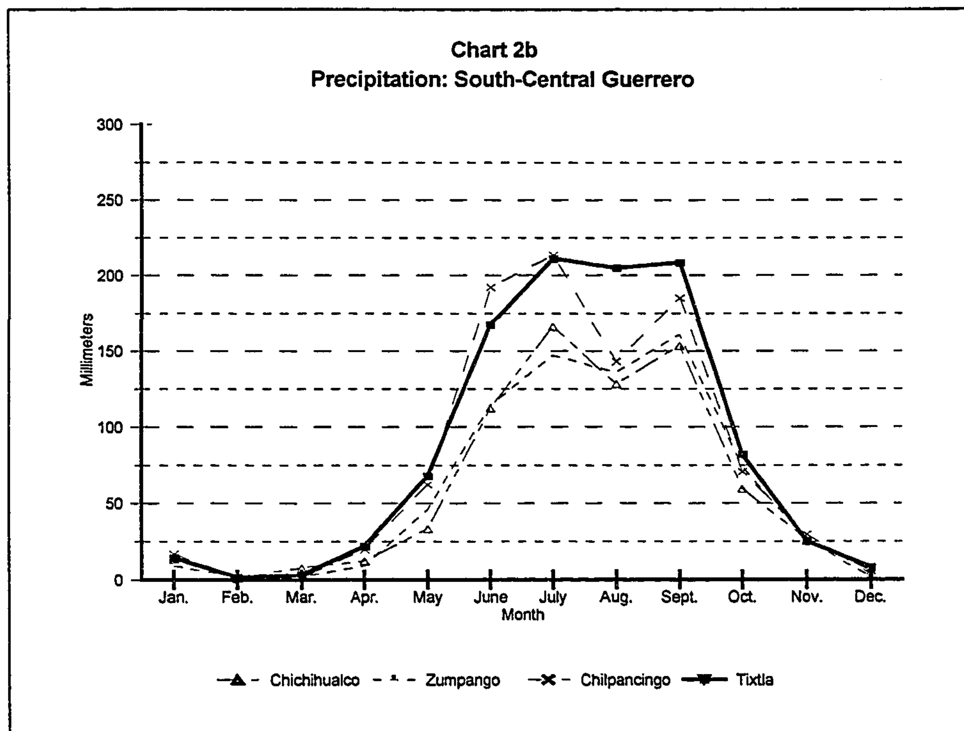
migratory movements of the late colonial period and more directly articulated in the speech of various types of colonial documents.

Many models of locational geography are most convincing in an imaginary, yet arid, Panglossian terrain of flatlands and steady rainfall, of uniform tastes and equal opportunity cost. Yet central Guerrero, neither the best nor the worst of all possible worlds, embraced variations of climate and contour in a variegated pattern that constitutes a very alluring first-level explanation to divergent tendencies of regional development. Between Taxco to the north and Acapulco to the south, two fixed points that guided centuries of change, lies a topography so challenging that it took a full half-century to clear the Mexico City-Acapulco highway, yet so inviting that it inspired the formation of perhaps the largest single landholding unit in central Mexico. The most enticing land was in the Iguala Valley, a fertile, rolling plain that dominates a province of that name and stretches over 30 miles between a precipitous rise into the silver-bearing mountains surrounding Taxco to the north, and the austere Balsas River basin to the south. During the colonial period, this valley was the breadbasket of the Taxco and Zacualpa mines, as well as an alternative maize source for urban centers extending from Mexico City to Guanajuato. During this same period, it was the coveted prize of wealthy miners and the favored destination of migrant indigenous cultivators from the Balsas River basin along with other nearby areas and adjacent jurisdictions.

The northwestern section of the Iguala Valley is broken lengthwise by the twin mountains of El Conejo and El Mapache. These formed the eastern boundaries of a modest plain surrounding Cocula, which was to have its own somewhat particular history of land takeover and agricultural development. Running along the valley's western perimeter, from the Cocula plain to beyond the Balsas, is an imposing barrier: a sharp incline that at its steepest rises nearly 1500 feet in a scant half mile. Land titles invariably treated these hills as a boundary marker as evident



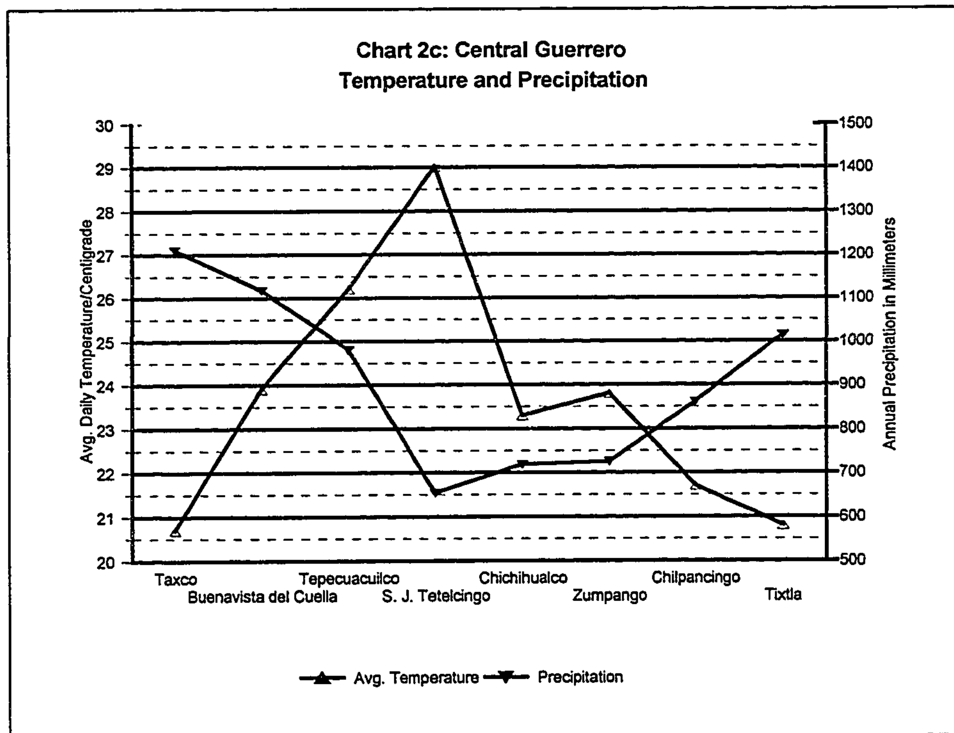
and exacting to travelers as a river. Over this ridge to the west lay the plateau of Cuetzala, Apetlanca, and Coatepec, names of indigenous villages that appear infrequently in a study of Taxco's hinterland; the precipitous incline here separated regions, if not lived in worlds. To the east of the Iguala Valley, past Huitzuco, there is no comparable obstacle. Instead, land quality degenerates slowly: hills begin to cluster and roll, and precipitation levels drop steadily though moderately. Rural development here echoed, though with considerable delay, processes that had first affected the hinterland's more central and coveted areas. Increasing takeover of land and commercialization of agriculture, which affected the mid-Iguala Valley in the seventeenth century, reached the eastern section only in the eighteenth, but with differences related to the changing times. Colonial landholdings were smaller and relations with indigenous villages (themselves both better entrenched in the territorialized geography of eighteenth-century New Spain and experiencing demographic pressure and resource depletion) were now more



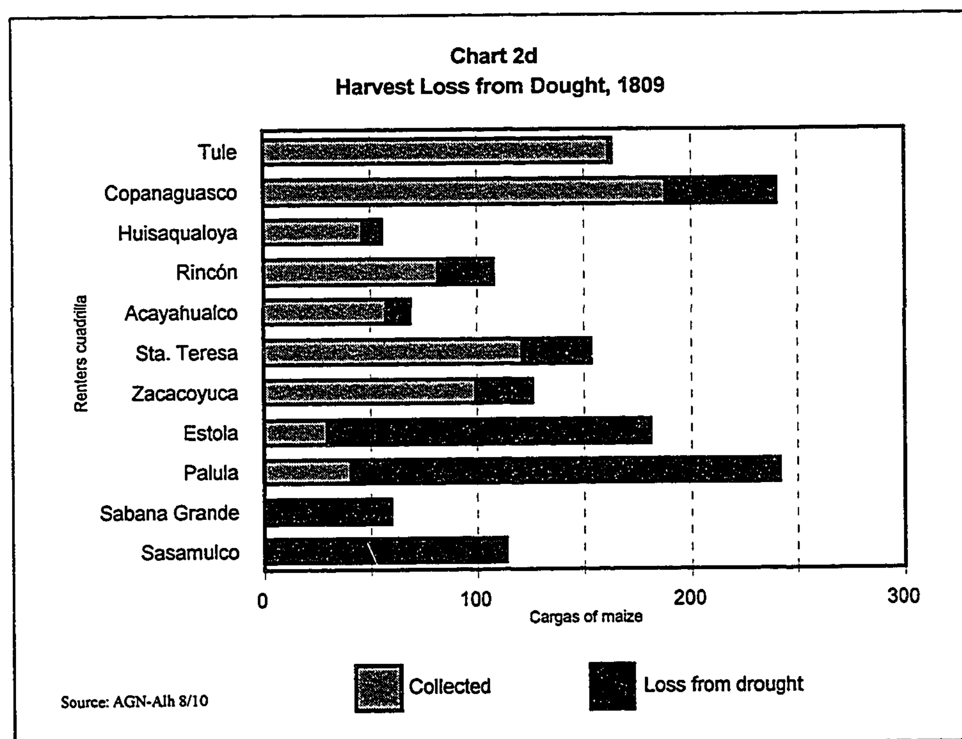
conflictive.[14] Finally, like the east, the southern limits of the Iguala Valley are characterized by increasingly jagged hills that delimit the tapering valley as it runs into the Balsas River basin. Here, alluvial lands and narrow plains give peasants a respite from the steep slopes of the neighboring mountains and permit marginal, high-risk agriculture. The most productive part of the basin lies between San Juan Totolcintla to the east and San Juan Tetelcingo to the west. Beyond these sentinel points, in both directions, canyons close the way to all but the most intrepid agricultural efforts.

One can travel through the center of the Iguala Valley 50 kilometers due north of the Balsas River before reaching 1000 meters elevation. Traveling south, the same elevation is

14. Cf. the litigation over the lands of Chaucingo (AGN-T 3566/5). Here, land which was uncontested at the end of the seventeenth century was gradually given over to cattle ranching until, by about the middle of the eighteenth century, it became the focus of a struggle between the Marbán brothers (owners of the ranchos of Chaucingo and Quetzalapa) and the Indians of Zacango and Teocalcingo.



attained in one-tenth the distance. A topographic map of the areas north and south of the Balsas River (see map 2) can be functional Rorschach tests with a single drawback: shown to erudite peasants they would always elicit the same response—the northern portion looks like farmland, the southern portion like a quandary. Nevertheless, the region south of the Balsas is spotted with small niches of relatively level terrain. These offered isolated opportunities for commercial maize agriculture in a market basically limited to seasonal travelers on the camino real (royal road) to Acapulco. The most desirable lands were the plains surrounding Chichihualco and Xochipala (near Zumpango), Mazatlán and Acahuizotla (near Tixtla), and Acatlán and Zitlala (near Chilapa). There was also an extended plateau that, located south of Tixtla, stretched east to west, from Tepechicotlan and Mochitlán through to Quechultenango and Colotlipa. The major indigenous settlements of the Chilapa and Tixtla jurisdictions had insufficient farmland that, for



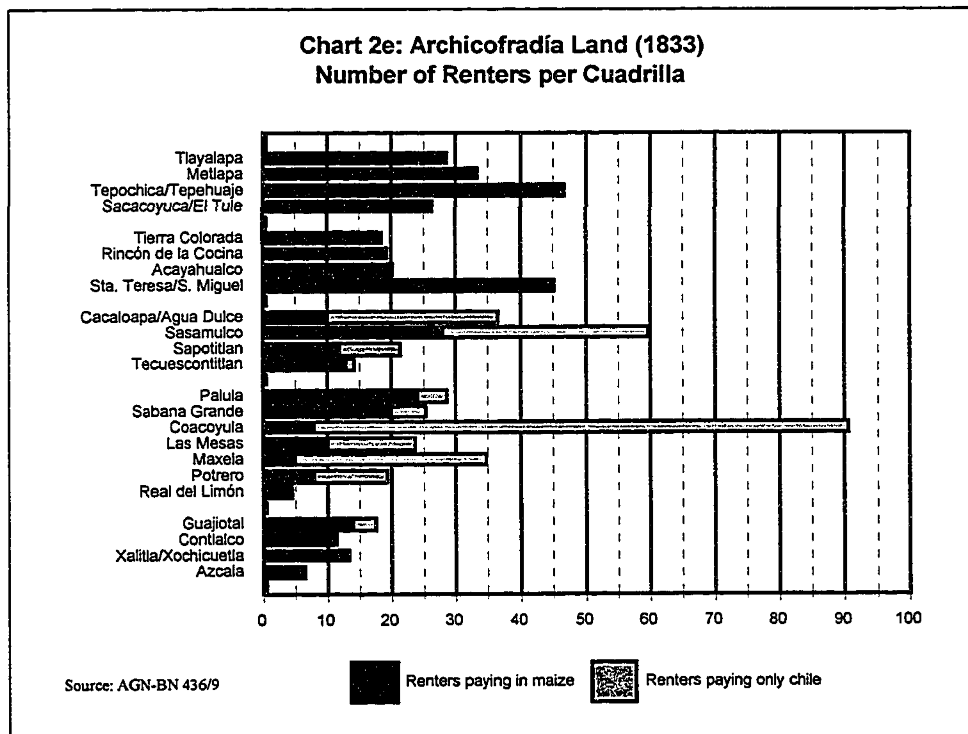
both Indian and colonist, served more to supplement income from marginal mercantile endeavors than as a firm base for subsistence, let alone profitable commercial, agriculture.

Along with topography two other factors, rainfall and temperature, were principal elements affecting the productivity of agriculture.[15] In combination they influence the soil's ability to retain moisture, perhaps the key variable in avoiding the devastating effects of drought. Rainfall is concentrated in the summer months of June through September (charts 2a and 2b), the heart of an agricultural cycle in which the earth is broken in mid-to-late June, and the *yunta* (team of oxen) traditionally released and let out to graze during the second week of August.[16]

15. The high temperatures characteristic of central Guerrero as a whole made it unsuitable for wheat farming. Flour had to be imported to central Guerrero, generally from Malinalco and Tecualoya (see chapter 8).

16. Normally, a field is plowed between six and seven times during the planting season. The soil is broken and turned over twice or three times before planting (which, therefore, occurs on the third or fourth pass

Over the next six weeks rainfall is crucial to maize yields, though by the first week in October additional precipitation may be harmful, rotting the maize that has already started to dry.



Precipitation levels decrease steadily as one moves south from Taxco to the Balsas River basin (chart 2a, with villages listed north to south starting with Taxco). From this point rainfall levels start to increase, at a slightly slower rate, as one moves south through the Cañon El Zopilote to Zumpango, Chilpancingo, and Tixtla (chart 2b). The region from the Balsas River to Zumpango is one of the most arid in Guerrero; it includes five of the state's[17] seven driest points: San Juan Tetelcingo (654 mm), Xochipala (686 mm), Chichihualco (717 mm), Zumpango del

over the field). After the maize has sprouted the plow passes over the field three more times to weed and give moist earth to the *milpa*.

17. Actually, the data I have available at this time includes only those metereological stations east of longitud 101, which runs about 10 km west of Huetamo.

Río (752 mm), and Mezcala (754 mm). The gradient of decreasing precipitation[18] is accompanied by one of increasing temperature (chart 2c) which peaks in the Balsas River basin, exemplified by San Juan Tetelcingo.[19] Here, the coincidence of high temperatures and low precipitation means that soil in the Balsas River basin retains moisture for only three to four months, never reaching a point of saturation.[20] Run-off and seepage to lower levels is a continual problem, and plant life is extremely susceptible to short periods of drought.[21]

In sum, a combination of factors favored the development of extensive maize agriculture in the Iguala Valley. Its topographical characteristics were unique in the region, contrasting with

18. Besides the data charted, other information confirms this general trend of higher precipitation to the north. Note the yearly index for the following stations: Ahuehuepan (near Iguala) 965.3, Iguala 1033, Iguala (second station) 1103.2, Huitzuco 1077, Huitzuco (second station) 913.8, and Valerio Trujano 912.3.

19. The figures for chart 2c are as follows (avg. daily temperature/total annual precipitation in mm): Taxco (20.7/1210.3), Buenavista del Cuellar (23.9/1117.4), Tepecuacuilco (26.2/980.9), San Juan Tetelcingo (29.0/654.3), Chichihualco (23.3/717.7), Zumpango del Río (23.8/725.2), Chilpancingo (21.7/861.3), Tixtla (20.8/1014.0).

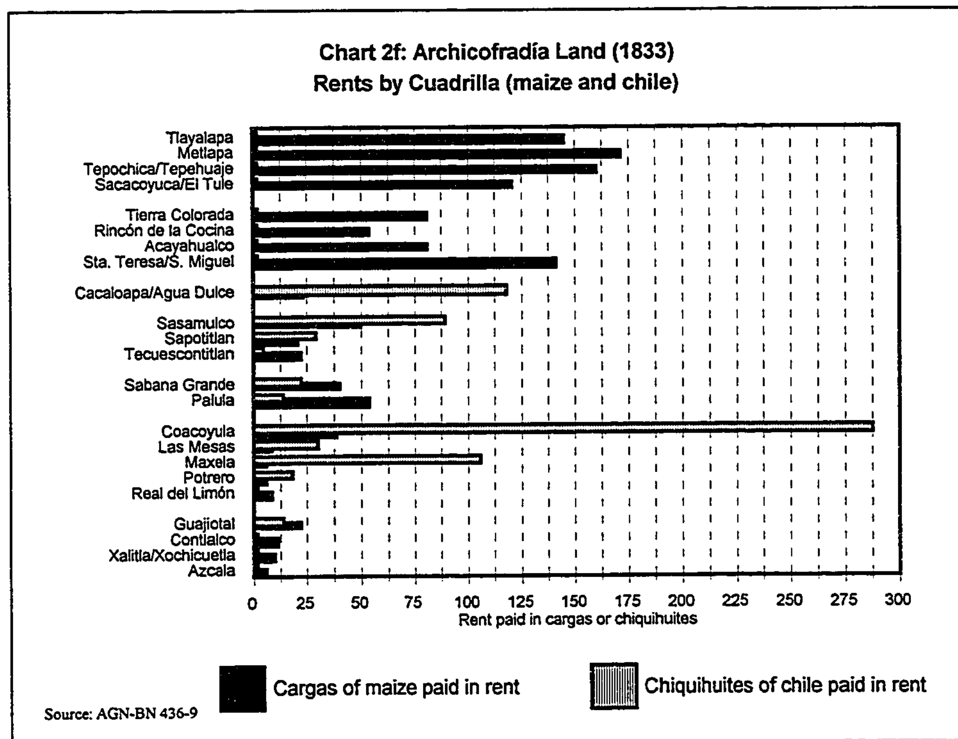
20. Information on soil humidity is taken directly from an INEGI map: Mexico (1:1,000,000) *Carta de humedad en el suelo* (1981). Soil moisture is there defined as follows: "The humidity of the earth, in the Thornthwaite system, is determined with the precipitation of a month exceeds the evaporotranspiration potention of that month and this difference is manifested by water that enters the soil, making it moist. If this positive difference of precipitation over evapotranspiration persists, the soil will eventually become saturated and will reach the condition of soil with capacity for planting (*suelo a capacidad de campo*).

"The concept of suelo a capacidad de campo responds to the quantity of water that remains in the soil after the excess has drained, and the filtering of water to deeper levels has practically ceased; in this condition the plants do not suffer from a lack of water. This condition has quantified as months during which a fixed quantity of 150, 100, 0r 50 mm of stored water has been attained.

"For whatever locality, with a period, for example, of 7 month with useful humidity in the soil, from June to December, it is understood that on the other hand the months with a deficit are five, from January to May. During these deficit months the soil is in a state of constant withering, that is, the soil has exhausted its humidity to the point at which the majority of the plants are incapable of obtaining it and, for this reason, they wither, except for the plants with deep roots and/or those that are adapted to these climatic conditions, as occurs in dry regions."

21. The data presented by INEGI on soil moisture (produced in color-coded maps) is based, in general, on the interaction of temperature, precipitation, and day length. Factors such as soil composition and topography are not considered although both these factors have an impact on soil humidity and retention of water. The Balsas River basin is unfortunate in this regard in that except for a small strip alongside the river, the topography is somewhat jagged and run-off of rain is another factor that affects soil humidity and the viability of agriculture.

the jagged terrain to the north and west, and the gradually more undulating land to the south and east. Within the valley itself, temperature and precipitation vary inversely, making the northern area more drought resistant. The southern section of the Iguala Valley tapered into the Balsas River basin, a zone of high-risk agriculture sliced by a river that hampered communication and transport. Further south toward Chilpancingo, Tixtla, and Chilapa, an improved climate was undermined by a deteriorating topography. The lack of a significant demand center dealt an additional blow to an already marginal rural economy south of the Balsas river. The northern area, however, was close to the Taxco mines, the major regional market outlet for agricultural products.



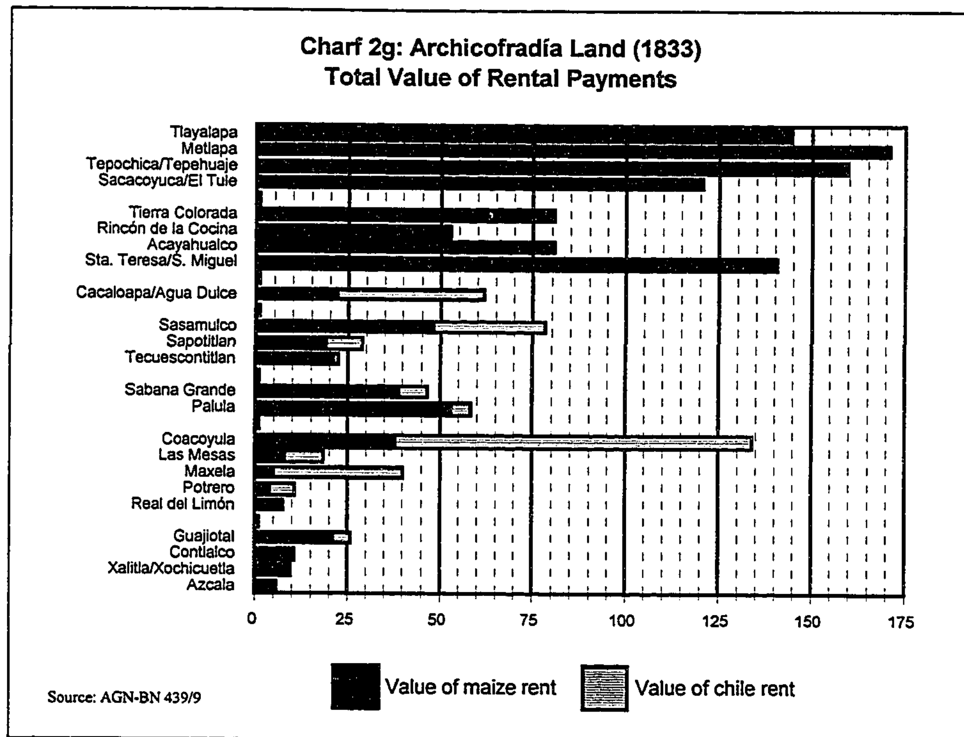
The inverse relation of precipitation levels and temperature in the Iguala Valley undoubtedly affected variation in susceptibility to drought throughout this region. Although there is virtually no information on crop-loss from the colonial period, one set of records, from 1809,

does exist. During this drought year, peasants paid rents considerably below the agreed assesments. The difference was greatest in the southern portion of the valley, where the cuadrillas of Estola, Palula, Sabana Grande, and Sasamulco were located (see chart 2d, which presents data on the cuadrillas, or renters settlements, in a basic order of north/top to south/bottom). Although it is impossible to draw any general conclusions from data on crop loss during a single year, these figures do become more meaningful when considered jointly with supporting information both on settlement patterns of peasant migrants and on land rental costs in the Iguala Valley. Taken together, the information on crop loss, demographic patterns, and land value indicates the greater attractiveness of land in the northern valley, an attractiveness based on two major factors: the productive potential of the land; and the existence of an economic infrastructure that both provided for the rental of oxen teams and plows and offered the advantages of a nearby market outlet in the urban mining center of Taxco.

The ecology of the Iguala Valley seems to have been the factor that had the strongest impact on the development of rural society there after the great demographic decline of the first century of colonial rule. The successful nucleation of all indigenous cabeceras (head villages) by 1605 left only six villages in the valley. As a result a vast area was left unpopulated; although some cabeceras continued to claim rights to the land of their former estancias (subject villages), by the early eighteenth century many land issues had been resolved. And by the mid–eighteenth century land tenure had become heavily concentrated. First two, and then one owner possessed an immense area of over 150,000 hectares in the central valley that, particularly after 1760, had been totally shifted from cattle ranching to maize agriculture (see chapters 5–7). Eighteenth-century migrants, therefore, found before them a vast plain that had been stripped of its previous communities and from which the great herds of cattle that characterized the early colonial period had been expelled. Given the lack of historical ties of migrants to the surviving prehispanic

communities in the valley, and the existence of a vast landholding that, under the ownership of one or two individuals, had few if any internal boundaries, there were few factors more important than climate and terrain (although the patterns of the economic infrastructure mentioned above need also to be considered) that influenced the residence patterns that these migrants established.

If the resettlement of the valley responded most directly to variations in the unoccupied valley's agricultural potential then a study of spatial variations in both the demographics of migration and the economics of land rental should manifest patterns that to some degree mirror the ecological potential of the Iguala Valley, as it was reflected in the eyes of decision-making peasants and landed entrepreneurs who moved into the area in great numbers. Three general processes may be noted. The first is that Spanish colonial settlers, first ranchers, then agriculturalists and merchants, were concentrated in the north and quickly became a forceful presence in the erstwhile indigenous villages of Tepecuacuilco, Iguala, Huitzuco, and Cocula (this process is treated throughout subsequent chapters). Second, indigenous migration to the cuadrillas followed a similar pattern, with a higher and more concentrated population in the north. Renter settlements in the southern valley did emerge, but the available evidence suggests that this shift in migration from the north toward the south occurred as the increasing demographic density in the more fertile northern valley inhibited new migration into the area (see chapters 6 and 7). Finally, the limited evidence suggests that land values declined in the southern portions of the Iguala valley, where topographical, climatological, and market conditions worsened, and population density was lower. The land was less productive, produce was less easily sold, and henceforth there was a lower demand for land.



Evidence for a north-south gradient of decreasing land value and a declining population density among migrant peasants can be extracted from 1833 rental records for the Iguala Valley cuadrillas that emerged during the last half-century of the colonial period. Although between independence in 1821 and 1833 both population and rents undoubtedly increased, it is likely that patterns established during the late colonial period would have continued with little relative shift since the principal independent variables—climate and topography—remained much the same and the scant dozen years would have been insufficient for the valley to have undergone widespread transformations. With the caveat that temporal distance implies, the 1833 data strongly suggests that the climatological and topographic factors discussed in the previous pages

(coupled with the closeness of market outlets in Taxco, Cuernavaca, and Mexico City) had an impact on the costs of land rental and the density of settlement.[22]

The vast majority of rental payments for valley land were made in specie, particularly maize (about 74 percent) and chile (about 14.25 percent). Grazing rights, paid in coin, accounted for another small percentage of the total income (10.5 percent) and cash payments for irrigated land used to plant sugarcane, melons, and watermelons constituted the final 1.25 percent.[23] The brief analysis here will focus on the total numbers of renters who paid rent in maize and chile (presented in table 2a) and the quantities they were assessed for land use; the figures will be analyzed in regard to their implications for an understanding of the relationship between ecology and land use and settlement.

The first chart (2e) indicates the total number of individual renters in each *cuadrilla*. A few renters paid both maize and chile (maize rents were recorded in *cargas* and chile in *chiquihuites*, literally 'baskets,' of between 6¾ and 7¼ lbs. each) while the vast majority paid their rent in only one item.[24] Chart 2e divides renters into two groups, those who paid in maize or in maize and chile, and those who paid only in chile. The key statistic here is the decrease in maize-paying renters from north to south, as chile tended to replace the heavier grain as the preferred form of payment. The increase in payments in chile from the southern cuadrillas may reflect several factors. It might indicate the changing nature of agriculture as one moves south, to

22. For a discussion that analyzes both population density and land rent as dependent on a third variable consisting of climate, soil fertility and topography, see Tarrant (1974:20).

23. These figures are from the 1832 harvest; see AGN-BN 436/10.

24. A short note in AGN-BN 436/9 indicates that a total 719½ *chiquihuites* paid in rent yielded 208 arrobas 10 lbs. before drying and 192 arrobas 13 lbs. after drying. This yields the range of 7¼–6¾ arrobas per *chiquihuite*.

Table 2a
Administration of lands of the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento: 1833

CUADRILLA[a]	RENTERS PAYING IN MAIZE		RENTERS PAYING IN CHILE		PISAJE PESOS-REALES	TOTAL UNIQUE RENTERS[b]
	RENTERS	CARGAS	RENTERS	CHIQUIHUITES		
Tlayalapa	28	144	Note: 18 individuals rented a total of 24 *yuntas* for 240 cargas of maize (10 cargas per *yunta*)		32-7	34
Metlapa	33	170				33
Tepehuaje and Tepochica	46	159			5-1	46
Zacacoyuca and El Tule	26	120			5-0	26
Sta. Teresa and San Miguel	45	140			52-0	45
Acayahualco	20	80				20
Rincón de la Cocina	19	52				19
Tierra Colorada	18	80				18
Cacaloapan and Agua Dulce	10	22	29	117.0	5-0	36
Sasamulco	28	48	48	88.5	41-0	58
Sapotitlan	12	19	17	28.0	5-1	21
Tecoescontitlan	13	21	4	3.5	4-2	14
Palula	24	53	5	13.0	22-0	28
Sabana Grande	20	39	13	20.5	1-0	25
Coacoyula	8	38	82	286.0	17-3	90
Las Mesas	10	8	16	29.0	5-2	23

[a] The double-line divisions indicate groups of cuadrillas that had their maize collected in a single granery. The granaries were located (north to south) in Iguala, Tepecuacuilco, Atlixtac, Sasamulco, Palula, Coacoyula and Contlalco.

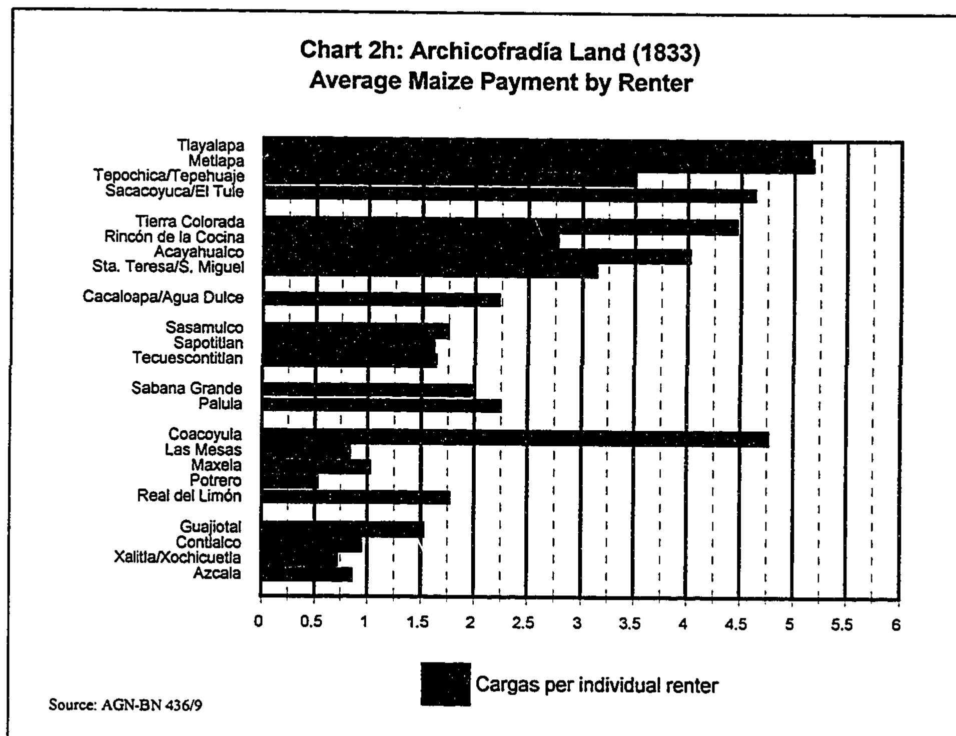
[b] Obtained by comparing the names of renters paying in maize and renters paying in chile, and correcting for those who appear on both lists.

Maxela	5	5	29	104.0	16-6	34
Potrero	8	4	12	17.5	1-4	19
Real del Limón	4	7			3-0	4
Contlalco and Carrisal	11	10			3-6	11
Salitla and Sochicuetlan	13	9			34-0	13
Guajiotal	14	21	4	12.5	1-4	17
Ascala	6	5			0	6
TOTALS	421	1254	259	719.5[c]	256-4[d]	640

Source: Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Bienes Nacionales, leg. 436, exp. 9.

[c] This yielded 26 *tercios* of chile or 208 *arrobas* 10 lbs. After losses from drying the final weight sold was 192 *arrobas* 13 lbs.

[d] The total income from pasture included 200 pesos paid by Antonio Gómez and 140 pesos paid by Mariano Ortiz de la Peña.



a greater dependence on irrigation from springs and rivers that would create an environment conducive to small plots of chile. Or, perhaps more likely, landowners might have preferred to charge the more distant southern cuadrillas in low-bulk high-value chile in an effort to reduce transport costs involved in the collection and marketing of the rents paid in kind. Chart 2e also reveals the demographics of migration into the valley. Clearly the most southern group of cuadrillas (Guajiotal, Contlalco, Xalitla/Xochicuetla, and Azcala) were the least heavily populated. The average number of renters in each of these cuadrillas was only 11.75. Yet the other four groups (each group is separated by a blank line in the graph, the groups indicate cuadrillas that had a shared collection and storage point for the maize given in rent), were quite similar in size, averaging 33.25, 25.5, 32.5, and 33.25 renters; it was, in fact, only the most southern group that manifested a sharp drop in size. However, a glance at the map of the Iguala Valley cuadrillas (see map 5g) reveals the greater density of settlements in the north. The

demographic data in chart 2e, therefore, suggests that the average size of cuadrillas throughout the valley was rather constant, although (in reference to the map) the northern valley settlements were more densely packed. Cuadrilla size dropped off, dramatically, only in the most southern group. It does appear, nevertheless, that in the north there was a greater tendency to charge rents in maize as opposed to chile.

There are other statistics that reveal patterns of settlement and, particularly, land value in the valley. Chart 2f reveals the total rents, in both maize and chile, paid by each cuadrilla. Except for the low figures for the most southern group, the differences in total payments by cuadrilla cannot be ascribed to the number of settlers, since the average size of the first four groups of cuadrillas did not vary greatly while the size of their rents did. Again, chart 2f reveals the concentration of maize payments in the north and chile payments to the south. The most northern cuadrillas (the groups headed by Tlayalapa and Tierra Colorada) are completely dominated by maize payments; rents collected in chile are characteristic of two of the southern groups (headed by Sasamulco and Coacoyula, respectively). The skewed pattern favoring the northern locations is even more apparent when the rental payments are converted to their cash value (chart 2g). A carga of maize was worth 1 peso at harvest, a *chiquihuite* of chile less than one-third that amount (the figure of one-third of a peso has been used in chart 2g). The total cash equivalent of payments in specie by cuadrilla, organized in the chart from north to south, shows quite dramatically the decrease in economic value of the land from the landlord's perspective. Thus the average income per cuadrilla from the group of northernmost cuadrillas (Tlayalapa, Metlapa, Tepochica/Tepehuaje, and Sacacoyuca/El Tule) was 148 pesos 1 real. The average rental income per cuadrilla produced by the most southern group (Guajiotal, Contlalco, Xalitla/Xochicuetla, and Azcala) was merely one-tenth this amount, 12 pesos 1 real. The average of the other groups manifested a steady and decreasing value of rents per cuadrilla from north to south (table 2b):

Table 2b
Average rental value by cuadrilla group

Cuadrilla group	Average rental value per cuadrilla (pesos)	Average rental value per individual renter (pesos)
Tlayalapa–Sacacoyuca/El Tule	148.25	4.46
Tierra Colorada–Sta. Teresa/S. Miguel	88.00	3.45
Cacaloapa/Agua Dulce	61.00	1.69
Sasamulco–Tecuescontitlan	42.50	1.36
Sabana Grande–Palula	51.50	1.95
Coacoyula–Real del Limón	41.50	1.22
Guajiotal–Azcala	12.25	1.05

The preceding paragraph demonstrated that to the landlord, the value of the cuadrillas descreased fairly steadily from the northern to the southern cuadrillas. Finally, there is question of average payment per renter, a figure that takes into account demographic variation among cuadrillas and groups of cuadrillas. Here again, and perhaps most dramatically, the evidence suggests that the northern cuadrillas either had a higher land value or were occupied by peasant who farmed greater amounts of land (and hence paid higher rents) than their southern counterparts. Chart 2h reveals that among those peasants who paid rent in maize (some also paid rent in chile, not indicated in the chart), those further north paid greater amounts. The average maize payment per renter, averaged out for cuadrilla group is, from north to south for the seven groups: 4.59, 3.57, 2.20, 2.08, 1.76, and 0.98 cargas. One final statistic confirms this trend of decreasing values to the south: the value of rental payments per individual. This figure is obtained by converting maize and chile payments to their cash equivalents (at 1 peso/carga for maize and one-third of a peso/*chiquihuite* for chile) and then dividing the total by the number of individual rent-paying peasants (taking into account the fact that some individuals paid rent in both maize and chile). Chart 2i and the rightmost column of table 2b reveal the manner in which this value decreases fairly evenly from north to south. This statistic also evens out some of the

irregular features of Coacoyula's rental payments. Here a total of 8 individuals paid rent in maize and chile (none paid solely in maize), and 74 only in chile. Those who gave maize paid a fairly high rent (an average of 4¾ cargas each, worth 4¾ pesos; this does not include the chile they also gave to the landlord). But the value of rents in general for inhabitants of this cuadrilla were very low; all 82 residents paid some chile, an average of 3½ chiquihuites each, equivalent to about 1 peso 1 real. Thus when the value of total rents (maize and chile) is calculated per individual, Coacoyula fits in with the general pattern of decreasing rents per individual to the south. In sum, the data in chart 2i and table 2b (rightmost column) show that payments per individual ranged from just over 5 pesos for the two most northern cuadrillas (Tlayalapa and Metlapa) to approximately ¾ peso for the two most southern (Xalitla/Xochicuetla and Azcala). In between there was a fairly steady decline, as indicated in both table 2b and chart 2i. This gradient could be the result either of decreasing value per unit of land or a decreasing amount of land worked (and rented) by individual peasants. Most likely a combination of these two factors accounts for the manifested pattern: lower land values to the south, and more extensive (and perhaps labor and capital intensive) farming to the north.

Rental records indicating land values and population statistics are only one of many data sets that may indicate patterns of regional ecological variation. Many other types of documentation reveal or suggest how individuals and communities actually exploited their environment and thus offer key insights into the productive and commercial potentials of given niches. For example, the communal and cofradía holdings of indigenous villages reflect both production possibilities and marketing prospects;[25] and rental arrangements between

25. AGN-I 80/2, from 1794, offers an interesting presentation of the relative merits of the *real y medio* contribution versus communal planting in maximizing benefits to the crown and indigenous communities. The subdelegado of the jurisdiction of Tetela del Río makes his recommendation for one or the other system on the basis of convenient market access. Thus, for Tetela del Río, he suggests a change from the *real y*

communities and colonists usually responded to the same factors. An exploration of these aspects of village economies shows that *tierra caliente* communities in the jurisdiction of Tetela del Río had inordinately large herds of cattle and rented out vast tracts of land to Spanish ranchers. This reflected the fact that the broken terrain with its many springs was more conducive to ranching than it was to farming. And as fertile lands closer to the major consumption centers were increasingly given over to farming, the pressure on ranching to expand into the more peripheral areas increased. Communal production patterns and rental arrangements with colonists provide another means to determine the involvement of indigenous communities in the agrarian economy. The villages of the jurisdiction of Malinalco, for instance, were heavily involved in wheat farming and those of Zacatula in cotton, and both lent money or land to haciendas and more modest colonial entrepreneurs and haciendas.[26] Finally, the composition of petty local trade (tianguis markets) was sensitive to patterns of local goods production. In the same vein, an analysis of regional price differences provides a good approximation to variations in local production, often determined by independent ecological variables. And an examination of the origins of specific trade goods (discoverable directly through *guías*, and indirectly through

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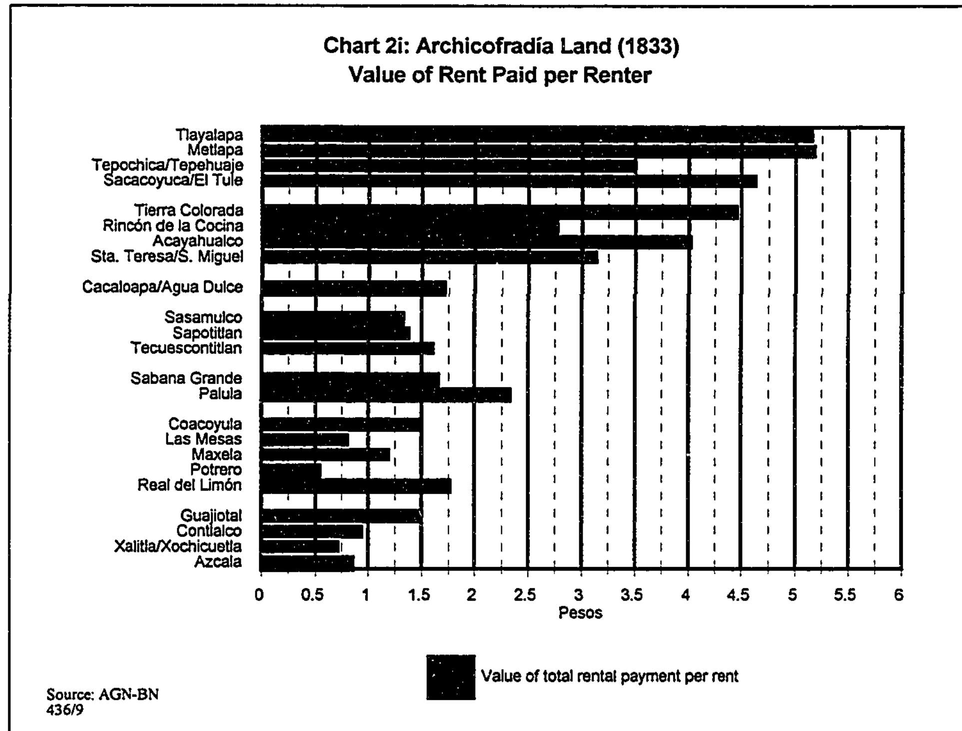
medio to communal planting "in regards to the approximate price at which grain is old in the reales de minas of Tetela del Río and Tepantitlan, located a short distance from this pueblo." Likewise for Santiago Tlacotepec he notes that "the decision to have communal planting might be the most useful and favorable given the large number of males in this pueblo and the outlet that maize enjoys in the real of Tepantitlan, commerce in which, as is well known, has made these naturales happy." Nevertheless, when a market outlet is lacking, the subdelegado recommends the continuation of the *real y medio* head tax. Thus, in regards to San Juan Tehuehuetla, "it will be useful to maintain the aforementioned head tax given that this village is very far away from the places where the grain that is produced by the planting of ten *brazas* of land could be sold." The basis of the subdelegado's suggestion that Tehuehuetla not plant communally was the absence of a strong regional market that would provide a reliable outlet for the grain produced; given this absence, he was inclined to favor the continuation of the head tax. Thus the colonial state's determination of how to obtain fiscal revenue from indigenous villages, through a head tax or communal agriculture, was based more on market structure than on ecological factors. In the Acapulco jurisdiction, it would seem, the lack of Indian productive efforts was directly related to the absence of a market outlet; this is discussed in the final section of this chapter.



evidence on trader or muleteer origin) provides an additional window onto patterns of regional specialization.[27] All this data on production and commercialization is one way to approach the question of ecological potential although the realization of this potential depended to a major extent on the presence of market demand and the prospects of commerce.

The previous pages offered a brief discussion of the topographical and climatological features of the Iguala Valley. In both instances a notable decline in quality, from north to south, was revealed. The valley became narrower and more rugged, and the climate suffered from decreasing rainfall and higher temperatures, which would result in less retention of water in the

26. For Malinalco, see especially AGN-I 80/2, 80/5, and 80/8, from 1808, 1794, and 1805, respectively. For Zacatula, see AGN-I 78/6 (1808).

soil. It was then shown that certain socioeconomic patterns of migrant peasant agriculture seemed to reflect these ecological gradients: a northern valley characterized by a greater density of settlements and higher land rents (probably the result of increased land value and more extensive cultivation, as well as the shorter distance to the dominant regional market in Taxco).[28] This chapter began with a brief exploration of how modern peasants might speak obliquely about climate, in this case water. Certainly more direct statements are often made, and friends in Ameyaltepec and Oapan would often comment that over the last couple of generations the alluvial plains along the Balsas had been abandoned as less and less rainfall fell every year. The sandy soil in the river basin, in fact, is particularly susceptible to drought. But another set of texts about the environment are bound up in modern cultural practices that reveal a particular awareness of and dependency on the surroundings: a toponomy sensitive to the location of even the smallest of springs and a worldview in which dominion over earthly and heavenly waters is particularly salient. For the colonial period, such oral texts are absent. Instead we are left with numerical data that, nevertheless, allow us to perceive some of the cognitive orientations of past generations. These mute individuals, who seldom appear except as silent statistical points in a galaxy of imperial archives, can be heard in a different way, for they "talked" with their feet and hands, migrating in patterns and working the land in ways that obliquely reveal what they

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27. For the assets of indigenous communities in cofradías and *bienes comunales*, see appendix 4. Tianguis sales and patterns of agricultural production (particularly wheat,cotton, and sugar) and commercialization (of produce, imports such as cacao, and manufactures) are treated most extensively in chapters 8 and 9.

28. Additionally, rental prices of the extensive valley land as a whole (which was subrented to peasant migrants) reaffirm the pattern noted in individual settlements. In the early nineteenth century don Manuel Sañudo rented the two properties of San Miguel and of Xochicuetla/Carrizal from the Archicofradía del Santisimo Sacramento of Taxco. The lands met at Estola (see map 5g), with San Miguel to the north and Xochichuetla/Carrizal to the south. Although the former was perhaps double or triple the size of the latter, it rented for five times as much (2,500 pesos/yr. for San Miguel as opposed to only 500 pesos for Xochicuetla/Carrizal). Thus in addition to any size difference, apparently topography, soil quality, rainfall, population, and market access (as well as peasant demand) all acted to raise the value of the northern lands.

thought of the land they came to adopt. Unfortunately, except the information that survives on how far they were willing to go and how much they were willing to pay, there is often no other way to broach the question of how colonial peasants perceived their environment. The European colonists, however, did leave more direct records, for the documents that survive often contain geographical descriptions and incidental, though sometimes poignant comments on the geographic and climatological facets of their surroundings. It is to this record that we now turn.

CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTIONS: THE LITERATURE OF THE LAND

It is a land of much cotton and chile, and all kinds of vegetables,
so that with this and the great amount of fish that they sell,
the Indians live a comfortable life.

Capitán Fernando Alfonso de Estrada, corregidor of Iguala
describing the ecology of Oapan,
year 1579[29]

To be Egypt it's in no need of plagues,
and to be an oven it has more than enough.

Don Pedro Zarsate de Hinojosa, minister in Oapan,
describing the ecology of Oapan,
year 1604[30]

Complementing meteorological data are contemporary descriptions that offer engaging insights into local perspectives on the environment. The former, empirical, shroud the particularities of place in terms of universalistic discourse. The latter, rhetorical, can be disconcertingly partisan; though frequently illuminating, such narratives must be cautiously judged. For example, the thematic base of one type of document, geographic reports (*relaciones geográficas*) that

29. "Relación geográfica de Iguala y su partido," 350–51.

30. AGN-T 2754/6.

responded to royal initiatives, was closely linked to the particular then-in-vogue concerns of crown policy, concerns that changed as the philosophical basis of national political economy also changed. Early assessments of colonial ecology often reflected the specific points of inquiry of a question-and-answer dialogue focused on the natural environment and precise descriptions of the earth, and were elaborated in times during which national wealth was considered to derive from the abundance of resources and when humanistic preoccupations with knowledge were themselves becoming a priority.[31] Later reports, reflecting the changing climate of political economic theory, focused more on the role of commerce and state economic intervention in regional development and national wealth. Influenced by Colbertian mercantilism, and then by physiocratic and liberal theories, they tended to look at and measure land units, report on the existence of roads, and suggest centralized political policies that would stimulate the economy.[32]

31. The first concern, on the natural environment, is intimately connected to the scientific humanism of sixteenth-century Spain. However, the early descriptions of natural resources were also motivated by a concern with their material value to the Spanish crown, a concern roots in the "bullionistic" pole of mercantilist theory. The extensive work of Spanish missionaries and colonists in the New World, men such as Oveido, Medina, López de Velasco, Hernández, Badianus, and Sahagún, provides a unique record and description of the natural history and ecology of the period. For a general treatment of science and technology in Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see López Piñero (1979).

Particularly important in the description of New Spain were a series of geographical reports that were solicited from the New World by Juan de Ovando in the mid–sixteenth century. Over the next two decades *relaciones geográficas* were elaborated, in response to questionaires, in Spain and the New World, the latter series being completed for the most part around 1570. These represent the culminating point of Philip II's determined effort to assemble a detailed description of his possessions (for a publication of the questionnaire used in Spain, see Miguélez 1917; a more detailed study is found in Viñas y Mey and Paz (1949–71). For an excellent and concise overview of the *Relaciones geográficas* in the New World, see Cline (1972a, 1972b, 1972c, as well as 1964). López Piñero (1979:218–28) and Goodman (1988:65–72) discuss the influence of the *Relaciones geográficas* and related descriptions of the New World on the formats used in Spain. For the impact of the New World on scientific inquiry see Cohen (1960). Kagan offers brief accounts of Philip II's interest in geography and corography (Kagan 1986, 1989) and, along with López Piñero and Goodman, notes the influence of Ptolomy. See also Mundy (1996) for an analysis of the maps made to accompany the sixteenth-century *relaciones geográficas*, the most complete set of which has been edited and compiled by Acuña (here only a few of his edited *relaciones* have been been consulted; see bibliography).

32. As MacLachlan notes (1988:67ff.), the emergence of a governing ideology based on physiocratic discourse "provided a secular link between the state and the people" and founded royal authority and

Besides the changing political economic theory that molded the *relaciones*, as well as other reports headed for the royal archives, there exists a plethora of contemporary archival documentation that also reveals attitudes toward the environment. The descriptions contained therein themselves represent highly interested and motivated discourse, as they often were articulated as part of litigation processes in which ecological considerations played a significant role in the discourse and final decisions. Communities would put forth arguments about the climate and terrain to avoid implementation of certain crown policies, perhaps alleging that a site chosen for a *congregación* was sterile, or either too hot or too cold; or that the difference between the climate of the village and that of a neighboring mining area was too great to allow *repartimiento* without adversely affecting the health of the indigenous laborers. That contrasting attitudes or concerns could clearly influence the temper of an ecological description, even those that were not part of a geographical report or elements in a judicial process, is clear from the two quotes that began this section. Thus in the sixteenth century Estrada highlighted the benefits of commerce for residents of the same river basin whose onerous climate inspired the unfavorable biblical simile of an early Oapan priest.

Conflicting narratives about the environment, therefore, frequently went beyond simple divergences of opinion and focus. They were often thinly disguised strategies to influence a

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legitimacy on its ability to promote economic prosperity for the nation. Larson (1988:213) also notes the physiocratic influence on late colonial authorities and observes:

> As instructed in the Ordianance of Intendants (1782), they set about the tasks of inspecting their intendancies and gathering information on population, roads, commerce, industry, and Indian villages. In their reports, they described sluggish markets, underproductive estates, and depressed agricultural prices in a rich land of abundant and varied vegetation.

Larson later notes that an intendant, Viedma, "unlike his colleagues . . . ascribed the [economic] decline to narrow markets and a 'crisis of overproduction'" (p. 214). The influence of Campillo and the physiocrats is clear.

colonial political and administrative policy on land transfer, forced labor, and indigenous resettlement that was particularly sensitive to environmental considerations and productive possibilities. Arguments referring to ecology and land quality (common in litigation over congregaciones and repartimientos) should, therefore, be taken with a grain of salt.[33] A similar problem surfaces with petitions for land or licenses, and with indigenous *contradicciones* to colonial mercedes.[34] The following case illustrates the problems of interpreting contemporary descriptions of land quality and ecological potential.

In 1669 the naturales of Huitzuco requested permission to sell a parcel of land called Yestla, which bordered on Tlaxmalac to the north.[35] In anticipation of viceregal objections to the

33. The problem of the relativity of judgements is apparent in requests for exemptions from forced mine labor based on climatic differences between the pueblo of origin and the *real de minas* requiring labor. Thus, high altitude villages would characterize Taxco as hot, whereas communities in *tierra caliente* (hot lands) cited the coldness of Taxco, each in an effort to justify an exemption from mine labor based on the health hazard caused by climatic differences between the home village and the mines.

34. AGN-I 10(1)/281, dated 27 July 1630, is a *contradicción* of the officials of Tixtla, Tototepec, Cuacoyula, and Tlacotepec to a merced solicited by Don Pedro de Sosa y Torres, factor of Acapulco, for an estancia and venta. The glowing terms with which the Indians describe the land (through their lawyer) should, of course, be viewed with caution: "[this land was] inherited from their ancestors from the times of gentility, and as owners they have derived pleasure from it, cultivated it, and taken much fruit from it; cacao and sugarcane, bananas, pineapples, melons, cotton, chile, cabbage, tomatoes, squash, and other vegetables that they have used to sustain themselves and to pay their tribute, given that the aforementioned land is fertile and well suited for all that has been mentioned; and if it is taken away from them the total ruin and destruction of [the Indians will ensue] because they have no other lands that will enable them to maintain themselves and pay their tribute, and they will flee and take refuge in other lands; and Your Highness will lose them and the public good they bring if the preference of the aforementioned *factor* is heeded, whose petition for a license to found a venta for his own benefit should be denied and [the Indians] should be favored on their own lands."

35. AGN-I 24/321. The corregidor offered the lands of Yestla in public auction to Francisco de Cabrera, and reported that "I have personally reconnoitered [these lands] and confirmed the great distance that separates them from the aforementioned pueblo [of Huitzuco] as well as the fact that the naturales have many other [lands] in addition to the lands referred to, which have never offered them any benefit, nor will they ever; it appears to me that they are served and will be served greatly by their sale and with the rental [of the lands] the village church will be much better adorned."

The *fiscal protector* initially opposed the sale and noted that although the lands were not needed at the present time, "perhaps they will increase in value as the naturales themselves have decreased in number, and then [when the naturales increase?] they will be needed, which is the motive the *reales cédulas* offer for restricting [the sale of] surroundings and land that might once have been indicated [for sale]." Faced with this negative, the naturales again request a license to alienate the land, noting that by leasing the land in

proposed sale if the lands were to be judged important to the community's well-being, their legal representative downplayed its ecological potential and its value to the community in asserting that "they have not taken advantage of, nor have been able to take advantage of, [these lands] because they are deserted, uncultivated, and rocky, and comprise a small area very distant from their village; if [the sale is not authorized] the land is otherwise useless to them, for they have other lands to plant." The sale was authorized under the condition that it be carried out as a redeemable *censo*, a condition that would theoretically allow the Indians to reacquire Yestla at a later date if they so desired.[36]

This statement, articulated in support of the petition for the right to alienate community land, was contrary to that which the same community had presented a couple of years previously, when it itself had requested a license to plant and mill cane at San Miguel Yestla. In 1667 the naturales of Huitzuco had affirmed that "they have planted a section of land called San Miguel Yesta with sugarcane in order to be able to benefit from the [sale of] molasses and panocha. For

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censo redimible they would be able to reacquire it and thus lose neither rights nor dominion. The *fiscal* reconsiders his objection, reflecting on this new proposal and the fact the *autos* clearly indicate that the lands of Yestla are more than 2 leagues from the village, which has never needed them, and that the lands are in the territory of Acapulco in terrain that is very hot and uncomfortable. He also notes the utility of the yearly mortgage payments of the *censo*, which according to the terms of the public auction will yield 25 pesos each year.

Note that Yestla was an ex-sujeto called San Miguel Yetla (see appendix 1) one league from the cabecera; it was congregated at the turn of the sixteenth century. In a map from about 1690 (AGN-T 3514; see map 5f) it is glossed as "Yetla los indios" within the parish of Tlaxmalaca and "over one league to this pueblo [Huitzuco]."

36. Under the conditions of this type of *censo*, the land was alienated for an indefinite period and the acquisition cost was a yearly fee, representing the interest on the value of the land. The loan is like a monetary loan; the "borrower" acquires land instead of cash and pays for this loan (500 pesos as 500 pesos worth of land) at a 5% yearly interest. The village can terminate the exchange by demanding full payment of the "principal," i.e., the land. Or the transaction can be conceived as a credit transaction where the credit is secured by the property acquired with the credit (a sort of "double sale"). The benefits of this type of transaction, for both parties, is that credit, not cash, is transacted, and that the sale can be reversed at any time. The negative effect is clearly that the uncertainty of ownership and the fact that the *censo* was a fixed amount both worked to inhibit improvements on the property, something particularly important for sugar cultivation and processing.

this reason," they claimed, "they had built a small mill with the necessary accessories, so that they could support themselves, pay their tribute to the crown, and improve their community along with [acquiring] the constructions and adornments required for holy worship."[37] At this time the village of Huitzuco offered testimony that asserted the value of this land to the community, helping it pay its tribute and improve its church. Two years later they said that they had not "taken advantage of" this land, which was described as "deserted, sterile, and rocky."

The contemporary (1667 and 1669) yet divergent descriptions of a single holding represent the ramifications of a village's strategic responses within the framework of a protective crown land policy in which ecological descriptions constituted a prime criterion for administrative decisions. The changing references to Yestla reflected the changing plans that the indigenous authorities of Huitzuco had for this land, articulated within a relatively constant legal climate surrounding viceregal licenses to indigenous communities for the construction of sugar mills and the alienation of land. To obtain a license for producing low-grade sugars in a trapiche, the Indians of Huitzuco needed to accentuate the importance of the lands in question for the village economy and, most importantly, for their ability to meet tribute obligations and better their church. To obtain a license to sell—from a crown wary of transactions that would alienate landed resources from Indian villages and decrease their productive land base—the Huitzuco authorities needed to provide a convincing argument that the land in question was unproductive, or at least superfluous to their local economy. Even so, the *fiscal protector* would only authorize a redeemable mortgage and not an outright sale. If the naturales of Huitzuco later found themselves in need of land, they could simply terminate the lease.

37. AGN-I 24/133.

Given that the petition to alienate Yestla was set forth a scant two years after the petition to improve it (through the construction of a trapiche), it might have been that indigenous mobilization of community resources for sugar production, probably in the context of local market demand, created an attractive lure for colonial entrepreneurs, who coveted the recently improved land for their own commercial ventures. A less likely alternative is that the earliest petition was in fact formulated at the instigation of Cabrera, who first colluded with indigenous authorities to improve the land before he acquired it, perhaps wary that as a colonist his petition for a license to found a trapiche might be less favorably viewed. Yet his legal acquisition of the enhanced property depended precisely on its professed lack of value to the community.[38] Whatever the intricacies of the relationship between Huitzuco and Cabrera, the contrasting portraits of the land that were offered suggest that a fruitful area of study might be a sort of politics of ecology, the rhetorical descriptions of landscapes as they were presented to a colonial state sensitive to the fragility of provisioning in a land of frequent environmental tension.[39]

Yet despite the often politicized nature of environmental descriptions, or the way in which variations in such texts over time reflected transformations in the general concerns of political and economic theory, contemporary environmental portraits of the environment often do disclose credible impressions of regional conditions that affected agricultural production and

38. Indian communities could use an inverse argument: land presently without value to the village could be made productive with capital investment and administrated production that, however, were beyond the capabilities of indigenous villages. Viceregal authorization of sale resulted from the perceived benefits of high-priced sales to outsiders who had the means to recuperate their investment by capitalizing agricultural production on the lands acquired from Indians. Thus Cocula's sale of Atlixtac to Soto y Acuña was in part justified by the fact that undercapitalized Indians could not improve the land to its full value, as could a local colonial entrepreneur; see the discussion of this sale in chapter 9.

39. See Melville (1994). On the food crisis in early colonial New Spain, see Super (1988).

human settlement. In the following pages I present a brief overview of some of these portrayals of the jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla.[40]

Descriptions of Taxco[41] concur in sketching a rough and broken landscape; grain production limited to sparse maize harvests and the complete absence of locally-grown wheat;[42] and a climate generally considered hot, though temperate in comparison to its immediate surroundings.[43] The core of the jurisdiction embraced the communities of Taxco el Viejo, Huistac, Atzala, Cacalotenango, Acamixtlahuacan, and Tlamacazapa. One report noted the effect of regional topography on the development of petty commerce to supplement marginal subsistence agriculture: "all these [villages] are [composed of] laborers: because of the very rough terrain they plant and harvest very little, and they make ends meet with small-scale goods that they bring to the mines, such as charcoal, firewood, and fodder for horses; and they rent out their labor to work in Spanish employment and in mining activities."[44] The sixteenth-century *Relación de las minas de Taxco* echoes the above-mentioned panorama of a rough and contoured terrain:

40. In chapters 7 and 11, I discuss the political history of jurisdictional boundaries. In the former the temporary joining of Tixtla and Chilapa to Acapulco and their later separation, as well as the suggestion that Iguala be incorporated into Tixtla-Chilapa, is discussed. In the latter I explore the drawn-out and ultimately successful struggle by politico-administrative authorities in Taxco to incorporate Iguala under their jurisdiction. For a general description of these jurisdictions and their geographical limits see Gerhard (1970:passim).

41. The major descriptions of this region ("Relación de las minas de Taxco," the Ovando reports in AGI México 336/fols. 92v–107v, and AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v) all coincide in their basic representation of the environment of Taxco and neighboring Iguala.

42. AGN-Alh 8/11. The only exceptions to the virtual exclusivity of maize farming were the village of Teticpac, which produced some chile sold fresh in the Taxco markets, and Pilcaya, which produced a small surplus of beans sold at the same outlet. For an analysis of the wheat market in Taxco, see chap. 8.

43. *Relación de las minas de Taxco*, 118.

44. Ovando report, AGI-México 336 (cf. García Pimentel 1897:181).

> The center of these mines is in very high land, dense and uneven so that, in order to get to flat land, one must walk four leagues and, in some directions, more; and the center of the Taxco jurisdiction is so rough that in the entire mining zone there is not one level area, except for a very small plaza in the Real de Teteltzingo where the church is [located]. . . . Generally the villages of the province are on similar ground, some on hillsides, others on broken terrain, and still others on the peaks of hills. And in these there is no order to settlement, but rather a house here and another there, according to the disposition and arrangement that the roughness of the land permits.[45]

The major asset of this region, besides silver, was the streams and rivers that provided the running water necessary to wash amalgamated silver and power the mills of the *haciendas de beneficio*.[46] Besides a few trapiches, however, there is little evidence of irrigated agriculture, not even the limited cultivation of small orchards that, beginning in the early sixteenth century, characterized certain sites in the Iguala Valley. Running water in Taxco was monopolized by the silver industry and contributed little to mitigating problems of urban food supply.[47]

Contrary to Taxco, the "bountiful and rich lands . . . abundant and fertile"[48] of the province of Iguala merited repeatedly favorable descriptions, though perhaps the outlook from Taxco, enviously dependent on the maize-producing potential of the Iguala Valley, was more flattering than that from Iguala itself.[49] This alluring portrayal of nearby provinces, though perhaps not far from the truth in the case of Iguala, at times seems again to enter into the realm of

45. "Relación de las minas de Taxco," 119.

46. For documentation on the relative predominance of water versus animal powered mills in Taxco and other *reales* ca. 1600, see Zavala (1987:332).

47. Teticpac, perhaps the village that attracted the greatest quantity of non-Indian immigrants, was particularly blessed with water, which it utilized for limited irrigation: "this pueblo is very pleasant, [its lands] fertilized by the two aforementioned rivers. Fruit typical of both cold and hot lands can be found"; AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v.

48. AGN-BN 435/3.

49. Note the following early nineteenth-century account by the subdelegado of Taxco, who mentions that "on the contrary [to Taxco] there in the *partido* of Iguala . . . the inhabitants enjoy very extensive farmland, and for this reason many of them dedicate themselves to cultivating it, in particular to the planting of maize"; AGN-Alh 8/11.

politicized environmental discourse, as it is often aimed at affecting the tenor of centralized decisions on interprovincial trade relations, particularly in grain. These tactics are not indigenous to New Spain and, for example, one researcher on the grain problem of France notes that a characteristic of the discourse of provisioning was a pessimistic portrayal of ones own province, and an optimistic vision of the neighboring one.[50] The same covetous attitude (of Taxco and Tixtla or Chilapa in regard to Iguala) can be found in central Guerrero during the entire colonial period.

An early colonial description of the *a:ltepe:tl* (cabecera-sujeto complex) of Iguala is a flattering account that well illustrates the positive expressions of landscape that accompany many of sixteenth-century reports: "[In the cabecera and sujetos of Iguala] is harvested much maize, vegetables, and the best melons in New Spain, which supply the entire area, principally the Taxco mines."[51] The words could well apply to the nearby indigenous communities of Cocula, Tepecuacuilco, and Mayanalán, all in the northern Iguala Valley. Yet at the same time the closeness of a major consumption center, Taxco, coupled to the favorable topography and climate stimulated the rapid development of a much more extensive economy of conquest, distinct from the household cultivation suggested by the preceding quote. By the early seventeenth century the valley had become home to extensive ranching enterprises, which was displaced a century and a half later by the rapid growth of maize agriculture. By the end of the colonial period these patterns of continuous (and at certain times and places overextensive) exploitation had produced an overworked terrain typified by "low and sterile hills, with little tree cover."[52] Secondary vegetation, characteristic of the Iguala Valley region then as now, attests to

50. Cobb (1970:247).

51. "Relación de Iguala y su partido," 342.

52. AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v.

the clearing and heavy exploitation of most available land. Although late colonial investment in cane fields and processing rapidly increased the basis of the sugar industry in the valley, and patches of intensively cultivated gardens continued to be typical of riverbank plots in the northern valley, the late colonial descriptions were more prone to marvel at the breadbasket agriculture of the fertile valley and its essential role in supplying the grain necessary for regional well-being.

There is little ground water in the Iguala Valley. It is trisected by two rather modest tributaries to the Balsas that run parallel from north to south. To the west lies the Cocula River; to the east flows the Tepecuacuilco River, described at the close of the colonial period, when the valley no longer contained the large herds of cattle that had dominated the landscape up to the mid–eighteenth century, as "large during the rainy season when water arrives, although in the dry season there is scarcely enough water in a few sites for the cattle grazing in surrounding lands to drink."[53] The Cocula River nurtured the canefields of the Atlixtac and Apango haciendas, which in the eighteenth century emerged near Cocula itself; the Tepecuacuilco River facilitated late colonial cane cultivation near Acayahualco and Santa Teresa and permitted a profusion of small irrigated garden plots and some petty commercial horticulture. The names of a pack of minor settlements in the northern valley attest to the continued presence of varied production in fruits

53. The citation is from AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v. The general lack of springs and other forms of surface water in the Iguala Valley may be compared to the situation in the ranching zone of Ajuchitlán, Cuzamala, and neighboring villages. Both San Miguel Totolapan and Cuzamala were said to possess abundant "springs, pastures, and watering holes," where cattle are grazed and pastured; AGN-I 80/2bis. This region, the tierra caliente of Guerrero, was notorious for the flourishing of its ranching, as exemplified both in cofradía resources and in the presence of "several Indians of those who are called 'rich,' [and] who have large numbers of cattle, some have less and others have none, and it doesn't seem just that the first and second take advantage of the fields and lands as they do, increasing their wealth, which in reality belongs to all in common."; AGN-I 80/2 bis.

and vegetables: El Melonar, El Tomatal, Plantanal, and El Tule.[54] The late colonial descriptions, given the dominance of a demand for grain and the politicized struggle for control over its distribution, made little mention of other agricultural goods. Yet their existence continued to be indelibly marked on the landscape with toponyms that revealed their most characteristic produce, the colonial equivalent of Ameyaltepequeños' A:gwah Sa:rkah.

To the south, the Balsas (or Mezcala) River marked the rather abrupt physical limit to that pattern of rural life characteristic of the Iguala Valley, on which were continually played out minor variations on the theme of "breadbasket" agriculture. During the dry season the Balsas is reduced to a fairly innocuous current that belies its rainy season condition as a treacherous impediment to commerce and communication between the Pacific port of Acapulco and the central highlands. Descriptions such as the one from 1794 that follows are common in the literature:

> [There is] a large river that here takes the name of the Mezcala River since it passes by the edge of a village of this name . . . [it becomes] very swollen, particularly during the rainy season; during the dry season muleskinners ford it at a shallow part about an eighth of a league from the village; and during the rainy season cargo and travelers cross the river on balsas [rafts] that the Indians make from rods an inch in diameter, with two dozen gourds, small and large, tied together palm and placed below the rods to form a mesh with a half-finger of clear space; because of its size and force, fording the river is dangerous in the rainy season and leads to many accidents; and it is no less dangerous for the pack trains that must swim across it, making the building of a bridge of utmost urgency.[55]

54. These placenames mean "the melon field," "the tomato patch," "the banana grove," and "the reed," respectively. Although mention of *huertas* (small irrigated gardens) can be found in all jurisdictions of central Guerrero, it appears that small irrigated plots were more prominent in the northern section of the province of Iguala. Note also that certain renters cuadrillas in the Iguala Valley paid small amounts of rent in melons, obviously compensation for irrigated land in which melons were cultivated; see AGN-BN 436/9 and the extensive discussion in chapter 9.

55. AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v.

One constant throughout the colonial period was a perspective on the river basin's climate that continued, less elegantly, an ignoble reputation dating from Zarzate de Hinojosa's peculiar trope. A 1743 reference to this zone mentions that "[its] climates are excessively hot and noxious, of mosquitos and other bugs."[56] The lands of San Francisco Ozomatlán were "mountainous and broken" and those of San Miguel Tecuiciapan "mountainous, rocky, and sterile."[57] A *procurador de indios*, lawyer for the naturales of San Marcos Oacacingo, San Juan Tetelcingo and Ameyaltepec, registered "the misery in which they live . . . because of the scant and poor lands in which they can barely plant."[58] Mezcala, the riverbank community at the southern tip of the jurisdiction of Iguala, was surrounded by land atypical of the northern valley settlements closer to the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco. But its environment adumbrated the changes in the land that began in earnest south of the Balsas, in the septentrional regions of the adjoining jurisdiction of Tixtla:

> [Mezcala is a] village of few Indians, inhospitable, hot, and unhealthy, it is the last village of this jurisdiction [Iguala] and is twelve leagues from the cabecera of Tepequacuilco and twenty-three from the cabecera of Taxco; [Mezcala is] situated at the edge of the aforementioned river on a small, flat, sandy, and sterile piece of land. Leaving this village one enters a narrow canyon bordered by hills of medium height, sterile and covered with thorns and a few thicker trees. One league from the village its lands end and, with them, the jurisdiction [of Iguala].[59]

56. AGI Indiferente 1007(1)/fols. 135–69, dated 1743. I would like to thank Danièlle Dehouve for giving me a photocopy of this document.

57. Both cites are from AGN-T 3603/9, dated 1716.

58. AGN-CRS 67/10, from the year 1777. In this same document the procurador for San Marcos Oacacingo notes that this village "is reduced to so few inhabitants that it barely holds eighty families, submerged in the greatest poverty because of the bad climate, lack of lands on which to plant, scarcity of produce and other means to subsist; [and] forced to rent some plots of lands distant from their pueblo, that doesn't earn them enough to plant even just what is necessary"; fol. 321f.

59. AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v.

The jurisdiction of Tixtla commenced at the Balsas River and came to a desolate end in the "rough and unpopulated lands"[60] that blended into the mountain range called "la Brea,"[61] part of the scantily populated jurisdiction of Acapulco. In between these extremes, each equally inimical to Spanish settlement, lay a generally bleak and unproductive territory[62] with "[villages] of hot and noxious climates, separated by distances that are hard and vexing to travel particularly because of the broken terrain, the rivers, and the streams . . . products that are good for commerce are not found in this jurisdiction and the villages support themselves only with the maize and beans they only with difficulty are they able to plant."[63] The following early nineteenth-century text is a subdelegado's harsh though not gratuitous impression of the jurisdiction:

> Faced with the disturbing political situation of the village and district of Tixtla (whose *subdelegación* I have held since last November) . . . [I have noted that] there is scarcely a citizen with a legitimate and permanent job and except for a few who, when they are able, are farmers and muleskinners, the rest are buried in laziness and poverty or enter into illegal and prohibited occupations, which include the smuggling of mezcal liquor and tobacco. I have been informed that the most zealous attempts have never been sufficient to eradicate [these activities]. Therefore, since my arrival in this jurisdiction I have dedicated my waking hours to correcting these problems and to fostering [the well-being of] some residents who are worthwhile for their loyalty and obedience to the crown and for their docility and general love for the magistrate who represents him. And after the deepest thought and contemplation I have not come up with a more expedite and opportune means to meet the laudable goal of protecting the

60. AGI Indiferente 107(1)/fols. 99–118.

61. This mountain range, and later a hacienda by the same name, was apparently named after the *brea* (pitch tar), exploited in the region. The earliest mention I have found of *brea* as a name for this region is in a request for a licence "For the alcalde mayor of the port of Acapulco to report on the request of Alonso de Balderrama for a license to transport *brea* in the aforementioned district"; AGN-GP 7/503 dated 1 Feb. 1633. Balderrama, a "surgeon, vecino of the port of Acapulco," had requested a permit to make *brea* in the site called Cerro de la Brea, in the district of Jaltianguis, jurisdiction of the said port." Nevertheless, although *brea* was probably produced in the mountains near Jaltianguis, it continued to be imported into Acapulco from Veracruz; see the transactions mentioned in AGN-GP 10/44 dated 1651-02-07; AGN-GP 12/171 dated 26 Feb. 1666; and AGN-GP 12/201 dated 6 Dec. 1666.

62. The jurisdiction's core contains the pueblos of Huitziltepec, Zumpango, Chilpancingo, Tixtla, Mochitlán, Petaquillas, and Dos Caminos.

63. AGI-Indif. 107(1)/fols. 135–69.

> superior government than that of fomenting spinning and weaving as it is permitted in this kingdom.[64]

There was, nevertheless, the occasional haven that charitably punctuated the normally hostile and broken landscape. Chichihualco and Mazatlán became relatively important haciendas; Chilpancingo, Tixtla, and Mochitlán were indigenous villages that attracted the interests of ever increasing numbers of colonial settlers.[65] But these localized opportunities for agriculture were increasingly insufficient to sustain the economic viability of the Tixtla jurisdiction and maintain the fixed residence of its indigenous inhabitants. By the late colonial period the situation in south central Guerrero had become clear: with the virtual absence of commercial farming, marginal subsistence agriculture had to be supplemented with legal (muleskinning and petty trade, spinning and weaving) or illegal (commerce in contraband, smuggling, and unauthorized tobacco

64. AGN-ICom 8/18 (year 1808). Commerce between the Tixtla-Mochitlán area and the coast was practiced from the early colonial period: "The undertakings of these naturales is that of taking chickens, maize, local straw mats, and chiles to the coast. They also sell white honey (*miel blanca*), which is rich and abundant, and in exchange for these goods they bring back cacao. . . . And there are merchants who trade in these goods with a value of 100,000 pesos and more" Relación de Tistla y Muchitlán," 275.

Chilapa in many ways followed the pattern prevalent in Tixtla, both in regard to the dominance of muleteering and the late colonial foment of spinning, which complemented a cottage weaving industry, already characteristic of the region. As to trade between Chilapa and the coast, note the following comment, one report mentions that "its principal commercial activity is that of muleteering, and of buying cotton in the harvests of the two coasts [what is now known as the Costa Chica below Acapulco and the Costa Grande to the north of the port], in order to take it to sell in Mexico City, Puebla, and other destinations"; AGN-H 578b/fols. 66f–80v, dated 1792. Trade to the coast is covered extensively in chapter 8.

65. The strategic appeal of each settlement was different. Chilpancingo was located at an important juncture of the caminos reales that connected Acapulco to Puebla and to Mexico. Chilpancingo's growth in population and political stature during the second half of the colonial period is treated in chapter 8. Tixtla was the political and commercial center of the jurisdiction. Mochitlán, on the other hand, was particularly blessed with water sources that made irrigated agriculture possible, and attracted colonial comercial agricultural interests, rare for the Tixtla jurisdiction. It possessed ten sitios de ganado mayor at the time of its first composición (1710), land which was mostly "tierras lavorias y debaxo de riego y se incluyen en el ámbito de ellas cinco trapiches de comunidad en los quales se hase panocha." AGN-T 3603/9. For conflict over water rights in Mochitlán, see AGN-I 67/330 and AGN-T 1225/1, both from 1792. To the west, Chilapa was dominated by the mayorazgo of Moctezuma and Guerrero, and during the eighteenth century by the Mesa family (see the brief discussion in chapter 8).

planting[66]) activities. There were many who were unable to sustain themselves in the Tixtla jurisdiction, as well as that of Chilapa, and, as the colonial period drew to a close, emigrated in increasing numbers to the booming agricultural hinterland of the Iguala Valley (see chapter 7).[67]

The demographic and political cohesion of the Tixtla jurisdiction, characterized by inauspicious terrain removed from any vigorous demand center that might have promoted regional development of agriculture or petty industries, was therefore jeopardized on two fronts: by the attractive lands to the north (which drew migrant peasants) and the forsaken lands to the south (which induced contraband and crime).[68] Yet there were some advantages to the intermediate position of this jurisdiction—located as it was between a Pacific coastal area that produced specialized tropical goods (cacao, salt, and cotton) and served as an entry point for Oriental imports, and highland markets characterized by high demand and concentrated merchant capital. It was this spatial relation to sources of produce and manufactures to the south and markets and capital to the north that was perhaps the Tixtla jurisdiction's saving grace. This

66. Only after the introduction of commercialized sugarcane planting and processing were illegal tabacco fields abandoned at the haciendas of Chichihualco and Santa Bárbara. Nevertheless, this illegal crop continued to dominate the vast region between Chichihualco, Tlacotepec, and the coast; see the extensive documentation of illegal tobacco planting in this region in AGN-Tab 410/s.n. dated 1797. Tobacco growing became illegal after the crown assumed monopoly control over this crop through the *estanco de tabaco*, see Deans-Smith (1992). Expeditions to destroy illegal tobacco in the Sierra Madre of Guerrero occurred in the late 1770s; see Taylor (1996:698 n. 13), and again in the late 1790s, AGN-Tab 410/s.n..

67. AGI Indiferente 107(1)/fols. 135–69. The complete dependency of this jurisdiction on trade is repeatedly commented upon in the primary sources (see chapter 7). For example, one colonist noted the impossibility of calling a meeting of the principal citizens of Tixtla during the dry season given that all had gone to the coast to trade in Pacific imports. Other evidence is apparent from the job descriptions in the Padrones documentation (perhaps offer a brief statistical review in this summary; generally this information will be discussed in the final chapter on commerce). Finally, note the case of appeal to a "hechicero" to determine the precise date of arrival of the Manila Galleon (see AGN-In 435(1)/2 (1650); cited on p. 448 below).

68. On contraband and crime in both the sierra and along the camino real, see AGN-T 2756/11 (1619); AGN-GP 14/68 (1671); AGN-I 33/149 (1696); AGN-I 40/134 (1707); AGN-GP 21/246 (1717); AGN-CR 695/12 (1723); AGN-F 4/16 (1768); AGN-GP 53 s.n. (23 Dec. 1774); AGN-F 17/23 (1781); AGN-T 1209/9 (1790); AGN-M 83/fols. 92f.–94f. (1794); AGN-Tab 410/s.n. (1797); and AGN-ICom 8/18 (1808).

semiperipheral location encouraged muleteering and promoted petty agricultural production, particularly of cane and a few other commercial crops, generally trafficked on the coast as the first leg of a triangulated trade route passing through Tixtla, the Pacific coast, and the central highlands.

The three jurisdictions just described (Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla) constitute the core area of this present study. Yet one step further south was a region that was a key factor is the spatial development of colonial society: the province of Acapulco, where the racially mixed coastal settlements of cotton growers constituted an improbable median between the fleeting vigor of the Acapulco port and the striking desolation of the Sierra Madre. The port of Acapulco and the Pacific coast attracted thousands of merchants and muleteers, thus riveting the economy of an isolated *cimarrón* ("wild") territory whose somber reality was punctuated by the annual ebullience of an annual feria. It was at this time that the port was taken over by merchants and their representatives, or petty traders hoping to secure a load at emphemeral prices that surpassed those common throughout the rest of the year.[69] Less dramatic were the seasonal commercial expeditions of petty merchant traders or barterers, and contracted muleteers. Falling between law-abiding merchants and peasants, and the persecuted criminals who subsisted on ill-gotten gains from travelers on the camino real, was a tolerated industry of thriving yet intermittent contraband. Licit trade concealed unauthorized merchandise, and peasant farmers interspersed tobacco in fields of maize and fruits.[70] At the same time the wild nature of the terrain was linked

69. There was no Pacific coast equivalent to Jalapa, which was a highland, and healthy, clearing house for imports to Veracruz. For information on the Jalapa feria see Real Díaz and Carrera Stampa (n.d.). The classic description of the *cimarrón* area of the Pacific coast is found in Aguirre Beltrán (1972).

70. In 1797 the *administrador de tabaco*, commissioned to destroy all illegal plantings, commented that "with too much liberty they carry out this commerce [of tobacco] throughout the entire coast, being that it is easy from there to freely introduce [the tobacco] . . . in that all the lands are open, depopulated, and without any boundaries there at all, to which should be added the indifference with which the justices of those territories have safeguarded the interests of the tax duties"; AGN-Tab 410/s.n.

to similar aspects of the person. In the popular mind the residents of the coastal region were characterized by two features: bellicosity and blackness. The military census of 1792, for example, remarked on the former when it noted that "the inhabitants are quite subordinate and respectful of government; but common to all those who live on the coast is a bellicose and daring character, as exemplified by their frequent and cruel fights, which lead to many deaths and the mutilations that are annotated in the census."[71] And one noble Spaniard, in requesting an exemption for his wife, acknowledges that her mother, though the daughter of a Spaniard was the child of a woman not of "good quality" (*no era de buena calidad*). But he excuses this blemish on his wife's heritage by noting that it is common knowledge that in the port of Acapulco all families are castas with a tint of mulatto.[72] It was then, to a great extent, the wild and isolated character of this frontier society—features that in the main were a reflection of its rugged terrain and inhospitable climate—that was considered have produced the scarred and colored bodies of its inhabitants.

The topography and demography of the province of Acapulco and the Sierra Madre del Sur, which occupied much of its territory in cutting a wide swath of isolation parallel to the coast, was frequently commented upon. With the exception of La Sabana, a *paraje* immediately outside of Acapulco,[73] the Sierra Madre was dominated by broken terrain which frustrated maize

71. AGN-P 16/213f–221v.

72. AGN-Tr 24/1. The language of the actual document is slightly confusing, but the rhetorical intent is clearly to excuse this spot of Navarro's wife's past by noting that no family living in Acapulco is immune from some mulatto blood.

73. The port itself lay within a "torrid zone that lacks the frequent winds from the north because by nature it is enclosed by high and rough sierra whose hot climate make it unhealthy and harmful, particularly during the rainy season that, with its humidity and southeast winds, leads to intermittent feverish periods that during some years often continue through the months of December and January, causing no little devastation among the inhabitants as well as the merchants who come [to the port], which is why there are so few Spanish families [there], whose numbers don't exceed ten, not counting the Spaniards who man the garrison of the royal force and fort of San Diego"; AGI Indiferente 107(1)/fols. 104f–v.

cultivation; a sultry climate rapidly spoiled harvested grain, making importation from nearby regions a frequent necessity.[74] A description of the land of Tlacotepec, an Indian community in the jurisdiction of Tetela del Río whose vast lands extended beyond Jaleaca, approximately 40 kilometers to the south, into the adjoining mountains of the jurisdictions of Tixtla and Acapulco, captures the severity of the regional topography. "We have never had [our lands] measured," the indigenous community said in the mid–eighteenth century, "and what is worse, they are lands so hard to go through, that one puts one's life in danger simply by walking along the slopes, this is the case in most of the region, and for this reason the land has not been measured."[75] The bleakness of this region was intensified by a settlement pattern in which modest ventas and ranchos, outposts strung along the camino real, were the sole links between the frugal settlements of the South Sea coast and the more prodigal mercantile centers to the north. A telling comment on the contour of the region under consideration is revealed in two late colonial petitions for mercedes, in which the petitioners' ignorance of regional geography reveals a curious though perhaps not surprising unfamiliarity with the isolated expanse lying south and southwest of the

74. AGN-P 16/fols. 213f–430f. For a description of the jurisdiction of Igualapa to the south, see AGN-H 578b/fols. 85f–93v. Besides mentioning the abundant cotton harvests, and the production of cacao, salt, *xícara* (gourd), and indigo, maize production was also reported to be high. As the subdelegado noted, "this is the jurisdiction that produces the most grain and is of the best quality [of land], as illustrated by six pueblos in which maize is harvested four times [during the year], coming to fruition in 50 days; rice and chile is also very plentiful." Unfortunately it is virtually impossible to determine commercial and distribution patterns for maize, given that this grain did not usually pay the alcabala (sales tax), and other records that might shed light on this activity are scarce. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that the port and jurisdiction of Acapulco was the principal destination of maize produced in Igualapa. For an instance in which 250 or 400 cargas of Indian tribute in maize collected in Tixtla was bought by the castellan of Acapulco, see AGN-In 1358/12; fols. 233f–v. (1793). For the wheat (flour) provisioning along the Pacific coast, see chapter 8.

75. AGN-Bus 80/year 1950, exp. 4. The documentary group Buscas consists mostly of typewritten copies of land titles of indigenous villages. Some of these (such as those of Oapan) were held by the communities until they donated them to the Archivo General de la Nación in the twentieth century, obtaining a certified copy in return. Others were located in the AGN after a community requested a search for its ancient titles. Here again, although the original document was already in the AGN, the community was issued a typewritten transcription, which was also placed in Buscas. The titles of Tlacotepec are of this second type; the originals are in AGN-T1464/3.

virtual frontier of settlements formed by the outpost communities of Tixtla, Mazatlán, Chilpancingo, Zumpango, and Chichihualco.

In 1790, Bartolomé Rodríguez, a Spanish vecino of Zumpango resident in Mexico, requested a merced for land in the Sierra Madre del Sur. He began by describing the property he sought: "in the area near this jurisdiction there are some lands of broken canyons between hills called Santa Bárbara that contain about one caballería of land, most of it sterile. However, this piece of land could be productive if cultivated, it borders to the east with the land of Mazatlán, to the north with the same, to the west with the village of Tlacotepec and Tixtlanzingo, and to the south with the Venta de Dos Arroyos; these lands are deserted and *baldía*, and thus *realenga;* for this reason I claim them in due form."[76] The subdelegado was not inclined to carry out the required survey. He reported that the obligatory circumambulation of the territory would cover more than 200 leagues. In addition to the time and food required, it would be necessary to hire four armed men "in order to prevent a tumult of the law-breaking highwaymen that hide in this land and illegally plant tobacco, and the court knows that they are well armed." Rodríguez desisted from his request, stating that he had been unaware of "the great amount of land that was contained within its borders." The admitted lack of knowledge was not unique to Rodríguez. A contemporary *denuncia de tierras realengas,* by a certain don Ignacio Zelis Ravago, refers to land slightly north of that requested by Rodríguez.[77] In a language similar to that of the preceding document, the lands are described as "broken and very hot, they cannot be traveled; though with much effort they could be made into small plots and cattle ranches, nowadays they only serve to hide scoundrels and tobacco smugglers who in the rough terrain plant this crop in detriment to

76. AGN-T 1209/9 (1790).

77. The document is in AGN-M 83/fols. 92f–94f.

the crown's tax revenue." Again, the extension of the property solicited in what is now the Costa Grande is striking. Even though the precise location of several of the boundaries has not been determined, it is clear that the request was for hundreds of thousands of hectares of rugged and deserted land. To the east it bordered on the villages of Tehuehuetla and Río de Santa Gertrudis in the jurisdiction of Tetela del Río, to the north on the haciendas of Santa Fee and Tarétaro, to the west on the haciendas of Patambo and Cerro del Aguila, and to the south on the hacienda of Los Tiradores. In his petition Zelis Ravago mentioned that the land reached over to the Pacific Ocean.

The two petitions reveal that even up to the end of the colonial period, the greater part of province of Acapulco was still both little known and little explored. At the end of the colonial period the productive and commercial opportunities of the province of Acapulco were mostly hidden in a rugged and scarcely populated territory that thwarted the efforts of agriculture, facilitated the labor of contrabandists, and sabotaged the trade of merchants. The vast mountainous expanses provided the necessary cover for illegal agriculture and commerce as well as an impenetrable haven for fugitives and runaways. Yet at the same time there was another society. Piercing through this forlorn expanse was a camino real that threaded its way through the sierra between Chilpancingo and Acapulco before breaking up along the Pacific coast, splitting into a profusion of capillary paths that during the late colonial period penetrated into cotton-producing tropics both north and south of the port. By this time, on certain days up to a thousand mules would head up and down the corridor in a continuous bustle that moved tons of merchandise between coastal lowland and central highlands. The jurisdiction of Acapulco, therefore, was fractured perhaps more than most other jurisdictions. Facing in one direction was highly capitalized trade in oriental and Peruvian imports, dominated by the Consulado de México, and centered on the yearly arrival of the Manila Galleon in the port of Acapulco. In the

middle was an informal network of petty traders and smugglers who converged on the South Sea coast, which offered both an environment that yielded the fruits of tropical agriculture (cotton and rice) and salt production, as well as a secluded coastline and rugged sierra propitious to furtive landings of contraband that was somehow smuggled to market. Finally, there was a cloistered sierra that shielded the most marginal elements of a most marginal land: illicit cultivators and bandits who seldom ventured into the more sanctioned fields of economic activity. Yet in the final analysis there was much overlap among the different facets of the sierra community. Licit trade had its illicit moments and surreptitious plantings were often scarcely hidden between the maize plants of subsistence agriculture. Favorable and unfavorable perceptions of the environment were equally interlaced.

Early in this chapter it was stated that ecological barriers are shaken, if not shattered, by demographic change that affects demand and supply, and by market structures that orient production and distribution. Occasionally in the descriptions of the environment offered by colonial administrators, the low productivity of a region was ascribed not so much to natural factors but to the absence of commerce, which as the eighteenth century progressed was more and more perceived as the panacea to national poverty and personal sloth. In the coastal region, deficient local demand gave further impetus to the production of tropical goods that had a relatively high value per weight: salt, cotton, and tobacco. Extra-regional demand for these items stimulated the development of a trade network that articulated the coastal lowlands to the central highlands. And the relative dearth of commercial capital in the intermediary area (Chilapa-Tixtla) meant that merchants there would often be limited to performing as agents for central highland capitalists or engaging in petty commerce characterized by "two-way" trade and barter with the coast (e.g., sugar and cloth from Chilapa and Tixtla for cotton and salt from the coast). The trade corridor did stimulate limited regional exploitation of natural resources, and small

trapiches in the Chilapa-Tixtla area produced for coastal consumers, and *rancherías* and ventas sprang up along the camino real to take advantage of the seasonal consumption demand of muleteers, soldiers, and other erstwhile travelers (see chapter 8). The role of market centers, trade possibilities, and capital accumulation, and not simply the natural development of ecological potential, clearly affected the direction of productive tendencies in the Tixtla and Chilapa, as well as Acapulco, jurisdictions. Reports would often relate problems of local agricultural growth to lax market incentives for development.

This focus on the poverty of commerce over the poverty of the environment is manifested in a description of the province of Acapulco, elaborated in 1743. Here it was asserted that dispersed in a "bitter and broken" region were "many places [where] the land could be cultivated for seed, cotton, tobacco, rice, and other products that grow in the hotlands; [but] the natives don't do it, nor do they take advantage of fishing, because there is no place nearby to sell and the cost of transport to places where they would have value is too high."[78] Twenty-five years later Ramón Farrios, the *teniente de justicia* of Tixtla, summarized the state of the jurisdiction under his care in similar terms, emphasizing not its desolate sterility, but a lack of commerce that created a deteriorating area of unrealized potential:

> The jurisdictions of Tixtla and Chilapa are in general lacking any type of commercial agriculture and manufactures and except for work in muleskinning, in which some citizens participate, there is no other occupation to be found in which they can provide for subsistence and much less hope to obtain a better life. The fertility of these lands in producing tobacco invites many scoundrels to frequent the area and even set up residence. Given that for the most part these are people of permissive customs, they invade the jurisdictions and give the Indians thousands of noxious bits of advice. At the same time that this lazy rabble takes over these regions, this area is being completely abandoned due to the prodigal desertion of Indians which Your Highness shall note in the accompanying reports. . . . The land is enough in each village, both in terms of its size and its fertility, to yield an ample subsistence, but the lack of commerce overwhelms them so that even the Indians

78. AGI Indiferente 107(1)/fols. 99–118.

> have to be forced to plant the maize necessary for subsistence. The region is becoming more and more sterile because of the lack of rural farmers.[79]

To eradicate crime, Farrios suggested punishment. To compensate for outmigration to the jurisdiction of Iguala, he recommended (if nothing more than to insure tribute payment) that this jurisdiction be incorporated into that of Tixtla. To alleviate poverty he advised that Tixtla residents be contracted to transport and protect the silver and merchandise that flowed between Mexico and Acapulco.[80] And to foment ranching and agriculture he suggested a monthly two-day, tax-free cattle feria to help promote trade around Tixtla of the cattle so abundant along the coast.

In the late colonial period, lack of markets and lack of capital were the perceived flaws of south central Guerrero. Perhaps they were simply those defects most rectifiable through human intervention, or perhaps they were the deficiencies of the regional economy most conspicuous in the shadow of Iguala's flourishing agrarian economy. There the problem was of concentration of capital in the agricultural hinterland, and the increasingly tense relationship between rural and urban society. But throughout both north- and south-central Guerrero the increasing attention to political economic solutions to decaying and splintering economies should also be understood in the context of changing conceptions of state intervention in the metropolitan and colonial economy. The early geographic reports that highlight natural resources and the physical environment reflect both curiosity toward a new world and a political economic philosophy that measured a nation's well-being in terms of the land and resources under its control. The failure of the Spanish colonial system, particularly the effects of colonial riches that

79. AGN-F 4/16.

80. The contract had apparently been given for quite some time to don Pedro de Vertiz, resident in Mexico. For examples of contract bidding in 1709, see AGN-GP 19/152 and AGN-GP 19/164 (for the silver convoy); for contrast bidding in 1738, see AGN-GP 31/264 (for prisoner escort).

led to inflation and stagnating industry in the mother country, was well-known in Europe. In Spain it led to the emergence of *arbitristas,* a group of intellectuals who submitted proposals for economic growth to the crown, antecessors of the major political economic theorists of the Bourbon period. During the eigh-teenth century, physiocractic influence was strongly felt in Spain, and with it came a growing trust of the ability of free trade and industrial activity to promote a new wealth, measured in terms of agricultural and commercial production. It is not surprising that eighteenth-century geographic reports from south-central Guerrero focused on the lack of commerce, and not inherent environmental or even cultural limitations, as the prime cause of a decadent economy. Nor is it surprising that in the north the inherent contradiction between mercantilist policies to favor certain sectors (in this case mining) and liberal policies to promote open decisions and free trade (in this case of the grain market) became the most salient feature of eighteenth-century society. To an ever greater extent enlightened administration and control, and not the conquest of raw wealth and resources, was seen as a measure of a nations status. This added another caveat to present interpretations of the environmental descriptions of late colonial New Spain

CONCLUSION: THE LIMITS OF AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN CENTRAL GUERRERO

This chapter began with an exploration into the cultural orientations of present-day Nahuatl speakers toward the stark and desiccated landscape of the Balsas River valley. It was then suggested that the desire for a certain command over the environment that these beliefs addressed could also be realized through processes such as migration, by which means colonial peasants silently articulated their attitudes toward their surroundings while at the same taking more direct action. In the area under study, the distribution of

migrants' final destinations in the Iguala Valley, a virtually desolated plain where they had no preestablished roots, partially reveals their perception of the land. Not surprisingly, the peaks and valleys of their desires—represented by the density of their settlements and the rents they were willing to pay—mirrored the contours of potential agricultural productivity, as well as the possibilities of agrarian commerce. Whereas colonial peasant attitudes toward the land can now perhaps be best, though only indirectly, accessed through a sociological study of processes such as rural migration, colonists perspectives (as well as occasionally those of Indians) are more directly evidenced in texts, though these too have their caveats: the changing orientations of the political economic theories behind the question-and-answer dialogues and commissioned reports that linked the centralized metropolitan state to its administrative representatives in the colonial outback; and the particular issue at hand when comments on the local ecology appeared in suits and litigation.

It is equally clear, and will increasingly become so in the chapters that follow, that the varied nature of central Guerrero, particularly its bifurcated pattern of development into northern and southern regions, was not solely, nor perhaps even principally, the result of a natural ecology, of the terrain as a given. Certainly many of the contours of human activity that characterized the spatial variation in this area were the result of environmental factors, particularly topography, temperature, and precipitation. Other patterns were clearly the result of the continuing echoes of prehispanic configurations that repeated themselves almost ad infinitum in an increasingly tenuous and reduced scale, like the shrinking images that oscillate between face-to-face mirrors, never quite disappearing if one stops to look with care.

Yet beyond variations in ecological potential and in the extant political geography at contact—two factors over which the colonists had little control—were overlain other factors that directly affected the imbricated spatial patterns that were evolving in colonial New Spain. One of

these factors was "the rules of the game," pervasive legal strictures, customary rules, and cultural interpretations that provided the changing "models of and models for" "man-land" relationships during the colonial period. This aspect of the colonization of space—an exploration of the general concepts of property and territoriality as they were applied in the New World—is explored in detail in chapter 3 and part of chapter 4. A second factor, and that which constitutes the common thread that weaves through much of the latter chapters of this thesis, is the political economy of space, particularly the manner in which patterns of land tenure and use, of migration and settlement, and of trade and commerce penetrated through colonial society, soaking it to its very core and then seeping into the land, transforming it to such an extent that no longer could what was "natural" be unambiguously perceived. In this sense colonization, as indeed most forms of occupation and use of the land, is not simply the transformation of nature but its continual negation.

CHAPTER 3

THE LAW OF THE LAND

. . . the effect of the act is to be determined
by the law of the time when it was done.
United States of America, Palmas Island case[1]

. . . a title to territory is not a legal relation in international law
whose existence and elements are a matter of one single moment . . .
the changed conceptions of law developing in later times
cannot be ignored in judging the continued legal value of relations which,
instead of being consummated and terminated at one single moment,
are of a permanent character.
The Netherlands, Palmas Island case[2]

INTRODUCTION: THE SHIFTING GROUND OF LEGAL DISCOURSE

The Palmas Island case was a dispute between the United States and the Netherlands over a small Pacific island of less than one and a half square miles. The United States argued that Spain had original title to the land based on discovery, and that this title had passed to the United States under the terms of the 1898 Treaty of Paris. The Netherlands, which won the 1928 arbitration hearing, countered that in the absence of subsequent acts of possession or effective occupation the Spanish title was invalid.[3] The case is interesting in its implications for the study of the sense

1. Jessup (1928:737). The Palmas Island case was decided in 1928. It is discussed in Beckett (1934).

2. Jessup (1928:739).

3. Note that a similar argument had been made by Queen Elizabeth I in 1580. In an oft-cited text (here from Green and Dickason 1989:11) she responded to complaints by the Spanish ambassador don Bernardino de Mendoza about the activities of Sir Francis Drake in the Pacific Ocean by arguing that "the ground that the Spaniards have touched here and there, have erected shelters, have given names to a river or promontory: [these are] acts which cannot confer property. . . . So that this donation of *res alinae* which by

and the validity of legal acts over time, the respective terrains of the legal historian and the jurist. The United States asserted the stability of legal meaning and the immutability of established rights, both anchored in the past. Accordingly, the search for meaning involves an exercise in historical hermeneutics, "the insistence . . . that an age should be understood in terms of itself and not according to the criterion of some alien present."[4] At the same time, rights once created never expire unless specifically renounced. The Dutch position maintained the historicality of understanding and the intertemporality of law. In this view there is no decentered or autonomous subject who can abandon the prejudices of the present to contemplate the past. Rather, "understanding is an event, a movement of history itself in which neither interpreter nor text can be thought of as autonomous parts."[5] Rights created by law, moreover, are deemed subject to constant reevaluation as the terms of legal agreement change. This was the position adopted by the arbitrator, who held that "a distinction must be made between the creation of rights and the existence of rights. The same principle that subjects the act creative of a right to the law in force at the time the right arises, demands that the existence of the right, in other words its continued manifestation, shall follow the conditions required by the evolution of law."[6] Both meaning and

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law *(ex jure)* is void, and this imaginary proprietorship, ought not to hinder other princes from carrying on commerce in these regions and from establishing colonies where Spaniards are not residing, without the least violation of the law of nations, since without possession prescription is of no avail."

4. Gadamer (1990:231), in referring to the precepts of Dilthey's philosophy of knowledge. See also Linge (1976). For a discussion of hermeneutical interpretation in legal scholarship, see the interesting article by Kelley (1983) in which he links legal studies to the historical hermeneutics of Dilthey and Schliermacher.

5. Linge (1976:xvi). Kelley (1983) discusses the significance of legal and philosophical hermeneutics for historical inquiry, phrasing his argument in terms of the debate between Betti and Gadamer (for an account of this debate, see Palmer 1969). Kelley comes down decidedly in defense of legal hermeneutics and its emphasis on intentionality ("spirit") in interpretation.

6. Judge Max Huber, cited in Jessup (1928:739).

rights, in this view, are not shipwrecked on some island of history that we must recapture, fighting backwards against the current and throwing the prejudices and entanglements of our historical present overboard like so much frustrating ballast. Rather, past meaning and rights accompany us as we move forward; surrounding us, they are not potential objects of disinterested contemplation but instead form an integral part of our present being.

The theory of the intertemporality of law as determined in the Palmas Island case correlates legal rights to the continual development of legal practice: the creation of rights does not ensure their continued existence. Whatever the soundness of this reasoning for the conclusive settlement of interminable international disputes—which might be better left to treaty than to law—it does capture the highly ephemeral and contested nature of international rights before conflicting sixteenth- and seventeenth-century visions of empire coalesced into a normative Law of Nations. A singular consequence of this lack of consensus—of competing legal visions among the European imperial powers—was what Robert Williams has called "laissez-faire discourse."[7] For example, unable to come to an accord on laws that would govern relations in the newly discovered lands, the 1559 treaties between France, Spain, and England signed at Cateau-Cambresis were circumscribed to the Old World. Across the Atlantic "might should make right and violence done by either party to the other should not be regarded as in contravention of treaties."[8] The metaphor of "laissez-faire discourse" is well chosen, for the disputes transcended questions of fact and of law and penetrated into the meaning of the words employed in

7. Williams (1990:132–34).

8. Francis Gardner Davenport, cited in Williams (1990:133).

discussions over sovereignty.[9] The predicament lay in the fact that the very terms of debate—discovery, *dominium*, occupation, property, possession—were legal terms of art, words whose meaning was not derived from common usage but generated in the crucible of an often violent international politics and a fragmented national ethos.[10] The lines of demarcation that were slowly drawn in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries covered terminology as well as territory. And thus the split among the major powers ran deeper than the widening gulf between a waning obeisance to a hierocratic papacy and a waxing insistence on a secularized international law.

The justification of rights vis-à-vis other European states[11] did not, however, set the terms of rights vis-à-vis indigenous populations; and it was here that intranational as opposed to

9. For a theorectical discussion of economic discourse from a hermeneutic perspective, see Tribe (1985).

10. Washburn (1962) provides an overview of a protracted, and at times acerbic, debate on the meaning of "discovery." Goebel (1927:chap. 2) discusses "occupation" *(occupatio)* and focuses on the divergent meanings and implications of this term for public and private law, and in the English and Roman systems. He offers a clear discussion of the relationship of Roman *occupatio* to rights acquired by discovery of *terra nullius* (ibid.:59ff.). Goebel also reviews the meaning of "discovery," as does von der Heydte (1935:452ff.), who notes the difference between *detegere*, "to discover casually," and *invenire*, which presupposes a conscious and intended activity. Von der Heydte also mentions Grotius's dictum that "to find" does not mean "to assume by ocular proof [but] to seize." For the relationship between "property" *(dominium)* and "right" *(ius)* see Tuck (1979), who also presents an excellent account of the development of property as a natural right. Waldock (1948) notes more recent changes in the meaning of "occupation" from "appropriation of the soil" to "appropriation of sovereignty."

11. Though visions of empire are often associated with nations, the internal consistency of national legal discourses of empire is problematic. In this regard, see Seed 1992 and 1995, e.g. p. 179, who tends view national visions of discovery as uniform and not contextually dependent. This is often not the case. As McDougal et al. (1963:599) note: "The same state not infrequently asserted in different contexts both this claim and counterclaim—demanding in one context that exclusive right be accorded it upon the basis of symbolic activities, while in other contexts insisting that actual occupation was necessary to found the comparable claims of other states" (see also von der Heydte 1935:452). Thus, for example, England stressed symbolic acts, not effective occupation, in claiming the Hudson Bay and also in the Pacific (Keller, Lissitzyn, and Mann 1938:49–99; Orent and Reinsch 1941; Simsarian 1938:155ff.) and Spain referred to occupation and possession in its dispute with Portugal over the Moluccas Islands (Goebel 1927:90–91).

international considerations came to the fore.[12] Even as international conventions for the acquistion of newly discovered lands were becoming more recognized, each colonial power developed different means of dealing with native populations. Colonists' acquisition of Indian land was affected by many factors. In chapter 5 I suggest that institutional, political economic, and cultural forces combined to create a complex rhythm of sociocultural change. At an elementary level of analysis the struggle over Indian land in New Spain, in which indigenous resistance was enervated and often frustrated by a cataclysmic demographic collapse, was situated between an institutional structure nominally protective of Indian rights on one side, and a culture of colonization and land rights based on use (the twin institutions of *presura* and prescription described below) on the other. Penetrating through both of these perspectives, one essentially patrician and the other plebeian, was a growing market economy that stimulated entrepreneurial colonial agricultural activity and, in the end, seems to have been the prime factor in bringing together, at least "on the ground," state and popular discourses on the proper manifestation of "man-land" relations. It would therefore be ingenuous to limit analysis of the emergence of land tenure and use to a one-dimensional, predominantly metropolitan, framework: the officialist discourse on indigenous land rights. Equally important was the shifting ground on which rural struggles took shape: sundry property systems and popular conceptions—of which

12. This point was made by Chief Justice Marshall, who in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) determined that the principle of discovery "acknowledged by all Europeans, because it was the interest of all to acknowledge it, gave to the nation making the discovery, as its inevitable consequence, the sole right of acquiring the soil and of making settlements on it. It was an exclusive principle which shut out the right of competition among those [Europeans] who had agreed to it; not one which could annul the previous rights of those who had not agreed to it. It regulated the right given by discovery among the European discoverers; but it could not affect the rights of those already in possession, either as aboriginal occupants, or as occupants by virtue of a discovery made before the memory of man" (cited in Cohen 1947:49; see also Tully 1993b:147, 1994:172).

the Spanish ones are the most easily documented—with diverse implications for rural colonial society. Perhaps the most studied system is that elaborated in the neo-Thomist treatises of Dominican and Jesuit theologians, primarily concerned with Indians' rights to *dominium* (sovereignty and property) under natural law.[13] At the same time, the sixteenth-century absolutist Habsburg monarchy began to centralize justice and Romanize property relations, as occurred in the privatization of crown land during the reign of Philip II.[14] Yet finally, there were also a series of entrenched Spanish agrarian customs and use rights to land. This constituted another perspective, one which the colonists brought with them to the Americas as an integral part of their relationship to the land, and which undoubtedly had a great impact on the discourse of land acquisition in the New World. This "shifting ground" of property rights, along with other factors such as "legislative chaos" and economic fluctuations, gave the agrarian structure of New Spain the intertemporal quality referred to above. Land rights were in constant flux and genesis. Implicit questions of terminology underlay much of the tension in rural society. The significance of words such as "occupation," "possession," and "property" varied considerably not only at different levels of discourse—theological, Romanized, and customary—but regionally as well, in

13. Pagden (see bibliography) has been most concerned with this aspect of Spanish intellectual history. See also Fernández-Santamaría (1977), B. Hamilton (1963), Hanke (1974), Muldoon (1979:chap. 7), Skinner (1978 II:chap. 5), and Williams (1990:93–108). For the role of canon law in the formation of international law, see Belch (1965) and Nys (1917). Scott (1934) in particular stresses the role of Vitoria as the most important predecessor of Grotius.

14. For sixteenth-century centralization of justice see Kagan (1981, particularly pp. 233–235); for Romanization of property relations, see Vassberg (1974, 1975, 1984, 1989). Hazeltine (1964) and Vinogradoff (1909) give general summaries of the resurgence of Roman law in Europe during the Middle Ages.

both Spanish and indigenous cultures.[15] The question of the significance of these words was the colonial equivalent to international debates on the legitimacy of symbolic acquisition,[16] the meaning of "discovery," and the validity of papal donations, debates that led to the "laissez-faire discourse" noted by Williams. The pragmatics of colonization (colonists' arguments for the acquisition of indigenous land) was a vexatious companion to the discourse of empire (the intellectual rationalization for sovereignty in the New World).[17]

These two introductory chapters—the previous exploration of nature as a underlying template that both invites and resists control, and the present consideration of the legal and political discourses on the proper and accepted relationships of human society to the land—are offered in lieu of the more traditional introductory essay on "environment" that is found in many historical and anthropological treatises. While there was no denial intended of the *ultimate*

15. For a discussion of the relation of custom to law, and custom to nature, see Kelley (1990a; 1990b:89ff.). The question of regional variation in Spanish law and its impact on the colonizing experience has not been adequately treated; for regional aspects of law in Spain, see Collins (works cited in bibliography) and Kleffens (1968:passim). Cronon (1983:73–74) notes how divergent land practices from different regions in England were reproduced in the colonial setting. Unfortunately a similar study is lacking for New Spain, although Foster (1960) has for a different context explored the transference of regional variation in the metropole to New Spain. Variation in indigenous legal systems is also unfortunately unexplored, though its import has been noted by MacLachlan (1988:28–29): "by choosing not to treat individual Indian groups as separate political units, each with its own laws and legal philosophies, the crown imposed an artificial uniformity. As a consequence, a weakened native legal tradition could not withstand the demands of, or strongly influence, colonial society. Minor legal customs survived at the local level among distinct groups but could not be employed effectively in the broader society, or to protect the group against external pressures. The Indian population found it necessary and advantageous to adapt to the new system." The prehispanic legal system is best treated in Offner (1983) and Kellogg (1993).

16. Most scholars tend to view symbolic acts as providing an inchoate title at best (Goebel 1927; McDougal et al. 1963, Von de Heydte 1935). Other authors, however, suggest that symbolic acts might have been sufficient to establish property rights in the early period or under special circumstances (Keller, Lissitzyn, and Mann, 1938; Simsarian 1938; Orent and Reinsch 1941; Hill 1945:149-51).

17. A similar dichotomy is noted by Tully (1993b:147) in regard to English colonization, in which "the rationalizations in royal charters and inter-European agreements were out of touch with the real world of

limiting conditions imposed by natural barriers, nor on the very real forces that nature exerts independent of human will or design, the previous chapter was more concerned with exploring nature as a type of environmental stage upon which societies—and in the examples given, specific human actors—comment, pray, move, struggle, and invest. It was, moreover, less interested in exploring the limits of this stage, the points at which human actors leave behind their roles as agents and become more and more like props buffeted by independent forces. Rather it was suggested that an environmentally informed study might content itself (if this does not imply too great a concession to a totally anthropocentric perspective of the imposition of human design on nature) with fixing its gaze on an environmental center-stage, the intense theater of action between human populations and nature that constitutes the traditional focus of attention in historical, geographic, and anthropological analyses of social landscapes.

This present chapter broaches the environment from the opposite direction, not from that which considers the more immutable aspects of nature, but from a perspective that pays closer attention to the social institutions and institutional sanctions that societies try to impose (analogous to stage directions, perhaps) in the theater of man-land relations. Within theological debates of the early Age of Discovery these institutions determined, for example, who had rights in property as opposed to who didn't, at best enjoying simple usufruct. Within political economic debates of the post-mercantilist period (such as that led by the physiocrats), they suggested the property regime that might be most conducive to economic and social advancement considered as the most profitable use of the earth. In different colonial climates, however, these debates

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seventeenth-century America."

unfolded in very distinct manners. Thus in an overview of the discipline of geography, one scholar has compared the questions raised by the discovery of the New World—questions that were primarily theological and philosophical—with those raised in later colonial endeavors such as those that unfolded in the Pacific—which were more primarily scientific.[18] Whatever the problems entailed by this dichotomization of patterns of conquest (which finds its personalized expression in the contrasting roles of captains Columbus and Cook), it does correctly note the intense theological and philosophical disputes that characterized the early colonial period in Hispanic America as well as the profound differences between Spanish and British treatments of the rights of indigenous inhabitants vis-à-vis the colonial state. The acceptance of indigenous land rights in the Hispanic world, a reflection of both the religious and political expediencies of the time, was to have a lasting impact not simply on patterns of tenure and territorialization, but on the characteristics of discourse on man-land relations during the entire colonial period. The British system was quite different, and still in the late eighteenth century (and even beyond) the feudalistic essence of crown ownership continued to negate the property rights of indigenous inhabitants enclosed within a space colonized by both European individuals and European law.[19]

In sum, beyond variations in ecological potential and in the extant political geography at contact—two factors over which the colonists had little control—were overlain other elements that directly affected the imbricated landscapes that were evolving in New Spain. One of these factors was "the rules of the game," pervasive legal strictures, customary rules, and cultural

18. See Stoddart (1986).

19. See my comments below. Guha (1996[1963]:chap. 4 and passim) is particularly useful in noting how Philip Francis's "Permanent Settlement," based on physiocratic commitment to the institution of private property, opposed the claim of ultimate ownership of land residing in the crown.

interpretations that provided the changing "models of and models for" man-land relationships during the colonial period. This facet of the colonization of space—the general concepts of property and territoriality as they were applied in the New World—is explored in detail in this chapter. The inclusion of such a discussion in an introductory section on environment reflects the belief that the "landscape" within which individuals and groups acted (indigenous as well as European) was forged by both nature (ecology in the strictest sense) and society (the laws and customs that established the place and proper role of humans on the earth). It is not simply that nature is occasionally best considered as "socially defined," or that patterns in the exploration and exploitation of the environment respond to changing social imperatives (such as demographic pressure, the growth of markets, the bullionist demands of mercantilist states), but that there is a continually contentious, and often shifting discourse on man-land relationships, a process that is particularly noteworthy in colonial societies.[20]

Thus the intertemporality of law mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (the changing validity of legal acts over time), was a fixture of the Hispanic colonial system. In terms of the philosophy of land rights and use, it was the result of a complex interplay of state and church imperatives (which accepted the rights of indigenous society to *dominion*) on the one hand, and the colonizing visions of settlers, whose ideas were based on European models that were both imperial (the rights to lands conquered in a just war) and moral (the rights of those who would prove to be effective stewards of God's creations) on the other. But this same intermporality was

20. The literature on the Treaty of Waitangi is particularly important in this regard; see Renwick (1991), particularly the articles by Brown and Sorrenson; Mckenzie (1985); Orange (1987); and Pocock (1991?). Also important is the treatise by Guha (1996) as well as the works of Cohen (1987, 1996a, 1996b) and Dirks (1992).

also an institutionalized fixture of wavering land rights themselves. Indeed, perhaps the most striking characteristic of colonial titles in New Spain is that rights were continually created and recreated through the mechanism known as composición, which is treated in detail below. Ostensibly a process that was meant to "quiet disputes" by validating and titling illegal encroachments onto crown land (*realengas*), it functioned more dramatically as a constant reminder to colonist and native alike of the overriding authority of the Spanish crown, a perspicacious analyst seemingly able to find defect (which could be righted by payment) in the most transparent of titles. If composiciones were meant to "quiet title," they failed: the rural terrain of colonial society was punctuated by an incessant cacophony of conflicting claims and angry reclamations. It is to the complicated underlying basis of these claims, which along with natural ecology were key elements in the politics and philosophy of land tenure and use, that we can now turn.

SPANISH RIGHTS TO THE NEW WORLD: THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT OF TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

Arguments justifying Spain's presence in the Americas emerged from the context of European theological controversies and political struggles.[21] A general tendency to recognize the rights of infidels to lordship and property had emerged in the thirteenth century with the writings of Pope Innocent IV (1243–54), who has been called "the founder of the doctrine of the rights of infidel

21. There is a strong current of thought, led by Moreau-Reibel (1950), Belch (1965), and Muldoon (see his works cited in the bibliography), that stresses the medieval antecedents to the development of international law, which received its greatest impetus from the discovery of the New World. The medieval antecedents to English colonial charters is explored in Barnes (1931).

nations,"[22] and of Thomas Aquinas, who defended the property rights of infidels under natural law, which God "implants in men in order that they should be able to understand his designs and intentions for the world."[23] Nevertheless, though Innocent IV recognized the rights of infidel nations, he also defended the papacy's universal jurisdiction. And although non-Christian nations could not be attacked for living outside of a state of grace, Innocent IV's position did sanction just wars for violations of natural law.[24] The Innocentian and Thomist position was forcefully championed by Paulus Vladimiri, representative of the King of Poland before the Council of Constance (1414–17).[25] Through an exegesis of biblical texts as well as through the teachings of

22. Belch (1965 I:75). This is a definitive study of the writings of Paulus Vladimiri presented before the Council of Constance where, as Belch notes, "two opposite theories were advocated [in regard to the right of Christians to wage war against the infidels], and a struggle was going on as to which one was to become the accepted view in Christendom" (Belch 1965 I:457). Belch also provides a detailed exposition of the theological basis of infidel rights and the temporal and religious implications of their denial. Wilks (1963:413ff.) gives a more sober interpretation of the implications of including pagans as well as Christians in a single corporate entity or universal brotherhood.

23. For Aquinas's theory of property, see Schlatter (1951:chap. 4). The citation is from Skinner (1978 II:148). The concept that rational man, *independent* of his state of grace, is capable of understanding and acting in accord with divine will became one of the major targets of the Lutheran Reformation.

24. Russell (1975:200) notes that "outside of the Holy Land infidels could hold property and territory without sin, and neither the pope nor other Christians had the right to take these away. Yet the pope as vicar of Christ retained a measure of *de jure* authority over infidels by which he could punish them for actions committed contrary to natural law, just as God had punished the Sodomites." In general, wars to recuperate lands taken by infidels from Christian rulers, such as the Crusades and the Spanish *Reconquista,* were considerered just. Also, while infidels were not required to convert, they were required to accept missionaries; a refusal to do so was grounds for a just war. The right of proselytization (*ius predicandi*) was forcefully put forth by Vitoria in his discussion of the rights to dominion of the naturales of the New World; see the brief discussion in Pagden (1987, 1990:chap. 1).

25. Vladimiri assailed the Teutonic Knights' right to wage war on the infidel Lithuanians and defended the latters right to *dominium.* Belch (1965 I:400) summarizes Vladimiri's position as follows: "First, since God created the world and subjected it to all men without distinction, infidels have an equal right with Christians to occupy territories, enjoy possessions, and exercise authority, and they are not sinning in doing these things. Secondly, on account of this no one may deprive the infidels of their territories [possessions, and authority,] because they have a right to them by both natural and divine law."

Christ and the Apostles, Vladimiri supported the rights of infidels to earthly possessions and political society. At the same time, he linked the denial of infidel rights to the heretical beliefs of Wyclif and Hus[26] and noted the dangerous political and social consequences concomitant to making *dominium* dependent on godliness: mortal sins by Christians against infidels would be sanctioned; international relations would degenerate into war; legitimately constituted political authority could be disobeyed; conversion under duress would be condoned; and the authority and possessions of duly consecrated though sinful priests would be questioned.[27] Though sometimes challenged, over the next hundred years the position linked to Innocent IV, Thomas Aquinas, and Paulus Vladimiri,[28] and confirmed during the Council of Constance, gradually emerged as the dominant church doctrine. By the Age of Discovery the doctrine of infidel rights under natural law had become the orthodox position. But, given that the Innocentian doctrine legitimized a just war against those who broke the laws of nature, it still provided a clear window of opportunity for aggressive imperialism.[29] As Williams notes:

> At the dawn of Europe's age of expansion beyond the Mediteranean world, Western legal thought had legitimated a discursive foundation for Europe's will to empire. Conquest of infidel peoples and their lands could proceed according to a rule of law that recognized the right of non-Christian people either to act according to the European's totalizing normative vision of the world or to risk conquest and subjugation for violations of this Eurocentrically understood

26. Wyclif's writings were condemned at the Council of Constance and Hus, his safe conduct not honored, was burned at the stake.

27. For the origin of this licence of war against barbarians in the Homeric period, see Bonner (1911).

28. It is not clear whether the Spanish neo-Thomists were familiar with Vladimiri's writings (see Belch I:chap. 19; Muldoon 1972).

29. Wilks (1963:411ff.) notes the two-edged sword of Aquinas's theory of natural law: on the one hand it limited papal authority, on the other it extended the idea of a single brotherhood with salvation in Christ to all men.

natural law.[30]

Thus even such a staunch apologist for the Spanish conquest as Juan López de Palacios Rubios,[31] as well as Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, the vitriolic defender of the just war in the Indies,[32] could phrase their arguments in a language not completely foreign to the Innocentian position approved at the Council of Constance.

30. Williams (1990:67). Belch (1965 I:467) also observes that the difference between Vladimiri and his opponents was more a matter of degree that substance. After noting that Vladimiri followed Innocent IV and Aquinas on what infidel actions are deserving of punishment, Belch adds: "The difference between him and his opponents who, too, based their assertion on Innocent IV and St. Thomas Aquinas, consisted in interpretation and in practical application."

31. López de Palacios Rubios wrote a treatise on Spanish rights to the Americas in 1512 that was very much in accord with the positions of Pope Innocent IV and Aquinas. López was also the author of the infamous *Requerimiento* (written in 1513), a document that was to be read to groups of Indians, requiring them to acknowledge the Church as the ruler and superior of the whole world and permit the proselytizing activities of missionaries in their territories (see Hanke 1949). If they refused the *Requerimiento* (which they invariably did, often not hearing the text and unable to understand it if they did), they faced the consequences of a "justly declared" war. Muldoon (1980) has convincingly argued that the *Requerimiento* reflected Innocent IV's position on the rights of infidels. Williams (1990:89–93) seems to share this view (but cf. Pagden 1990:15–17). Seed (1995:chap. 3) offers a quite different interpretation of the *Requerimiento,* which she relates to an Islamic tradition.

32. There is some debate as to whether Sepúlveda argued for the enslavement or enserfment of the Indians, a position that depends on the translation of the Latin *servus* (see Fernández-Santamaría 1975; Quirk 1954; but cf. Porter 1979:167ff.; and Hanke 1974:69–70, 71 n. 18, who notes that "Sepúlveda's real doctrine has long been in doubt. Nor was he himself ever satisfied that he was understood."). Sepúlveda championed the feudal aspirations of the encomenderos and the potentially heretical ideas that linked political society to godliness; he thus found himself opposed by both the royal court and the neo-Thomist theologians. Fernández-Santamaría has examined Sepúlveda's philosophy in detail and reproduces (1977:168) a clear statement by Sepúlveda that he did not intend to enslave or dispossess the Indians:

> What I affirm and have written is, in sum, that the conquest of the Indies—to subdue those barbarians, extirpate their idolatry, force them to observe natural law even against their will, and after subjecting them to preach the Gospel to them with Christian meekness and without force—is both just and holy. Once subdued the Indians must not be killed or turned into slaves *(hacer esclavos)* or deprived of their goods *(haciendas)*, but let them be subjects *(vasallos)* of the king of Castile and pay their tribute *(tributo)* in the manner determined and commanded by our kings through the instructions *(instrucciones)* given to their deputies *(Capitanes generales)*.

The earliest justification for Spanish conquest in the New World was based on a hierocratic position which saw the pope as having jurisdiction in temporal affairs and responsibility for infidel souls. Shortly after Columbus returned from his first voyage, in early May of 1493, Alexander VI issued his famous Bulls of Donation (known collectively by the name of *Inter caetera)* that granted Spain and Portugal the exclusive right to carry out the spiritual conquest of newly discovered lands to the west of Europe.[33] The bulls carefully avoided a direct mention of the rights of infidels to *dominium* and may best be interpreted as granting the Iberian states the right to proselytize and employ the military means necessary to carry out this assignment. As against other European states it was at best an inchoate title to be perfected through effective occupation.[34] One scholar has called the Spanish claim to sovereignty based on papal authority "crude in its premises, inflexible in its application, and regrettable in its consequences."[35] Indian rights to *dominium* on the basis of natural law were definitively recognized in 1537 by Pope Paul III, who held that "notwithstanding whatever may have been or may be said to the contrary, the said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property,

33. The *Inter caetera* bulls established a line of demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence located 100 leagues west of the Azores or the Cape Verde Islands. This was modified the following year to a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands by the Treaty of Tordesillas, which itself was confirmed in 1506 by Pope Julius II in his bull *Ea quae*. Concise summaries of international law during the Age of Discovery that discuss the validity and effectiveness of the *Inter caetera* bulls are to be found in Goebel (1927:chap. 2), Higgins (1929), Lindley (1926:124ff.), McDougal et al. (1963), and von der Heydte (1935).

34. See, for example, von der Heydte (1935:451–52) and Muldoon (1978, 1979:138)

35. Frost (1981:513).

even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ."[36] In the late eighteenth century, almost three hundred years after it had been issued, Spanish explorers were still invoking the *Inter caetera* bulls during their symbolic acts of possession in the Pacific.[37]

The legitimating discourse of the papacy was challenged by the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria, the leading theologian at the University of Salamanca. Although phrasing his argument in Thomist terms of natural law and universal reason, Vitoria nevertheless rejected both the Innocentian position that permitted a just war against those who break the laws of nature and the hierocratic position that gave the church responsibility for infidel souls. Vitoria was virtually alone among Spaniards in denying the validity of Pope Alexander VI's *Inter caetera.* In its stead he substituted a secularized discourse on empire, a universally recognized but still embryonic Law of Nations the violation of which, like the violation of natural law, justified military force. Moreover, Vitoria's Law of Nations also recognized the same right to preach the gospel *(ius predicandi)* that had been at the core of Innocent IV's natural law. In the end, the effects of

36. From the papal bull *Sublimis Deus*, cited in Cohen (1942:12). Hanke (1937) gives a more criticial reading of this papal bull, placing it and contemporary papal policy in the context of a struggle with Charles V for jurisdiction over ecclesiastical appointments in the New World.

37. Wagner (1938); the same point is noted by Muldoon (1994:201, n. 6). The Spanish did not publicly abandon claims to exclusive sovereignty in the Pacific derived from the papal concession until the signing of the Nootka Sound Convention with the British on 25 October 1790 (Goebel 1927:425–32; see also Frost 1981; Pagden 1995a:48). In the *Palmas Island* case already mentioned, the Netherlands cited the very existence of the United States as proof of the invalidity of the 1493 bulls as a claim of right (noted in Waldock 1948:323, n. 2). Through much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the debate between the European imperial states was not so much about the validity of the *Inter caetera,* but rather about the adequacy of symbolic acts of possession as opposed to discovery and effective occupation in establishing indefeasible rights to new lands; see Frost (1981). For a general discussion of symbolic possession, see Goebel (1927); Keller, Lissitzyn, Mann (1938); and MacDougal et al. (1963); a more general discussion of international law during the Age of Discovery is found in Higgins (1929). In general, symbolic acts are more likely to be accepted as establishing sovereignty when the physical characteristics of the land mass inhibit effective occupation.

secularization were similar to those of papal hierocratic theory: the theoretical universal sanctioning power of the papacy was replaced by the fiction of a Eurocentrically and Christocentrically understood consensus that emerged in a nascent Law of Nations.[38] The conquest of the Americas was still condoned.

Theological discourse on infidel rights to property and sovereignty, moreover, occurred in the context of repeated challenges to Church institutionality—from the Donatists of the fourth century, through the heretical doctrines of Wyclif and Hus, to the Protestant Reformation.[39] The same year that Cortés conquered Tenochtitlan, 1521, was the year that Luther was excommunicated. A denial of sovereignty and property to the heathen inhabitants of the New World threatened to embrace the heresies of Wyclif, Hus, and Luther, who all held that true dominion must always be founded in the grace, not the law, of God. For the neo-Thomist theologians who dominated early discourse on empire, the danger that Spanish policies in the New World would reproduce the heresies sweeping Europe was ever present. As Pagden has noted: "In the end, Vitoria and his successors were far less concerned with the particulars of the American case than they were with the opportunities it provided for a refutation of Lutheran and later Calvinist theories of sovereignty."[40] Yet despite its concern with European-oriented debates

38. Williams (1990:107).

39. For a history of the debate over infidels' right to *dominium,* see Muldoon (1979); Muldoon (1980) discusses the impact of this debate on early Spanish policy toward the rights of Indians. Skinner (1978 II:135–84) places the neo-Thomist theories of the sixteenth-century Dominican and Jesuit theologians firmly within the context of the challenge posed by the German Reformation. Muldoon and Pagden (see their works cited in the bibliography) also stress the manner in which the debate over and resolution of the question of indigenous rights in the New World was continually framed within the context of debates countering Protestantism in the Old World.

40. Pagden (1990:18); Skinner (1978 II:169) makes the same point.

that soon subsided, the premises of Vitorian theology were incorporated into the Indian policy of Charles V.[41] Just as in the Old World neo-Thomist theological discourse was aimed at refuting "all the heretics of this present age," in the New World the temporal recognition of Indian rights to sovereignty and property was aimed at curtailing the feudal aspirations of the conquistadors and encomenderos to Indian land and labor.[42]

The theological recognition of infidel *dominium* and the temporal ramifications of conquest, which incorporated Indians into the Spanish empire as the king's vassals, had the effect of subjecting Indian property to a system of rights and duties pernicious to indigenous landholding. Takeovers of Indian property were not always illegal, although land invasions, forced sales, collusion with indigenous officials, and rental agreements later claimed to have been sales were common mechanisms through which colonists acquired land. Rather, by taking Indians into Hispanic society, even in the somewhat ambiguous category of a separate

41. The relevance of the debate over natural rights was short-lived. Muldoon (1979:157) notes that "by the time Vitoria and Las Casas condemned the conduct of the Spanish conquest of the Americas, the legal arguments they employed were irrelevant to the actual situation. The royal lawyers who heard or read their arguments understood these views because they also had been educated in that legal tradition. The actual practice of conquest, however, had gone beyond the canonistic legal framework. Vitoria and Las Casas were anachronisms." Lhoëst (1992:24–25) also refers to the ephemeral nature of the points raised by the natural law argument, noting that by the end of the reign of Philip II a complete circle had been made in Spanish discourse of empire that, in the writings of Solórzano, returned to the papal bulls as legitimating documents. Pagden (1990:33) also points to the change: "When in 1631 the jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra attempted to write what was, in effect, a history of the whole debate, the nature of the Vitorian project, the overarching concern to refute the Lutheran account of *dominium*, had become largely invisible."

42. Feudal relations were most prominent within the Indian community itself: the consecration of *señores naturales* and early sanctioning of their feudal powers of eminent domain (see García Martínez 1992). Note that although the Indian village itself has been likened to the feudal manorial system (Borah 1983:38; Ouweneel 1995), in fact the particularly Spanish institution of the *behetría* (see Sánchez-Albornoz 1924, 1927) provides a much better model for the indigenous community as it was incorporated into the Spanish politico-administrative system.

"republic,"[43] their land became subject to what Spaniards deemed to be proper use of the environment and to those aspects of Spanish legal culture that challenged the inviolability of property rights. In order to justify their acquisition of Indian land, colonists did not have to deny infidels *dominium*: there were many positive laws in the Western tradition that adversely affected duly constituted ownership. In fact, the most direct attacks by colonists on indigenous holdings utilized the moral discourse of Spanish customary use rights, rights that weakened property ownership in the absence of active cultivation. Just as Caroline labor policies "alluded to the universal obligation to work, not to a specific obligation to Indians living in Indian towns to work for Spaniards,"[44] land policy stressed the moral obligation to cultivate and the customary right to colonize unoccupied land. Paradoxically, it was Sepúlveda who stated the basis for these rights most clearly by holding, in Pagden's words, "that God gave property to man for his use, and since use, unlike *dominium*, is limited, man may not *abuse* it."[45]

This viewpoint reveals the influence of biblical and early Christian teachings that placed ultimate *dominium* in God. Man simply holds material possessions in stewardship, and must

43. Borah (1982:266–67) briefly discusses various early colonial views on the idea of a separate Indian "republic" and its implication for the legal system.

44. Tiryakian (1979:33).

45. The summary interpretation is from Pagden 1990:29). Pagden also notes the similarity between Sepúlveda's view and that of Vattel. To Locke's natural rights concept that property rights derive from "mixing" ones labor with the land, Vattel (1758) in part returned to a moral discourse by adding the idea that "the cultivation of the soil . . . is . . . an obligation imposed upon man by nature. Every Nation is therefore bound by the law of nature to cultivate that land which has fallen to its share" (see Tully 1993b:166ff.; 1994:165ff.; and Pagden 1995:79). There is, however, a key difference between the biblical emphasis on use and that of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century natural rights theorists, particularly Locke. For the latter cultivation created indefeasible property rights in the individual; for the former the natural condition is common *ownership* and individual *use*, but cultivation does not (as it does in Locke's labor theory) create absolute property rights. Thomas (1996:254–69) discusses the aesthetics of cultivation, that beauty lies in a systematic domestication of nature for human benefit.

subdue the land on behalf of God and Society.[46] This moral focus on religious and social obligation was consistent with various aspects of Spanish positive law—most notably *presura* and prescription—that favored use and possession over absolute ownership. Unfortunately, there has been little research on the way in which indigenous and European property rights interacted and changed New World rural society. The clash of these two systems is sometimes perceived as that between a feudalistic or corporate indigenous system (which emphasized *use* of the land) and Romanized Hispanic ownership (which permitted *abuse* of the land).[47] This perspective is understandable: most land disputes involving Indians were litigated by communities, whereas Spanish holdings, almost always individualized as haciendas or ranchos, were rarely linked to a communitarian tradition.[48] In addition, early colonial policy tended to only recognize Indian ownership of occupied land, while Spanish titles encompassed both exploited and unexploited terrain. Nevertheless, a perspective that suggests a clear dichotomy between indigenous and European land rights is overly simplistic: the indigenous system had a more highly developed concept of individual ownership and territoriality than often acknowledged, and European

46. Bartlet (1915). The idea of stewardship and limits on absolute ownership is also present in the ideology of social controls on grain marketing: "Grain was not seen as a commodity to be moved through the countryside in search of the best price, nor was it ever absolutely possessed by the producer. The farmer who grew it—be he tenant or landlord—did not really own the corn; he attended it during its passage from the field to the market. . . . At a time when the tilller of the soil had God to thank for the weather and the king to thank for his land, manipulating the fruits of the two could easily be viewed as wicked and ungrateful" (Appleby 1978:28). For early Christian economic thought, see Gordon (1989). I treat the ideology of grain markets in chapter 11.

47. For an example see Borah (1982, 1983:38).

48. Little is known of the communal rights of Spaniards who had small holdings, often surrounded by Indian land, and lived in indigenous villages, nor of the communal access rights of Indians to land under hacienda control. A study of such "moral" relations of common rights between "castes" would make for interesting research.

property rights were much more communitarian and less absolute than often imagined.[49]

In conclusion, although the dominant theological discourse defended the right of the native American population to sovereignty and property and informed a royal legislation protective of Indian rights, another early Christian discourse stressed contingent property relations and moral obligations. This earlier perspective dovetailed into two time-honored practices that favored possession over property. The first was the Spanish agrarian custom know

49. Indigenous property systems are still only partially understood, but it does appear that there was a strong tendency to recognize individual rights to land (Cline 1986; cf. also Cline and León-Portilla 1984; Lockhart 1992:146ff.; Offner 1983:124ff.). Hoekstra (1990, 1992), Ouweneel (1995), and García Martínez (1992), on the other hand, argue that indigenous territoriality was based on reciprocal personal ties and not property rights to land: "the delimitation of a political or social space was determined by the presence or absence of persons or groups that participated in the links of association and not by the drawing of borders or boundaries in space" (García Martínez 1992:47). However, the territorial delimitation of space in the prehispanic period was not unheard off. Certainly early colonial maps of small plots and house sites suggest definite boundaries; and divisions between pueblos might well have been, at least occasionally, definitively marked on the ground. This occurred, for example, in a fifteenth-century dispute involving Teticpac and its neighbors, the documents of which refer to a prehispanic placement of boundary markers; AGN-T 18(1)/3.

Note that the "classic" Roman definition of ownership is the right to use, enjoy and abuse the thing *(ius utendi, fruendi, abutendi)* (see Thomas 1976:133), a concept that is close to the liberal definition (see Macpherson 1962). Macpherson (1975:109) notes that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries "private property was becoming an individual right unlimited in amount, unconditional on the performance of social functions, and freely transferable." However, the absolute nature of ownership under Roman law is exaggerated, as is the distinction between property *(dominium)* and possession *(possessio)* (see Levy 1951:19ff.). Thus Daube (1979:37) notes: "In the popular mind, ownership as an individual's absolute legal power over an object is among the two or three most striking characteristics of Roman law. For several decades, however, Romanists have done their best to demonstrate first, that things were very different at the archaic stage, i.e. they resembled what we find in other ancient Indo-European cultures; secondly, that even the mature Roman ownership must be interpreted against a background of all sorts of extra-legal restraints such as tradition, ethics, state interest" (see also Buckland 1963:187ff.; Thomas 1976:133ff.). A critique of what he refers to as the "myth" of liberal property is found in Christman (1994; see also Thompson 1991a:161). Cronon (1983:69), in reference to New England, states the problem most clearly: "The popular idea that Europeans had private property, while the Indians did not, distorts European notions of property as much as it does Indian ones. The colonists' property systems, like those of the Indians, involved important distinctions between sovereignty and ownership, between possession by communities and possession by individuals. They too dealt in bundles of culturally defined rights that determined what could and could not be done with land and personal property. Even the fixity they assigned to property boundaries, the quality which most distinguished them from Indian land systems, was at first fuzzier and less final than one might expect."

as *presura*, which had facilitated the colonization of the reconquered Iberian peninsula. The second was a complex system of prescriptive and possessionary rights that derived mostly from Roman law. This legal culture of property was, in a sense, operationalized by the administrative mechanisms of colonial land legislation—the *merced, composición*, and *denuncia*.

This chapter began with a mention of the intertemporality of law and the art of acquisition. The theory of the intertemporality of law, according to one researcher, is "highly disturbing." Everyone would be under constant pressure to examine their title in order to determine whether a change in the law had necessitated reacquisition.[50] Land tenure in the Americas manifests precisely this disturbing quality: interminable litigation and constant reconfirmation of titles.[51] When colonial land disputes ended, the losing party was often enjoined to "perpetuo silencio" (eternal silence).[52] Nevertheless, the labyrinthine constitution of Spanish justice made this objective difficult to obtain. The reason was not simply the litigious nature of the indigenous and Spanish population, nor the avarice of a colonial administration intent on extracting periodic payments for congenitally defective titles. It was also the result of the many contending legal visions in the colonial environment, contradictory interpretations of the terms involved in tenure disputes, and, most notably, the manner in which Old World political and

50. Jessup (1928:740).

51. The interminable litigation often occurred despite the common injunction to the losing party in a dispute to "guardar silencio perpetuo" (forever keep the peace); and the constant revalidation of title was exemplified in the repeated composiciones (regularization of title) that swept through New Spain.

52. This appears to be an ancient Spanish custom derived from an unusual feature of Visigothic law called "*exvacuationes*," which, according to Collins (1990) involved formal renunciations of claims that losing parties in a suit made in order that their descendants never be able to resurrect their ancestors' pretensions.

administrative practices evolved in the unique circumstances of the new.

THE LAW OF THE LAND: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND CUSTOMARY LAW: COMPOSICIÓN, *PRESURA*, AND PRESCRIPTION IN THE TAKEOVER OF INDIAN LANDS

SPANISH AND BRITISH COLONIALISM IN THE AMERICAS

As already seen, during the formative years of its New World policy Spain was the beleaguered sponsor of Catholic proselytization in the New World and the embattled promoter of state absolutism in the Iberian peninsula. The recognition of Indian sovereignty and property rights met the theological and secular concerns of both these roles: it defended the faith against Lutheran heresies and it stymied the feudal aspirations of conquistadors and colonists. This recognition, and the concomitant protection of Indian land rights,[53] affected patterns of Spanish land acquisition, which fell into three major categories: 1) sales by indigenous individuals and communities; 2) state concessions of crown land, usually through either mercedes (land grants) or composiciones (regularization of defective titles); and 3) litigious appropriation or uncontested usurpation of indigenous land.

From the beginning of the colonial period, colonists bought land from indigenous landowners and acquired village property from nobles or community representatives.[54] Certain sales were still subject to crown approval, but this was more an expression of royal paternalism (recognizing the Indians' *dominium utile*, usufruct, as opposed to the more absolute *dominium*

53. For some protective legislation see Taylor (1972:67).

54. In some areas there were hundreds of transactions between Indian sellers and Spanish buyers; Hoekstra (1992), for example, reports 1,062 such sales in the provinces of Tlaxcala, Huejotzingo, Cholula, and Tepeaca, the majority between 1570 and 1600.

directum) than the quintessential feudal assertion that all land rights ultimately resided in the crown. More commonly, however, colonists obtained grants of ostensibly crown land. Ideally, unowned land *(terra nullius)* or abandoned land *(terra derelictae)* reverted to the eminent domain of the crown, which would then cede it (through mercedes or composiciones*)* to a colonist.[55] The historian García Martínez has suggested that native rulers held eminent domain over the communal land of their villages, particularly hills and woods, and that the Spanish monarchy usurped these rights before granting the land to colonists. He also observed that it was this change in the status of land, from the eminent domain of the indigenous nobility to that of the Spanish crown, that constituted the greatest threat to the territorial integrity of Indian villages.[56] The institutions of both direct sale by Indians and crown concessions of land held by the rights of eminent domain, suggests a dichotomous model of the acquisition of indigenous land: private domain, attached to the upper echelons of indigenous society and alienated through sale; and eminent domain, originally held by nobles over communal property, and first usurped and then marketed by an Iberian monarchy whose political ambitions were fueled by fiscal aggressiveness. This model may reflect a general tendency of colonial systems to recognize "ownership" in the autochthonous elite, which often develops common interests with colonial entrepreneurs, while

55. See Vassberg (1974:384–85, 1984:6–7) for a discussion of eminent domain in Castile.

56. See García Martínez (1992:56), who continues his observation by clarifying that "the pueblos saw their spatial extension contracting not because the Spanish settlers rushed toward their lands, but because the state, determined to acquire a monopoly over eminent domain of the land, took this jurisdictional right away from them. In a certain sense it was obligated to do so if it followed the logic that Spaniards should not under any circumstances be subject to any of the indigenous jurisdictions, even when residing in the pueblos or their immediate environs." De la Concha (1946:81) relates *presura*, which I treat below, to the crown's eminent domain, stating that *presura* could not occur on land over which previous rights existed. Finally, Schmalzgrueber suggested that prescriptive property transfers were allowed because of eminent domain, considered in the broad sense of the term (see Martin 1944:165).

assigning peasant cultivators the less secure status of "occupancy."[57]

The ramifications of Spanish colonial discourse can be better understood by comparing it to its British counterpart.[58] The former licensed fully legal property transactions between the colonized and colonist, Spain's recognition of indigenous sovereignty and property rights was an implicit acknowledgment of the limits of state authority. Although the state did assert power to oversee most land transfers between Indian individuals or communities and colonists, this was in its role of tutelary protector over an indigenous society whose members were likened to children. At the same time, by accepting the Spanish monarchy's right to bestow land titles, colonists' acquiesced to a medieval model of social hierarchy. The English system was distinct. There the crown attempted not only to "restrict the right of English individuals to engage in Indian land transactions but—more importantly, given the problem of sovereignty—to limit the rights of Indians to do so as well."[59] From its inception, the English vision of empire subsumed the motive

57. In an analogous situation, Thompson (1991a:172) notes that Sir William Hunter distinguished between elite "ownership" and community "occupancy" in Orissa, a province of India. The question of Spanish recognition of noble and elite Indian in New Spain property has generally been debated from the perspective of caciques' ability to safeguard their patrimonial holdings against both Spaniards and a new indigenous elite; see Gibson (1964:264–267); Lockhart (1992:174–75); Taylor (1972, 1974). In regard to the distinct fate of corporate land *(calpollalli)* versus other categories of indigenous land, Lockhart (1992:175) notes that the latter "showed signs of Spanish influence, and it is a fair statement of the general trend to assert that there was a movement in the direction of a more individualized conception of landholding in the European style, in which the landholder stood in contrast to larger entities rather than forming part of them."

58. Pagden (1995:78) notes that "as with so many other differences between legitimizing arguments employed by the two colonizing powers, the Spaniards were overwhelmingly concerned with rights over people, the British with rights in things, in this case land"; see also Seed (1992, 1995). Overviews of British theories of imperialism may be found in Higgins (1929), Porter (1979), and Sorrenson (1991).

59. Cronon (1983:70).

for conquest (abundant land) to its justification (the abundant land was underutilized).[60] The rationalization for dispossessing the native population of North America repeated the agriculturalist arguments on the duty to "improve" the land that began with biblical injunctions and ran through to the natural law of Vattel. John Donne, the poet and dean of St. Paul's in London, wrote that "territory which is underpopulated [can be righfully possessed], for the earth is meant for all men—a man in a fishing boat doesn't own the ocean: no more do the Indians possess America."[61] Settlers claimed that the newly discovered lands were *terra nullius*, land that did not belong to anyone, a categorization that involved a sociological evaluation of the inhabitants' capacity for ownership, not an empirical observation on their physical occupancy of the land.[62] Inhabited land could still be *terra nullius*.[63] But according to the prevailing view of

60. Williams (1990:140) in reference to Sir Henry Sidney's comments on the colonization of Ireland. Analogies between the colonization of Ireland and of North America are found in Canny (1973), Muldoon (1975), and Williams (1990:136ff.).

61. The citation is from a summary of the biblically-based arguments in 1622, found in Porter (1979:358), who also notes elsewhere the similarity of this passage to the vision presented by Thomas More in *Utopia*: "'For they [the Utopians] count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping others from the use and possession of it which notwithstanding by the Law of Nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved'" (cited in Porter 1979:63).

62. The relationship between a sociological theory that relates the evolution of subsistence strategies to the political evolution of property relations is found in the natural rights predecessors of Adam Smith's four-stage theory (see Hont 1987; Meek 1976). Thompson (1991a:165) notes that when Captain Cook claimed the east coast of New South Wales for the British crown he did so not because it was unoccupied but, according to Cook's words "[because] we never saw one inch of cultivated land in the whole country." This process of erasing inhabitants from the land is commented upon by writers such as Pratt (1992: 58ff.). However, I think it important to distinguish between the creation of a *terra nullius* by scientific explorations, such as Barrow's mission described by Pratt, where the objective was precisely a naturalist description, and the creation of a terra nullius by denying indigenous society the right to land by virtue of their misuse, or lack of cultivation, of the land.

63. For a discussion of the concept of *terra nullius* in colonial discourse of the British Empire, see Frost (1981), Higgins (1929), Keller, Lissitzyn, and Mann (1938:passim), King (1986), Pagden (1995:76ff.), Simsarian (1938), Sorrenson (1991), and Tully (1993b; 1994).

British colonists, the North American native population neither constituted a civil society capable of ownership, nor had they improved the land in the appropriate manner. In the late seventeenth century Locke's suggestion that humans converted land to property by "mixing" their labor with it found strong support among the radical colonists of North America. They finally had a theory that denied property to indolent natives while rewarding industrious colonists with original title to the land.[64] The state's role was simply to guarantee this property, as well as to protect the life and liberty of the colonists.[65]

Spanish colonists never embraced a labor-based theory of original title. Their titles were derivative, either through purchase from property-owning Indians, or through the monarchy's concession of its eminent domain. The symbiotic relationship between crown and colonist achieved its clearest expression in the *denuncias*, a late colonial process whereby settlers would first "denounce" land as unoccupied (hence obtaining it for the state) and then "bid" on it in public auction. In effect, such colonists acted as judiciary and fiscal agents of the state, although as such they seemed to have limited success in expropriating Indian land, much of which had already been issued a valid title through composición.

The relationship between the English crown and its overseas colonies offers a stark contrast to the Spanish system. Whereas the Habsburg monarchy asserted its right of eminent domain only over unowned or abandoned land (though it retained the right to define "abandoned" in its own Eurocentric terms), from the early seventeenth century the British

64. Cronon (1983) provides an excellent description of the ecology of hunting and gathering, and of the labor and "improvement" to the land that it involves.

65. For Locke's theory of government and property see Tully (1980:chap. 7; as well as 1999a)

attempted to impose a feudal tenure system on the native inhabitants of its colonies.[66] Thus in 1717 the Connecticut Court declared "that all lands in this government are holden of the King of Great Britain as the lord of the fee: and that no title to any lands in this Colony can accrue by any purchase made of Indians on pretence of their being native proprietors thereof."[67] The same policy was repeated in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, issued upon the conclusion of the French-Indian War, which reserved land west of the Appalachians to the Indians and proscribed colonists from purchasing land from native inhabitants: "And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians . . . we strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved but that if at any times any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians."[68]

The Connecticut Court decision and the Proclamation of 1763 might have been motivated by different concerns. Cronon suggests that the former was issued over a concern with confusing and overlapping rights that resulted from transactions between two systems of

66. A notable exception was in New South Wales and Botany Bay, which the British government, and not simply radical colonists, treated as *terra nullius*. Frost (1981) suggests that this categorization as *terra nullius* was due to a British evaluation of the primitive nature of aboriginal society, while King (1986) stresses the relatively low population density. For a wonderful account of the taking possession of Australia, see Carter (1988).

67. Cited in Cronon (1983:70). He continues: "Even by the late seventeenth century, Indian lands were regarded as being entirely within English colonial jurisdiction; indeed, the logic of the situation seemed to indicate that, for the Indians to own land at all, it had first to be granted them by the English Crown."

68. Proclamation of 1763 cited in Williams (1990:238). For an analysis of the political, commercial, and

sovereignty and property: the indigenous and the English.[69] Williams analyzes the Proclamation of 1763 in the context of quieting the newly acquired Northwest frontier and insuring the peaceful conditions necessary for trade. Nevertheless, British policy concentrated both ultimate dominion and political-administrative control of land in the state. Conflict was inevitable with settlers for whom property originated with personal enterprise and for whom the state was simply the protector of individual rights.[70] According to the colonists, "lands that should have remained

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philosophical implications of this proclamation, see Williams (1990:228ff.).

69. The problem of differing understandings of *dominium* and the problem of intercultural communication is a key element in any study of colonialism and land tenure. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to analyze the distinct native and imperial systems and their mutual misunderstanding of each others laws and customs. Some of the most interesting work in this regard has been done in interpretating the New Zealand Treaty of Waitangi, which is unusual in that both an English and native language version exists. This has motivated research on the way in which the English translated their concepts of sovereignty and property rights into Maori and how the Maori understood what they were ceding to the English through treaty (see particularly McKenzie 1985; Orange 1987; and Pocock [1991?]). Unfortunately, there are no equivalent land documents for New Spain.

70. The negative political implications of recognizing native sovereignty were succinctly noted in an 1840 British parliamentary report on the situation in New Zealand:

> The acknowledgement of the independent nationality of the natives has given a sanction to the acquirement of lands by individual purchasers, because when the right of the natives to sell to all the world was admitted by the British Government, it followed that all persons, whether British subjects or others, had a right to buy without its sanction. Hence the Crown which, by pursuing a different line of policy from the time of the discovery, might have prevented the acquirement of land by private purchasers at all, appears to be now precluded from applying the proper remedy to the evil without legislative aid.
>
> That remedy would, in the opinion of your Committee, have been now uncalled for if the British Government had, from the year 1769 downward never lost sight of the principle which was formerly acted upon (by this country, and by all other European powers) with regard to their North American possessions, and had refused to recognize any titles to land founded on purchases made by private persons from savages.
>
> (cited in Keller, Lissitzyn, and Mann 1938:14)

The report is interesting in that it calls for a replication of the New World model (specifically the terms of relations laid out in the Royal Proclamation of 1763). At the same time, it misrepresents the status of purchases from the indigenous population: not all European powers refused to recognize titles based on purchase. The Spanish recognized the validity of such acquisitions.

free for appropriation by the labor of Americans had been usurped by a tyrannous monarch and made a part of his feudal demesne."[71]

For the British, rights to native land became a pivotal issue in the struggle to define the role of settlers and the European state in the colonial context.[72] The British monarchy retreated to a feudalistic vision of empire in an effort to preserve its control over the politics of expansion, while its colonists championed a complex and multifaceted discourse that eventually coalesced into a liberal argument of individual rights and limited state authority.[73] Spanish colonization of New Spain through the first half of the sixteenth century manifests an almost contrary situation, as the monarchy struggled to end the feudal aspirations of the conquistadors and their first descendants. The victory of Spanish absolutism on both sides of the Atlantic created a superficial unity to the philosophy and politics of land acquisition in the New World, much more so than in the British case. Spanish colonists accepted state sponsorship of land grants. Though direct purchases from Indians were often confirmed by a subsequent royal merced, this did not carry the implication, as it did for the English, that the state had the exclusive power to extinguish Indian rights of occupancy. Unlike the British, Spanish colonists took over Indian possessions without elaborating either a novel challenge to state sovereignty or a revolutionary view of the labor-

71. Williams (1990:254).

72. The best studies of the impact of colonial law on the legal (and land) systems of colonized peoples are those that analyze British policies in India (see Cohn 1987, 1996a, 1996b [1989]; Dirk 1992; Guha 1996[1963]; Washbrook 1981).

73. In this respect the innovative aspects of the Plan of 1776 in India, proposed by Philip Francis, rests precisely in the fact that influenced by physiocratic beliefs in the importance of private property in land for the well-being of the nation, he insisted that the native Zemindars be restored to their hereditary rights, and that crown ownership be abolished. See Guha (1996[1963]: chap. 4).

based origin of private property. Parallel to the official recognition of indigenous property rights, Hispanic colonists promoted a vision of an indigenous population derelict in its moral and social obligation to cultivate the land.[74] Medieval Spanish institutions (such as *presura* and prescription), and not a modernizing discourse on government and property, provided the theoretical justification for appropriating allegedly underutilized Indian land during the early colonial period. Indeed, it was the European moral and patristic discourse on man-land relations, and not a Roman-based law of absolute property rights, that constituted the basis for colonial assaults on indigenous tenure.

But as the native population, particularly individual caciques and communities with corporate rights, solicited titles expedited by Spanish courts, the character of Spanish expropriation of indigenous property changed.[75] There were several processes in this transformation of the takeover of indigenous property, but the key elements were a profound demographic shift that was followed by a steady drive toward a stricter territorialization and delimitation of landed property (particularly through composiciones and the required *vista de ojos*, or circumambulation of a property to be titled). The demographic shift was the result of both a massive decimation of the indigenous population (the result of a series of epidemics that

74. This is in central Mexico; the discourse on land acquisition in the northern provinces inhabited by nomadic groups was undoubtedly much different.

75. Taylor (1972; see also 1974) provides the classic argument on cacique land defense. He shows that in Oaxaca caciques were able to maintain property rights because they quickly inscribed their holdings within the Spanish legal framework. In the central highlands, Spaniards were able to take over much land before Indians had organized a legal defense. The documentary defense of corporate community land is marked by the appearance of *títulos primordiales* in the mid–seventeenth century (Lockhart 1991a; see also Gruzinski 1993:chap. 3) and petitions for composiciones that became a common phenomenon toward the end of this same century.

killed perhaps 75 percent of the total during the century after first contact) and repeated resettlement programs (that culminated in the congregaciones carried out from about 1595 to 1604). As a result, vast expanses of land were abandoned. Ostensibly, even with the death of many of its members, an indigenous community would continue to hold rights to the land; yet as they were unable to maintain effective occupation, these rights were often lost and it was the Spanish crown, not the indigenous "municipality," that asserted its rights to eminent domain.[76] The communities' ability to retain rights to lands only marginally worked was further diminished after forced resettlement. Again, although the relocated communities legally retained rights to lands they had left behind, their ability to maintain these rights was weakened by the absence of continued effective occupation. Moreover, it was precisely when the indigenous population was at its nadir, in the early 1640s, that the first concerted effort to title and delimit indigenous lands was carried out, a campaign that was repeated in the late 1690s and the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Thereafter, border disputes, fully within the modern Spanish concept of property relations, tended to replace intercultural struggles over the definition of land use and rights as the principal form of land conflict.

In sum, the Spanish colonial experience of land (in contrast to the British experience) is marked by a distinctive development in the theory and practice of property rights, in which Old World philosophies and institutions colored the patterns of New World agrarian structures. Clearly, at an early stage the Spanish crown's decision to recognize indigenous *dominium* was based on conclusions arrived at by the neo-Scholastic theologians of the School of Salamanca,

76. Cf. the comments of García Martínez previously mentioned.

headed by Vitoria and Cano. Yet colonists' assaults on indigenous property were not carried out simply in circumvention of royal policy; rather, as will be explored in the pages below, Spanish agrarian and customary law provided a series of mechanisms by which rights to land could be acquired even against those who in a strict sense held legal title. Thus although the Spanish crown's claim to eminent domain may have threatened indigenous holdings, the customary moral and collective rights of the Hispanic agrarian tradition, with their focus on land as a common good, could be equally deleterious. Composición, *presura*, and prescription were all mechanisms that converted ambiguous possessionary rights into permanent property rights. They gave title to entrepreneurial and "self-help" property acquisition, a key process in colonial circumstances. The following pages explore these three European institutions and examine how they were adapted to New World circumstances. This analysis suggests that it was peninsular moral discourse on the proper use of land, and not simply ad hominem behavior, that formed the underlying basis for colonists attack on indigenous property rights.

THE COMPOSICIÓN IN SPAIN AND THE NEW WORLD

On November 1, 1591, Philip II, pressured by the fiscal demands of his European wars and the costs of defending his overseas possessions, issued a set of four *reales cédulas* that established a mechanism for the administration of crown lands in the Americas.[77] The procedure was the

77. These four *cédulas* are reproduced in Solano (1984: docs. 131–134). The 1591 composición is discussed in detail in Solano (1976). For a general account of the finances of this period, see Lynch (1981 I:109ff.) and Ruiz Martín (1968).

The fiscal motive should be kept in perspective. As Thompson (1991b[1971]:187) notes in regard to the "spasmodic school" of analysis that links social disturbance to unemployment and high prices, "[it] conclude[s] investigation at the exact point at which it becomes of serious sociological or cultural interest." Clearly the Habsburg monarchy was in desperate financial straits. The composición instituted in 1591

composición de tierras, a legal device that allowed colonists who possessed crown lands either illegally or under a defective title to regularize their holdings upon paying a fee based on their land's value.[78] With some modifications, this practice was to continue up to the end of the colonial period. The first call for *composiciones* (1591) came a decade after Philip II had established fees for government land grants, ordering that merced recipients compensate the crown with "alguna buena cantidad" (a tidy sum).[79] Both developments reflect the increasing commodification of the colonial countryside and the necessity for quieting estates as market transactions in land became more common.

Like many colonial institutions, both the direct sale of crown lands and the composición

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occurred near the nadir of fiscal solvency (the government suspended payments several times, including 1575 and 1596); a second round of colonial composiciones in the 1630s occurred during a concerted effort to establish a secure financial basis for *armada del barlovento* (during this same period the colonial alcabala, or sales tax, was raised from two to six percent for the same reasons) and the 1640s composiciones in the New World coincided with the Catalan Revolt, the secession of Portugal and a dramatic decline in the value of bullion remissions from the American colonies. In the Americas, however, Spanish fiscal policy had to reconcile the conflicting goals of raising revenue and creating conditions that would encourage colonial development; thus colonial fees and taxes were occasionally kept low in an effort to promote commerce and settlement. Fiscal burdens common to both Spain and the Americas, such as the alcabala, a mainstay of crown finances, were invariably lighter in the New World. The alcabala in Spain was ten and then fourteen percent by the end of the sixteenth century, while in the New World it was not raised to its standard rate of six percent until the 1630s. In outlying colonial regions the alcabala was kept particularly low (for example, in the 1760s, while the rest of the colony paid a six percent tax, only a two percent alcabala was charged in the desolate Chihuahua frontier; AGN-GP 43/4). In sum, though the composiciones were clearly linked to fiscal tensions, of much more interest is how the formal Old World procedure of composición responded to the specific circumstances of the New World: the culture of the colonists, the nature of indigenous land tenure, and the promotion of regional agrarian economies.

78. The illegal occupation could be simply an extension beyond the limits a merced previously granted or it could be occupancy without previous title. Defective titles were often colonial grants lacking crown confirmation, or those issued by officials not authorized to do so. Composiciones became a generalized legal device that extended beyond the agrarian sector and they were used to regularize situations that posed a threat to institutional authority. MacLachan (1988:43) notes that "politically, composición accomplished in the civil sphere what a pardon did in the criminal."

79. *Real cédula* dated 13 Nov. 1581 (Solano 1984:doc. 118).

had direct peninsular antecedents: in the third quarter of the sixteenth century Philip II had instituted similar administrative measures in Spain.[80] There, the sale of crown property (*tierras realengas*[81]) began tentatively in the late 1550s and coincided with other revenue-raising efforts initiated during a period of rapidly rising state expenditures.[82] Slightly over 50 percent of the total income from the sale of these uncultivated or untitled lands was obtained during the 1580s. By the time Philip II authorized *composiciones* in the New World, the sale of public lands in Spain was over 80 percent complete.[83] This chronology of legal practice suggests that once the potential for profit was exhausted in Spain, Philip II extended his revenue-generating agrarian policy to the New World. In both continents the state sent out *jueces de tierras* (land commissioners); the *composiciones* they carried out created an explicit legal basis for land rights in these two rapidly changing rural societies. Although the formal structure of the composición

80. The colonial composición merged what in Spain was known as the *composición* and the *perpetuación* (see Vassberg 1975:641–42). In regard to Spain, Vassberg notes that the sole difference between the composición, the *perpetuación*, and the *venta* was the condition of presale occupancy. The information presented here is taken from Vassberg (1974, 1975, 1984, 1989).

81. Vassberg (1974; cf. also 1984:7–8) notes that all crown land not formally granted by the monarch theoretically remained crown land (*tierras realengas*). The crown allowed some of this land, often of inferior quality, to be used by the public. "These tracts of largely idle and unworked lands were also known as 'tierras baldías' or 'baldíos'" (p. 386). He also notes that *baldios* referred to both unused crown land that, because of the free-use privileges *(presura)* associated with this land, was considered public domain, and to crown lands that had been usurped into the private domain without the benefit of a grant. García Martínez (1992:56) suggests that Indian community land not occupied or cultivated, or woods and forests, were what would be called *baldíos*. As *baldíos* they became subject to the same use rights as Spanish *baldíos*.

82. Particularly noteworthy was the increase in revenue provided by the *alcabala encabezonamiento*, a system by which tax districts paid a set fee ostensibly equivalent to 10% of the value of expected merchandize and real estate sales. Income from the *alcabala encabezonamiento* increased by 37% in 1562 and by 300% in 1576 (Vassberg 1984:219ff.).

83. The percentages are take from Vassberg (1975:table 6). The 80% figure refers to the fact that of the total amount the crown was to eventually receive from the sale of *tierras baldías,* 80% had been taken in by 1590. See also Herr (1989:19–20).

was similar in the old and new worlds, there were also important differences. The culture and identity of the major rural actors, the political economy of agrarian society, and the designs and ambitions of the state aparatus greatly differentiated agrarian society in sixteenth-century Spain from its counterpart across the Atlantic. For this reason, over the course of the colonial period New World *composiciones* were inexorably transformed until they finally retained only a nominal similarity to their peninsular antecedents.

In Spain, the late sixteenth-century agrarian policy of Philip II advanced the goals of an absolutist state. As Anderson has argued: "The juridically unconditional character of private property consecrated by [Roman civil law] found its contradictory counterpart in the formally absolute nature of the imperial sovereignty exercised by [Roman public law]."[84] The Spanish monarch's liquidation of state assets and privatization of property rights restricted public and community access to land; it assailed the communitarian tradition and ended the flexibility of usufruct rights to public lands that had previously functioned as a safety net for the poorer stratum of peasants.[85] The *composiciones* and sales of crown property occurred as prices escalated and rents rose. Thus the crown was able to take advantage of an ephemerally dynamic agricultural society and potential capital investment in the countryside by selling marginal land. The terms of these sales became increasingly harsh from the late 1550s to the early 1590s: land prices rose in a competitive market and occupants were no longer compensated should they

84. Anderson (1974:27).

85. This position is forcefully put forth by Vassberg. Lynch (1991:155) agrees, stating that "publicly owned properties—land belonging to the crown and to municipalities, including common pasture and arable land—were a vital component of the agrarian structure . . . even where they were a small portion of the total they could make all the difference to the prospects of a peasant and enable him to preserve the vestige of a subsistence, especially as they required no rent."

refuse to buy.[86] It appears that much of this newly privatized land became subject to liens on money borrowed either to pay off the original acquisition or to improve the land during the sixteenth-century period of high prices and profits.[87] But as the rural economy declined in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, peasants had trouble meeting financial obligations they had acquired during the preceding period of agricultural expansion. They were forced to either abandon their land or sell to pay off debts.[88] In Spain, the sale of *baldíos* probably had a negative affect on the nation's agrarian structure. By privatizing communal lands it diminished the safety-net features associated with free occupancy of royal lands; and, to the degree that peasants acquired or improved the land through mortgages, it placed them under constant pressure to meet payments by producing for an increasingly precarious and volatile market.[89]

86. Much of the material for this analysis is taken from Vassberg, particularly (1975). Vassberg agrees with the thesis first suggested by Viñas y Mey (1941) that Spanish agriculturalists acquired loans and mortgages during the period of agricultural boom, but were unable to service these obligations when the economy contracted.

87. Vassberg (1975:652). For the sixteenth-century Spanish economy see Hamilton (1934). The Spanish term for such mortages is *censo al quitar* (in spite of the etymological similarity this is not a quitrent). A *censo* (from the Latin *census)* is "an obligation to pay an annual return from fruitful property. . . . The buyer of a *census* is in a lender's role: he furnishes the cash. The seller is a debtor: he binds himself to the annual payments" (Noonan 1957:155). A landowner sells a *censo* to obtain money; the land functions as a guarantee of payment until the *censo* is terminated by the return of the cash "borrowed." Noonan (1957:chaps. 7 and 11; see also Grice-Hutchinson (1978), who provides an excellent account of the history and morphology of the *censo* as a credit institution. Confusion over the meaning of this term arises from the fact that *censo* was employed for various types of monetary transactions: interest payments on loans with real estate used as collateral, rental arrangements (often permanent) based on the appraised value of a piece of property, permanent pensions nominally based on the produce of a landed property, and long-term debt conversion; see also Usher (1943:137ff.), particularly his discussion of annuities on gifts of land to the church, and Bauer (1986).

88. The negative implications of the sale of crown lands was foreseen by the Spanish Cortes as early as 1563, when they petitioned King Phillip II and stated that the sale of *baldios* "would result in the total destruction of the villages, and the reduction of the Royal Income" (Vassberg 1975:653).

89. At this same time, the privatization of common land in England was occurring under the Tudor regime, in a process known as enclosure. The literature on this topic is vast; a few of the major monographs

Unfortunately, the social identity and economic status of the landowners who bought crown land in Spain is not known; most likely they were poor peasants working marginal public lands near the village of their origin. Personal ties to nearby communities and other peasants might well have mitigated the potential for aggressive takeover of lands, particularly those targeted for communal use. This was not the case in New Spain where Spanish land owners and Indian communities, each with its own distinct vision of property rights, were divided by ethnic and sociocultural differences. The colonists were not part of the landholding communities, nor were there any particular informal structures or ties that might have tempered contentious land takeovers. For the crown, New World *composiciones* were more a response to the challenge of colonization and unmanageable encroachment onto erstwhile Indian lands than, as in Spain, a means to profit from agricultural expansion and rising land values; substantive differences were hidden before a veneer of formal similarities. Colonial authorities took the path of least resistance and greatest returns: they ceded title for a fee, converting *de facto* possessionary rights into *de jure* property rights.[90] There is little evidence of competitive bidding for New World *baldíos*,[91] and in general the financial terms for obtaining a composición seem to have been very

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on the movement include Allen (1992), Kerridge (1969, 1992), Tate (1967), Tawney (1967[1912]), Yelling (1977). For a discussion of the later "parliamentary" enclosures, see Mingay (1997) and Neeson (1993). Both the English and Spanish efforts and enclosures led to privatization of public lands, the former of common field systems linked to manors and the latter of land the crown facilitated for public use. Yet beyond this there were vast differences. The Spanish composicones were intrinsically linked to fiscal pressures that affected the state, the English enclosures (and engrossings) reflected more directly the impact of market forces (rising prices, a demand for wool, etc.) on land tenure, marked by privatization and the conversion of arable to permanent pasture.

90. In many respects it functioned like the English system of fines of land and reflected the Spanish dictum that a bad settlement is better than a good fight. According to Margadant (1989:89), Solano also compared the composición to fines. See also Holdsworth (1927:117) on fines.

91. Royal decrees called for public auction of these lands (Ots Capdequí 1959). For central Guerrero,

mild, reflecting a general tendency in New Spain to lower fiscal obligations as a means of encouraging settlement. A royal decree dated 27 May 1631 ordered that composiciones and mercedes be effected through public auction. The property would be given to the highest bidder in a *censo al quitar* (land mortgage).[92] At least in theory the monarchy had decided to finance loans to private citizens interested in acquiring crown land. This may signal an effort to facilitate higher sale prices by providing credit in a land market of rising values.[93]

Soon after its introduction, the composición became institutionalized as the prototypical New World mechanism for entitlement to land. That is, once having established footholds in rural society through mercedes, colonists were able to expand these holdings through the composición, which legitimated encroachment onto land "abandoned" by indigenous communities. To some extent, then, for colonists the composición came to function as a merced from below; they knew they could expand onto new land and later settle the deed.[94] For indigenous villages that felt themselves dispossessed after a land commissioner's visit, a composición was simply an illegal sale of their land. Indeed, the language Indians employed in litigation that challenged colonists who acquired community land through a composición often

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however, I have not come across any examples of public auctions or even of bids by more than one party.

92. In Solano (1991:doc. 168; *Recopilación . . . de las Indias* lib. IV, tít. 12, ley 15).

93. Payment by installment had been accepted in both Spain and the colonies. Vassberg is unclear whether the mortgages due on privatized *baldíos* in Spain were interest payments to the state to or private moneylenders. The fact that the 1631 decree mentioned the state's offer to buy a *censo* suggests the possibility that such a system of state loans had been used in Spain.

94. Solano (1984) suggests that the composición gradually replaced the merced as the primary instrument of land acquisition; as Eric Van Young (personal communication) has pointed out, this is logical, given that the composición functioned precisely to validate territorial "holes" (*huecos*) left by mercedes. Solano's introduction provides an excellent summary of the land law relating to composiciones; see also Margadant (1989).

uses the verb *vender* (to sell) rather than *componer* (to compose) in reference to a land commissioner's acts; the indigenous perspective, therefore, was often that the *juez de tierras* came to *sell*, not *compose*, the usurped lands. To the extent that it expedited titles to newly settled land, quieted estates, and facilitated the commercialization of land, the composición was a successful administrative tool for the practice of colonization. It became problematical, however, in the contested space between the eminent domain of the Spanish monarchy (where the composición was considered a legal merced) and the property rights, and increasingly tenuous eminent domain, of indigenous communities (where the composición was considered an illegal *venta*). It was in this space between two domains that the colonist penetrated. But this penetration was not without its own ideological premise. Spaniards and criollos were also able to substantiate claims to land on the basis of their image of conquest (which gave them the corresponding right of *presura*) or as agrarian colonist (which gave them the right of prescription). E. P. Thompson has noted that agrarian custom is ambience, not fact. Borrowing from Bourdieu's concept of "habitus," he describes custom as "a lived environment comprised of practices, inherited expectations, rules which both determined limits to usages and disclosed possibilities, norms and sanctions both of law and neighborhood pressures."[95] The early Habsburg monarchy of Charles V had obliterated the feudal pretensions of the encomendero class: encomendero grants gave no rights to land[96] and in 1549 encomenderos lost their rights to

95. Thompson (1991a:102).

96. The classic statement of the problem is Zavala (1940); see also Simpson (1950). For a discussion of the implications of empirical study for this legalistic interpretation, see Lockhart (1969) and Keith (1971).

indigenous labor.[97] As the histories of Casasola and Dircio (see chapter 4) demonstrate, however, early land acquisition in central Guerrero was often dominated by encomenderos who were acting beyond their status as encomenderos but within their ambitions as entreprenuers. Nevertheless, by the late sixteenth century the Spaniards who were taking to the land were a new breed of colonists. The agrarian customs, or "ambience," that they (though not perhaps the state itself) brought to Hispanic America had been forged during the half millennium of the *Reconquista*, when the Moors were driven from the Iberian peninsula.[98] Some of these customary land rights, abrogated by Philip II in sixteenth-century Spain, reemerged in the receptive New World terrain.[99] The communitarian tradition was transplanted to the *república de indios*, while the "lived environment" of traditional Spanish use rights to unoccupied or abandoned lands,

97. The best study of Caroline labor policy is that of Tiryakian (1979) who analyzes it in the context of absolutist state policies and the crown's effort to prevent the emergence of a feudal class in the New World.

98. At the state level, however, the *Reconquista* model on Hispanic dealings with Indians in the New World, does not hold, particularly in regard to treaties; see Gibson (1978), who notes that "if it could in fact be established that Spaniards—unlike the other colonizers—refrained from making treaties with Indians, this could hardly have been a policy arising out of the *Reconquista. Reconquista* history suggests that the reverse should have been the case" (p. 3). After reviewing Spanish treaty policy during the Reconquista, and the subsequent colonial ventures in North Africa and the Canary Islands, Gibson notes that the evidence shows that the *capitulaciones* (essentially pacts or terms of surrender) indicate a treaty-like approach to native populations that was abandoned in the conquest of the New World. He ends the section of his essay dealing with this question with the observation that he has no answer for the lack of treaties, that "we have some leads for further research" and that "it does not really bother [him]" that he has failed to find a reason.

The topic is difficult, but I might suggest that there are three factors in the conquest of the New World that should be considered. The first is that in many senses it was a renegade conquest (as in Cortés's famous break with the terms of his command issued in Cuba and his defeat of Narváez, who was sent to impose them) and thus the terms (and lack of treaties) might well reflect the culture of the conquistadores and not the state. The second concerns the role of language and intercultural communication in the elaboration of treaties (certainly there was much greater chance of negotiation and discourse with Muslims than with native of the New World). And finally there is the question of mandate. The *Inter catera* bulls authorized the conquest as a mission of proselytization and conversion; thus it would have been impossible to respect the native religion, as occurred with the *capitulación* of Granada.

99. Note Vassberg's (1984:85–86) comments to this effect.

particularly *presura* and prescription, enjoyed an indian summer in the colonial context.[100] They were underlying forces in the demands and expectations of colonists and in the temper of judicial decisions.

Despite the "Romanization" of property rights concomitant to the privatization of crown lands and the delimitation of bounded landholdings through repeated composiciones to both indigenous communities and colonial hacendados, Spanish settlers continued to attack indigenous landholdings throughout the later colonial period. Although this frequently involved illegal, surreptitious, or overtly aggressive measures—encroachment, collusion with indigenous authorities, claims of title transfer when it appears that only rental contracts had existed—in the New World, certain "moral" aspects of Hispanic land law (moral in the sense that they favored use and production over absolute and inviolate title) were also invoked by colonists, either implicitly or explicitly, to justify the takeover of Indian land. These aspects of the land law constituted the "lived environment of practices and expectations," of the colonial world. The two basic institutions that provided the legal and cultural foundation for this "ambience" were *presura* and prescription. The former conceded proprietary rights to those who occupied and cultivated public, or even private, land; it was the quintessential "homesteading" law of the Iberian peninsula and was probably instrumental in molding similar ideologies and expectations among the American settlers. Thus even though the crown and the Thomist theologians in Salamanca clearly differentiated between Moors and Indians (and the respective rights of each), the same distinction was probably not so readily made by colonists, for whom Santiago

100. There is, unfortunately, a dearth of studies of Spanish colonial agrarian *culture* and how it affected the formation of rural society in New Spain.

Matamoros, the patron saint of the *Reconquista*, easily metamorphosed into Santiago Mataindios, the patron saint of the conquest.[101] The other pillar of property law that eventually found its way into New World codes was that of prescription, a mechanism whereby time, not original title, became a valid basis for substantive rights. As will become clear, the insertion of time as a creator of rights occurred late in the colonial period; at that time it had clearly become part of the popular logic of property, as colonists could begin to argue (as they previously could not) that "time was on their side." In this context it was the newcomer, as well as the native, who could assert that the land had been held since "time immemorial," a legal term of art in Hispanic jurisprudence.

PRESURA AND PUBLIC RIGHTS TO UNCULTIVATED LAND

In the sixteenth century, the writings of Francisco de Vitoria were instrumental in propagating the idea that property was a *prima facie* natural right. But theological discourse that had recognized infidel rights to *dominium* had made two notable exceptions: the Holy Crusades and the Spanish *Reconquista* were just wars of recuperation. Even though the neo-Thomist philosophers and the higher echelons of the Spanish state did not equate the conquest of the Americas with either of these preceding wars, this was not the case for the majority of colonists, for whom the *Reconquista* provided a pertinent model for the Spanish conquest of the New World. And it was they, not the Spanish theologians and ministers, who determined the physical

101. For many colonizers the patron saint of the *Reconquista*, Santiago Matamoros (Saint James the Moor-Slayer), reappeared as Santiago Mataindios (Saint James the Indian-Slayer), leading the Spaniards to victory in the New World. The literature on Santiago in the Americas is vast; see, for example, Fernández (1993); Silverblatt (1988); and Myers, Simmons, and Pierce (1991).

(as opposed to theological and theoretical) limits of indigenous property. The divergent models of conquest are elegantly noted by Pagden:

> Many of the titles, and crucially the kinds of grant, made to the Castilian settlers had their origins in the *Reconquista*, even if they subsequently lost much of their original definition in adaptation to the wholly unfamiliar environment of America. Economically, politically and militarily the conquest of America had more in common with the Spanish wars in Italy than it had with the recovery of the peninsula. But ideologically the struggle against Islam offered a descriptive language which allowed the generally shabby ventures in America to be vested with a seemingly eschatological significance. The substantial Spanish literature of conquest served to enhance this sense of continuity, by redescribing the actions of the most celebrated of the *conquistadores* in the language of the Spanish border ballads.[102]

The grants Pagden refers to are the mercedes, *repartimientos*, encomiendas and other concessions that the Spanish crown gave to compensate the military efforts of its nobles. Generally, when scholars mention the *Reconquista* antecedents of New World land policy, they refer to these feudal grants and to the right to occupy conquered territory. Certainly for many colonists the *naturales* of America evoked images of heathen Moors, lawfully dispossessed victims of a just war. But for others the *naturales* summoned up visions of innocence in a state of nature. Both perspectives denied property rights to the Indians, the first because they were too far from God, the second because they were too close. This closeness is related to a model, one not based on conquest, that justified land takeover: the agriculturalist arguments already referred to in regard to British colonization. Among the English the biblical antecedent—the obligation to "improve" the land and the analogy, mentioned above, of equating the hunter's land with the fisher's water—evolved into liberal individualism and labor-based theories of property rights. In

102. Pagden (1995a:74).

Spain, Christian arguments appeared in the popular discourse on communitarian and common rights to land.[103] And the same metaphor equating the common ownership of land with the common ownership of water underlay the right of *presura*, a customary privilege that gave an occupant possessionary and, in some cases, proprietary rights to public and private land:[104]

> The right to land is not in any way different from the right to spring and running water; to material from quarries; to herbs, firewood, and wood from the forests; all of these are spontaneous riches that Nature has created and "has revealed," as Vives would say, "in this great house that is the Orb, without ensconcing them behind doors or fences, so that they may be shared by all his sons," and the right to which, for this reason, stems exclusively from their needs [of these sons], being born and dying with them.[105]

When the practice of *presura* first emerged, it combined an early Christian morality toward the land and its fruits with state goals of territorial expansion, economic improvement, and defense. It sanctioned acquisition of land through "the mere fact of occupation . . . [and was] a means of acquiring property rights to occupied land without the need of other requisites such as effective cultivation, crown concession, or peaceful possession during a determined period of time."[106] Over a millennium later, in the late nineteenth century, the right of *presura* still

103. The ability of biblical discourse to serve both conservative and radical social theories is a commonplace of Church history; see Cohn (1957) and Troeltsch (1950).

104. The following discussion of *presura* is taken from Beneyto Pérez (1941), Collins (1990), de la Concha y Martínez (1946, 1951), Costa (1983[1898] II:186–189), Mariluz Urquijo (1978), and Vassberg (1984:10–13). Collins briefly describes the analogous Frankish *aprisio* of the ninth century. Beneyto Pérez provides information that relates the Spanish institution to its Roman and Germanic antecedents; de la Concha y Martínez's monograph (1946) provides information on the *presura* during the first centuries of the *Reconquista*. Finally, Costa and Vassberg summarize the institution and note its incorporation into regional *fueros*.

105. Costa (1983[1898] II:187)

106. De la Concha (1946:129–30). In this sense it differs from rights to *agri deserti* (see n. 110).

survived in parts of Spain as part of what Costa has called a collectivist tradition.[107] Vassberg notes that "the principle of *presura* remained deeply imbedded in the Castilian consciousness" and describes it as a "sort of 'homestead' law, providing free land for settlers in frontier areas."[108] The "homestead" aspect was most prominent in the ninth and tenth centuries.[109] The *Reconquista* was just beginning and the crown had acquired extensive territories that needed to be defended, settled, and cultivated. This was before the theological defense of infidels' right to *dominium* that, nevertheless, would not have affected the rights of the invading Moors. The *Reconquista* was considered a just war; the Moors had no recognized sovereignty or land rights in the Iberian peninsula. But *presura* went beyond the crown's liberal concession of its lands or a universal freedom to occupy infidel territory; it also extended use rights to neglected, though legitimate, private property. In this sense it was related to various Western traditions that privileged the use and effective occupation of the land.[110] Thus in Spain a peasant who cultivated land he thought was unoccupied was always entitled to the fruits of his labor. If the owner

107. See also Behar (1986:189ff.).

108. Vassberg (1984:11).

109. For Frankish use of the *aprisio* in the ninth century, see Collins (1990).

110. *Presura* was at times similar to *occupatio*, a Roman mode of natural acquisition of things that had either never been owned or had been abandoned. For a discussion of *occupatio*, see Thomas (1976:166–68). Beneyto Pérez (1941:122ff.) discusses the relationship between *occupatio* and *presura*. Thomas (1976:168) notes that "in the later empire, the principles of *derelictio* were applied to *agri deserti*: persons occupying and cultivating land abandoned by its owner would themselves acquire ownership on the lapse of two years without the owner's seeking to assert his title." The two year period is the same as that for *usucapio*, a means of acquiring ownership under Roman civil law. In this regard, however, Levy (1951:196) notes that "the *biennium* had no relation to the old period of *usucapio*. In the first place *usucapio* was an obsolete institution. Moreover, possession alone [of *agri deserti*] would not do. The occupant had to work the land and pay his taxes. More than this was not necessary." Clearly, rights acquired to *agri deserti* depended upon the fulfillment of social obligations to pay taxes and cultivate the land; this was not the case with *occupatio* or with the acquisitive prescription of *usucapio*.

showed up to assert his rights he could only claim the equivalent of a just rent, usually one-fourth to one-third of the harvest.[111] This convention is unlike anything in Roman law but analogous to a Germanic tradition expressed in the maxim, "He who plants, reaps."[112] In essence this system protects the immediate results (harvest) of an investment of labor in land without creating any possessionary or proprietary rights. It favors the landless peasant against absentee and negligent landlords.

Presura sanctioned the cultivation of abandoned land and protected the fruits of labor against claims to absolute ownership. As a customary privilege it recognized a right of possession through use, and as a legal precept it tempered the Romanization of property. At the same time *presura*, given its emphasis on common rights and individual use, provided an operational resolution to a basic tenet of the medieval church's teachings on property: the world was made for the common benefit of mankind and private interests cannot override each

111. An example of this right is contained in the *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* cited by Beneyto Pérez (1941:114–15) and Costa (1983[1898] II:214): "This is the *fuero* of Castile: If some land is not worked, and some laborer works it, and when it comes time to take in the grain harvest, the owner of the land appears, and he wants to harvest and take in the grain, the person who worked the land should harvest it and give to the owner his third part, or his fourth part, whatever is customary, even if he worked the land without the consent of its owner."

112. The adage is cited by Beneyto Pérez (1941:114) who, nevertheless, denies that the Spanish right has a direct basis in Germanic law. However, note the following statement by Vinogradoff (1909:75): "In ancient German law . . . rights of protected occupation and possession arose easily, and were based on the application of labour to a particular plot of land. If a man was suffered to settle on and to cultivate a piece of land for a year and a day, he could claim the protection of the courts for his labour and occupation. This is the origin of the peculiar German "*usucaption*" by a year and a day. It is derived from the effective short-period cultivation of an otherwise unreclaimed plot." This right is clearly similar to that granted in the *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* (see n. 111 supra). For a similar Visigoth law, see King (1972:208–9), who briefly discusses its justification. The tendency to favor use as a grounds to justify possession is also apparent in a statement from seventeenth-century France that only where crops are showing does customary law protect possession (Kelley 1990a:141). The significance of such a concept for colonists' attacks on indigenous land left fallow should be apparent.

individual's right to the necessities of life.[113] Just as the rhetoric of colonial labor drafts stressed the indolent nature of the native population, tying into both anti-vagrancy tendencies in Spanish laws and anti-Indian beliefs in Spanish culture, discourse on the rural economy and its indigenous population stressed an abundance of abandoned and fertile farmland, Indians' reluctance to produce beyond their own subsistence requirements, and their refusal to voluntarily participate in a commercial grain economy. The consequence, so the argument went, was a chronic shortage of food; the solution would be an agrarian economy under colonists' control. Despite evidence of chronic complaints by colonists, it appears that at least in the sixteenth century food shortages did not exist.[114] Yet the combined assertion of bountiful nature and endemic scarcity provides a framework that almost inexorably led to the conclusion that the indigenous population was negligent in caring for the land and making it productive.

113. On God having created the world for the sake of man, see Thomas (1996:17–25, and 254ff.); see also Lovejoy (1936: esp. chap. 6). For a general discussion of property rights, see Schlatter (1951) and Gore (1915); see also McKeon (1938). Note that Augustine justified the confiscation of property with the observation that "that is possessed rightly which is possessed justly, and that is possessed justly which is possessed well. Therefore, all that which is badly possessed is the property of another, but he possesses badly who uses badly" (cited in McKeon 1938:321–22). Carlyle (1915:129) mentions an eleventh-century treatise by St. Peter Damian in which the moral element is clear: rich men are held to be *dispensatores*, not *possessores*; i.e., their goods are not theirs to consume but rather to administer. Cronon (1983:73) mentions the biblical philosophy that individuals may only possess what they can make productive as a justification given for the taking of Indian land in North America. The moral facet of property rights continued to be present in the natural law theorists of the seventeenth century. Writers such as Grotius, Pufendorf, and Locke all mention use-rights, the right of necessity, and charity (see Buckle 1991), and the concern with necessity was carried into the economic liberalism of Smith (Hont and Ignatieff 1983). For a pointed rebuttal of the relevancy of philosophic debates and classical economic views on charity and necessity for the moral economy as part of traditional economics and as practiced by the poor commoners, see Thompson (1991c: 277ff.), who specifically counters Hont and Ignatieff's critique of moral economy approaches. Fox-Genovese (1973), in a manner analogous to Hont and Ignatieff, asserts the moral intentions of the classicists and notes that "neither traditional paternalism nor classical liberalism could plausibly have maintained their respective hegemonie for so long without a plausible moral base" (p. 166).

114. Super (1988).

The previous paragraphs have reviewed the institution of *presura*, both as it developed as a homesteading act during the expulsion of the Moors and as it related to other similar Hispanic laws and customs that privileged and benefited usufruct over negligent ownership. Although this institution was never overtly applied to the New World context, a reading of colonial texts dealing with land litigation suggests that it continued in the "Castilian consciousness," molding the views of entrepreneurial colonists who sought to assert their rights to land that, to them, Indians misused and abused. Despite changes in land law and an increasingly assertive theological defense of dominium, both of which clearly differentiated the rights emanating of the New World *conquista* from that of the peninsular *reconquista*, it is unlikely whether this official public discourse filtered very far into the popular culture of Spanish colonists. Evidence that it didn't can be found in the tone of the attacks that were leveled against the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas: their abandonment of the land and refusal to sow the fertile fields of New Spain can be interpreted as a discursive mechanism that gave colonial "squatters" on Indian land the same rights that peasant squatters in Spain had to land abandoned by absentee owners or expropriated enemies. To some extent, then, the colonists attack on indigenous rights was not simply a denial of law and custom. Rather, it was asserted that a particular model of man-land relations, that based in patristic discourse, which considered man as a steward of God, should be the one that would determine the relative merits of indigenous versus Spanish rights to the earth. The institution of *presura* was the legal manifestation of this moral discourse; yet there existed another tradition in Western jurisprudence that also often challenged inviolable property rights: prescription, or the creation of rights through time.

PRESCRIPTION: THE AGENCY OF TIME IN POSSESSION AND PROPERTY

Spanish and British interpretations of the relation between Indians and colonized space ranged from radical British colonists' claim of right to acquire what they classified as unimproved wasteland, to Spanish theological discourse that recognized all peoples right to *dominum* under natural law. Just as Native North Americans were accused of underusing space (justifying appropriation of their land), New Spain's indigenous population was accused of underusing time (justifying appropriation of their labor). In a sense "vagrancy" is the human equivalent of *"terra derelictae"*: the wasting of time is a counterpart to the wasting of space.[115] Nevertheless, there is no clearcut dichotomy between labor and time on the one hand, and land and property on the other. Lockean theory holds that labor converts land into property; the legal instance of prescription holds that time converts possession into ownership. And just as a labor-based theory of property came to dominate the discourse of English colonists, so too did the language of prescription insert itself into the legal texts of Hispanic America. The argument that follows suggests that like *presura*, prescription could function to protect or establish the proprietary rights to land of recent arrivals. Yet whereas *presura*, and the political economic philosophy behind it, might have functioned as a justification for early colonial takeover of indigenous lands, later legal discourse in the colonies seems to have shifted to the rights established by prescription.

Prescription has been defined as "the foundation, destruction or weakening of legal

115. This was not always simply a negative evaluation, for personal indolence could be the result of natural abundance. For a discussion of time and space in British colonial discourse, see Adas (1989:241ff.). Note also that societies accused of not improving the land are often indicted for their alleged ingenuous presentist orientation, with no concept of history and no planning for the future.

institutions by the passage of time."[116] Grotius noted that time is not an element of natural (or international) law, but is introduced into civil law by human convention, "for time, of its own nature, has no effective power; for nothing is done by time, though everything is done in time."[117] But if time as an agent for the acquisition of rights is a matter of convention, it is a convention frequently appealed to, both for establishing the political legitimacy of states and the personal rights of individuals. As Pocock notes: "An important consequence for medieval theorists was that laws and social norms must be represented as based either on timeless universals or on immemorial traditions (or at best some approximation to the latter)."[118] Conservatives often appeal to prescriptive arguments as "a presumption in favour of any settled scheme of

116. Nörr (1968:352). Buswell (1889:1) defines prescription as follows: "The term Prescription is derived from the Civil Law and is generally used to measure that lapse of time at the expiration of which a presumptive title to property is acquired by virtue of the adverse possession and enjoyment of it, and a title by Prescription is that whch arises out of such possession. The statutes of limitation limit or prescribe a tie at the end of which persons liable to suit shall become exempt from answering therein. These statutes create a prescription, in favor of such persons, against the servitude of legal process. Thus Prescription may be the instrument either of acquisition of title or of statutory exemption from suit by a certain lapse of time." The literature on the complex of legal institutions in which time exercises an influence on ownership—*usucapio*, prescription, adverse possession, limitation of actions, etc.—is vast. The major Roman institutions (*usucapio*, for things held by civil law, and *longi temporis praescriptio*, essentially for provincial land) were combined in the *Institutes of Justinian* (in which the prescriptive periods of the latter—ten years among litigants from the same province and twenty years for those of different provinces—were adopted). Concise information on Roman prescriptive mechanisms is found in the classic texts of Buckland (1963, particularly 249ff., in which *usucapio* and *longi temporis praescriptio* are contrasted) and Thomas (1976). Levy (1951:176–97) gives a good account of *longi temporis praescriptio* and changes in the time period involved in limiting actions. Nörr (1968) provides a clear analytic study of *longi temporis praescriptio*; unfortunately his definitive work is in German and has not been consulted. In his study of acquisitive prescription in international law, Johnson (1950) provides an insightful analysis of the theoretical basis for the influence of time on ownership. Maine (1963[1861]:274ff.) discusses prescription in general. For canon law see Martin (1944). The literature in Anglo-Saxon law is perhaps even more extensive, see Buswell (1889); Callahan (1961); Herber (1891); Powell (1995); and Walsh (1939).

117. Cited in Johnson (1950:336), who discusses the role of prescription in international law.

118. Pocock (1989a[1968]:82); see also (1989c[1968]) and (1985b[1976]). Note also the first chapter of his monumental *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975).

government against any untried project."[119] There would be little sense in inventing tradition and evidencing history if time was not a constructive agent of authority and power. Prescription, the link between practice and custom, secures the foundations of social institutions and advocates for the continuity of political society and social norms. But for personal rights, particularly property rights, prescription is often destructive.[120]

In land law, prescription operates in the space between possession (the physical power to act upon a thing) and property (the legal right to do so).[121] There are many ways to analyze prescription. One is to differentiate between two types. Extinctive (or negative) prescription is akin to a statute of limitations: after a given period of time an owner loses the right to legally act against a possessor.[122] The process is procedural and negative: it transfers interests without the

119. The quotation is from Edmund Burke's 1782 "Speech on the reform of representation": "Our constitution is a prescriptive constitution; it is a constitution whose sole authority is that it has existed time out of mind . . . Prescription is the most solid of titles, not only to property, but, which is to secure that property, to government. It is a presumption in favour of any settled scheme of government against any untried project"; cited in Schlatter (1951:178). For Burke's traditionalism, see Pocock (1989b[1960]). The concept of immutable and immemorial time, with no perceived beginning and no perceived end, frequently finds lyrical expression in what Berman refers to as the dramatic and poetic qualities of early law that, like the medieval theories noted by Pocock, often imbues social institutions with a sense of timeless continuity. Thus in medieval Germany, it was held that "a law shall endure so long as the wind blows from the clouds and the world stands"; Rudolph Huebner, *A History of Germanic Private Law*, cited in Berman (1983:59).

120. Holdworth (1927:280) suggests a distinction between custom (located in territories) and prescription (located in persons). He states that there are only three ways one can show entitlement to land: "He might either produce the deed, the 'specialty', by which this special law was made; or he could prescribe, i.e. show that he had enjoyed the right from time immemorial; or he could show that in the district, in which the land was situated, there was a special custom which entitled all persons in his position to the right claimed. . . . Both custom and prescription set up a special law. The difference was that one was local, the other personal." Thompson (1991a:121) seems to agree, noting that "custom is laid upon the land, but prescription is 'alleged in the Person,'" though he is reluctant to press the difference between the two institutions; nor does he cite Holdsworth in this regard.

121. The definitions of "possession" and "property" are from Maine (1963[1861]:281).

122. See Maine's (1963[1861]:274–78) discussion of statutes of limitation and their relation to prescription. In regard to the statute of limitations on land claims, Lightwood (1894:152) notes that "it

consent and despite the dissent of the previous owner. It leaves the substantive rights of the owner untouched and is directed only against the claim.[123] Acquisitive (or positive) prescription awards the possessor a substantive and indefeasible right to the property.[124] Johnson, in his study of acquisitive prescription in international law, distinguishes between two theoretical foundations of acquisitive prescription, one based on immemorial possession and the other likened to Roman *usucapio*:

> In the first instance, there is a form of "acquisitive prescription" based, it is said, on "immemorial possession." The postulate of this form of prescription is that a state of affairs exists, the origin of which is uncertain. It is impossible to prove whether the origin of this state of affairs is legal or illegal. It is therefore presumed to be legal. . . . Secondly, there is a form of "acquisitive prescription" more akin to the *usucapio* of Roman law. The conditions for the operation of *usucapio* in Roman law were (a) A thing susceptible of ownership *(res habilis)*; (b) A title of some kind *(justus titulus)*, such as a sale, gift, or legacy, albeit a defective title; (c) Good faith *(fides)*; (d) Possession *(possessio)*, implying physical control *(corpus)* and the intention to possess as owner *(animus)*; (e) The possession must be uninterrupted for a period of time defined by law *(tempus)*. Interruption of possession was known as *usurpatio* and was fatal to the acquisition of title by *usucapio*.
>
> The theory underlying *usucapio* is very different from that underlying prescription based on "immemorial possession." In the case of *usucapio* it is admitted that the title was originally defective, but possession, it is said, cures the fault.[125]

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checks litigation . . . ; it prevents improper claims from being made after the materials for defeating them have been lost; and it cures defects in titles acquired lawfully and in good faith." Limitation of actions focuses on the owner's (plaintiff's) neglect in asserting a right to property. Nevertheless, the defendant must show that possession was of the kind sufficient to cause the statutory period to begin.

123. See Nörr (1968:352) and Powell (1995:5). In such cases, if the owner comes into possession again, his rights are still intact.

124. In his discussion of Roman *longi temporis praescriptio* Nörr (1968) notes both its formal and substantive side: as a defense against a plaintiff's claim it seems to belong to the law of procedure, but as a claim to title through long possession it belongs to the class of substantive legal institutions.

125. Johnson (1950:334–35).

The underlying assumption of prescription by time immemorial, therefore, is that individuals enjoying long possession were invariably rightful owners. Possession is prima facie evidence of ownership; thus by protecting possession property is also protected. The benefits of prescription—repose, the quieting of title, the protection of good faith, greater security in transactions—apparently far outweigh the accidental protection of a wrongful holder. But this is considered a consequence, not the intent, of prescriptive laws.[126]

By the end of the medieval period, immemorial use had become accepted as evidence of a grant made before the time of legal memory.[127] But the law's memory had become too long and

126. Buckland (1963:199) summarizes the debate as to why wrongful holders receive protection:

> The question why possession without title was protected has had much attention. Savigny maintained that it was to protect those who had no title, not in their private interest, but for the preservation of the public peace. It would not make for order if even one without title could be ejected by one who, perhaps, had no more. Ihering's view, now more widely accepted, is that possession is protected as an outwork of ownership. The law assumes that a peaceful possessor is more often than not the person entitled, and that to enable him to recover his possession, as such, without proof of right, is, in most cases, to restore an owner without requiring him to prove title. It is only accidentally, and in a minority of cases, that it works to protect a wrongful holder, not, as Savigny holds, as the intended result of the system.

Pollock and Wright (1888:3) make a point similar to that of Savigny: "protection cannot be given effectually to the innocent without also protecting some who are not innocent."

The injustice that prescription occasionally entails has received much comment. Maine (1963[1861]:276) states that "prescriptions were viewed by the modern lawyers, first with repugnance, afterwards with reluctant approval." Callahan (1961:43) comments that "it would be quite a tribute to the imperturability of anyone if he could accept the subject of 'adverse' possession without wondering what is going on."

127. See Holdsworth (1927:280–81). Others have made similar observations. Thus Callahan (1961:48–49) notes that "the theory came to be that the process of 'prescribing' amounted to an assertion that there 'had been' a grant. After the necessary lapse of time there was a presumption that it had been lost." Buswell (1889:2–3) states that "the longer the undisturbed continuance of the possession, the stronger is the

a literal interpretation of "beyond legal memory" or "time immemorial" would be unwieldly in practice and ineffective in theory.[128] No length of possession will, in law, create a conclusive presumption of title; a title is only as good as its predecessor.[129] Prescription solves the problem of illegitimacy by effectively cutting short investigation into past titles after a prescribed time. Given the similarity of effects (despite their dissimilarity of origin) between *usucapio,* prescription, and limitation of actions, a single period came to encompass all three actions.[130] "Time immemorial" remained simply as a legal term of art, a beguiling trope for an emasculated past.

It is in colonial situations where prescription is most problematic but also most pertinent. The violent intrusion of colonists into the countryside meant that a mainstay of European theories of prescription, that possession is prima facie evidence of ownership, was no longer valid. What had been an unfortunate secondary effect of prescription in the Old World (the termination of rights and the consecration of wrongs) became a primary result in the New. Prescription rarely gave title to owners who had lost their grant nor to men operating in good

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conclusion that there was a legal origin in it; and, in order to render the title of the possessor complete, collateral facts, as livery of seisin, executio of deeds, etc., may be presumed."

128. Callahan (1961:48). For a discussion of the inconvenience of not placing temporal limits on efforts to recuperate land, see Martin (1944:1–2).

129. Kelley (1990a:138), in examining how custom passes from collective memory to authoritative written form such as English common law or French civil law, cites an English writer from the early seventeenth century: "'It is enought for the profe of a custom by witness in the common lawe (as I have credibly heard), if two or more can agree, that they have heard their fathers say, that it was a custome all their time and that their fathers heard their fathers also say, that it was likewise a custome in their time.'" With title, as with custom, similar problems existed of proof and temporal limits.

130. See Callahan (1961:48) and Holdsworth (1927:283), who states that "the time after which such a deed of grant would be presumed was fixed at twenty years, by analogy to the period after the action of ejectment was barred."

faith. Moreover, the assumption of continuity, so important in prescription, disappears in colonial society. For in these newly acquired territories the legal memory of the European state begins at conquest, and possession beyond legal memory is almost by definition an indigenous right. Therefore at first glance it is puzzling that long possession, and prescription, would be integrated into colonial law and claimed by colonists holding land without title. But colonial conditions are often characterized by large vacant areas (at least so they appear to European eyes), instability in land rights, and an urgency to stimulate agricultural productivity and facilitate transactions in an expanding rural land market. Legal structures respond to changing social conditions and the preceding are those in which prescription becomes most useful. The English statute of limitations was given its modern and most practical form by Henry VIII in 1540 and James I in 1623, periods marked by upheavals in property rights stemming from the confiscation of church land and the expanding enclosure movement.[131] The Roman *longi temporis praescriptio*, the basis of many Western prescriptive land laws, was codifed at the end of the second century A.D. One scholar has described this legal mechanism and the circumstances in which it emerged as follows:

> *Longi temporis praescriptio* is well adapted to an epoch in which one looks for stability after the disorder caused by civil wars and revolutions. . . . [at the time it was introduced in Egypt] there were the inevitable consequences of civil war: the adherents of the contenders opponents were persecuted, property was confiscated, people were expelled or became refugees. All these circumstances were calculated to destroy the security of property. Moreover, pestilence depopulated vast stretches of land in the last decades of the second century. . . . The introduction of *longi temporis praescriptio* was therefore helpful, because it was able to stabilize legal conditions of ownership which had become

131. See Buswell (1889:12–15), Holdsworth (1927:276ff.), Lightwood (1894:153ff.), Maine (1963[1861]:274ff.), Martin (1944:1–2), and Walsh (1939:1–3) for brief accounts of the development of statutes of limitation in England.

uncertain.[132]

Similar conditions existed in Spanish America.

Hispanic law also often speaks of things that are won, or lost, by time.[133] The legal codes mention specific periods—from ten years to a hundred—although many Spanish villages based their claims to property on "possession from time immemorial," a phrase often repeated in land litigation that flooded the colonial courts.[134] But as in other legal systems, "tiempo inmemorial" was a metaphor frozen into legal discourse in lieu of a more temporal, practical, and relatively short interval. In colonial Latin America the abbreviated period after which prescription took effect seems to have been forty years. This legal abridgement of long possession effectively tailored prescription to the limited historical depth of Spanish takeovers of indigenous property. Thus Solórzano y Pereira, whose *De indiarum jure* was the principal seventeenth-century commentary on Spanish rights in the New World, held that

> even despite this [that illegally possessed lands are to be returned to the crown], *when forty years have already passed, or as much time as might be considered long*, in regards to the possession and labor of those individuals in those lands, be it with some title and color, or without it, it is usual to consider more secure and correct to disregard with them for what is in the past and pay greater attention to what is to come and not go around perturbing and disheartening the possessors, as most soberly and sensibly the Emperor Anastacio left it

132. Nörr (1968:358–59).

133. Thus lib. II, tít. 11 of the *Fuero Real* speaks of "things that are lost or gained by time"; likewise the *Espéculo*, lib. V, tít. 5, and the "Tercera partida," tít. 29 of *Las Siete Partidas*. The influence of the *Institutes of Justinian,* book II, title 6 "Of usucapion and long possession" is clear. See Kleffens (1968:passim) for a discussion of Justinian influence on Hispanic law.

134. The reference to Spanish villages' claims to "possession since time immemorial" is in Vassberg (1984:20).

forewarned and provisioned for in one of his laws [my emphasis].[135]

According to this text, 40 years was both the legal equivalent of long or immemorial possession and sufficed to cure a title's defective origin. There are other indications that 40 years was not only the precise temporal period assigned to the legal term of art "time immemorial" in New Spain, but that this equivalence was known to colonial landowners. For example, a procedural guide issued to land commissioners and surveyors in 1798 repeats this temporal equation in very explicit language: "time immemorial" is stated *to be* forty years.[136] Thus it is not surprising that in a mid–eighteenth century lawsuit a hacendado from the Guadalajara region, obviously well-aware of the prescriptive statutes, would base his land claim upon what he claimed to be "immemorial possession, or at least for more than forty years."[137] Far from a nonchalant or capricious equating of time out of memory with a lapse of 40 years, this utterance seems to reveal a rather judicious familiarity with the role of time in legal discourse.

135. See Solórzano y Pereira, *Política indiana*, lib. 6, cap. 6, pár. 10.
Solórzano y Pereira also held that prescriptive rights, the argument of a fait accompli consecrated by time, sanctioned the political foundation of Spain's control of the Americas. Muldoon (1994:164), who offers the best account in English of Solórzano y Pereira's writings and influence, states that "although Spanish control of the Americas was derived from a papal grant, the length of Spanish control of the Americas effectively meant that according to "custom and prescription," such jurisdiction was "inalienable and non-transferable." Having provided the initial legal basis upon which the conquest could begin, the papacy, in Solórzano's opinion, then receded into the background. The fact of Spanish control of the Americas was becoming, in his opinion, the effective basis for continued Spanish control." See also Pagden (1990:33–35).

136. Solano (1984:doc. 223, art. 18). Spanish laws of prescription are found in the *Novísima recopilación . . . de España*, lib. XI, tít. 8. Various periods are mentioned, including 40 years (ley 7). Nevertheless, I have not been able to find any direct reference to "tiempo inmemorial" in the *Recopilación*.

137. Cited in Van Young (1981:326). Note that an awareness of prescriptive rights is also apparent in the response of various ranchers to the Roman-based legal discourse of the Jesuits in a dispute over rights to land of the hacienda of Tepantlan (see chapter 5).

During the seventeenth century in New Spain, prescriptive time apparently became a legitimate and not uncommon instrument for the determination of property rights. For example, on 30 June 1646 a series of royal decrees were issued.[138] Indian communities were allowed to petition for the composición of their lands. Many began to draw up and present *títulos primordiales,* in which they used various arguments, including that of prescriptive possession from "time immemorial," to justify their territorial rights. In the same royal decrees land commissioners were instructed to carefully avoid granting colonists composiciones on land taken from Indians; nor was land held for less than ten years to be "composed." This final condition again suggests that colonial land law, as it was implemented through royal decrees, incorporated prescriptive rights to property: a ten year period is not uncommon in European law. The injunction against titling lands held for less than ten years suggests that alongside a legal culture that based colonial land grants on the eminent domain of the crown, royal officials still sought to honor a minimum lapse (ten years) in which prescriptive rights to private holdings might be said to occur.

Finally, statutory law of the Indies also reveals how the legal discourse on colonial land rights came to incorporate the language of prescription. One of the royal decrees of 1 November 1591 that instituted composiciones as a mechanism for acquiring colonial *baldíos* acknowledged the legitimacy of private ownership of land held with a valid title or supporting documents (and thus not in need of a "composed" title). In 1680 this decree was incorporated into the first definitive compilation of colonial law. But by that time a significant change had been made in the

138. *Recopilación . . . de las indias*, lib. IV, tít. 12, leyes 17–19.

decree. Legitimate prescription *(justa prescripción)*, as well as sound titles and documents *(buenos títulos y recaudos)*, was accepted as a valid legal basis for property rights (see the comparison of the relevant portions of each law below). This alteration might well reflect changes in the arguments that colonial litigants were employing in asserting rights to land; in other words, as colonists came to possess their untitled land for longer and longer periods, they might well have gradually introduced the argument of "just prescription" into their legal discourse. Whatever the original basis for the transformation of the 1591 royal decree before it was incorporated into the 1680 compilation, the shift does demonstrate how colonial land law changed between the late sixteenth and late seventeenth century. In the space of a century, time of possession was officially incorporated into colonial jurisprudence as a sound argument for claiming proprietary rights to landed possessions.

Real cédula of 1 November 1591[139]	*Recopilación* of 1680[140]
. . . amparándolos en los que con buenos títulos y recaudos poseyeren, se me vuelvan y restituyan las demás . . .	. . . amparando a los que con buenos títulos y recaudos, *o justa prescripción* poseyeren, se nos vuelvan y restituyan las demás . . .

In sum, although the topic has been insufficiently researched, it is apparent that land claims and litigation in colonial New Spain included a discourse on time that manifested itself in myriad texts of the period: scholarly works by jurists such as Solórzano y Pereira, instructions for the interpretation of legal terms of art sent to colonial judges, royal decrees and more formalized

139. Solano (1984: doc. 132). The text reads: ". . . protecting those whose titles and papers are good, the rest [of the land] will be returned and restored to me . . ."

140. *Recopilación . . . de las indias*, lib. IV, tít. 12, ley 14. The text reads, ". . . protecting those whose titles and papers are good, or who might have *just prescription* [prescriptive rights], the rest [of the land]

compilations, and rhetorical demands by colonists apparently familiar with the role of prescription in establishing substantive title. Prescription was a legal device that, like composición, conferred valid title to defective ownership. In the colonial context, however, prescriptive rights could be particularly harmful to indigenous tenure given that it created a Western, "artful" definition of time immemorial as a shortened period (of ten, twenty, or forty years) after which the rights of other holders (such as indigenous individuals and communities) would be extinguished. This placed the recently established colonists on an equal footing with autochthonous inhabitants. Both could not, in a Spanish court of law, argue that they had possessed a given property since *tiempo immemorial*; there was, after this point, only one time immemorial, and that was within the creative time frame of positive Western law, artificial in the sense of being a human, social creation.

In terms of demographic ebb and flow, which is a key element in the framing of agrarian relations,[141] colonists who occupied lands of Indian communities in the first half of the seventeenth century would have done so as the native population reached its nadir. Concomitantly, they would have already established prescriptive rights by the time indigenous society had begun to recuperate its population base. Whether this demographic recuperation, and the threat it posed to the encroachments of colonists on Indian land, in any way influenced the changed wording of the 1591 *real cédula* is not clear although, as suggested above, the change might well have reflected the fact that colonists began to argue their prescriptive rights (based on their Western concept *tiempo immemorial*) against the less artificial *tiempo immemorial* of

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will be returned and restored to me . . ."

141. The relative weight that should be given to demographic as opposed to class considerations in the transition out of feudalism was, of course, one of the key elements in the Brenner debate, captured so succinctly in the series of essays edited by Aston and Philpin (1987).

colonized indigenous society. Whatever the reason for its incorporation into legal compilations (and direct instructions to colonial judges), prescription did provide colonists with an additional legal device to protect any holding they had enjoyed for a given amount of time. It gave them some security in their possessions against Indian communities that, now expanding, might have sought to reassert their claims to lands that they had abandoned for perhaps several decades.

CONCLUSION: CONFLICTS OVER TIME AND SPACE

This chapter has explored five particular facets of the social and legal environment of land rights, particularly indigenous land rights, during the colonial period. The first two, that articulated by the Spanish crown and that developed by the neo-scholastic theologians of the School of Salamanca, emerged out of issues more concerned with the European than American theater. The Spanish crown (unlike the British) never completely and unequivocally asserted its feudal rights to the New World. This was partly the result of an effort to break the feudal pretensions of the conquistadores and encomenderos and partly the result of the theological implications of asserting eminent domain over the newly conquered territories, for in denying *dominium* to indigenous infidels the crown would have fallen dangerously close supporting the heretical beliefs of Hus and Protestant reformers, who made *dominium* dependent on the grace of God. Both the state and religious sectors on the peninsula, therefore, had reason to acknowledge the *dominium* of New World infidels. From the political perspective, a recognition of indigenous property rights negated the feudal pretensions of encomenderos—conquistadores and early colonists who sought seigniorial rights over the land of New Spain and its indigenous inhabitants. And from the theological perspective, a denial of dominium to those who were not in

the grace of God, as was certainly the case with the native population of the Americas, would have opened the door to heretical beliefs that were then being forcibly countered by Catholic theologians. These two perspectives, however, remained in the realm of a somewhat elite discourse, and the niceties of scholastic debate and courtly exchanges at best only penetrated the surface of New World action and discourse, where colonists often seized the best lands and justified their conduct with a complex of legal tools and beliefs—an "ambience" of agrarian rights that included composición, *presura*, and prescription—that itself had strong roots in the European and Castilian tradition. The key point to note is that the colonial takeover of indigenous space was not just the rapacious manifestation of brutish cupidity, but was anchored in a tradition of perspectives on the land that had moral and religious roots as well as a firm institutional basis. The territorial conquest was, in this respect, not simple illegality, but rather the assertion of a different legality based on Old World mechanisms to privatize land and the patristic tradition of conferring proprietary rights on those who made "good use" of the land

A scholar of the capitalist transformation in Europe has noted that "three areas critical to the development of a rational, profit-oriented market economy remained vulnerable to the scrutiny of moralists. These were the grain trade, the conversion of commonly held land to private property, and the lending of money for interest."[142] The tension between the moral and political economy of the grain trade is dealt with in chapters 10 and 11; there it will be argued that it was the urban capitalist elite, particularly miners (joined by strange bedfellows: the urban and rural poor), who most adamantly championed one particular perspective on the moral aspect

142. Appleby (1978:53).

of subsistence rights: regional privileges and closed markets. However, as opposed to the late-colonial opening of grain markets, the privatization of colonial land—carried out through a series of legal maneuvers including the merced, composición, and *denuncia*—was an early priority of the Spanish crown, for it impeded the consolidation of the power of encomenderos in the countryside and it helped create a class of agrarian entrepreneurs oriented toward production for urban markets. Yet in promoting the composición in a colonial context (the third facet of what I have considered the social and legal environment of man-land relations), an instrument that had been used in the peninsula to privatize crown land was transformed into a tool of expansion wielded by colonists against the communtarian indigenous village. Here the basic tension lay in conflicts over eminent domain, as the Spanish crown asserted its rights over those of indigenous villages, while at the same time theoretically recognizing Indian rights to *dominium*.[143] In part because of the particular caste structure of New Spain, the composición soon became the primus inter pares of tools for the expansion of colonial agrarian society.

The final two facets of the gradual capitalist transformation and territorial expansion in the agrarian sector comprised more strictly moral components of the debate over property in the New World. Here I think it interesting that although at first glance it appears that it was the indigenous village that became heir to the Hispanic communitarian tradition, indigenous property claims (the basis for *títulos primordiales*) were often articulated within a discourse of absolute property rights, even though these rights remained within a corporate entity, the community.[144]

143. See García Martínez, cited in n. 56 supra.

144. Corporate here is used to indicate how the village fit in the colonial legal and social system, not necessarily how villages themselves might have assigned rights and duties to members and potential members. Thus although the state treated indigenous communities as corporate entities, they themselves

And when the colonial state recognized village-based land rights, these included both individual and community property; there was little overt state concern with the structure of property relations within the Indian village. This contrasts with what occurred in Spain, where communitarian rights often involved fairly well established and customary peasant access to *realenga* land, rights that were curtailed with the privatization of crown property in the sixteenth century. The Indian village, however, seemed to enjoy little if any access to crown lands. Thus when these lands were privatized—through the merced, composición, and *denuncia*—they tended to go to colonists, individuals with no roots in a communitarian village. If indigenous villages articulated their land claims less in moral terms and more in terms of absolute rights to land based on their interpretation of time immemorial, this does not mean that moral arguments were absent from colonial discourse. Rather, they were compartmentalized within the uniqueness of the colonial endeavor. Moral arguments were, in fact, made by all sectors of colonial society. For the earliest period, questions of subsistence and grain prices were so addressed, a reflection of the fact that from the very beginning laws dealing with the practices of forestalling, regrating, and engrossing were part of official policy, and thus those individuals who articulated such discourse would find that their concerns were given receptive treatment by the state. Much later the liberal extension of absolute property rights to grain (the freedom to use and abuse, in classic terminology) led to a second stage of moral discourse: that which rejected open markets and the privatization of subsistence and instead asserted regional prerogatives to limit and control

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might well have been more flexible on this point.

exchange.[145] Again, this rejection of the reclassification of grain as another type of property was firmly embedded in European concepts of nature and man's role as steward.

Yet the moral thread in land claims, as opposed to those relating to subsistence, were much more nuanced. Here it was the colonist who in coveting the earth found a congenial argument in the moral teachings of the church and in use rights that were embedded in Spanish communitarian traditions. The former proclaimed a spiritual duty to improve the earth by the sweat of one's brow; the second provided a secular instrument that legalized the takeover of neglected land. These were the last two facets of the social and legal environment of land rights mentioned above. Colonists often managed to phrase land disputes in terms of a dichotomy between cultivation and abandonment.[146] To destroy property rights in this legal and cultural environment, time did not have to function rigorously as the prescriptive element of codified law. Rather, a much shorter period was sufficient to suggest Indians' indifference to Christian responsibility and negligence in utilizing God's resources. Given this emphasis on the continual

145. For disputes over absolute rights to commercialize grain, see chapters 10 and 11 below. Early grain legislation is dealt with most extensively by Florescano (1965) and Lee (1947); see also Suárez Argüello (1985)

146. The question of what constitutes abandonment of land is complex. Buckland (1963:207, and n. 5 same page) states that "*derelictio* of moveables was completed by throwing them away. In land, this was impossible: the owner must, so to speak, remove himself from the land. But people leave their land for long periods for many reasons other than intention not to own it, and as land usually has some value, it does not seem that *derelictio* of land was common. . . . *Derelictio* of land is often mentioned in the sources . . . but usually in the sense of leaving it uncared for, without necessary implication of intent to abandon." See also Lindley (1926:48), who notes that just as occupation involves both a physical act *(corpus)* and an intention *(animus),* so too is abandonment "made up of the actual physical relinquishment of possession and the intention to give up the dominion." It was rare, though not unheard of, for Indians in New Spain to document their intention and willingness to give up dominion; but see the case of Amula, near Chilapa in AGN-M 70/fols. 53f–54v dated 1717. When informed that a Spaniard of Chilapa had requested their land, the 4 Indian families and few old men that remained responded that they had no need of the lands in question and that they would move to their cabecera of Apango. Given this response, the land grant was immediately authorized.

use of particular parcels of land, and not on territorial rights to a bounded space, the demographic collapse of the native population and the forced nucleation of devastated villages created a precarious situation for indigenous land rights. Communities found it increasingly difficult to maintain their rights through cultivation of the land. Paradoxically, as a decreasing man-land ratio made shifting cultivation, slash-and-burn agriculture, and long fallow periods the most efficient utilization of land and labor, the moral agriculturalist argument and the risk of losing "abandoned" land made these ecological adaptations dangerous.[147]

Early colonial land disputes had revolved around colonists' effective occupation of *terra nullius* (or *terra derelictae)* and the composición of defective titles to land within the crown's eminent domain. As long as indigenous property rights were linked to land use, colonists only needed a temporal argument that would extinguish the moral rights of natives. But gradually over the course of the seventeenth century, in some regions earlier than in others, Indian villages were able to secure title to their land. An emphasis on territoriality had definite consequences for the discourse of land disputes. It would be interesting to determine whether legal arguments over land rights shifted from "abandonment" to "prescription" when territoriality replaced cultivation as the principal foundation of indigenous property rights.[148] Also, as it became more and more obvious that colonists were usurping Indian land, the fiction of composiciones limited to crown

147. See Farriss (1978) for a discussion of the conflict between ecological forces that favored a dispersed settlement pattern and colonial administrative policy that promoted nucleation. I suggest a parallel point, that this same dispersion can lead to long periods of fallow and non-use that colonists could interpret as abandonment.

148. In discussing questions of international rights of sovereignty, Beckett (1934:248ff.) distinguishes between occupation, which is a means of acquiring property that is unowned, and prescription, which may be a means of acquiring property which is held in *dominium* by another individual. Both stricter proofs and longer periods of possession are needed in prescription (see Johnson 1950).

land was increasingly evident; by adding prescription to the judicial code the Spanish monarchy gave colonists' long possession of Indian land a legal foundation.[149]

There is a final aspect of possession, time, and prescription that deserves mention: the question of territorial boundaries and their relation to possession. The physical limits of land ownership are determined by what is essentially a synecdochical relation: *possession* of a part signifies *property* rights over a whole. Hegel pointedly noted the symbolic, synecdochical nature of possession in stating that "taking possession is always incomplete in character . . . external objects extend further than I can grasp . . . Here, positive right must pronounce judgement, for nothing further can be deduced from the concept."[150] A speech act perspective on possessionary acts is also suggested by Carol Rose, a legal scholar who although not mentioning Wittgenstein, the British analytic philosophers, or speech act theory, does talk of possession as a communicative act and as part of a "language game."[151] In essence, early colonial land takeover, related to a discourse on proper use and occupation of the land, denied the metaphoric power of Indians' physical possession of land; these acts, in the early Spanish vision of space, did not "stand for" property rights to any larger territories. The Indians used, but did not take possession. This may be contrasted to the extremely symbolic acts of possession (such as the planting of a standard) that "counted" in the European scheme of things. Clearly, colonist and colonizer spoke

149. This development paralleled the inclusion of a prescriptive argument by Solórzano y Pereira to justify the Spanish state's possessions in the New World vis-à-vis other European nations (see n. 135 supra).

150. The citation is from Hegel (1991:85[δ58]. For his discussion of the symbolic aspect of possession, see Hegel (1991:88 [δ58] and passim); and for prescription and time, see Hegel (1995:75–76 [δ27]).

151. Rose (1985).

different symbolic languages that communicated the creation of territorial rights. Although a distinction might be made between individual and state acts of possession, the former requiring proper use of the land, the division is by no means clear-cut, and symbolic acts of possession by state emissaries were often themselves challenged on the grounds that effective occupation was never achieved. In many respects, however, the problem of what counts as possession (the basis of property) is closely related to the question of stewardship, that God has given the earth to man, and man must use it properly. Cronon's fascinating ecological study of the clash over land use and territorial rights between colonists and natives in New England is perhaps the best exposition of this problem. Yet in any society, as Hegel's observation makes clear, it is "positive right [that] must pronounce judgement."

Over time, this is what occurred. The colonial state did pronounce judgement; it did so through the delimitation of a territorial space and the issuance of title, which enabled indigenous villages to justify claims over large areas through possession of smaller ones. It changed the social and legal basis of the part-whole metaphor of land rights, the relation of possession (part) to property (whole). Territorialization of Indian land through entitlement also established borders that enclosed a single contiguous space; defense of the outer limits became more significant than the effective occupation of internal space. Indigenous claim of right to this space then no longer depended primarily on occupation and use. Rather, it involved declarations of historical sovereignty and community identity to a unified area. When villages asserted their rights to territory, as they increasingly did after the mid–seventeenth century in effort to obtain composiciones and *títulos primordiales*, they often used the language of immemorial possession and time out of mind. When colonists' used time immemorial to justify their rights they

employed this phrase artfully, as a metaphor for the abbreviated time of Western law and for its procedural function to limit claims of negligent owners. For Indian villages, however, "time immemorial" probably retained its more original sense and its function to establish substantive rights to property. They used it not as a people without history but as a society fully conscious, like European conservatives resisting impending change, that "prescription is the most solid of titles, not only to property, but, which is to secure that property, to government."[152]

152. The citation is from Burke, see n. 119 supra.

Part 2

E pour mouve

The Dynamics of Economic Transformation in Rural Central Guerrero

CHAPTER 4

LAND ACQUISITION DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

INTRODUCTION: PERIODIZATION AND SPATIALIZATION IN COLONIAL SOCIETY

This chapter and those that follow in part 2 explore patterns of land acquisition (chapters 4–5), migration (chapters 6–7), and commercial activity (chapters 8–9) in central Guerrero. There is a temporal sequence here: each successive development peaked later in the colonial period. There is also a logical sequence—the availability of land attracts people who attract investment—that affected spatial patterns as they manifested themselves over time. The takeover of land by colonists was virtually complete, at least in its basic geographic dimension, by the early eighteenth century, when a series of composiciones fixed most of the boundaries that, even if they did not perdure, established many of the physical parameters of later disputes. And by midcentury land use in the Iguala Valley, the most dynamic area of central Guerrero, had achieved a more or less final form, as farming replaced ranching. Starting at about this time, migration to the valley rapidly increased, as thousands of poor peasants (many of whom were Indians from the neighboring jurisdictions of Taxco and Chilapa/Tixtla) flocked to recently formed cuadrillas of small-scale agriculturists who rented land throughout the fertile Iguala Valley. Finally, during the closing decades of the colonial period, commercial capital flowed heavily into the valley. The entrepreneurs who dominated the hinterland took advantage of the booming market demand of a rising though dispersed peasant population, established transport ventures that articulated the Pacific coast economy with highland capitalists, and speculated in grain as colonial markets were opened up under the influence of physiocratic and liberal political economy then dominating European thought on the subject.

An analysis that examines the three principal factors of rural production—land, labor,

and capital—raises the question of how social groups coalesced and fragmented, both in time and space, as they grappled for control of resources. It is this fairly straightforward question that forms the guiding thread of this thesis—in effect a political and social history of space over time. Thus in addition to the temporal dimension of patterns of land ownership and use in central Guerrero, and to the chronic ebb and flow of human populations and commercial capital, there was also a clear spatial dynamic in motion. In the chapters that follow an effort has been made to prioritize the spatial, as opposed to the simply temporal, component of social change. Yet although regional analysis is in its general sense perhaps the most widely accepted approach to space, the approach taken to spatial dynamics in this study is not regional in the usual sense of the term. That is, regional factors and considerations, however well circumscribed on the landscape they might be—such as the boundaries of politico-administrative jurisdictions, the legal rights of provincial authorities to control the spaces of market exchange, and the experiential and cognitive dimension of space (the landscapes of identity formation that might extend well beyond the bounds of community[1])—are considered to be factors that *mold* overall patterns of spatial dynamics, rather than being their final logical (as in positivistic central place theory) or cognitive (as in the non-normative behavioral geography) representation.[2] Regional formations, when they do emerge from the spatial patterning of behavior (particularly economic behavior) are but one manifestation of a pervasive spatial dimension to human society. Other manifestations are equally salient, though historically quite removed from principal concerns of geographical study—the place-making that is the topic of chapters 6 and 7, and the wide-ranging and loosely patterned webs of exchange, much of it itinerant, that are discussed in chapters 8 and

1. See Gilbert (1988), who distinguishes three approaches to region, one of which is the experiential perspective such as that found in the works of Buttimer, Claval, and Tuan, among others.

2. Central place theory is discussed and critiqued below, particular in chapters 6 and 8. Behavioral

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There are other ways in which the present spatial study differs from much of the literature on colonial (and postcolonial) societies. It eschews a focus on territories, be they the "imagined" national boundaries that are now so readily "deconstructed" by post–Benedict Anderson scholarship, or be they the defended territories of New World Indian communities that "survived" through both colony and liberal independence.[3] And the present study is decidedly rural based as well. Thus even in the chapters on commerce, a facet of society that is often assumed to be driven by urban (and regional) market demand, the focus here is much more on the manifestation of economic exchange in the rural environment. Indeed, in central Guerrero the dynamic of exchange was anchored in a potent and fertile agricultural hinterland (the Iguala Valley); in this sense the perspective taken here is different than, indeed challenges, the urban-based approach that has tended to dominate studies of regional formations. If one is to pursue the gravitational metaphor metaphor that has been adopted in many regional approaches to the integration of economic systems, it could be said that in the area under study it was the hinterland, not the urban mining center in Taxco, that came to provide much of the gravitational force that mostly directly shaped, and around which revolved, the spatial distribution of human and capital resources through central Guerrero.

Yet despite the fact that spatial concerns dominate the pages that follow, there is an important temporal element to consider. One role of time was suggested in the previous chapter, its capacity (through prescription) to create "social facts," such as positive rights in things. Another facet of time is dealt with in the remainder of this introduction: the manner in which

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geography is perhaps best represented in the two books edited by Cox and Golledge (1969, 1981).

3. As the scare quotes should suggest, I think there is a highly problematical element to the current utilization of terms such as "imagined" and "survival."

temporal divisions (what one could include under the rubric of *periodization*) coincide with significant shifts in geographic patterns. In this respect it is not, however, so much that time has a direct impact on the spatial organization of society (as it does with prescription) but that certain moments that historians would notice as marking salient points of historical discontinuity coincide with events that geographers might take to signal incipient rifts in the spatial organization of society. One of the questions that this introductory section will broach is the degree to which temporal divisions coincided with moments of accelerated spatial reorganization, and why this might be so. The greatest coincidence (and sharpest breaks) was probably in the realm of land acquisition (the topic of this and the following chapter), as this process was often heavily influenced by centralized institutional decisions, such as those to "quiet title." As will become apparent, other facets of rural society such as shifts in patterns of land use, human population movement (except the congregación program, which was the result of a state policy of forced resettlement), and the flow of capital and goods from source to destination are less clearly demarcated in either a temporal or spatial dimension.

There are various ways to approach the history and geography of land, labor, and capital. One is followed in this introduction: to explore how institutional, customary and legal, and economic forces, each with its own rhythm of change—from the relative abruptness of institutional breaks to the more complex flow of cultural beliefs—molded the spatial and temporal patterns of these three factors of production as they appeared on the landscape of central Guerrero. These patterns, though not without a phenomenal foundation, are thus significant for their heuristic function as well: they prompt us to ask questions about the underlying causes of observed social processes, in this case variation across time and space. The search for patterns soon becomes an unending process of triangulation, moving back and forth between relatively stable analytical concerns—of when, where, and why the observed patterns

occurred—until fragile images of possible cause and effect emerge. These images, like those of a kaleidoscope, threaten to break apart with the slightest shift to a new perspective (favoring, for example, the when over the where, of time over space), but with a shift back they inevitably reemerge in anticipated and familiar forms.

INSTITUTIONS

As with other regions of New Spain, patterns of land tenure and use in central Guerrero evolved out of an interplay of local and national factors. At the local level, the evolution of each village's property and each landowner's holding tends to a daunting uniqueness that challenges attempts to define uniform periods and to set geographic boundaries for patterns of rural development.[4] At the national level,[5] however, institutional changes and policy shifts, the most dramatic of which were the congregación program and key transformations in agrarian law and jurisprudence, particularly the repeated state-driven composición campaigns, establish a more constant framework for analysis. The temptation to use these changes and shifts—uniform in inception if not in implementation—to delineate periods is strong, and not entirely unjustified.[6]

In the Iguala Valley the extremely effective congregación (nucleation) of the northern

4. Entrikin (1991) makes a similar point in analyzing the tension between idiographic and nomothetic geography, between the particularity of place and the search for universals.

5. The question of the pre-independence antecedents of a national identity, in particular that centered in the *criollos,* needs to be explored. Pagden (1987b:63–64) notes that "Mexico and Peru were considered by their inhabitants to be no different from the Netherlands, Aragon, or Naples. They were not colonies—indeed the word is never used of any of the American possession—they were kingdoms, which each should be governed as if it were the king's only realm. . . . From immediately after the conquest until independence, however, the criollos persisted in assuming that their relationshp with the mother country was founded upon a contract by which they enjoyed equal standing with all the other "kingdoms" of the empire." Chatterjee (1993) discusses nationalism first as a cultural project of difference asserted in an "inner sphere" and only later as a political project of autonomy based on the copying of metropolitan models: "anticolonial nationalism creates its own domain of sovereignty within colonial society well before it begins its political battle with the imperial power" (1993:6). Thus if "national" might be slightly anachronistic, "colonial" might be as well.

villages at the beginning of the seventeenth century (see appendixes 1b and 2b) opened the valley up to a flood tide of mercedes and land takeovers. This two-decade period marks the first indisputable turning point in the structure of rural landed society in this region.[7] But even before the congregaciones made land available on a scale previously unknown, the market for meat, which was not produced in indigenous villages; the demand for horses and mules, especially to power the winches and mortars of the Taxco mines and silver-processing haciendas; and problems of grain production and supply in a collapsing tributary economy, had attracted colonists' attentions to the potential profit of ranching and agricultural enterprises in the Iguala Valley.[8] By the end of the sixteenth century, the crown had recognized that fiscal resources for the defense of its empire could be obtained from composiciones (legalization of illicitly held crown lands upon payment of a fine) and from attaching fees to mercedes of *baldía* and crown land.[9] This shift both recognized the emergence of an incipient land market and stimulated it, by granting legal title to de facto possession. These two institutional mechanisms—congregación and composición—dramatically affected the configuration of rural society. The former concentrated the indigenous population into nucleated villages; the latter sanctioned colonists' encroachments onto uncultivated lands. Although the crown passed legislation to protect the

6. For a discussion of periodization in Mexican history, see Van Young (1983) and Lockhart (1976).

7. The previous congregación program of the mid–sixteenth century did not affect the indigenous settlement patterns in any way comparable to the Montesclaro congregaciones.

8. Many of these points are discussed in subsequent chapters. However, here it might be noted that as early as 1594, slaves and hired hands from the Atlantic coast province of Pánuco were bringing horses and mules to the northern Iguala, where they caused great damage to the fields; AGN-I 6(2)/912 dated 25 Aug. 1594.

9. See my discussion in chapter 3. For an overview of this period, see Ots Capdequí (1959:29–36). Solano (1984:269–77) reproduces the three *reales cédulas* dealing with composiciones of illicit possessions of crown land, all dated 1 November 1591. The final decree accepts payment of a fee to avoid the confiscation of illegally held lands to the crown. The viceroy was empowered to carry out composiciones, setting fees and collecting them.

resettled Indians' rights to land they had vacated, these efforts were largely ineffectual. Spanish agrarian culture gave short shrift to underutilized land, and the territorial rights of Indian settlements were still not fully protected by titles registered within the Spanish legal system (see chapter 3). As a result, the greatest expansion of non-indigenous land holdings in central Guerrero (which included the Iguala Valley) occurred during the seventeenth century.

A second watershed in the formation of rural society occurred from about 1697 to 1716, when a series of composiciones stabilized and legally certified land boundaries in central Guerrero.[10] Economic crises, often linked to international conflicts, had motivated the launching of composición programs as revenue-raising efforts in the past and were to do the same in the future.[11] In central Guerrero, however, the early eighteenth-century composiciones were noteworthy in that they affected indigenous villages as well as colonists. Communities acquired titles expedited by a Spanish judiciary agent and confirmed by viceregal authorities. These documents protected an explicitly demarcated territory, the borders of which were established during a legal process known as the *vista de ojos,* when the visiting land commissioner would perambulate the land, accompanied by village members and officials. Neighboring landowners would either accompany the party or meet up with it at a common border. In the event of a dispute, the land commissioner would often make a summary judgement, enjoining the aggrieved party to pursue litigation in the viceregal courts, usually within thirty days. By establishing boundaries in areas, such as woodlands, where an uneasy and unspoken peace might have

10. Taylor (1972:6–7) recognizes the composiciones of the 1640s as a benchmark in the rural history of southern New Spain and states that "these composiciones confirmed title to many pieces of land that had been acquired informally by estates without written title. From this point on, the history of the hacienda seems to be one of uninterrupted growth" (ibid.:7).

11. Generalized composiciones in New Spain had occurred in 1591, 1612, 1631, 1645, and would reoccur in the mid 1740s and late 1770s. Tax impositions, which often became permanent, to meet specific state expenditures were quite common, such as the *alcabala* increases in 1632 to finance the *unión de armas* and in 1635 for the *armada de barlovento.*

previously existed, composiciones could, and often did, become the initial spark of enduring conflicts; much eighteenth-century litigation involving village lands were border disputes in which composición documents played a key role. The twenty-year period at the beginning of the eighteenth century was also noteworthy for the rapid succession of often contradictory composiciones: land commissioners would hear appeals and reverse decisions taken by their predecessor only a few years previously. The land resolutions that closed out this period were by no means definitive (many feuds continued to simmer, and some have endured until today[12]), but for the most part they sanctioned land tenure patterns that were to dominate rural society well beyond the end of the colonial period.

The three periods delimited by institutional events (approximately 1521–1605, 1605–ca. 1720 and, by default, ca. 1720–1810),[13] heuristically isolate one aspect of rural change in the colonial period—the creation and expansion of non-indigenous holdings—that is explored in this chapter. Yet despite its utility, the periodization concomitant to institutional analysis (here the institutionalization of property rights) is deceiving for several reasons. Although it may prove useful for analyzing one aspect of social change, that of land acquisition and territorialization of individual and community holdings, it may be less pertinent for other processes, such as changes in production patterns and land use, migration and place-making in new locales, and the capitalization of rural society.

Another problem that emerges from a study of temporal and spatial change in rural New

12. For example, in the Balsas River valley, a dispute between San Agustín Oapan and San Juan Tetelcingo that began in the early 1700s was only resolved by mutual accord at the close of the nineteenth century. Another dispute, between Oapan and its eastern neighbor, San Miguel Tecuiciapan, also originated in the first decade of the eighteenth century and continues unresolved.

13. In regard to the utilization of independence as a period marker, see Van Young (1983), who points to the general tendency of revisionist history to restructure divisisions on the basis of social or economic as opposed to political factors.

Spain concerns the units of analysis that identify the major players in agrarian history. It was perhaps only in questions of caste, with the proliferation of terms such as *paso atrás* and *lobo*, that the rhetoric of conquest tried to capture what the colonists must have perceived as a hopelessly complex mixture of races. The colonial analogue of the Sphinx's riddle—Indian at birth, mestizo at midlife, and *criollo* at death—is but one example of the vagaries of identity that permeated New World society. Yet detailed examination of land struggles (as well as many other types of disputes) discloses factions and alliances that call into question uncritical use of terms such as "hacienda" and "community" to discuss sectors of colonial society. Indeed, category names *(hacienda, rancho, comunidad, cuadrilla, posesión, propiedad,* as well as *indio, mestizo, católica, infiel,)* can perhaps best be analyzed as cognitive devices that exemplify how colonial society attempted (and colonial historians attempt) to handle unending variation, words that functioned then (as now) as cognitive devices perhaps as much oriented to make sense of continuous variation in the landscape than to capture and reflect any real and marked discontinuities in Hispanic American society.[14] As to names for the diversity of rural settlements (*hacienda, cuadrilla, rancho, communidad*), rather than discrete units they may be considered points in a starlike complex characterized by overlapping features and shared functions.[15] Viewed in this manner, rural society becomes more complex and temporality becomes less a question of periodization, often based on an idealized model of paradigm breaks, and more one of dovetailed processes, in which features change and functions shift—while words identifying

14. Categorization represents idealization and simplification; it fails to capture the internal diversity of categories and the nondiscreteness of their boundaries. Lakoff's (1987) linguistic and cognitive analysis of categories provides the best summary. In Mexican studies Wolf and Mintz (1957) offer an early typological approach. Taylor's (1979) classic study provides an example of the utility of a typological approach (of the Indian village) for understanding social processes (manifestations of tension) in a comparative perspective.

15. Perlin (1993:2) speaks of "countless categories and overlapping classificational systems . . . a territorial kitbox filled with the bric-a-brac of ritual actions, technical solutions, countless ad hoc constructions, agreements and compromises in words and action."

the "units of analysis" might well remain the same. Indian villages capitalized and commercialized their agricultural and ranching activities, or lent *cofradía* money to merchants; sharecropping cuadrillas acquired the accouterments of a social organization often associated with indigenous villages, and even "became indigenous."[16]

Periodization concomitant to institutional analysis is also problematical in that it suggests an illusory uniformity to state policy and its implementation.[17] This problem is partly illustrated by the classic *obedezco pero no cumplo* (I obey but I do not comply): regional authorities could alter the consequences of centralized policy decisions—ostensibly to provide flexibility with regard to local specifics—without challenging their legitimacy.[18] But more basically, vicissitudes in policy implementation reflect very real and deep running tensions in the political economy of colonialism and in the fabric of Old and New World societies. Conflicts over the structure and control of grain markets, conflicts that often pitted town against country and patrician against plebe, were being played out in the colonies while in Europe physiocratic and classical economists were debating with mercantilist and scholastic traditions over questions of free trade and, more basically, the definition of national wealth and economic advancement.

16. The capitalization of commercial agriculture occurred in the wheat-producing region of Malinalco and the ranching area of the Tierra Caliente of Guerrero (see chapter 8). Lending activities by Indian *cofradías* is discussed in Dehouve (1988). The social structure of sharecropping cuadrillas is examined in my discussion of Palula (chapter 6); Maxela, a cuadrilla of migrant Indian peasants, "became" an indigenous village with rights to *restitución y titulación de bienes comunales* in the twentieth century; see SRA: Maxela. For a discussion of the shifting definition (or self-identity) of Indian villages in Jalisco, see Taylor (1985).

17. For a discussion of the diversity of laws and customs in Spain, see Kleffens (1968) and Kagan (1981, particularly chap. 2). The fragmented nature of the colonial legal system is summarized by Lhoëste (1992); see also Borah (1983:chap. 3).

18. See MacLachlan (1988:21ff.) and Mörner (1970:64). L. Tilly (1971:30) notes similar flexibility in the French bureaucracy even as the state was attempting to centralize control. The entire problem of localism and regionalism in New Spain as a consciousness of identity, i.e. how individuals identified themselves and their interests with a region, is poorly explored. That is, while we can talk about regional cultures in France, in Germany, in Spain, and in England, there is little discussion of regional cultures in New Spain, where "region" is usually considered to be an economic or politico-administrative occurrence.

Twisting through all early debates on policy development were questions of the nature and potential of indigenous people. Later, indigenous migration and wage labor exacerbated structural tensions in the two republic system and deepened the dilemma of condoning freedom of movement while trying to use "caste" to assign tributary and work obligations. Thus, an additional danger of using legislative reform and political events to delimit periods is that such use promotes the illusion of a unified colonial "system," rather than a muddied stream of often contradictory policies based on fundamental philosophical debates and acerbic factional struggles.

This initial section has explored the implications of institutional analysis for a temporal and spatial understanding of colonial society, particularly rural society. Certainly several clearly marked shifts in state policy were especially significant in this regard: land law and administration is perhaps the quintessential example, at least to the degree that it was instrumental in reformulating the basis and boundaries of property ownership in rural New Spain. Yet the rural landscape itself was in continual flux, a complexity that belies the simplicity projected by a reduced terminology of idealized categories and a high-level and distanced perspective from the pinacles of institutionalized power. And, perhaps most significantly, institutional practice and the colonial politico-administrative itself was highly fragmented and dispersed. In this sense, a focus on the institutional foundations of spatial and temporal patterning might well obscure a more challenging problem: the identification and analysis of the fragmented nature of the colonial state, and of colonial society, itself.

CUSTOMS AND LEGAL CONCEPTS

Another rhythm of change that evidences the diverse nature of the rural colonial environment is a conceptual one: it relates to the multifaceted strands of belief and practice the ran through

society. Thus it embraces the social theories held by empowered social actors, the resourceful litigation that challenged attempts to impose a uniform legality, and the customary expectations of a popular ethics. All these factors confronted state efforts to institutionalize change and centralize authority; and as one plunges toward the ground and toward the everyday workings of colonial society, the fissures of institutional structure and the wrinkles on the social fabric become evermore apparent. Through the absolutist policies of the Habsburg monarchy and the enlightened despotism of the Bourbons, Spanish versions of scholasticism, mercantilism, and physiocracy offered competing solutions to the country's ills and prompted myriad conceptualizations of colonial expansion.[19] The impact of these systems of theoretical thought was not simply that of discrepant plans that followed one upon the other in striving to heal the political economy of Spain and its colonies. Rather, the prioritizations of each philosophical trend also generated soft spots of imperial concern, the fatty tissues of a bloated state aparatus, that colonists and Indians alike targeted with their pointed petitions and piercing complaints. The rhythm of colonial change followed, therefore, not only the institutional consequences of political thought, but the more subtle shifts in preferences and priorities that filtered into the disputes and litigation of colonial society, both through lawyers and administrators trained in a particular tradition and ideology and through a populace that had its own conceptions of the rights and duties of citizenship.[20]

19. Grice-Hutchinson (1993:137) notes: "Thus, from the discovery of America onwards, we find two conflicting strands running through Spanish economic thought. The one, derived from patristic doctrine and natural law, is universalistic and benevolently disposed towards all mankind. The other, concerned with the 'reason of state' is nationalistic and defensive. Sometimes, as in Tomás de Mercado, these run side-by-side through the later economic literature, reappearing with redoubled vigour in the great debate between free-traders and protectionists upon which the Spanish economists of the 19th century were largely engaged." The overtly nationalistic political economists of the sixteenth and seventeeth century were known as arbitristas ('panaceists') "whose stock in trade was remedies for the economic ills of the body politic" (R. Smith 1971:1).

20. In regard to the Muldoon (1980:n.2, p. 302) states that "More attention has been generally paid to the philosophical and theological traditions, usually with heavy emphasis upon the influence of Thomas Aquinas.

This litigation, moreover, was fought in the fractured edifice of Spanish legality, a system that one historian has characterized as "a hodgepodge of confused laws and competing jurisdictions that crafty litigants exploited to their own advantage."[21] In Spain, the dominant rift was a strong regional diversity: municipalities, provinces, and kingdoms defended ancient customary law and enjoyed special privileges and exemptions set down in codes called *fueros*.[22] Since the mid–thirteenth century reign of Alfonso the Learned, Spanish monarchs had sought, with debatable success, to standardize the law code and centralize judicial authority. The system that developed—exemplified by the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* in 1348, the *Leyes de Toro* in 1505, and the *Nueva recopilación de las leyes de España* in 1567—prioritized the various legal systems into a hierarchy in which the regional *fueros* were still accorded a significant role.[23] Moreover, laws were seldom repealed although they might be superceded, at least in theory, by others either more recent or of a higher order of preference. In essence, then, to decide any case a judge would

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What scholars have tended to overlook is that the bureaucrats who administered the conquest were generally trained as lawyers and that their writings, when examined closely, indicate the major role which canon and civil law played in their intellectual formation." Kaplan (1976 I:42) offers a similar observation in regard to the study of the administration of grain in eighteenth-century France: "The style and operation of the local police dependend upon the personnel as well as the structure of administration. Large-scale prosopographic studies of local administration have not yet been undertaken." In New Spain, for example, the petitions of miners adhered to the principles and philosophy of mercantilist thought well beyond the decline of these theories in official circles. Grain merchants, on the other hand, were quick to embrace the free trade philosophy and agricultural orientation of the physiocrats. Colonial officials were undoubtedly influenced by their own legal and political background in deciding cases.

21. Kagan (1981:31). The fragmentary nature of the Spanish legal system derives in part from its multiple roots: ancient Celto-Iberian traditions, pre-Justinian and Justinian Roman law, and Germanic law (see Kleffens 1968).

22. In the New World fueros were mostly held by social groups—the clergy, the military—and the regional divisions that characterized Spain were absent; the fragmentation of New World law followed social, more than spatial, considerations.

23. A system of prioritization is characteristic of legal systems comprised of various laws for different groups. Buckland and McNair (1936:22) discuss what they refer to as a system of "conflict of laws [which] recognises the existence of different legal systems and endeavours to avoid conflicts between them by laying down rules of priority in each case."

have to search voluminous legal codes and compilations, following an established order of preference, until a relevant law was found. One sixteenth-century Spanish lawyer remarked that "the law is so broad and so extended by the decision of so many cases that there is not a single issue or case that cannot be interpreted in two contradictory ways."[24] And in regard to the New World, one scholar has noted that "this typical legislation technique whereby all rules remain in force unless there is a new rule that expressly declares them to be invalid, would also be used in the colonial legislation and thus add to the legislative chaos in Latin America."[25]

There was more at stake than simply "legislative chaos." Litigation in the Hispanic world posed a constant threat to legal reform envisioned as a centralized reordering of preference. If law can be said to progress—in a temporal, not a moral, sense—through the legal codification of sociopolitical priorities, then Spanish law, which explicitly retained decrees and ordinances that evidenced past politics and obsolete priorities, curiously institutionalized a potential for regression.[26] This latent tension between "legislated chaos" and "economic order" persisted throughout the colonial period. It often blurred the boundaries of temporal sequences by granting renegade resistors to the "forces of history" sanctuary in an anachronistic legality.

There is a final consideration. Both colonists and colonized acted within a framework of customary expectations—not necessarily rights, because one result of the colonial encounter was the continual and inexorable displacement of rights consecrated by custom, if not sanctified by law—and a popular ethic. Stephen Greenblatt, in his absorbing study of early discourse of

24. Cited in Kagan (1981:27).

25. Lhoëste (1992:28).

26. I use this term with trepidation and simply to refer to older legal principles and structures, most of which had never been abrogated but were perhaps nominally obsolete, that are resourcefully appealed to in new situations. I do not wish to suggest that these new situations are at all regressive, conservative, or backward-looking. In terms of the flow between *consuetudo* and *desuetudo*, the birth and death of custom, the Spanish system, by circumscribing desuetude, gave reign to too many laws, the legal analogue of a Malthusian crisis.

discovery, talks of the "colonizing of the marvelous."[27] But the epics of the conquest and the scholastic treatises on the nature of the Indians, texts oriented to European audiences, had few counterparts in narratives of colonization, understood in its original sense of cultivation.[28] There was little glory in the artifice of land acquisition and less, as the status-conscious settlers were aware and historians have often noted, in the manual labor of farming. Thus if discovery commenced with the marvelous it often concluded with the mundane, though the process was the result of more than simple cultural attrition, the breaking down of barriers that kept the foreign unfamiliar. Rather, it developed from the analogical use of familiar categories and past experience to extend the realms of understanding and assimilate the new.[29]

For the Spaniards who came to the New World, perhaps the most relevant past experience was the *Reconquista* (the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian peninsula), and the most salient framework of agrarian rights were the regional *fueros* and local custom. But within three decades of the fall of Tenochtitlan, the struggle for land and labor had lost both the political implications that had pitted feudalistic encomenderos against an absolutist monarchy and the theological implications that had set Las Casas and his neo-Thomist sympathizers against

27. Greenblatt (1991:25).

28. Pagden (1995a:79–80) suggests that the Spaniards had founded colonies based upon conquest, not planting, and that—remembering that the etymology of "colony" is from the Latin *colere,* 'to cultivate'—"they were not, until the second half of the eighteenth century, ever 'colonies'." Seed (1995) also states that Spanish colonization was oriented to labor not, as opposed to the British, land. The emergence of commercial agriculture, however, was an early development, one of the points made by Riley in his study of Cortés's sugar haciendas (Riley 1971, 1973, 1975; see also Barrett 1970,1976). For chronicles of conquest see Brading (1991:chap. 2). One narrative of colonization that could be explored are the *Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron sus sucesores.*

29. Lockhart (e.g., 1985) refers to a slightly different process he calls 'Double Mistaken Identity.' In a later text, he describes this as a situation "whereby each side takes it that a given form or concept is essentially one already known to it, operating in much the same manner as in its own tradition, and hardly takes cognizance of the other side's interpretation" (1992:445). This perspective has led Lockhart and his students to look for the indigenous substratum, modified to varying degrees, that persisted within a colonial form.

Sepúlveda.[30] As already noted, a paradox of New World colonization is that land takeover seemed to find greater justification in customary use rights to uncultivated land (a pillar of the Spanish communitarian tradition) than in compensation for military service (a pillar of seigniorial rights then under attack by the absolutist state). In regard to the spatialization of agrarian structures, in Spain the *fueros*, by institutionalizing regional privileges, reinforced a widespread European convention that gave provinces the right to block grain sales to external markets in times of scarcity. Attempts to assert the same privilege in the New World ran up against two barriers: the legal framework of regional authority was severely debilitated, and the administrative divisions of the colonial system at times created provinces that left urban centers and their potential agricultural hinterlands in separate jurisdictions.[31]

The legacy of regional privileges (the *fueros*), the vitality of customary agrarian rights, and the predominance of massive compilation over rigorous codification of Spanish law were all characteristic of Hispanic provincial, legal, and agrarian culture in the peninsula. First, although provincial *fueros* were not a factor in New Spain, the expectation that regional elites had for some degree of autonomy and for rights over a politico-administratively delimited territory was a factor in the spatial development of colonial society. At the same time, this very weakness of regional systems, given the absence of *fueros* that institutionalized privilege and the weakness of provincial identity that could have fostered resistance to centralizing tendencies, affected the

30. See chapter 3, particularly n. 39.

31. Such was the case with Taxco and Iguala, and with Zacualpan and Ixcateopan (see chapter 11). Ubiquitous tension between grain-consuming towns and grain-producing villages is well documented; an unusual feature of New Spain might have been that the seats of rural power were at an equal level as those of the town. In New Spain the places that were an important source of identity were the community and the colony, but not the region (see Gruzinski 1988). An interesting topic for study would be the basis for regional formation and boundary changes in New Spain. Since Gibson, a lot of attention has been given to the preconquest roots of cabecera-sujeto complexes, of parish boundaries, etc. But there is little analysis of the formation of midlevel corregimiento and alcaldía mayor units.

saliency of regional spatial divisions in colonial society. Second, the implications of customary rights—particularly *presura* and prescription—for Spanish agrarian policy in the New World was explored in the previous chapter, as a type of cultural ambience of familiar categories shaped the colonial response to indigenous *dominium* much more than state policy or theological determinations. Finally, the "legislative chaos" of the colonial legal structure, whereby anachronistic legislation persisted in the formal compilations of Spanish law, frustrated the unidirectional flow of institutional processes and legal reform. Yet if these processes—regionalism, the ambience of familiar categories of agrarian rights, and legislative chaos—all served to nuance the spatial politics of land and the temporal breaks of institutional policy decisions, there was a final factor, the impact of economic activity, that constituted an additional force affecting the spatial and temporal division of rural society during the colonial period.

ECONOMY

Revisionism often entails a reevaluation of the saliency of boundaries: the placement of temporal and spatial divisions previously thought to be indisputable is challenged, and the suddenness of events formerly considered to be sui generis is disputed.[32] Many facets of political economy—the nature of agricultural production, patterns of migration, the structure of markets, the composition of elites—may often become grist for the revisionist mill; they tend to reflect specific characteristics of regional societies that persist well beyond the temporal and spatial limits established by formal change at the institutional level. The political economy of the three central Guerrero jurisdictions—Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla—testifies to the complexity of spatial and

32. Thus in the case of peasant rebellion, violent protest is seem as simply a "short-term variant within . . . a long-term process of resistance" (Stern 1987a:11; see also Scott 1985, 1990). For a summary of the revisionist perspective on the Mexican Revolution see Bailey (1978).

temporal relations in colonial society. In many respects each district was a distinct region, each a different prototype of diverse patterns of productive and commercial relations that flowed through colonial society. Taxco was a food- and labor-deficient urbanized mining center. Its growth and contraction—its movement through time—was closely bound to the vicissitudes intrinsic to colonial mining. These included the cyclical nature of production itself (including the geological peculiarities of specific mines) as well as changing crown policies (from shifting priorities in the destination of mercury shipments to selective concessions of tax incentives and labor drafts). Questions of the spatial consequences of Taxco's mining activity are more problematic. Formally, Taxco's agricultural and labor hinterland tended to approximate the morphology of solar system marketing systems: direct integration of supplies to their place of consumption.[33] Yet to accept such a structure as primary would be to accept the relatively uncontested nature of rural-urban economic integration centered on Taxco. A major focus of the chapters that follow is to explore rural-urban tension as it revealed itself in population dynamics, the market economy, and, specifically, the distribution of grain.

An urban-centered discourse, "Taxco and *its* hinterland," fosters an interpretation of spatial hierarchization belied by a view from the "hinterland." *E pur si muove!*: the hinterland had its own forceful dynamic and from *its* perspective the solar system pattern appears decidedly

33. See C. Smith (1975) in which a solar system arrangement "usually involving administrative town (elite) centers serviced by several small rural (peasant) marketplaces" (p. 99) is likened to other noncompetitive market structures: dendritic systems and Christaller's K=7 system. All three systems, as Smith notes, depend upon political and administrative forces overriding market efficiency. Such systems are favored by elites who wish to control trade by politico-administrative mechanisms (1976c:17). In chapters 8 and 9, I explore the emergence in the agricultural hinterland of a rural commercial elite which was able to promote extra-regional and competitive marketing and thus challenge the power structure of regional urban-based administration and politics. Emphasis on the predominance of solar system and strongly regionalized markets in colonial society might be a result of metholodogical procedures as well as a lack of data on competitive marketing, rather than an accurate reflection of urban-based elites' ability to structure distribution or the absence of competitive long-distance trade. Although researchers generally stress the regional character of New Spain's economy, in fact regions were weaker in the colonies than in Spain (and Europe) and thus found it more difficult to limit market competition and economic integration though politico-administrative measures.

less heliocentric. Whereas Taxco may have obtained most of its nonlocal maize from the neighboring Iguala Valley, by the late eighteenth century the valley was probably marketing most of its maize to more distant outlets.[34] The potential dominance of the hinterland is reflected by the fact that Taxco's officials were frequently bonded by merchants and agricultural entrepreneurs from the Iguala Valley. Moreover, the rural area seemed to equal, if not surpass, the urban center's ability to attract labor and capital. Many of the migrants came from the southern jurisdictions of Tixtla and Chilapa, though the region around Taxco also lost population to the migrants, a process that must have adversely affected the labor supply in silver mines and refineries. During the eighteenth century, the mining elite of Taxco (to gain control of grain distribution) and the political officials of Tixtla (to gain control over payments from a migrant tributary population) petitioned for administrative control over the jurisdiction of Iguala. Taxco eventually won. But the politico-administrative subjugation of Iguala to the Taxco elite was an ineffectual counter to the former's economic ascendancy: in many respects the spatial configuration of central Guerrero still had a rural province at its hub.

For the Taxco jurisdiction, the mining economy set the pace of regional development. In the Tixtla jurisdiction, an inauspicious ecology and sparse population placed an almost infrangible limit to regional growth although initially it offered little resistance to the aggressive. Up to the early eighteenth century, hacienda development in the Tixtla jurisdiction followed the

34. Small-scale Indian and peasant farmers undoubtedly marketed their surplus grain in Taxco, the regional demand center. The ratio of transport costs to profit potential, even with low opportunity costs, would have made long-distance trade unsound. But with a late-colonial influx of commercial capital into the Iguala valley and the surge of mule transport linked to traffic between Mexico and Acapulco, rural entrepreneurs could speculate with large quantities of grain.

The problematization of the "possessive" relation (i.e. a hierarchical relation between an urban center and "its" region) is simply a way of drawing attention to the tensions that affect regional structures. My focus on the a rural hinterland struggle for economic independence bears a debt to postdependency studies of the development potential of peripheral areas although I prefer to locate my study in relation to other theoretical perspectives.

promising pattern of Iguala to the north: landed estates expanded in size and at least one holding in each jurisdiction assumed immense proportions. Subsequently, however, the of absence of regional market demand and the poor productive potential of the land took its toll in the jurisdiction of Tixtla. Agricultural production stagnated and landed estates declined. To little avail colonial officials suggested a plethora of solutions to revitalize this marginal economy: a tax-free feria to stimulate ranching, loans to promote a cottage industry in cotton spinning and weaving, and an exclusive contract to the jurisdiction's Indian villages for transporting silver to the Acapulco port. Nevertheless, the rural economy continued to plunge into a languid depression. Peasants who didn't migrate eked out an existence. They complemented rainy season subsistence agriculture with petty itinerant commerce of coastal products (salt and cotton) and worked as muleskinners transporting oriental imports for Mexico City merchants. In the century before independence, the Tixtla region was characterized by agricultural stagnation and continual decline. There was no midcentury boom or significant change in productive relations.

As noted in the first section of this introduction, patterns of land *acquisition* in the Iguala Valley manifest dramatic changes at two moments: between 1590 to 1610, when congregaciones were carried out and composiciones introduced; and between 1697 and 1716, when through a series of composiciones most villages obtained title to their territory and haciendas generally certified their maximum extension. But there was another pattern, that of land *utilization*. Starting about 1680, and extending to the mid–eighteenth century, large-scale sheep and cattle ranching that had been promoted by entrepreneurs based in the central highlands began to decline. At the same time it appears that ranching started to boom in more peripheral locations: the Tierra Caliente to the west of the Iguala Valley and the Sierra Madre to the south. As outside interests abandoned the area, local ranchers from the Iguala and Taxco jurisdictions took over the rural economy. For a short time, mestizo immigrants occupied much the valley with their small

enterprises, grazing their cattle on land abandoned by the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo and renting small ranches from a land-rich Taxco miner. A local political boss also invested heavily in cattle, but he and his brother were expelled from the plains south of Iguala in the early 1760s, the final blow to a once prospering ranching economy.

Soon after, by the late eighteenth century, agriculture was firmly entrenched: thousands of Indian migrants began to stream to *cuadrillas de arrendatarios* (renter settlements) that eventually filled the valley. These settlements acquired their own social dynamic and identity, and shaped one way in which indigenous peasants were incorporated into colonial society. This population shift wreaked havoc on the vitality and demographic stability of Indian villages in the Taxco, Tixtla, and Chilapa jurisdictions, as well as the marginal communities of the southern Iguala Valley. It was also a continual source of conflict: fearing loss of tribute and service, both Indian officials and colonial authorities vainly tried to restrain outmigration from their communities and jurisdictions and, when this failed, to acquire politico-administrative control over the booming central valley. The authorities of the Taxco and Tixtla/Chilapa jurisdictions both tried to place the province of Iguala under their control; and the priests and Indian officials of the Balsas River valley fought to maintain control over the tribute and religious dues of those who migrated to the recently formed cuadrillas.

Late colonial demographic expansion in the hinterland did more than increase agricultural production. The sizeable though disperse rural population created a demand for manufactured goods that attracted investment to the countryside. Money followed people into the hinterland: capital was invested in retail sales, transport, small-scale sugar production, and animal husbandry. The development of storage facilities and transport empires allowed hinterland merchants to speculate with grains across time and space, withholding maize from sale and exporting it to distant and more lucrative markets. By the end of the colonial period,

merchant capital was flowing into Tepecuacuilco and the surrounding area, and the value of commercial transactions in the jurisdiction of Iguala, now dominated by a small group of influential merchants who were able to monopolize grain distribution and to challenge the political and economic hegemony of Taxco miners, had surpassed that of the urban center.[35] One result of this surge was what appears to have been a secondary onslaught against indigenous landholdings. As the value of grain rose, land previously disdained suddenly became more attractive: boundary disputes with indigenous villages flared up in the southern and eastern peripheries of the valley.[36] Yet in the central valley, investment was concentrated not in land acquisition and desmesne farming (except for sugar production), but in trade and transport, i.e., in distribution and not in production. Early indigenous participation in the market economy from the favorable position of traders ceded ground with demographic shifts and the emergence of a non-indigenous merchant class.[37] These trends—first, a switch from ranching to farming and concomitant demographic growth in the hinterland, and second, the influx of commercial capital and the emergence of a combative rural elite—are discussed in chapters 6 through 11, in which the relatively precise spatial divisions and temporal sequences of land acquisition presented in this chapter and the next fade before more gradual and complex changes in the demography,

35. In chapters 8 and 9, I examine the market structure of central Guerrero. The flow of merchant capital into the rural hinterland, marked by a high degree of primacy and monopolization, creates an important caveat to most studies of urbanization and the growth of cities and a merchant class (see Pirenne, Braudel for Europe, and Kicza and Hobermann for Mexico) which focus on the role of trade in stimulating the growth of an urban elite.

36. In particular, this late colonial pressure affected the villages of Ahuelicán, which as a result was briefly abandoned by all its inhabitants (see AGN-Cv 213/3 dated 1809; AGN-T 1287/6 dated 1797; AGN-T 1406/11 dated 1810; and AGN-T 2951/59 dated 1802), and Teocalcingo (see the litigation involving the Marbáns, AGN-I 64/56 dated 1772; AGN-T 3511/6 dated 1770; and AGN-T 3566 dated 1758).

37. In the first decades after conquest the attractive potentional of commercial activity in the Taxco mines induced many Indians to abandon their villages and subsistence agriculture. At the same time merchant activity in the mines promoted conspicuous consumption and robbery among mineworkers. Viceroy Velasco took strong steps to limit this commerce.

productive orientation, and capitalization of the rural economy. Periodization as well as spatialization, therefore, fall victim to the sociological equivalent of the Doppler effect, its black lines of demarcation shifting forward and backward as the elements of analysis—land, labor, and capital—realign themselves in the field of study.

SUMMARY

This introduction has presented three aspects of colonial society—institutional politics, policies, and programs; the ambience of agrarian custom and legal structure; and the economics and political economy of market development and exchange—that influenced temporal and spatial patterns of land acquisition, tenure, and use in colonial central Guerrero. Of the three factors of production that are explored in this and the following chapters, land was that most affected by high-level, institutional factors, particularly the early colonial programs of congregación and composición. Yet any exploration of rural property and production must also take into account the "ambience," or lived environment, of agrarian custom and law, an ambience that greatly affected the way in which colonists perceived their rights to the land and, as a consequence, articulated their demands to the colonial state. In the preceding pages, attention was paid to three facets of this ambience: the absence of a strong regionality, particularly of legal structures, in the New World; the strong moral component to Spanish land rights, based on the influence of the *Reconquista* and patristic doctrines of stewardship; and the "legislative chaos" that resulted from the constant sedimentation of new laws on top of old, so that legal debates often became archaeological explorations seeking the ancient law to fit the current occasion. Finally, however, economic motives played an additional role, not only in patterns of land acquisition and use, but in the ability of the agrarian sector to attract the labor and capital necessary to intensify production. The divergence of landholding patterns in north- and south-central Guerrero (the

Iguala Valley versus the area around Tixtla) was, in the finaly analysis, highly determined by market factors. Whereas around 1700 both the Iguala Valley and the trade corridor near Tixtla were each dominated by a single, large holding, in the Iguala Valley this holding was expanded and consolidated over the next hundred years, while that around Tixtla broke up into myriad small estates.

The remainder of this chapter examines land acquisition in the jurisdictions of Iguala, Tixtla, and Taxco up to 1605, when the congregación program had basically been completed and the institutional apparatus for the sale and composición of crown land had been put in place. The historiography of colonial land acquisition during this period is marked by a debate as to the ability, or indeed interest, of encomenderos in transforming their inchoate seigniorial rights, heavily under attack after the New Laws of 1542, into landed wealth. This question will be central to the discussion of land acquisition in central Guerrero up to 1605. The following chapter focuses on the divergent paths of colonial land tenure in the jurisdictions of Iguala and Tixtla. A detailed account of land acquisition and use is presented for each of these two regions and an explanation, for the most part economically based, is offered for the rapid divergence in the fate of large holdings in each of these two areas.

LAND ACQUISITION BEFORE 1605

From approximately 1550 to 1605, as the effects of the New Laws took hold and indigenous tribute obligations were shifted from goods and services to a fixed monetary pension, central Guerrero began to experience incipient struggles to control rural resources, particularly grazing land and community-produced grain.[38] The major contending actors were resident or absentee

38. For a facsimile reproduction of the New Laws and their English translation, see Stevens and Lucas (1893).

encomenderos, local crown officials, entrepreneurial priests, and the established indigenous elite who, caught in a whirlpool of shifting local aspirations and alliances, often looked outward to opportunities provided within the new social and economic structures of colonial society.[39] During this early period, however, the primary focus of rural development was quite local. Articulation between each major area of central Guerrero—the silver producing mountains around Taxco, the fertile plains of Iguala, and the inhospitable outposts near Tixtla—was weak. In the pages that follow, each of these will may be dealt with in turn, almost as if fragmented pieces of a still disarticulated economy. Situated between the breakdown of a centralized tributary system and an inchoate market economy that was not to develop fully until final decades of the colonial period, the period from the 1540s to about 1605 was marked both by the localized developments already commented and, at least in the somewhat peripheral area that was central Guerrero, an agrarian economy that was dominated by a resident elite: encomenderos, miners, the upper echelon of Mexico City society, and the remnants of an indigenous nobility. Mid- to late sixteenth-century developments, moreover, were somewhat like the early moves in a game of chess: they established the temporal and spatial parameters of contention and consolidation that reappeared, at times almost imperceptibly, in the more complicated configurations that characterized the later colonial period.

TAXCO AND MINING

During the sixteenth century, each region of central Guerrero (Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla) had its own concerns and patterns of land acquisition. In the area around Taxco, colonists were most concerned with acquiring land that would benefit mining activities: riverbank sites to provide

39. For a discussion of indigenous elite's cooperation with the conquering society, see Stern (1982) and Martin (1985).

water power to drive mills, and small plots of farmland to produce the grain consumed by hired hands. The pattern of mercedes in the Taxco jurisdiction suggests that competition among colonists themselves, and their efforts to legally sanction their claims, were the prime motives for the relatively high number of grants during the early period. Indigenous communities rented out part of their lands to migrant laborers and benefited by the market that developed around mining; they may thus have been more prone to accept Spanish economic activity in their midst. The Tixtla area was also dominated by localized economic activity. When mining in Zumpango deteriorated shortly after its commencement, rural entrepreneurs directed and redirected their efforts to providing goods and services to weary and hungry adventurers who traveled the camino real connecting Mexico City to the embryonic port of Acapulco. This meant the growth of small-scale agricultural production and the establishment of inns *(ventas)*. This isolated artery stimulated the commercialization of grain and fodder that motivated Spanish land acquisition and, quite rapidly, struggles for the control of valuable property near the camino real. The final area of early colonial interest in central Guerrero was the Iguala Valley. Given the dimensions of colonists' takeover of this fertile plain in the seventeenth century, the dearth of early land grants is striking: only five in all. Part of the reason was a disperse indigenous settlement pattern that hindered colonists' attempts to take over land. Despite the drastic sixteenth-century population decline, isolated peasant households remained sentinelled throughout the valley.[40] Another factor was the ability of extant mechanisms—indigenous agriculture and market participation, as well as the forced distribution of tribute maize—to at first satisfy the incipient demand for foodstuffs generated by the Taxco mines (see the discussion of the *repartimiento de maíz* in chapter 10). There was little early incentive for Spanish grain production. Instead, the Iguala Valley became

40. See appendixes 1b and 1c for the pre-congregación settlements of the Tepecuacuilco and Oapan *a:ltepe:meh.*

an immense pasture for mules that supplied power and transport, and cattle that provided meat and leather. Taxco miners coveted the nearby northern valley as particularly suitable, and close-at-hand, pasture.[41] Domesticated animals used in mining were easily controlled and apparently they caused little damage to Indian crops. Such was not the case with non-domesticated mules and cattle. In the late sixteenth century Indians from Iguala, Tlaxmalac, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, and Cocula complained that the servants and slaves of ranchers from the remote province of Pánuco on the Atlantic coast brought one-year-old mules to graze in such numbers that they knocked down houses and fences and destroyed entire fields of maize.[42] During almost the entire early seventeenth century, the Iguala Valley continued to attract distant interests that participated in a colony-wide economy: a Texcoco entrepreneur, and the Puebla-based Jesuits. Another source of conflict was local: the entrepreneurial activities of encomenderos who held communities in the Iguala Valley. The high level of conflict they generated suggests that the number of mercedes issued is a poor reflection of the scope of their endeavors. Much activity on the land left no record of land grants; though by no means surreptitious from the local perspective, it did remain outside the vision of the colonial state.

Colonists' early indifference to legally sanctioned land acquisition in the Iguala Valley contrasts most strongly with patterns in the adjacent jurisdictions of Taxco and Tixtla.[43] In Taxco

41. AGN-I 2/79 (dated 11 October 1582).

42. The viceroy had previously ordered that mules not used in mining be evicted from the area. But Pánuco ranchers had circumvented this directive, at least temporarily, by bribing colonial officials and Indian principales with mules (AGN-I 6(2)/912, dated 25 August 1594). In chapter 5, I discuss early ranching activities in the Iguala Valley. Investment and interest in the Iguala Valley from distant sources was not unusual. The activities of Texcoco entrepreneurs and the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo are studied in the following chapter; late colonial investment by a Veracruz merchant is discussed in chapter 9.

43. The figures for central Guerrero may be compared to those from other regions. For an account of early mercedes in the Tepalcatepec Lowlands, see E. Barrett (1973). Of 43 recorded mercedes, 22 occurred before 1600. Moreover, "mercedes recorded during the period up to 1590 were typically for grazing land and were not excessively large—one sitio of ganado mayor (1,750 hectares) and perhaps one or two caballerías of cultivable

at least nineteen mercedes were granted between 1542 and 1604 (see appendix 5a).[44] Many date from the 1540s, before lucrative northern mines started to compete for the attention of a colonial elite that was well represented in early Taxco.[45] The nineteen documented mercedes probably represent but a fraction of those granted during this early period. A 1614 report on the Taxco mines revealed 47 active mills: 17 run by horse power, 29 driven by water, one not described, and two inoperative (see appendix 8a). Many of these 47 enterprises were undoubtedly based upon mercedes that are missing from the extant documentation.

The quantity of sixteenth-century land grants in the Taxco jurisdiction reflects the early development of mining and one of its specific characteristics: the necessity for power, either

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land (43 to 86 hectares). . . . During the last decade of the sixteenth century and the first three decades of the seventeenth century the pattern of land grants changed as more and larger cropland grants were made, some of which were combined with one or two sitios of ganado mayor" (p. 82). In the Tecamachalco-Quechólac region there were 178 mercedes between 1542 and 1613, with the great majority concentrated between 1542 and 1570 (Licate 1981:111–32). In what is now the state of Morelos there were 244 land grants between 1542 and 1650, a reflection of the abundance of arable land for sugarcane and grains (W. Barrett 1979:424). For the upper Atoyac valley near Huejotzingo and Atlixco, see Prem (1978:145–80, and appendixes 1-3, 1984, 1992). Mercedes in this region are concentrated in the period 1579–84, 1588–93, 1599–1607, and 1612–18. For the penultimate period, Prem (1992:453) notes that grants were denied for over half the land applied for. He proposes that this suggests increasingly effective Indian resistance. But it may reflect the crown's reluctance to grant Indian land during the congregación program; during the final wave of mercedes a much greater percentage of those requested were granted, despite the increased density of agricultural activity. In the Puebla-Tlaxcala region there were hundreds of mercedes, the majority between 1595 and 1615, as well as over 1,000 land sales; see Hoekstra 1992. (Since Hoekstra's study of land tenure focuses on the period of 1570 to 1640, the number of sales and mercedes before 1570 is not given.)

44. The sixteenth-century Taxco mercedes encompassed 5.5 caballerías, 2 *estancias para ganado mayor,* 3 *estancias para ganado menor,* 7 *sitios para ingenios de agua,* 2 *estancias* whose size is not indicated, 1 venta, 1 grant for a *"labor y [otras] tierras,"* and a complex grant for a *"sitio para casas, quadrilla e ingenios de beneficio de metales."*

45. Sixteenth-century land tenure in the Taxco jurisdiction was conspicuous for the high status of property owners. Four of the fifteen land grant recipients were encomenderos, many of whom held properties quite distant from Taxco: don Luis de Castilla (Tututepec), Juan de Manzanilla (Cicapuzalco), Juan Alonso de Sosa (Coatepec, Tonalá, Tenayuca, and Urapa and Guanaxo), and Juan Jaramillo (Xilotepec). Antonio Velásquez was perhaps the encomendero of Xumiltepec. Two miners dominated regional politics: don Luis de Castilla and Pedro de Ledesma (see appendix 7a, which gives the alcaldes mayores and corregidores of the Taxco jurisdiction). Several others were officials in the viceregal government: Antonio de la Cadena (*contador* and *alcalde ordinario* of Mexico City) and Juan Alonso de Sosa (treasurer). Others, particularly Hernando Altamirano and Rodrigo de Vivero, were members of celebrated colonial families (see genealogy 4b).

water or mule, to run hacienda operations. Mercedes were small, as in many parts of New Spain during this period, and oriented to meeting these needs. Some conferred rights to riverside land for water-powered mills, while others provided pasture for animals used in mining. In a few cases, land was granted for small farms that produced grain for cuadrillas of mineworkers,[46] including rent-paying settlements that miners established on indigenous community lands, a tactic that could lead to conflicts with the village and its jealously protective encomendero.[47] Not only did indigenous villages rent out land to miners and mineworkers; in general indigenous reaction to Spanish incursion into the region was often favorable. For example, in 1586 testimony supporting Captain Antonio Velázquez, a miner working near Nochtepec, an indigenous alcalde of Nochtepec stated that the proposed mill would not only benefit the crown, but "the Indians of this region who will have where to work and earn money for their sustenance and to pay tribute as they do in the haciends that are found in Zacualpa and other [jurisdictions]."[48]

Even as the century progressed, expanding urban demand and increasing market integration did not stimulate the formation of rural haciendas in the Taxco jurisdiction; much of the maize consumed in the mines was still supplied by a centralized system of forced *repartimiento*. Instead, the local economy specialized in the quite particular demands of mining activities: locally produced wood, charcoal, and leather; as well as muleteers to bring in salt, *magistral*, and mercury over long distances. Village residents near the mines focused on

46. Such is the case of the merced to Antonio de la Cadena, a miner and *alcalde ordinario* in Mexico City, who requested one caballería of land to plant maize and other grains "[for the] sustenance of the said mines and its people"; AGN-M 2/245.

47. See the case of Acamixtlahuaca and land rented by its encomendero, Alonso Pérez, to Indian laborers who worked in his mining enterprises; AGN-T 2719/13, dated 1573–75.

48. AGN-T 2762/4.

producing high-bulk, low-value goods and on muleskinning, either as small-scale merchants or as salaried workers who drove mules for miners, refinery owners, and petty merchants. The local topography did not encourage agricultural production. Some of the grain was obtained from neighboring jurisdictions: wheat from the north, maize from the south. Tribute grain was still being assigned in repartimiento to Taxco during the early seventeenth-century (see table 10a) a fact that checked the emergence of maize agriculture in both the Taxco and Iguala jurisdictions. By the seventeenth century, land grants were rare in the Taxco jurisdiction. Haciendas remained small and scattered, producing scanty amounts of cheese and sugar for local markets; animal husbandry apparently remained in the hands of an indigenous and poor mestizo peasantry, small-scale sellers in weekly outdoor markets.[49] The largest rural production units were the modest trapiches of Zacapalco and Tepetlapa that, toward the end of the colonial period, expanded southward to the foothills bordering on the Iguala Valley.[50]

TIXTLA AND THE CAMINO REAL

In the Tixtla jurisdiction, the holders of the encomiendas of Tixtla, Mochitlán, Huitziltepec, and Oapan[51] were the principal recipients of the few sixteenth-century mercedes that were issued (see

49. See the analysis of *tianguis* sales and petty commerce in chapter 9. Toward the end of the colonial period animal husbandry in the Iguala Valley became increasingly capitalized and regional maize was diverted to fattening animals, probably for export to highland markets.

50. The sugar production of these trapiches is discussed in chapter 9. Zacapalco included land at Palmillas, Venta de la Negra, and Pololoapan, all east of Coscatlán, and also Cieneguillas, Los Amates, and El Pajarito, sought of Coscatlán at the northern edge of the Iguala Valley. For migration in the area around Zacapalco, see chapter 7.

51. García Pimentel (1904:180–81). Note that five estancias of Zumpango, along with their tribute obligation of 183 pesos and 3 tomines, were assigned to Martín de Ircio on 10 December 1561. The crown kept the remaining 537 pesos for itself; see *Libro de las tasaciones* (1952:654–57).

appendix 5c).[52] Five of nine grants[53] went to the single line of encomenderos (an original holder, then his wife, and finally his son) who held all four of these villages: Martín de Ircio,[54] his wife María de Mendoza (half-sister of the first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza),[55] and his son-in-law don Luis de Velasco the Younger, twice viceroy of New Spain and also the first marqués de Salinas.[56]

Ircio's financial ambitions were paralleled by his and his heirs' social aspirations. His son-in-law, the viceroy don Luis de Velasco II, was at the center of a network—expanded by "marrying out" to other upper-echolon families and consolidated by first-cousin marriages within parallel lines—that encompassed much of the colonial elite (see genealogical charts 4a and 4b, that show the relationship among the Velasco, Mendoza, Ircio, and Altamirano lines, among others).[57] For example, Velasco's mother (María de Mendoza) was the half-sister of don Antonio

52. A debate among historians as to whether encomenderos tended to acquire legal title to property around their holdings developed in response to institutional analyses that stressed the legal diffeences between the encomienda and the hacienda; see particularly Lockhart 1969 and Keith 1971 for a summary of the points in contention. Recent scholarship has tended to support the impression that in spite of crown attempts to limit their land base, the most powerful encomenderos often did acquire property near their assigned villages.

53. Note that in 1593 an Antonio Gómez received a merced near Coacoyula and Mazatlán, where Martín de Ircio and María de Mendoza held property. In 1634 a certain don Antonio Gómez Dávila married doña Juana María Velasco y Osorio, great-granddaughter of don Luis de Velasco II. Although the two Gómez's were probably distinct, they might have been related. If so, this would mean that six of the nine mercedes were given to the Ircio line.

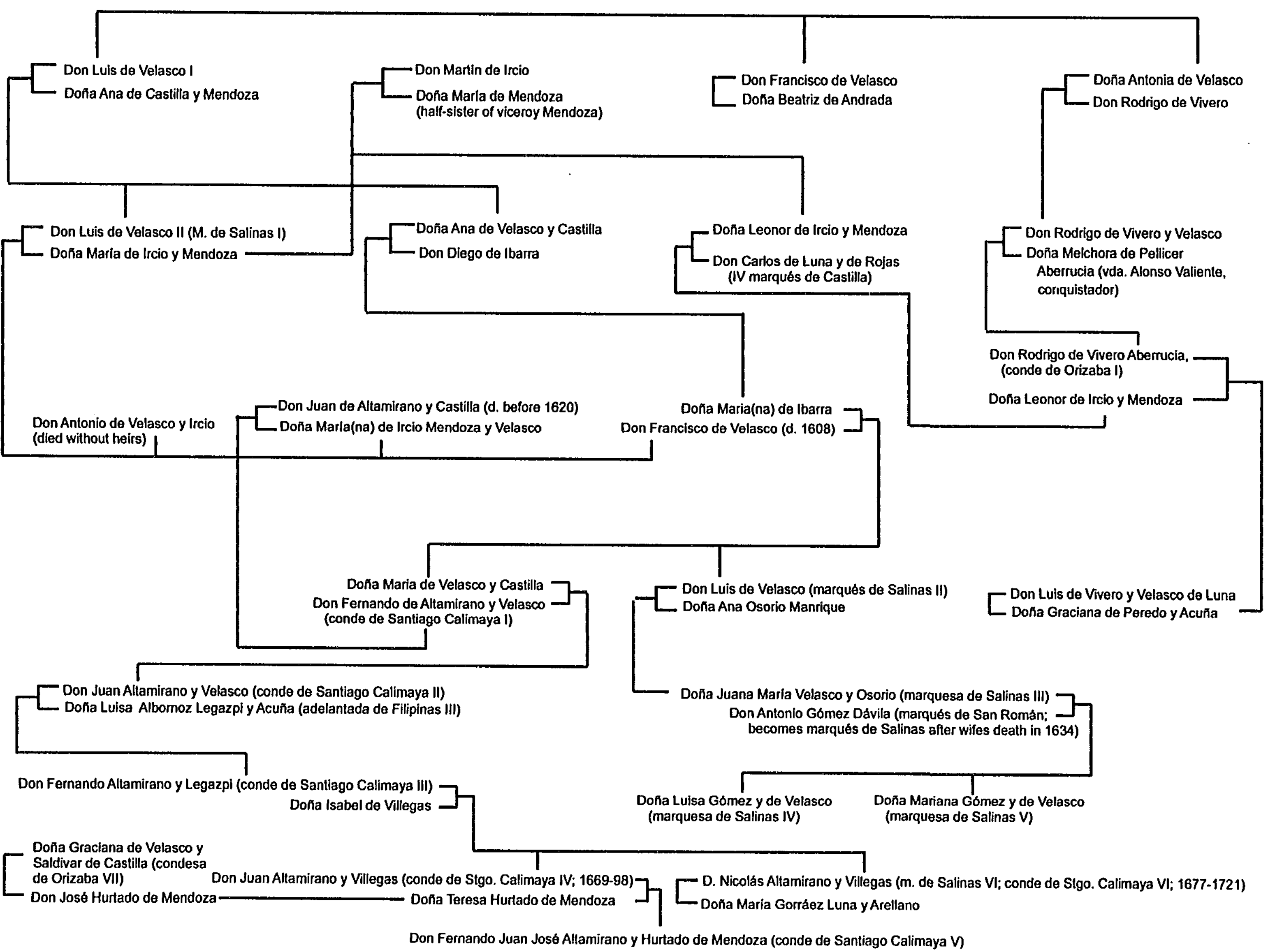
54. The "Relación de Iguala y su partido" (p. 351), mentions that de Ircio was "page (*paje*) of the marquis don Fernando Cortés." For a short biographical summary of Ircio, see Alvarez (1975:159–61) and Himmerich y Valencia (1991:177). See also Acuña's n. 41 to the "Relación de Iguala y su partido."

55. There is little information on María de Mendoza. She married Martín de Ircio in 1537 and was widowed by 1569, when she had severe legal problems with her son and was jailed (ENE 10:292–308). Acuña, in a note to "Relación de Iguala y su partido," clarifies that doña María de Mendoza was the viceroy's half-sister (p. 351 n. 41).

56. The relationship between Velasco and the Indians of Oapan was apparently paternalistic and nonconflictive; see Amith (n.d.) on the early seventeenth century litigation between Oapan and its subject villages on the one hand, and its *beneficiado* on the other. In this case the *beneficiado* was frequently cited as stating that Velasco was no longer around to protect the Indians of the parish of Oapan.

57. De la Peña (1983:200ff.) gives a succint account of the families ties of don Luis de Velasco II.

4a: The marqueses de Salinas and condes de Santiago Calimaya: a schematic genealogy of the Ircio and Velasco families



4b: A schematic genealogy of the Velasco, Altamirano, and Castilla families

Don Luis de Velasco I
Doña Ana de Castilla y Mendoza

Don Juan Gutiérrez Altamirano (d. 1558)
Doña Juana Altamirano (first cousin of Cortés)

Don Luis de Castilla (b. 1502)
Doña Juana de Sosa (sister of the tesorero d. Juan Alonso de Sosa)

Doña Ana de Velasco y Castilla
Don Diego de Ibarra

Don Luis de Velasco II (M. de Salinas I)
Doña María de Ircio y Mendoza

Don Hernán Gutiérrez Altamirano (b. 1533; married 1558; enc. Metepec, Calimaya, Tepemaxalco, and others)
Doña Francisca Ossorio de Castilla

Don Francisco de Velasco
Doña Mariana Ibarra

Doña María de Ircio Mendoza y Velasco (sister of don Antonio and d. Francisco)
Don Juan de Altamirano y Castilla (d. 1610)

Don Luis de Velasco (marqués de Salinas II)
Doña Ana Osorio Manrique

Doña María de Velasco y Castilla
Don Fernando Altamirano y Velasco (conde de Santiago Calimaya II)

Don Juan Altamirano y Velasco (conde de Santiago Calimaya II)
Doña Luisa Albornoz Legazpi y Acuña (adelantada de Filipinas III)

de Mendoza, the first viceroy of New Spain; Velasco's sister (doña Leonor de Ircio y Mendoza) married the very wealthy don Diego de Ibarra and ties to this family were further strengthened when Velasco's son (don Francsico de Velasco) married his first cousin, Ibarra's daughter;[58] Velasco's wife's sister married don Carlos de Luna y de Rojas, fourth mariscal de Castilla.[59] Velasco also had close ties to the Vivero family (Rodrigo de Vivero y Aberrucia was the first conde del Valle de Orizaba) through both his paternal aunt and his wife's sister. Finally, Velasco's daughter (doña Mariana de Ircio Mendoza y Velasco) married don Juan de Altamirano y Castilla whose parents were the offspring of don Juan Gutiérrez Altamirano and don Luis de Castilla and whose son became the first conde de Santiago Calimaya. Strategic intermarriages were so prevalent that by the early nineteenth century one individual man held the titles of marqués de Salinas, conde de Santiago Calimaya, marqués de Salvatierra, and adelantado de Filipinas, with all their associated entailed estates.[60] This tangled web wove through the economic and political fabric of early New Spain.[61] In Guerrero alone, besides their early holdings in the Tixtla region, Velasco the Younger's family network included many of Taxco's

58. For a summary biography of Ibarra, see Martínez Cosío (1946:37–38).

59. Don Carlos Luna y Arellano was one of the wealthiest men in New Spain (he had more than 150,000 head of cattle in Xicayán) and a holder of many important political administrative positions (see de la Peña 1983:121, 203).

60. Ladd (1976:16, 75).

61. Don Luis de Velasco, the first marqués de Salinas, held numerous encomendas besides those of Tixtla, Mochitlán, Huitziltepec, and Oapan. These included the following (all information is from Gerhard 1972, with page numbers in parentheses): Epazoyuca, province of Cempoala (67–68); Ixguatlan, province of Córdoba (84); Mixquic and Ixtapaluca, province of Chalco (103); Tamiagua, Tenesticpac, and Tamaos, province of Guachinango (118); Suchitepec, province of Guaxuapa (130); Cuiseo, province of Guaymeo y Sirándaro (135); Xaltepec, province of Nochitlan (201); Axapusco, province of Otumba (208); Tultitlan, province of Tacuba (248); Teticpac, province of Taxco (253); Xalatlaco, province of Tenango del Valle (271); Teotiguacan, province of Teotiguacan (273); Malinaltepec, province of Teposcolula (285); and Tecaxique and Chicaguasco, province of Tetepango Hueypustla (297). Not all the encomiendas continued to be held by Velasco's heirs, the marqueses de Salinas.

sixteenth-century elite.[62] Velasco's son-in-law was the son of don Hernán Gutiérrez Altamirano and the grandson of don Luis de Castilla, both sixteenth-century alcaldes mayores of Taxco; Rodrigo Vivero, another relative by marriage, was also an alcalde mayor in Taxco.[63]

Iricio's encomienda grant of four villages gave him a foothold in an area characterized by early economic opportunity: mining in Zumpango and, as these mines collapsed, the opening up of trade along the camino real to Acapulco. Ircio arrived in New Spain with the Narváez expedition, was a *vecino* of Mexico City, and received his encomiendas directly from Cortés. By 1531 he was using his encomienda resources to supply his Zumpango mines with labor and material goods.[64] His mining ventures there won him the hand of Mendoza's half-sister in 1537, although the viceroy apparently delayed the marriage for two years because of disappointment with the caliber of his future brother-in-law's mines.[65] In 1539 Ircio bought three land parcels from Martín Mayaque, cacique of Tixtla, and other *principales*. This sale was confirmed by a viceregal merced dated 4 October 1550.[66] The following year a struggle developed as Tixtla Indians attempted to cultivate land near Coacoyula that had been given to Ircio in merced; a viceregal order ratified the encomendero's holdings.[67]

62. The encomendero of Tepecuacuilco, don Melchor de Tornamira, might also have had indirect ties to Velasco. Tornamira's first wife was doña Petronila Altamirano del Castillo, whose last name suggests a possible relation to Velasco's son-in-law, don Juan Altamirano y Castilla.

63. For a list of the political officials of the Taxco, Iguala, and Tixtla jurisdictions, see appendix 7.

64. See *Libro de las Tasaciones* (1952:489ff.). There were at least 47 Spanish miners in Zumpango by 1533; de Ircio probably lived among them, at least occasionally. Zavala (1984:97) cites a petition signed in Zumpango by 47 miners. For Ircio's presence see Aiton (1927). Gonzalo Cerezo, *alguacil mayor* of Mexico City and encomendero of Cocula in the Iguala jurisdiction also had mining interests in Zumpango in the mid-1500s (AGN-M 2/62; Zavala 1982a:173) as well as Taxco (ENE 4:148–49). For information on Cerezo, see "Relación de Iguala y su partido" (p. 345).

65. Alvarez (1975:161).

66. AGN-M 3/491.

67. AGN-M 3/753; see also Zavala (1982a:68–69).

These midcentury confirmations to Ircio—of both a previous sale and merced—suggest challenges to his original acquisitions and increased tension over agricultural resources. Conflicts were developing on other fronts as well. Like other sixteenth-century mining regions, Zumpango suffered from a shortage of maize[68] and an abundance of petty merchant entrepreneurs, muleskinners, and travelers,[69] whose deleterious activities prompted frequent viceregal injunctions.[70] But the prime stimulus to land acquisition was not the mining zone, but burgeoning traffic to the nascent Acapulco port. Mercedes in the Tixtla jurisdiction were strung along the camino real just as Taxco mercedes clung to rivers and streams;[71] the ventas of the former paralleled the refineries of the latter. But whereas indigenous villages in the Taxco jurisdiction had condoned, and even supported, colonial land grants, some early mercedes in the Tixtla jurisdiction were actively contested by indigenous villages anxious to sell maize and fodder to colonial travelers.[72] Zumpango opposed a merced solicited for this purpose by Gaspar Moreno,

68. See AGN-M 2/668, AGN-M 2/668bis and AGN-I 3/316.

69. A Spanish *calpixque* was placed in Zumpango in 1542 in order to assure that "[neither] travelers nor muleskinners cause [the Indians] any harm, torment, or trouble, or any other mistreatment and so that he doesn't allow any person to make them carry burdens and use them as *tamemes*"; AGN-M 1/256. The problems obviously continued and in 1558 the Indians of Zumpango complained that because no corregidor resided in or visited their village, they were subject to many abuses. The viceroy ordered the alcalde mayor of Chilapa and corregidor of Tlapa to protect and defend the *naturales* of Zumpango; AGN-M 84/fol. 49f). Commercial activity in the Zumpango-Tixtla area is discussed in chapters 8 and 9.

70. In 1552 a viceregal injunction against Spanish traders stated that "no one, for himself nor through any Indian, black, or servant acting as an intermediary may have dealings or business (*no tengan tratos ni contrataciones*) with the Indians of the pueblo of the aforementioned Martín de Ircio, nor should they have dealings with the slaves or blacks or servants that he might have in his mines or haciendas, or should they sell them clothes from Castile, or machetes, or other prohibited items"; Zavala (1982a:226–27).

71. Virtually all the grants between 1560 and 1616 mention the camino real to Acapulco. See the grants to doña María de Mendoza, don Luis de Velasco (2), Joan de la Serna, Alonso de la Torre, the village of Zumpango, Joan de Castro, and Francisco Hernández Mellado in appendix 5c. The merced to Antonio Gómez was for a venta, undoubtedly along the highway to Acapulco. The grant to Pedro Sánchez Moreno was located along the road to Chichihualco.

72. The importance of selling fodder is exemplified by an interesting loan word into the Nahuatl of the Balsas River basin, where tied bundles of corn leaves given to animals is called *abi:yoh*, from the Spanish *avío*,

and then itself acquired a venta along the camino real.[73] A more interesting and illustrative case of the struggles between indigenous villages and Spanish colonists propitiated by proximity to the camino real is that which occurred at Acapizatlan.[74]

In 1579 the naturales of Acapizatlan, citing the "annoyances y vexations that over the course of the previous ten years they had suffered at the hands of the soldiers and travelers who come and go to the aforementioned port [of Acapulco],." requested that the villages of Chilpancingo, Tixtla, and Mochitlán be ordered to help them with service obligations along the camino real. The viceroy granted the request.[75] The next year Joan de la Serna petitioned for a merced of 3 caballerías located approximately half a league from Acapizatlan; in 1583, with the general acquiescence of the Tixtla and Acapizatlan officials, he acquired the land. Over the next thirty-five years at least three mercedes, for a total of 2 ventas, 5.5 caballerías, and 1 *sitio de estancia para ganado menor*, were granted near Acapizatlan, as colonists vied with Indians to provision travelers along the royal highway.[76] The congregación program that relocated the indigenous population of Acapizatlan, combined with colonists' interest in taking over the abandoned lands, undoubtedly exacerbated tensions. Just under a decade after the 1616 mercedes

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"supplies." Undoubtedly since colonial times this fodder was sold to travelers for their horses and mules.

73. AGN-M 15/fols. 274v–275f and AGN-M 30/fol. 92f.

74. The identity of Acapizatlan is not altogether clear, but it might well be present-day Petaquillas. Some clue to its location is given by the eleventh witness whose testimony is recorded in AGN-T 2723/34 stated that Acapizatlan was on the camino real from Zumpango to Acapulco "por aquella parte del arroyo."

75. AGN-GP 3/326. The Acapizatlan petition is a clear example of how coincidences of economic change could result in a reallignment of political forces in which subject villages outgrew and then became independent of their cabeceras, or were able to command the services of cabeceras and other villages.

76. See appendix 5c, grants to Antonio Gómez (1593), Francisco Hernández Mellado (1616), and Martín López de Gavra (1616). The terms of Hernández's grant are quite specific in regard to his obligation to provide services along the highway: "and within one year [from the date of the merced] he should have worked and constructed the said venta with its unloading platforms (*descargaderos*) for the mule teams and travelers who might arrive and with the condition that he respect and follow the set fees (*arancel*) that the justice of the said province establish for the prices at which he is bound to sell provisions"; AGN-M 32/fols. 181f–182v.

to Hernández Mellado and López de Gavra, naturales from Acapizatlan who had been relocated to Tixtla began to return to their village, prompting a complaint from the *beneficiado* of Tixtla.[77] In 1633 the *oficiales de república* of Tixtla protested the presence of "Spaniards, mestizos, blacks, and mulattos" who had neither titles nor rights of residence in Acapizatlan.[78] They managed to secure a viceregal order expelling all illegally settled colonists, although there is no evidence thqt this was carried out.

Land acquisition and economic activity in the Tixtla region waxed and waned with the fortunes of mining and trade along the corridor to Acapulco. Particularly active in this region was don Martín de Ircio, the encomendero of Tixtla, Mochitlán, Huitziltepec, and Oapan. Both he, and later his family, acquired a significant amount of property that they and their descendants were apparently able to maintain and consolidate of the course of the seventeenth century (see chapter 5). Throughout this early period, and up to about 1700, localized factors (mining and provisioning along the camino real) apparently provided the main incentives to land acquisition, and created the initial basis for conflict. The minas de Zumpango were perhaps the first silver mines to be exploited in the New World, a big fish in the small pond of precious metals before the discovery of the lucrative northern mines. There is some evidence that around the middle of the sixteenth century, Zumpango provided Taxco and Sultepec with litharage *(greta),* a flux used in smelting silver with a lead content; but little silver was mined in Zumpango after midcentury, and the shipments of litharage were probably minimal.[79] At this time, however, commercial

77. AGN-C/exp. 283. The repopulation of Mezcala, a subject of Tepecuacuilco located at a point where the camino real to Acapulco crossed the Balsas River, provides an analogous case of indigenous efforts to maintain a presence at key points in the colonial transport network.

78. AGN-I 10(3)/exp. 109.

79. The shipping of litharge (*greta*) from Zumpango is Taxco in the late 1530s is mentioned in a document cited by Zavala (1982b:226 and ff.); in 1547, modifying ordinances issued by Tejada five years previously, Velasco permitted regraters to go to the Zumpango mines (as well as other points further south) and buy *greta*,

activity increased dramatically with the completion of the Mexico City-Acapulco royal highway, the dominant corridor for trade and travel to the south sea.[80] The area around Acapizatlan was but one example of interspersed colonial and indigenous landholdings caught in a precariously balanced competition for access to the seasonal markets of the south Pacific economy.[81] Land acquisition and subsequent conflict was centered on the slender

IGUALA: THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF RANCHING AND AGRICULTURE

In the Iguala Valley, three of the five sixteenth-century mercedes went to two encomenderos: Antonio Almaguer, a coholder of Tepecoacuilco, and Bernardino de Casasola, who held Huitzuco. Another encomendera, doña María de Cisneros, who held Mayanalán and Tlaxmalac, possessed an *estancia de ganado mayor* near her village of Tlaxmalac, although there is no merced on record.[82] Almaguer obtained a share of Tepecoacuilco by marrying doña Juana de

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cendrada, and *cendradilla* for resale in Taxco. A remission of *greta* from Zumpango to Sultepec in 1542 is also documented; AGN-M 1/488.

80. For a discussion of early ports on the Pacific coast, see Borah (1954:22–36). For a general account of Mendoza's role in opening roads see Aiton (1927:102). For an early order, ca. 1532, to clear a road from Mexico City to Acapulco, see Zavala (1984b:89), who cites a Real Audiencia dispatch that "all Indians that there are from this city to the port of Acapulco should build roads, each [working] near his own village, so that carts may travel loaded with things that are necessary for the armed fleet." This early plan called for a camino real which would pass through Tlapa, Chiautla, Huamuxtitlan, and San Luis Acatlán. A 1533 order to clear the road between Mexico City and Acapulco was issued in reponse to pressure applied by Zumpango miners; Zavala (1984b:97).

81. In the early eighteenth century a *mesón* at Acapizatlan was held by Juan Hurtado de Mendoza; AGN-M 66/fols. 113f–113v; AGN-T 2899/49. At the same time, the village of Acapizatlan retained 3 *sitios de ganado mayor*; AGN-T 3603/9.

82. In March 1552, for reasons not specified in the document but perhaps related to damage caused by cattle, the corregidor of Iguala was ordered to inspect an *estancia de ganado mayor* belonging to doña María de Cisneros (Zavala 1982a:124). She was widowed from the first holder of Mayanalán and Tlaxmalac, Juan de Cisneros, around 1544, when their son Mateo Vázquez de Cisneros inherited the encomienda (AGN-M 2/683). Vázquez de Cisneros was active in the region: he sold maize (AGN-I 2/212, dated 1582), defended his villages against encroachment by a neighboring encomendero (see below), and had a profitable mining hacienda that produced over 1,000 marcos of silver in 1603, though with additional repartimiento labor, Cisneros claimed, it could have produced more (ZyC V:101–2 [AGN-GP 6/289v–299f]). In 1579 (AGN-GP 2/194) the *naturales*

Loaysa, widow of the conquistador Fernando de Torres. Between 1537 and 1542 he was secretary to the viceroy; ten years later he was a resident of Puebla de los Angeles and economically and politically active in the Cholula-Tlaxcala region.[83] Apparently his land acquisitions at Cinacantlan, near Tepecoacuilco, were little more than a casual addendum to a diversified portfolio. There is no evidence that Almaguer ever developed an economic presence in the Iguala Valley, and he never appears in Cinacantlan's subsequent history. Yet again, as occurred in the Tixtla area, the record reveals the interest of an absentee encomendero in aquiring small holdings near the village he held.

The history of Casasola's enterprises in the northern Iguala Valley is distinct; at the same time it offers a tantalizing glimpse into interethnic political alliances and community factionalism. An ambitious encomendero with sundry local interests and apparently a local residence, the documentary evidence of his activity at times reads like a litany of the excesses of the encomienda system. Around midcentury Casasola inherited a cuadrilla of mine workers from his father, Isidro Moreno, near Tehuilotepec; in the 1590s he was still active, having received a viceregal commission to discover and register new mines.[84] Casasola complemented his mining ventures in Taxco with ranching near Tepecoacuilco. Although his 1567 merced was for only 1½ caballerías located between Tepecoacuilco and Tlaxmalac, his original request had been for 3

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of Tlaxmalac complained of damages caused near San Antonio Tlapala by the cattle, horses, goats and other animals of Bernardino de Casasola. They also mentioned the harm caused near a placed called Cacatonapa by the goats of Martín Herrera. Both were ordered to show their titles to the land or else vacate them. There is no mention of the outcome.

83. For a brief biographical sketch of Almaguer see Boyd-Bowman (1985). Porras Muñoz (1982:443–44) comments on the list of Tepecoacuilco encomenderos given by Gerhard (1972:146–47). For Almaguer's economic ventures in the Cholula-Tlaxcala region between 1551 and 1552, see Zavala (1982a:150, 191, 295).

84. For a fuller analysis of these and nearby cuadrillas, see the 1575 litigation involving Acamixtlahuacan; AGN-T 2719/13. For Casasola's commission to discover and register mines, see AGN-GP 4/623 and 624. For Moreno's gold mining activity, see Miranda (1965). A 1552 dispute between Moreno and the *naturales* of Huitzuco is documented by Zavala (1982a:50–51).

caballerías and an *estancia para ganado menor*. This merced was at the northern limit of illegally occupied grazing land that was centered on Tlapala and extended out between scattered indigenous settlements that were soon to vanish during the congregaciones; their disappearance was the key factor facilitating the seventeenth-century expansion of the hacienda of Tlapala. The original location of this hacienda—in the middle of an area bounded by Tlaxmalac, Tepecoacuilco, Mayanalán, and Huitzuco—suggests that Casasola initiated his ranching enterprise in the outback, as distant from the regional cabeceras as possible. By the late 1570s and early 1580s Casasola was expanding his holdings, prompting repeated complaints by the *naturales* of Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán. These villages accused him of using Indians from his Huitzuco encomienda to further his agrarian enterprises. In 1579 the viceroy ordered Casasola to control the herds from his *estancia de ganado mayor* near Tlapala and pay for any damages they had already caused.[85] This injunction was ratified in 1583, when a deluge of complaints swept into the colonial courts, including one promoted by Mateo Vázquez de Cisneros on behalf of his encomienda villages of Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán.[86] These villages declared that Casasola, with the help of the corregidor as well as "one of his blacks and other Indians from the pueblo of Ysuco, which the aforementioned [Casasola] held in encomienda, along with other [Indians] who appear to be guilty . . . [went] on the day of San Juan to the *estancias* of Miaguatamalco and Tlapala where from many years up to the present they [of Tlaxmalac] had maceguales settled with their houses and lands."[87] At these estancias Casasola's minions had burned the houses and possessions of the Tlaxmalac *maceguales*. Casasola denied the charges. He claimed that the

85. AGN-T 2948/97.

86. The 1579 complaints, and reference to previous problems, are found in AGN-T 2948/97, AGN-GP 2/334, and AGN-GP 2/194. For the 1583 viceregal responses to these complaints, see AGN-I 2/699, AGN-I 2/766, and AGN-I 2/859.

87. AGN-T 2948/97.

Indian litigants had been "instigated by malicious persons," and objected that the trespassing cattle belonged to Domingo de Salcedo and grazed on depopulated areas far from the Indians' fields.[88]

The 1583 protests lodged by Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán against Casasola's ranching activities were echoed that same year by two inhabitants of San Martín Aguacaucingo, one of Huitzuco's outlying subject villages. They complained that their encomendero had forced them to move to the cabecera, leaving behind their homes, fields, and orchards "for the sole purpose of vacating and facilitating access to an sitio de estancia that he intends to occupy with *ganado mayor*."[89] Although the grievance from Aguacaucingo flows smoothly into the swirl of encomendero versus Indian litigation engulfing Tlaxmalac, Mayanalán, and Huitzuco, it also alludes to a more intricate weave of local conflict. When Pedro Xuárez and Bartolomé Gaspar, *naturales* of Aguacaucingo, filed a grievance for themselves and several dozen coresidents, they joined a fray that up to then had pitted their encomendero against the indigenous authorities of neighboring Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán. Yet whereas the cabecera authorities of these latter communities defended the landed possessions of their subject villages, the two Aguacaucingo natives appealed directly to the colonial state, bypassing the cabecera elite in Huitzuco who might have been expected to handle the case. This breach of indigenous solidarity (in which residents of a sujeto litigated without the formal support of cabecera authorities) was not an isolated occurrence, but rather a fleeting adumbration of an impending conflict. An imbroglio

88. This was in 1583. In 1590 Domingo de Salcedo obtained a merced for a *sitio de ganado mayor* and a caballería near Huitzuco. In his case, as with Casasola, land ownership and agrarian activity was often carried out well before official titles and licences were granted: Salcedo's 1590 merced mentioned that many years previously a corregidor of Iguala had carried out an investigation as to whether the land grant could be made. Given the length of time that had passed, a new investigation was ordered. The implication is that despite the lack of a formal merced (land grant), Salcedo had taken possession of the lands he coveted.

89. AGN-I 2/767.

soon engulfed Huitzuco, demonstrating the complex influence of spatial and political considerations in early colonial factionalism and economic development.[90]

The simplicity of the 1583 outcry against Casasola's hinterland ranching, in which the neighboring villages of Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán along with an outlying Huitzuco sujeto had a common enemy, was superceded by a more complicated conflict. The focal point of Casasola's regional power and influence was the cabecera of his Huitzuco encomienda: in the late 1580s he interfered in elections; sold tribute maize in Mexico City;[91] usurped farmland;[92] and advanced money to buy privately owned *cascalote*, used as a tanning agent.[93] At the same time Huitzuco

90. Besides the factional struggles mentioned in the main text, between 1575 and 1590 Huitzuco also litigated against their *beneficiado* Br. Pedro Martínez (AGN-GP 2/156; AGN-GP 2/757, published in ZyC II:290–92; AGN-I 4/129), against miners (AGN-GP 2/766; AGN-I 6(2)/627), against the pueblo and corregidor of Iguala (AGN-GP 1/214; AGN-I 2/598; AGN-I 2/832), and against Mayanalán (AGN-I 3/36). There was an addtional 1591 complaint by certain "indios mexicanos' from a Huitzuco barrio named Tlaoniques (AGN-I 5/483). They stated that "at the time that they settled in the said barrio they were given and assigned certain suertes of land . . . so that in them they might plant their fields and in this way pay their tribute." Recently, the plaintiffs continued, an Indian named Juan Baptista, son of a petty official (*mandoncillo*) had claimed and tried to appropriate the land. The document implies that Mexica Indians were recent immigrants and had been given land in the Cuixca settlement of Huitzuco to help the community meet their obligations to the colonial state. The following year, in 1592, Juan Bautista complained that the corregidor of Iguala had taken away certain lands of his to give to other Indians, probably in reference to these same "indios mexicanos"; see AGN-I 6(2)/512). An Indian named Juan Bautista was one of four "rebellios Indians" whose exile was sought by don Pedro de Mendoza and Pedro de la Cruz, Huitzuco alcaldes in 1590; AGN-I 3/67 and 75. An Indian named Juan Bautista was also the spokesman for a group of Huitzuco Indians who in 1592 both complained against the "vexations, affronts, and *derramas*" of don Pedro de Mendoza and Pablo de Robles and successfully petitioned for the appointment of an outside governador (AGN-I 6(1)/143). Juan Bautista apparently represented the faction that seized the lands of the Mexica Indians and challenged the hegemony of the political bosses led by Robles and Mendoza. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the local indigenous elite expropriated lands and gave them to an immigrant group of *mexicanos* in exchange for help with community obligations and, probably, support in an increasingly acerbic intracommunity struggle. It appears that the corregidor of Iguala in 1590, don Antonio de Luna, supported Bautista and the rebellious commoner faction, while the corregidor in 1592, don Antonio de Pedrasa, supported the nobles. Note that the acceptance of the mexica migrants is but one example of community community openness to migrants and distinct ethnic groups that has not received much attention in the colonial literature on New Spain. Licate (1981), however, does focus on the multiethnic nature of *altepëtl* organization in which integration was based on social hierarchy.

91. See AGN-I 4/124 for the complaint against the maize sales and interference in elections.

92. AGN-I 4/505.

93. The name is derived from Nahuatl *nakasködlötl* (lit. 'scorpion's ear'). This tree was common in Huitzuco

was factionally divided between *principales*, led by the nobles Pablo de Robles and his son-in-law don Pedro de Mendoza on the one hand, and a group of lowly officials and commoners on the other. In 1589 the commoners and lower-ranking officials charged that Robles and Mendoza

> own between the two of them thirty pack animals with which they have damaged and continue to damage the planted fields [of the commoners], without having paid anything at all in compensation; on the contrary, those that request such payment are mistreated and insulted by word and by deed, and with this they become silent and suffer the harm they have received. And to [acquire the maize] loaded on the aforementioned mules, [Robles and Mendoza] seize their maize [of the commoners] with arguments and with procedures that are prohibited, treacherous, and immoral, taking it by force and at low prices and with false measures, so that for half a fanega, which should be six *almudes*, they make [the commoners] give a big basked that includes another two *almudes*, all of which is detrimental to the *naturales*; and with the extraction [of maize] that they [Robles and Mendoza] engage in [the macegual es] are left hungryt and in great need; and those who are employed as their muleteers are hassled and mistreated, nor are they allowed to plant nor cultivate their fields and [for this reason] they, their wives and children are to be pitied. And to exempt themselves from personal service in the mines they [the hired muleskinners] go around given over to evil ways and public sins; for this they are not punished, given that they are protected by the two aforementioned *principales*, who for most years are alcaldes and regidores.[94]

The following year the besieged village elite, including Robles and Mendoza, sought the permanent exile of "four Indian . . . rebels . . . [who] keep the village on edge and rebellious, inciting the *naturales* to litigate against the *principales*."[95] At this same time, the *maceguales* were formulating a broadside attack on the "derramas y molestias" (excess collections and

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and the northern reaches of the Chilapa jurisdiction. It was treated as property and thus both sold and passed on in inheritance. In 1589 Casasola was ordered to take back money that he had advanced for the purchase of *cascalote*; AGN-I 5/483).

94. AGN-I 4/164, dated 1590.

95. AGN-I 3/67 and 75. This 1590 complaint had been filed in the name of the "pueblo" by don Pedro de Mendoza and Pedro de la Cruz, alcaldes of Huitzuco. The viceroy immediately ordered the alcalde mayor of Taxco to investigate the charges and send his report to Mexico City; AGN-I 3/75. The corregidor of Iguala (probably don Antonio de Luna) was recused; ordered to hand over the documentation he and his predecessors had gathered in a process against don Pedro de Mendoza, Pablo de Robles, and their cohorts; and directed to free all prisoners so that they might take in their harvest of maize and *chian*.

harassment) of the Indian *principales* as well as their violation of a traditional arrangement whereby the commoners were taxed half a fanega of maize, harvested from the ten *brazas* (278.9 sq mts) they were obligated to plant. Customarily this maize had been collected after Christmas, when the harvest was in and a fanega sold for one and a half reales. Now the *principales* were demanding early payment when prices were four times higher, one peso per fanega. The viceroy enjoined the *principales*, governador, and alcaldes from collecting the maize until after the harvest.[96]

The strife persisted. In 1591 an underlying conflict over the commercialization of local resources, also an evident motive for the early maize collection, came briefly to the fore. In a transparent dispute over agricultural commodities, three Huitzuco Indians protested that another Indian had recently seized *cascalote* trees that they had inherited. For many years they had been freely selling the bark of this tree, used as a tanning agent, to Mexico City cobblers.[97] And a 1592 complaint combined political and economic grievances when a group of Indians petitioned for the restitution of their land and property; relief from the "vexations, affronts, and *derramas*" caused by Mendoza, Robles, and other Indians; and viceregal appointment of an Indian governador from an outside village.[98] On 10 March 1592, given the "many differences among the naturales of [Huitzuco], some against others, from which much harm and many inconveniences result," the viceroy appointed don Juan de la Cruz, an *indio principal* of Metepec, as Huitzuco's *juez governador*.[99] During this administrative interregnum of foreign rule Casasola enjoyed a

96. AGN-I 3/132.

97. AGN-I 5/484 and 5/717. Note that the three Indians mentioned here are not the same individuals as those charged with being "rebellious" (see above).

98. AGN-I 6(1)/143.

99. AGN-I 6(2)/768.

renewed, though short-lived, prominence in regional politics. In the final three months of 1593, the viceroy commissioned him to elaborate reports and draw up maps for the congregación of the major communities of what is now western Guerrero. By May 1594, however, he had lost all of these commissions.[100] Shortly thereafter, outside rule of Huitzuco ended: in September 1594 the viceroy removed don Juan de Tovar, whom he had appointed as *juez governador*.[101] Mendoza and Robles were subsequently elected alcaldes although Casasola, despite his waning authority, quickly convinced the viceroy to remove them from office because they were "belligerent Indians and had appropriated 250 and some fanegas of maize."[102] With the marginalization of the most prominent contending actors (Robles and Mendoza on the one side and Casasola on the other) Huitzuco enjoyed several decades of relative calm, at least according to the official record.

The bleak denouement of Casasola's numerous activities—mining around Taxco; agriculture on the small, fertile plain northeast of Tepecoacuilco; ranching interspersed in a rugged space bounded by Tlaxmalac, Tepecoacuilco, Mayanalán, and Huitzuco; trade in maize and *cascalote*; political brokerage; and a final effort to restructure indigenous settlement—reflects the dilemma of second generation encomenderos who languished between the alternatives created by developing markets and the challenges posed by both autochthonous and Spanish entrepreneurs. In the present case, Casasola's opportunity to broker postconquest alliances was limited by his inability to restrict clients' access to higher level resources (market

100. In October 1593 Casasola was commissioned to carry out the preliminary inquiry for congregaciones in Ichcateopan, Teloloapan, Cuetzala, Tetela, Axuchitlan, Tecpan, Vitalutla (in the province of Zacatula), Acapulco, and Acamalutla (AGN-I 6(1)/644 and 647). He had also been assigned a similar role with regard to congregaciones in Zacango and Atenango (AGN-I 6(1)/673), as well as Huitzuco itself. In December 1593, however, he was ordered to refrain from acting in all but his encomienda village (AGN-I 6(1)/674). In May 1594 Casasola lost the final part of his commission and was ordered to abstain from participating in the preliminary investigation for the Huitzuco congregación (AGN-I 6(1)/768).

101. AGN-I 6(1)/855.

102. AGN-I 6(1)/913.

outlets for household production of maize and *cascalote*) and by the competition presented by an entrepreneurial indigenous elite intent on conserving local political and economic power.

Village factionalism may have benefited Casasola—witness the complaint that Huitzuco natives attacked Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán holdings on his behalf, and the apparent failure of the Huitzuco elite to defend the land of a subject village, Aguacaucingo. Yet there is little evidence that the ambitious encomendero and intractable village commoners formed any permanent alliance, even with a common enemy in the person of village nobles. Rather, they were at best serendipitous brothers-in-arms opposing an indigenous elite (headed by Robles and Mendoza) prone to turncoat politics.[103] If communities were "good to think" then the Huitzuco elite had its share of bad thoughts: by the turn of the century the nobility had already precipitated divisive factional disputes, speculated with community grain, and only feebly defended community land. In 1609 voluntary alienation of personal property to colonial interests was added to the list. Pedro de Robles, now called an "indio cacique" fifteen years after Casasola had him removed from office, gave three *suertes* of land near Pololcingo to Lic. Agustín de Aguero, *beneficiado* of Zumpango and brother of the *beneficiado* of Tlaxmalac.[104] This was to form part of what became one of the dominant haciendas of the later colonial period.

103. The relationship among colonist, indigenous elite, and indigenous commoner goes far beyond that of a broker and intermediate function of the elite. The actions of the lowest group may often manifest a highly ambivalent attitude to both colonizer and the indigenous elite; see the discussion of factionalism in Iguala in chapter 11. In this regard Ortner (1995:175) notes that "both the psychological and the social complexity of resistance" demand greater attention. The problem of ambivalence and cognitive dissonance (let alone the rich cultural and political diversity of different social groups) is poorly addressed by dichotomous models of hegemony and resistance.

104. The reference is in AGN-T 3518/1. Aguero had numerous contacts among the landed indigenous nobility of the northern Iguala valley. In 1609 he bought six *cascalote* trees at Pololcingo from Pedro and Francisco Martínez, *naturales* of Huitzuco (AGN-T 3518/1). In 1623 doña María González, cacica of Tepecuacuilco, willed Aguero, her executor and heir, "four very large *suertes* of land . . . so that he might inherit it as if he were my son" (AGN-T 3514/cuad. 61). Aguero's acquisitions are discussed in the following chapter.

Interethnic relations in sixteenth-century Huitzuco developed in the context of a particularly localized configuration of natural resources and marketing possibilities, with three apparent factions: Casasola, an encomendero resident at least part-time in the village under his care and with many local economic interests; the indigenous governing and commercial elite (exemplified by Robles and Mendoza); and commoners, some of whom were occasionally in league with their ecomendero while others were associated, perhaps as employees, with the native elite. All three groups struggled for economic and political control in Huitzuco. The product with the greatest commercial potential was a tanning agent derived from *cascalote,* a tree considered as private (not communal) property and often mentioned in colonial titles and transfers. In addition, the principal markets—Taxco and Mexico City—were distant and therefore available only to those with sufficient transport capacity. Restricted access to both goods and markets might well have reinforced any extant or latent intracommunity political or economic divisions; the presence of an aggressive encomendero with a drive toward economic entrepreneurism and a penchant for political control clearly exacerbated local tensions—with the results already discussed. The situations around Taxco and Tixtla were markedly distinct. In Taxco, particularly after mid-century when mercury amalgamation replaced smelting as the principal means to refine silver, indigenous economic activity complemented that of the colonists, who began to develop highly capitalized mining and refining ventures. Indians provided wage labor, and marketed salt as well as high-bulk low-value items such as wood and charcoal. Until forced labor drafts began in the late sixteenth century, indigenous resistance to the colonial mining economy was minimal; Indians of all strata took advantage of the work and commercial opportunities associated with mining, and occasionally even promoted Spanish presence in the area. The Tixtla area offers a final pattern. Occasional travelers along the camino real constituted the sole market outlet for goods and services basically limited to grains, fodder,

and prepared foods. Given the general availability of the items sold and the fixed location of the market, competition between Spanish and indigenous society centered on control of coveted space alongside the single line of communication linking the south sea to the highland plateau. Interethnic struggle tended to focus on rights of settlement: Spaniards sought to establish ventas in localities claimed as their historical privilege by indigenous communities and their political elite.[105]

CONCLUSION

This chapter began with a presentation and analysis of various factors that influenced the spatial and temporal patterning of agrarian society in New Spain, particularly land acquisition by colonial entrepreneurs. At one end of the scale were highly formalized structures such as the institutional policies of the colonial state. Programs such as the congregaciones, which created empty spaces that were then targeted by agrarian entrepreneurs intent on asserting their rights to cultivate underused (and hence poorly possessed) land; and composiciones, which quieted title by condoning the takeover of what was conveniently considered *terra nullius* and thus assigned for estrangement to the crown's eminent domain, together established the basic demographic and legal conditions for the displacement of property from the indigenous to the Spanish domain. At the other end of the scale were economic incentives, a steadily increasing and shifting demand for grain that provided a basic motive for acquisition and investment in land. Whereas the former, institutional structures emanated from the state, the latter was a much more impalpable development, emerging out of the steady increase in the urban population, escalating demand for fodder for animals used in mining and transport, and the collapse of a tributary economy and

105 .Such was the case of Acapizatlan and Zumpango, already mentioned, as well as Mezcala and, particularly, Palula (see chapter 6).

centralized distribution (*repartimiento de maíz*) based on indigenous agriculture. But the agrarian activity of colonists did not take place simply in the area between the market and the state, it also emerged from an "ambience," as Thompson called it, of agrarian custom that permeated through much of Hispanic society. During the early colonial period, the debate over whether Indians cultivated land or not was often vented in the courts, with the assumption that their alleged poor use of the land was an offense against God and man, and justified appropriation by industrious, and God-fearing, Spaniards.

The second section of this chapter explored patterns of land acquisition and agrarian conflict in central Guerrero during the second half of the sixteenth century, the period that preceded the final stage of forced nucleation and the widespread titling (for a fee) of illegal holdings that was to so drastically change the pattern of land tenure in central Guerrero and elsewhere. During this early period, all three jurisdictions—Taxco, Tixtla, and Iguala—manifested somewhat similar patterns: a relatively reduced number of small mercedes and minimal interest of colonists in acquiring land in these areas. Yet when there was an effort to acquire property, it was often undertaken by encomenderos with vested local interests: Ircio had a large stake in the Zumpango mines and Casasola had mining ventures in Taxco. Both these individuals were also active in their indigenous villages; Ircio bought at least some of his land from Indian nobles, and Casasola apparently had forged some alliances with indigenous factions in Huitzuco. In the Taxco jurisdiction as well, there are indications of acquiesence, or perhaps collusion, between indigenous authorities and Spanish landlords. In this early period, then, the surviving indigenous nobility occasionally forged social and economic bonds with the Spaniards who invaded their land, and therefore played some role in the loss of native control and rights to

land.[106]

By the beginning of the seventeenth century major changes had taken place. Mining at Taxco, after perhaps peaking around 1635, seems to have suffered a steady decline during what has been famously called "New Spain's Century of Depression." There is little extant documentation of activity in this area, not a surprising development if indeed the mines were suffering a recession. Yet in the jurisdictions of Iguala and those of Chilapa and Tixtla, significant changes were taking place. Throughout the century ranching interests took over vast amounts of land that had been abandoned as a result of the severe epidemics of the late sixteenth century and the forced resettlement of the surviving Indians in nucleated villages. Myriad interests came into play: a Texcoco landlord acquired vast holdings in the Iguala Valley, and the encomendero of Tepecuacuilco and his descendants expanded their holdings throughout the valley. To the south the descendents of Ircio and Velasco continued to hold a huge amount of land around Tixtla and into the Sierra Madre. Finally, the Jesuits of Santa Lucía gradually moved into the area, buying up land in Chilapa, Tixtla, and then the Iguala Valley, before abandoning the area as unsuitable to sheep ranching and withdrawing their immense herds to more propitious environments. These developments are discussed in the following chapter.

106. Another example of these bonds is that formed between doña María González, *principal* of Tepecuacuilco, andher executor and compadre, licenciado Agustín de Aguero, to whom she left 4 *suertes* of irrigated land; AGN-T 3514 (the will was dated 8 April 1623).

CHAPTER 5

HACIENDA FORMATION AND MARKET STRUCTURE: CASE STUDIES IN LANDHOLDING PATTERNS IN NORTH- AND SOUTH-CENTRAL GUERRERO

INTRODUCTION: THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE LAND AND THE MEASUREMENT OF PROPERTY

During the seventeenth century the morphology and character of the land itself began to change. Detached properties in a non-concatenative geography were consolidated, part of a state-administered process of territorialization during which contiguous space came to be defined more by the outside limits of property than by the inside centers of occupation.[1] And although the land law referred specifically to the *huecos* (holes) for which composición could be sought after they had been extra-legally "filled" by expansion, the bottom line of territorialization was less one of filling in the holes than of connecting the dots. Boundary markers gradually came to adorn the land, and more and more properties had a clear (though not necessarily agreed up) within and without. At times the boundaries confirmed natural divisions: heaps of stone, often crowned by a cross, would be placed at the top of a hill, a fork in a river, the entry to a mountain pass—all, in a way, discontinuities in nature.[2] Occasionally, however, and often as the result of a compromise solution to land litigation, boundary markers silenced or at least ran roughshod over nature and the divisions it suggested. Geometric lines pierced through the landscape as a natural morphology of the land gave way to the more rigid, more culturally arbitrary human agency of

1. The most complete survey of state-sponsored property mapping is Kain and Baignant (1992); for local-level responses, see Peluso (1995).

2. For a discussion of what is refered to as "the secularization of landscape boundaries" concomitant to the emergence of scientific surveying, see Stilgoe (1976), who notes that "one chief distinction between the medieval and modern views of the natural environment is the difference in attitude toward landscape boundaries" (p. 14). For the role of maps in imprinting a "space discipline" on nature, see Harley (1988). For estate maps and surveying in general, see Buisseret (1996), P. D. A. Harvey (1993), and Taylor (1947).

territorial divisions.[3] This inscription of human presence and proprietary rights on the land—the process of territorialization—is perhaps the most salient development of seventeenth century rural society. It is well illustrated in the changing iconography of cartographic practice from the early to the late colonial periods. This shift toward demarcation, to the connecting of dots and the emergence of marked perimeters to property, influenced changes in the iconographic representation of land and, eventually, in how land was conceived of and struggled for.[4]

Early maps of mercedes (map 5a), for example, tended to represent not simply a natural landscape, but precisely those features most necessary both to locate the grant (brooks and rivers, roads, settlements, fields and fences) and to assure its legality in accordance with viceregal ordinances (the distances from the merced to nearby Indian villages and fields, as well as to other Spanish settlements).[5] A request for a merced near a pueblo called Çontepec illustrates the importance of cultivated fields and a set distance (1½ leagues) for cartographic representations of land grants. Near the middle of the map, though slightly to the upper right, is the sitio de estancia requested in merced. The cultivated fields that surround the requested land on three of its four sides are graphically represented by maize stalks enclosed by mostly double lines, representing

3. This use of divisionary lines often occurred on plains and other topographical features not lending themselves to an obvious natural division. The concept of an articulate nature was repeatedly expressed to me during my fieldwork among Nahuatl-speaking peasants of the Balsas River valley. Often, when I would ask where a particular parcel of land ended and an adjacent on began, I would be told something like *"un a:tlawtli tlatoa"* (the ravine speaks, or rules).

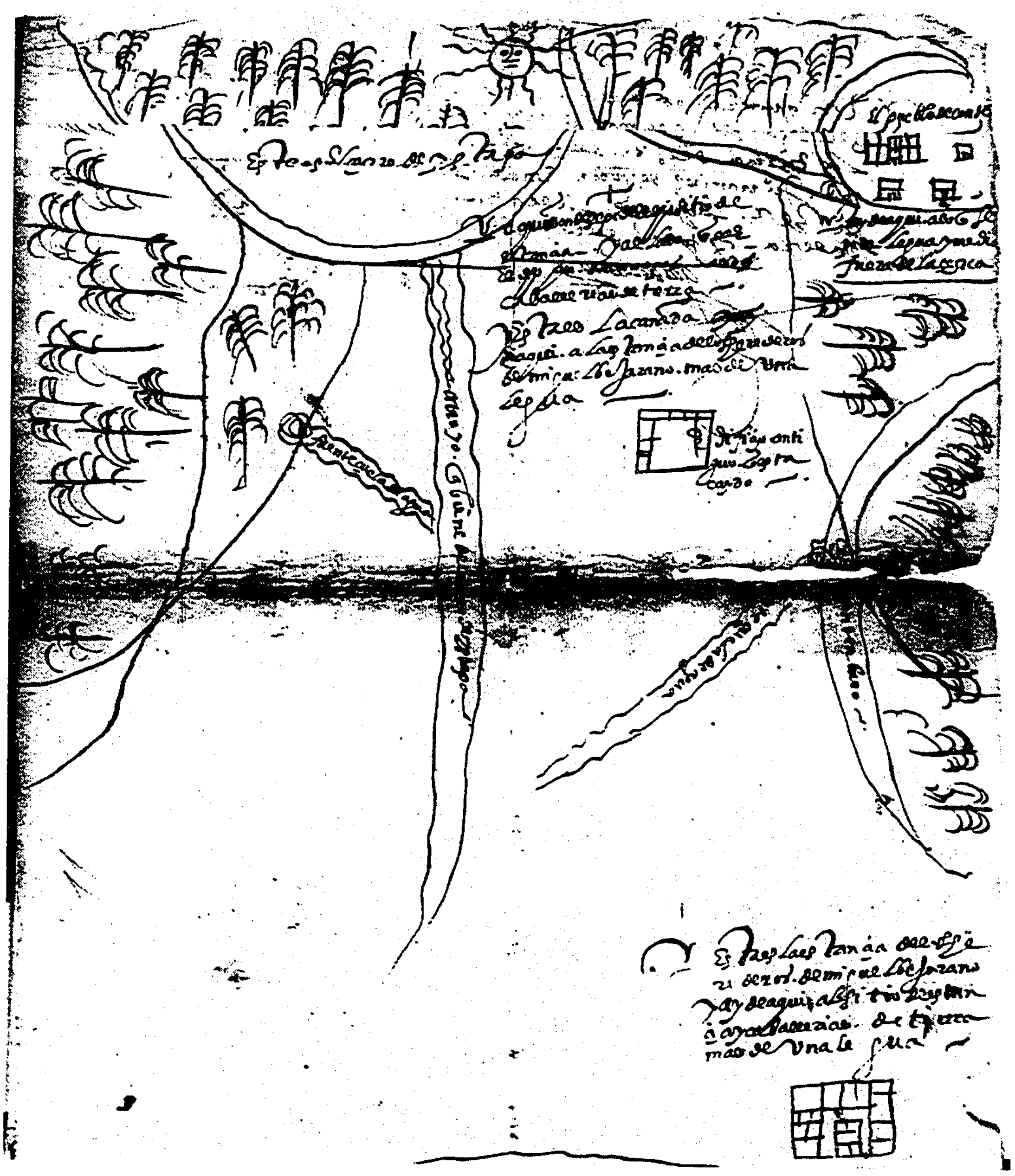
4. There is little research on the iconography of representation in functional land maps throughout the colonial period (but see Mundy 1996: chap. 7). Gruzinski (1987) examines Indian and Spanish representational patterns in early colonial maps; Robertson (1959) offers an art historical perspective on early colonial manuscript painting. For more general approaches, see Harvey (1980) and Thompson (1968). For the relationship between scientific surveying techniques and the concept of land as property, see Stilgoe (1976). Cosgrove (1988) examines the link between cartography and landscape—both of which were grounded in geometric relations, which was "the measure of the Divine and of its order throughout creation"—during the Renaissance.

5. These ordinances established the required distance in leagues between colonists' property and Indian villages and fields. Solano (1984:34–37) offers an excellent summary of the laws governing the required distance between *estancias de ganado* and Indian villages.

the stone fences that would protect corn from cattle and thus limit the one key factor that so often resulted in the denial of a grant: the inherent conflict between farming and ranching, between maize as food and maize as fodder. The walls surrounding the fields, then, gave added weight to the claim that the merced would not affect the subsistence economy of the indigenous village; the walls are not, strictly speaking, boundary markers. Although the distance between the fields and the merced is not given, the intent of the map seems clear: to document the fact that if the colonist petitioning for the land receives it, no harm will befall the Indians and their crops. When distances are noted on the map (1½ leagues to the pueblo of Çontepec in the top right-hand corner, and 1½ leagues to the estancia in the lower right-hand corner, belonging to the heirs of Miguel Bejarano), the measurement given coincides with the legal requirement for the distance between Spanish and Indian (or other colonial) agrarian enterprises. There are, then, no boundaries on this map, only signs of human presence and their significance for the rights of a newcomer who found, in the midst of previous settlements, a niche that he wished to exploit.

To the degree that the colonial period progressed, boundary markers positioned by human agency increased in number. And as natural guideposts to the division of the earth began to share their demarcative functions with artificial constructions, chorography began to conflict with and eventually impose itself on topography as the defining feature of the rights of humans to their place on the earth. Yet for a while both retained a presence on an artificial landscape (map 5b). Thus in a dispute over property rights in the northeastern Iguala Valley, we can see the boundary markers named Tlilsapotla (top/west), Tetisec (upper left/southwest) and Copala (left/south) nestled into three narrow gorges as they emerge onto what appears to be a plain named Tepoaloya, which surrounds the road from Teocalcingo (village at top center) to Quechalapa (village at lower left, now Quetzalapa). The merced map, though clearly not drawn to scale nor oriented in a consistent manner, does accurately represent some of the key features

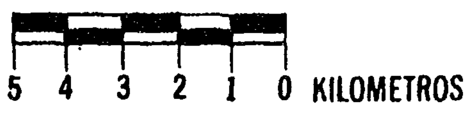
Map 5a: Early merced near Çontepec (AGN Tierras, vol. 2692, exp. 21, fol. 9)



Map 5b: Land litigation near Chaucingo, eighteenth century (AGN Tierras, vol. 3566, exp. 5, cuad. 2, fol. 38bis)

Map 5c: Modern topographical map of the area near Chaucingo

C. LAS CRUCES
San Juan Teocalzingo
Tuchimilco
JUMILAR
Las Animas
Quetzalapa
Chaucingo
Grande
C. LA ENCINERA
C. LAS ENCINERAS
C. CUEZAPULCO
1020



of the landscape: the Río Grande (actually the Amacuzac River) frames the map to the east and north, before splitting into the Amacuzaque and Xoxutla rivers in the top left corner (northeast); the hill named Masahuehue, south of Chaucingo is still called by the same name although Colotepec (located in the plain that connects the three villages) is obviously the hill now called El Jumilar; and the unnamed stream running from the Río Grande (Amacuzac) past Chaucingo and to Quechalapa in the lower left is just as clearly a brook today called Arroyo Grande (lit., Big Stream). Other places are still recognizable: Guixastla (written perpendicularly near Teocalcingo) is present-day Huixastla, located about 10 km north of Teocalcingo (cf. map 5c).

There is, however, one particularly striking features of the colonial map (5b): the representation of most borders as straight lines joining boundary markers placed at topographically salient locations. Thus the western border is portrayed as a line running from the fork in the Xocutla and Amacuzaque rivers to the gorge where the road to Huitzuco (*camino de Huisuco*) passes to the south of the Cerro de Ocoteo. The hills rise up beyond this line, the two-dimensional equivalent of cardboard pop-ups, jutting straight out of the flatlands with no rolling foothills to mediate the transition. The southern border is even more interesting, for it dissects several hills and a lake (*laguna de Astla*) before running halfway up a mountain and turning 90 degrees to the north, hitting the Río Grande just above the point where it is joined by the stream from Quechalapa. In this case a sharply angled border did not deign to meet the boundary marker (a pile of stones at the top of the hill named Masahuehue), as if ascending the remaining distance to the top of the mountain would take it too much out of its geometric way; rather, a sharp 90-degree angle was the path to be followed. Indeed, the strict rectangular form of the shaded land area in dispute strikingly ignores the most salient features of natural and human boundaries in favor of a strict geometry of space. The remaing borders, west and north, are marked by the curving Río Grande, a clear indication that in a pecking-order of natural boundaries, rivers were

"good to think," or at least easier and better to think than foothills and hilltops. As borders, rivers remained the most "rational" aspect of nature, that most able be considered as a boundary in a cartography of landed territories.

The final map (map 5d) represents an additional step toward the rationalization of territorial divisions. A scale measuring 5,000 "Mexican varas," or one league, appears in the lower-right corner. And the map is said to be "faithfully derived" (*fielmente deducido*) from one elaborated in the field, an obvious allusion to a previous field survey that is further indexed by the many numbers scattered throughout the map, the reference points of the scientific calculations already made.[6] Not only are many of the villages and hills recognizable on a modern map (5e), but the topography and scale of the colonial map correlates nicely with that of its modern version. Thus Cacahuamilpa at the top center (west) of the colonial map is nestled between two hills, clearly recognizable on the modern map as the twin peaks of the hill named El Jumil. Likewise, the shape of the blackened, curved zone in the lower right-hand section of the map, a hill running south and west of Coatlán, Tetecala, Cuauhchinola, Amacuzac, and Huajintlan (the latter indicated by pt. F on the colonial map) is recognizable in the modern version as the hills of Los Catalanes and El Jumil. Finally, a comparison of distances on each of the two maps reveals a quite close correlation, an indication of the precision with which the survey was carried out. Yet this precision was possible only with advanced surveying techniques, the vestiges of which appear as lines-connecting-the-numbers on the colonial map. Here then, is the final man-made mark on the surface of the earth: the invisible imprint of the surveyor's sightings, a connecting of the dots that represents not the exoskeleton of a territorialized and bounded space, but the endoskeleton of a new scientific enterprise: the precise measurement and

6. For the emergence of scale maps in late sixteenth-century England, see P. D. A. Harvey (1993).

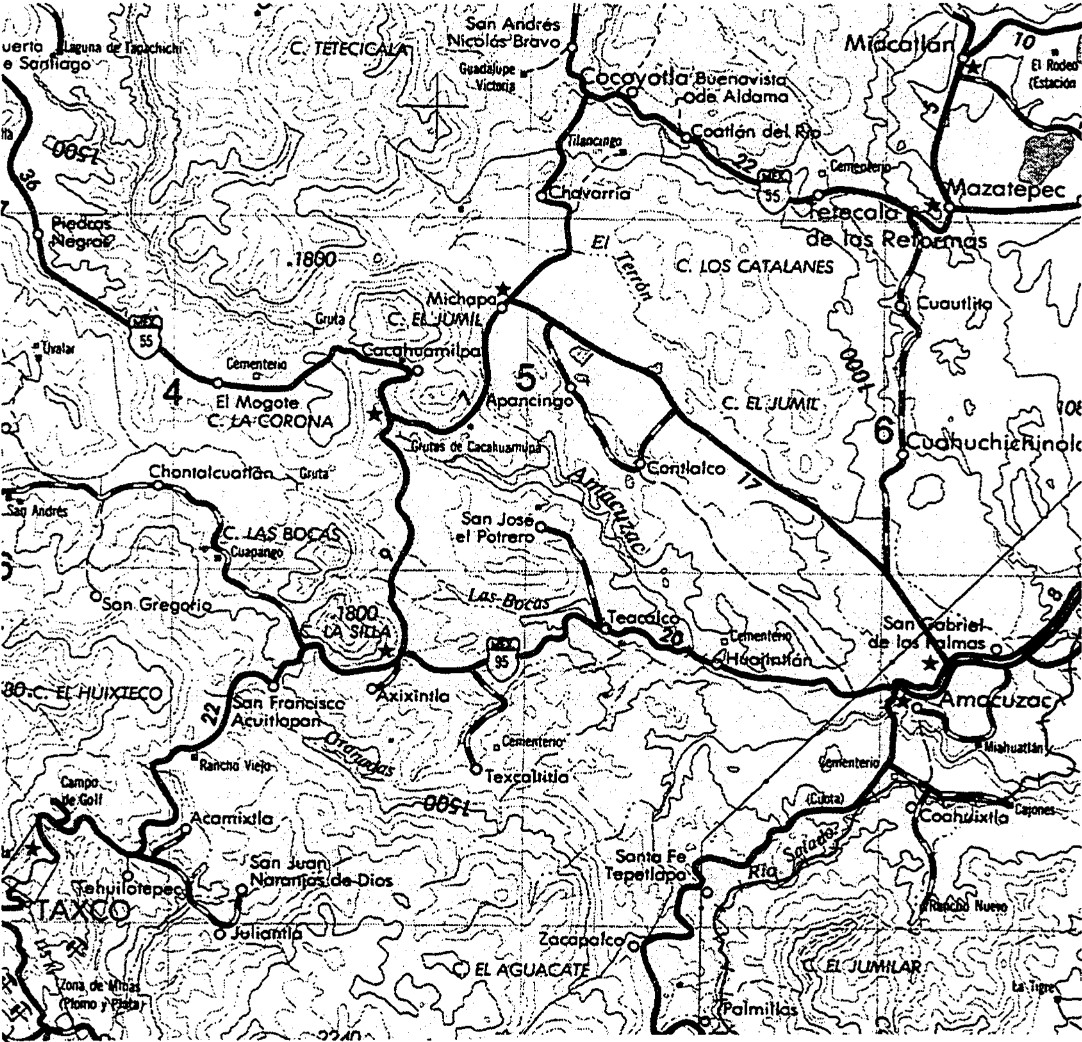
quantification of the earth's surface.

This brief discussion of the chorography of landed estates suggests that the emergence of scales and straight lines on two-dimensional representations of a three-dimensional reality reveals the impact of a new language of scientific rationalism that was overlaid on an increasingly depersonalized and secularized space. Surveying, and a new representational cartography, became a means of imposing rational divisions on unkempt nature, much as the grid pattern of settlement, though based on a Renaissance idea of order, civilized both space and its inhabitants. At the same time, while mapping and the demarcation of perimeters probably reduced the overall flexibility of land use, at least in regards to shifting cultivation and extensive agriculture, it also created an inherently more supple community interior. That is, in concerning itself with fixed boundaries and outer limits, the state and the colonists relegated village-internal politics of land tenure and use to a secondary (and for the state and hacendado highly irrelevant) plane. In effect, the exoskeleton of a precisely mapped shell shielded the soft, pithy interior space of Indian communities for which little, if any, evidence remains. It is this aspect of agrarian society, the nature of land tenure and use within the village, that is the most difficult to document and constitutes perhaps the greatest unknown in the agrarian history of colonial New Spain.

Finally, at the same time that boundaries were being put in place, another process was occurring, one in many ways contrary to a cold dissection of terrain: the emergence of an identity of place. These changes, from the very beginning of the colonial period, were accompanied by a transformation in the language of location. Thus a *suerte* of land with a melon patch became El Melonar; and a *sitio de ganado mayor* located, according to a merced, "in a *carrizal* (canefield) where there is a little hut (jacalillo)" became known as Carrizal, a place and then a community. Migrants who at an early point in time mentioned that they had come to reside in a paraje callled Palula, later claimed that they *were of* the pueblo named Palula. Haciendas and ranchos adopted

Map 5d: Late colonial land survey in the jurisdiction of Taxco (AGN Tierras vol. 3528, exp. 1 cuad. 2, fol. 75)

Map 5e: Modern topographical map of the area northwest of Taxco



names—often of a central *paraje* (a spot on the rural landscape) where the owner built his or her house—that gave a structured order to the miscellany of toponyms in original grants. Thus as people migrated and settled into new environments, recent settlements became communities[7] and haciendas became a home, and not simply a workplace, to many. But it was not only designations that changed, from description to names, for while these new settlements became more and more delimited by their outer boundaries, they became more and more identified (at least in the minds of their inhabitants) by their internal social organization; this affected not only cuadrillas of migrant tenant farmers but haciendas (and cuadrillas of hacienda workers) as well. This process of placemaking and community formation (in both the social and politico-administrative senses) is a constant of the colonial period. But whereas the survival of Indian villages has been a topic for much research (particularly in regards to defense of land and opposition to forced repartimiento labor), the creation of communities and the emergence of new spatially centered social groups has received scant attention. This sociocultural transformation of space—a new circumscription of territory and an emergent identification with place—constitutes a fundamental aspect of rural change during the middle and late colonial period. Through the presentation of three case studies, this chapter examines the process of territorialization and the struggle for control over land in central Guerrero; the two chapters that follow explore placemaking and the struggle for control over migrating people.

LANDHOLDING IN THE IGUALA VALLEY

INTRODUCTION

Seventeenth-century landowners in central Guerrero fall into three general groups. The first

7. This process is explored in the following chapter.

comprised absentee entrepreneurs: several leading Mexico City and Texcoco merchants who bought land in the Iguala Valley, and the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, which expanded the holdings of Santa Lucía from Puebla, through Chilapa and Tixtla, and into the northern Iguala Valley. The physical distance that separated these merchants and the Colegio from their central Guerrero holdings, as well as the fact that they managed commercial and rural enterprises elsewhere, had important consequences for their agrarian ventures. Without exception they were unable to maintain possession at a distance and eventually abandoned or lost their holdings.

The second group consisted of two families. To the north there was don Melchor de Tornamira, the early seventeenth-century encomendero of Tepecuacuilco, and his heirs; to the south there was the marqués de Salinas and his descendants, encomenderos of Tixtla, Oapan, Mochitlán, and Huitziltepec. During the seventeenth century each family line built up a huge estate, the former in the Iguala Valley and the latter in a vast region extending southward from Tixtla into the Sierra Madre. By the first decade of the eighteenth century, together these two properties covered perhaps as much as some 500,000 hectares (about 2,400 square miles).[8] The fortunes of each diverged rapidly after this point: the hacienda of Palula, which dominated the Iguala Valley, was embargoed and apparently split in half and sold in public auction when its owner, don Antonio de Ayala, was unable to meet the interest payments on a *capellanía* attached to his property. By the late colonial period, however, a single owner, the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco, had reconsolidated the original holding, joining together the two properties that had emerged after the 1728 embargo into a single estate that covered some 150 to 200 thousand hectares in the central valley, from Iguala to the Balsas River. In fact, this holding

8. This represents approximately 10% of what constitutes the modern state of Guerrero.

continued intact up to the end of the nineteenth century.[9] Land tenure in the Iguala Valley, therefore, was perhaps unique in central Mexico, for from the late seventeenth to late nineteenth century one or two holdings dominated the valley, with a size the rivaled that of any other in the central area of Mexico.

The large holding in south-central Guerrero, owned by Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, suffered a different fate. It seems to have crumbled under its own weight: unable to motivate any significant economic investment in an increasingly marginalized region, this estate virtually disappeared from sight. By the late eighteenth century only a few small haciendas of low value and limited production were left in the Tixtla jurisdiction. Thus, in effect, the size of the archetypical landholdings of two prominent encomenderos increased drammatically in size up to about 1710, despite a relative absence of market outlets in both areas. Neither was able to generate significant profit during the early eighteenth century, but whereas the Tixtla-area holdings fragmented into small estates, the Iguala Valley property maintained its unified structure and, with the emergence of a maize economy, by the mid–eighteenth century was able to recuperate a dynamism (attracting migrant laborers and merchant capital) that characterized it for the final half-century before independence.

Finally, a third group of local owners held more modest properties scattered throughout central Guerrero. Several of these hacendados developed fairly good relations with Indian villages from whom they either rented or bought land: don Juan de Soto y Acuña with Cocula; and don José de Larumbe with Mochitlán. The former helped defend Cocula against the encroachments of the owners of the hacienda of Palula, and the latter was chosen as a fair judge

9. With little change this holding was to continue under single ownership until the final decade of the nineteenth century, when it was broken up among the litigious heirs of the final owner, Coronel don Juan Montúfar. Perhaps the most unique facet of agrarian society in the Iguala Valley is the fact that for virtually 200 years a single property dominated the land tenure pattern of the area.

Table 5a
Hacienda of Tepantlan: Summary of acquisitions by Juan García Ponce[1]
(as sold to the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo on 2 December 1660)

NAME OF FIRST HOLDER (⇨ INDICATES IMMEDIATE TRANSFERS TO)	NAME OR LOCATION OF SITES [*CUADERNO* NUMBER][2]	SIZE OF MERCED	ACQUISITION BY GARCÍA PONCE FAMILY
Pedro de la Piedra (5 September 1605) ⇨ Juan Esteban Guasín	Between Acamac and Ahuehuepan #60	1 sitio ganado mayor 3 caballerías	Although in one document Juan García Ponce (son) mentions that his father had bought these lands from Pedro de la Piedra (AGN-T 3514/cuad. 65), elsewhere it is clearly stated that Juan Esteban Guasino had acquired these lands from de la Piedra on 2 November 1605, either because de la Piedra acted in his behalf (AGN-T 3514/2 fol. 41f) or from a sale (AGN-T 3514/cuad. 60).
Antonio de Nava (30 June 1611) ⇨ Gonzalo Gutiérrez Gil	Tepantlan (places named Metlaltepec, Achichipico, and Itzuiapoaloayan) #59	1 sitio ganado mayor 2 caballerías	García Ponce's 19 Feb. 1643 acquisition from Juan de Campos was of 1 sitio de estancia and 4 caballerías "with all the *baldía* land, lakes and watering holes admitted in composición." Nava's merced, which served as the basis for Campos's sale to García Ponce, had only been for 1 sitio and 2 caballerías. The additional two caballerías may have been legally acquired at some point, or they may have resulted from illegal expansion before the 1643 sale. They might also have been the 2 caballerías that constituted Nicolás de Nava's portion of the land composed by Juan Mas on 10 October 1643 (see appendix 5b). Note that Nicolás de Nava might have been a relative of Antonio de Nava.
(? Nicolás de Nava)		2 caballerías	

1. For more complete information on each merced and property holding, see appendix table 5b.

2. Refers to the number of the *cuaderno* (notebook) in AGN-T 3514. These are marked on map 5f.

Juan de Iturriaga (21 March 1616)	Acamac and Tomatal #62	3 sitios ganado mayor	On 19 July 1616 García Ponce bought this land for 600 pesos.
Sebastián de Rivera (5 May 1616) ⇨ Juan García Ponce	Zoquiapan (between Metlapa and Cocula) #63	2 sitios ganado mayor	Rivera ceded this land to García Ponce on 18 July 1616.
Lic. Agustín de Aguero (8 April 1623)	El Melonar (between Acamac, Tomatal, and Tonalapa) #61	4 suertes	On 8 June 1645 García Ponce bought these 4 *suertes,* along with another caballería of land near Tuxpan, from Juan Mas and Pedro Millán for 650 pesos. The caballería of land was probably one of the two caballerías that Mas and Millán composed on 10 October 1643. For the history of the 4 *suertes* of land up to their acquisition by García Ponce, see appendix table 5b, entry for 8 April 1623.
Juan Mas and Pedro Millán (merced date not known; composición occurred on 10 October 1643)	Near Tlaxmalac #64	1 caballerías	
TOTALS		7 sitios ganado mayor (54.3 sq km) 8 caballerías (3.36 sq km) 4 suertes	

by the villages of both Mochitlán and Chilpancingo.[10] Others, particularly during the late colonial period, initiated bitter struggles with neighboring villages: Nicolás Salgado with Coscatlán; Alvarez y Coria with Huistac; the Marbán brothers with Teocalcingo; and the owners of Tlapala with Tlaxmalac, Mayanalán, and Ahuehuepan.[11]

This chapter focuses on the formation of landed estates in the Iguala Valley, particularly during the complicated period of acquisition, shifting titles, consolidation and embargo that lasted until the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. After that time there was little change in ownership and only slight modification of boundaries. Rather, the last short century of the colonial period (from about 1730 to 1810) was characterized by the transformation of the agrarian economy of the Iguala Valley, from ranching to farming by migrants and grain speculation by commercial entrpreneurs, with little change in land ownership. Comparative data for the Tixtla area (for which relatively little documentation has been located) is discussed more briefly in the concluding section.

SHEEP RANCHING AND PROPERTY RIGHTS: THE ILL-FATED ENTERPRISES OF JUAN GARCÍA PONCE AND THE JESUIT COLEGIO DE SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO

The late sixteenth-century presence of ranchers from Pánuco, some 600 kilometers northeast of Iguala, adumbrates the activity of distant seventeenth-century entrepreneurs in central Guerrero

10. For an account of the relationship between Cocula and Soto y Acuña, see chapter 9. For Larumbe, see AGN-I 66/164 dated 1779, AGN-I 67/330 dated 1792, AGN-I 76/2 and 3 dated 1805 and 1808 respectively, and AGN-T 1225/1 dated 1792.

11. A case study of Coscatlán is presented in chapter 7; Alvarez y Coria and his ownership of Oculixtlahuacan is briefly discussed in chapter 9. The expansion of the Marbán brothers against Teocalcingo is not covered here (but see, AGN-I 64/56 dated 1772, AGN-T 933/8 dated 1746, AGN-T 3511/6 dated 1770, and AGN-T 3566/5 dated 1758. The dispute over lands at Chaucingo is depicted in map 5b. The extensive disputes involving Tlapala are briefly covered later in this present chapter, where the corresponding references are given.

and suggests that even at an early date, knowledge of the existence of cheap pasture in this area had become known throughout central New Spain.[12] This locus of interest in the northern Iguala Valley, particularly after drastic population decline and the congregación program had opened up vast areas of land, is best exemplified by the history of four mercedes that eventually came to form the basis for the hacienda of Tepantlan (see table 5a). Pedro de la Piedra, Sebastián de Rivera, and Antonio de Nava, original merced recipients, each quickly ceded their grant to their respective sponsoring Mexico City merchant: Juan Esteban Guasín, Juan García Ponce (father), and Gonzalo Gutiérrez Gil. A fourth merced recipient was Juan de Iturriaga, a page in the viceroy's service. Immediately upon acquiring the land grant he empowered Fernando Méndez de Ocampo to sell it, with the sale price to be split evenly between Iturriaga and Méndez de Ocampo. Juan García Ponce, a Texcoco merchant and landowner, bought the property for 600 pesos on 16 July 1616. Three days later Méndez de Ocampo authorized a creditor, Martín López de Erenchum, in charge of scales *(a balansario)* in the Mexico City mint, to collect 200 pesos still owed by Garcia Ponce. Thus by 1616, a scant dozen or so years after the congregación program had come to an end, three Mexico City and Texcoco merchants had acquired land in the northern Iguala Valley. A brief summary of these holdings, and how they were consolidated in the hands of the García Ponce family, reveals how agrarian interests in the central highlands first acquired land in the northern valley before one family emerged as a dominant rural force by the mid-1600s.

Although García Ponce (father) procured most of his land during the first two decades of the century, one parcel of land remained outside his control for some time, as it was exploited by another highland entrepreneur—Gutiérrez Gil, one of the foremost silver merchants of the early

12. The majority of information on the following land transactions is from AGN-T 3514 and AGN-T 3518/2. See appendix 5b and 5e for additional sources on mercedes and composiciones in the Iguala Valley.

seventeenth century.[13] Gutiérrez Gil's land at Tepantlan, for which Antonio de Nava had processed the original merced, represented but a small part of his extensive rural and urban holdings, which included 25 houses and 17 shops in Mexico City. After Gutiérrez Gil died in 1624, Tepantlan was acquired by Gerónimo de Vera, a member of another leading merchant family based in the capital. On 15 July 1632 his agent, Gaspar de Contreras, sold the hacienda of 1 sitio de ganado menor and 2 caballerías to Juan de Campos and Andrés de Perea (see table 5b). When Juan de Campos later sold the property to García Ponce in February 1643, it had expanded slightly to 1 sitio de ganado menor and 4 caballerías. The sale price was 1,550 pesos, apparently just for the land. At about this time García Ponce paid 300 pesos for a composición, perhaps to legalize the additional 2 caballerías of property.[14] Two years later García Ponce (son) bought 4 *suertes* and 1 caballería from Juan Mas and Pedro Millán, thus completing the consolidation of landholding in the vicinity of Tepantlan that his father had begun 29 years previously (see table 5a).

By 1651, when the estate of Juan García Ponce and his wife María del Valle was divided among their six heirs, it was worth 22,251 pesos after balancing assets and liabilities (see table 5c). Noteworthy are the 9,200 pesos of redeemable *censos*[15] and 9,270 pesos 4 reales in debts

13. Information on Gutiérrez Gil is found in Hoberman (1991:passim), who also provides some information on the Vera family, Martín López Erenchum, Alonso Picazo Hinojosa, and Juan Vázquez Medina. De la Peña (1983:60) mentions the northern mining interests, in Durango, of Bartolomé Esteban Guacín and his son, Juan. This is probably the same person, or at least family, as the individual who acquired the merced from de la Piedra.

14. Information from AGN-T 3514/cuad. 59.

15. It appears that these *censos* represent actual loans taken out for capital investment on hacienda improvement. Note that a term of García Ponce's (son) 1660 sale to the Jesuits is that 3,000 pesos go directly toward the repayment of principal of a total 6,000 that García Ponce owed on a *censo* to the convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico City. The *censo* had been attached to the hacienda of Coyotepec, in the jurisdiction of Texcoco, which Juan García Ponce had inherited from his brother Francisco, and then sold to Diego Pulido (AGN-T 3514/cuad. 65).

(over half this amount was credit extended by doña Juliana de Salazar, the owner of the hacienda of Palula who had bought part of García Ponce's property in the Iguala Valley). Within ten years, however, both the hacienda of Coyotepec, inherited by Francisco García Ponce, and that of Tepantlan, inherited by Juan García Ponce (son), were sold, as the family's rural estates were apparently liquidated at this time. On 2 December 1660 the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo bought Tepantlan for 10,000 pesos. At that time the hacienda included 10,000 sheep, 3 black slaves, and an extension of 7 estancias de ganado menor, 8 caballerías, and 4 *suertes* (for the history of these holdings, see table 5a).[16] Of the 10,000 peso sale price, the Jesuits were to pay 3,000 directly to the convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico City, which had previously lent García Ponce 6,000 pesos against the value of Coyotepec. The other 7,000 pesos were to be liquidated over the following three years through payments in wool from the Jesuit hacienda of Santa Lucía: 1,000 arrobas in 1660; and 2,000 arrobas in both 1661 and 1662, an average of 1,667 arrobas (41,667 lbs) per year.[17] This represents the yearly production of close to 72,000 sheep, 60 percent of the approximately 120,000 sheep belonging to Santa Lucía in 1660.[18]

16. This represents a significant decrease in value from 1632, when a much smaller area (1 estancia de ganado menor and 2 caballerías), with about half the number of sheep and goats (4,525 as compared to 10,000 in 1660), and only one more slave, sold for 6,856 pesos and 2 reales (see table 5b).

17. The wool was to be valued at the market price in Texcoco; if the 5,000 arrobas were not worth 7,000 pesos, the difference would be made up in wool in 1663.

The price of 10,000 pesos for an estate that included 10,000 sheep suggests an extremely low land value, perhaps combined with the poor quality of the sheep. Note that in 1632, Gerónimo de Vera sold 1 sitio de ganado menor and 2 caballerías for 1,200 pesos. This land was included in the García Ponce sale to the Colegio. It is, however, difficult to estimate land values from hacienda sales given that at times these values were clearly misrepresented; see appendix 8, table 8b, n. 9.

18. The figures are derived from Konrad (1980:182–83 and fig. 3, page 176) who estimates that two-thirds of a flock are shorn and the average yield per sheep (apparently based on total sheep divided by wool output, i.e. including unshorn animals) is 0.58 pounds. His figure 3 suggests that Santa Lucía had a total of approximately 120,000 sheep in 1660. Note that the 2,000 arrobas (50,000 pounds) due in 1661 and 1662 represent the wool output from a herd of approximately 86,000 sheep, or 72% of Santa Lucía's total production.

Table 5b
Sale of Tepantlan by Gerónimo de Vera
to Juan de Campos and Andrés de Perea: 1632

ITEM	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL PRICE
Land of 1 sitio de ganado menor and 2 caballerías		1,200
4,525 sheep and goats	1¼ per head	5,656¼
4 male black slaves	500 each	2,000
1 female black slave and her 2 young children		575
6 donkeys	5 pesos/each	30
2 mules		45
2 copper kettles		25
The rights to debts owed by the Indians and goat shepherds who work on the hacienda, with some debts dating back 20 years[19]		1,200
TOTAL		10,731¼

Source: AGN-T 3514/cuad. 59, fols. 8ff.

The pattern of Mexico City and Texcoco merchants' property ownership in the northern Iguala Valley suggests speculation, leasing, and frequent sales (as demonstrated by short time period between the acquisitions and sales of Esteban Guasín, Gutiérrez Gil, Vera, and Campos and Perea). The acquisition and investment pattern of García Ponce suggests an effort to form a productive hacienda through capital investment and vertical integration with cloth production. In 1651 (see table 5c) the García Ponce estate owed 5,147 pesos to Alonso Picazo de Ynojosa, a leading Mexico City merchant; had an additional 4,123½ pesos in outstanding debts; and owed 9,200 pesos on *censos* (of which at least 6,000 were attached to Coyotepec). To meet these obligations, some real estate was sold; in the 1640s (see below), Juan García Ponce transferred some land and cattle to either don Melchor de Tornamira or two his wife, doña Juliana de

19. Konrad (1980:182) discusses the labor requirements (man:sheep ratio) on several Jesuit ranches. The ratio varied from 1:600 to 1:200, depending on the quality of the grazing land (better land allowed a greater concentration of sheep and less labor).

Salazar, encomenderos of Tepecuacuilco and owners of the hacienda of Palula; at least some of the proceeds from this sale went directly to pay off a large debt to Picazo de Ynojosa. Likewise, when Tepantlan was sold to the Jesuits in 1660, 3,000 pesos went to retire part of a 6,000 *censo* debt to the convent of Santo Domingo. The patterning of these transactions implies that the *censos* were taken out against the land as collateral in order to obtain funds for capital improvements. As already noted, the other 7,000 pesos of the sale price were to be paid in wool. The Jesuits benefited from this arrangement by having a guaranteed outlet at market prices for approximately 60 percent of Santa Lucía's wool production over three years. García Ponce obtained a large and secure supply of wool for this same period. Although there is no direct evidence that he operated *obrajes* in Texcoco, the size of the wool transfer and the fact that the wool was valued at the going local market price (i.e., was not acquired at a discount for resale or speculation) strongly suggests that this was the case.

The activities of García Ponce during the first half of the seventeenth century, therefore, are consistent with an effort to acquire rural assets that would fuel an urban weaving business. The evidence on debts and repayments, though scanty, also suggests flexible management and capital transfers, as well as contacts with some of the most influential merchants of Mexico City. In 1655, Juan García Ponce (son) lived at Tepantlan often enough to be described as a *vecino* of Texcoco but a resident of Iguala, suggesting the possibility that he directly administed his rural estate.[20] It seems highly probably that the García Ponce family (father and then son) acquired land in the northern Iguala Valley to establish a sheep hacienda (as evidenced by the fact that when they liquidated this hacienda it included 10,000 head) that would provide wool for family businesses in the viceregal capital. This effort to vertically integrate textile production seems to

20. This was in 1655; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 62, fol. 69v.

have been abandoned, although the family apparently did continue with textile production, as demonstrated by the fact that they requested that the Jesuits pay mostly in wool (extremely large quantities) rather than cash. During the early seventeenth century, therefore, the northern Iguala Valley was rapidly integrated into a circuit of capital investment, development, and speculative activity (of which the García Ponce estate is the clearest example) undertaken by middle- and high-level merchants from the central highlands.

It should be equally clear, and will become even more so with the following discussion of Jesuit expansion into the Chilapa, Tixtla, and Iguala jurisdictions, that during the short second century of the colonial period (from approximately 1610 to 1690), central Guerrero was able to attract considerable interest and capital investment from highland entrepreneurs. Part of the reason might well have been a coincidental overlap of two ominous tendencies in regional demographic and economic transformation. First, around midcentury the indigenous population reached its nadir, a situation of demographic collapse exacerbated by the forced resettlement carried out during the congregaciones. And second, after 1635, mining activity in Taxco entered a period of decline, reducing the level of urban demands on the rural hinterland precisely at a time when the valley was most sparsely populated and thus most open to takeover and investment for ranching and farming activities. Extraregional capital flowed into this vacuum, though perhaps not in the most sagacious manner. Although the hot climate of the northern valley was not propitious to sheep ranching, it was this activity that predominated rural enterprises during the mid–seventeenth century. García Ponce is one example; the ill-fated expansion of the Jesuit Santa Lucía hacienda was even more strikingly star-crossed.

The ventures of Mexico City and Texcoco merchants into north-central Guerrero just discussed were paralleled by the activities of Puebla-based entrepreneurs in the south. These ties to Puebla received their first major impetus in the early seventeenth century, when the Jesuit

Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo acquired winter grazing land in the Chilapa-Tixtla border region.[21] In a five-year period between 1617 and 1622, the Colegio Máximo obtained property for its Santa Lucía hacienda, either through cession by its agents or through sales, that totaled 10½ sitios de ganado menor and 8 caballerías; in 1645 it bought an additional 4½ sitios (see table 5d).[22] The total cost of these acquisitions was 4,400 pesos.[23] But unlike mercedes in northern Guerrero, the sitios de ganado menor granted in the Chilapa-Tixtla region were often limited to seasonal pasture (*agostadero*).[24] Such was the case with the grants to Diego Alonso de Alfaro, Antonio de Arratia, and Pedro Alonso Redondo. The 7 November 1616 grant to Redondo is the most specific in this regard:

> The aforementioned [rights to winter] grazing land (*agostadero*) should begin a few days before Christmas each year, when it is assumed that the *naturales* have left their seasonal fields (*sementeras de temporal*) and taken in the maize harvest, and last up until the first days of May, which is when the fields are once again worked.[25]

21. An earlier link between Chilapa and the Puebla region is provided by the Diego de Ordaz family (the conquistador Diego de Ordaz, his nephew Diego de Ordaz Villagómez, and Ordaz Villagómez's son Antonio de Ordaz), which held the encomiendas of Chilapa and of Calpan (in the fertile Atrisco Valley southwest of Puebla). For an account of Ordaz Villagómez's landholdings in the Atrisco Valley, see AGN-M 3/74. However, although this family held the encomienda of Chilapa, there is no evidence that they acquired land in this area.

22. The documentation of Jesuit acquisitions in Guerrero (see appendix table 8b for the sources relevant to southern Guerrero; AGN-T 3514/cuads. 59–65 contain the corresponding material for northern Guerrero) was the result of an initiative by Padre Juan Nicolás, *procurador* of the Colegio Máximo from 1683 to 1723. On 22 November 1690 Nicolás requested certified copies of the Colegio's titles, which had deteriorated from frequent handling and transfers; see Konrad (1980:137ff.) for an account of this period. The major secondary sources for the Colegio Máximo's activities and the economy of its Santa Lucía hacienda are Blood (1972) and Riley (1975, 1976a, 1976b), and particularly Konrad's (1980) definitive study.

23. See appendix table 8b. Two mercedes were ceded directly to the Jesuits; there is no data on how one merced, that of Gerónimo Martín for 1 sitio de ganado menor, came into the Jesuit's possession. Though included in the total land size, these acquisitions have not been given a monetary value in the 4,400 peso figure.

24. The term used is *agostadero*. In Spain this term originally this referred to summer grazing land; in the New World is came to signify seasonal pasture in general.

25. AGN-T 3395/12 fols. 20v–21f. See appendix table 8b, particularly entry for 26 June 1619.

Table 5c
Estate of Juan García Ponce and María del Valle in 1651

ITEMS	ASSETS	LIABILITIES
Principal on capellanías		9,200
Debt owed to Juan Vázquez de Medina in his capacity as executor of the estate of Alonso Picazo de Ynojosa.[a] This is to be paid by doña Juliana de Salazar from the remaining money she owed on the hacienda of Palula, acquired from Juan García Ponce and his wife María del Valle (this entry actually represents credit to the estate that was used to pay off a large debt)[b]		5,147
Other outstanding debts to be paid by the estate of Juan García Ponce and his wife María del Valle (including 422 pesos remaining of 1,014 which had been owed to Manuel Francisco and 200 pesos remaining of 230 pesos which had been owed to Francisco Duarte, back salary for work on the haciendas of García Ponce)		4,123½
Total debts		9,270½
Total value of assets after deducting the principal of the *censos* on the real estate and the debts owed by the estate to various individuals[c]	22,251	
Estimated value of the Hacienda of Tepantlan with all its land, constructions, cattle, and slaves (included in total assets)	12,446	
Estimated value of a sitio de ganado menor (location not given, perhaps part of Tepantlan) (included in total assets)	300	
Estimated value of a hacienda named Coyotepec near Texcoco, with its houses, corn bins, lands, cattle and tools (included in total assets)	12,000	
Estimated value of two houses (250 pesos each) (included total assets)	500	

Source: AGN-T 3518/6

a. According to Hoberman (1980), Juan Vázquez Medina was a moneylender and entrepreneur. His wife was doña Isabel Picazo de Hinojosa, which suggests a relationship (perhaps brother-in-law) with Alonso Picazo Hinojosa, a merchant with a hacienda in Texcoco.

b. The estate division read: "que estos devía doña Juliana de Salazar y Monroy de resto del valor de las haciendas de ganado mayor de Palula que fueron de los dichos Juan García y María del Balle según se contiene en la partida número doce de dicha quenta en la qual la dicha cantidad que así se deve al dicho Juan Vázquez de Medina se puso por cuerpo de bienes por deverlo a dicha doña Juliana de Salazar que la ha de satisfacer y pagar a el susodicho conforme a la cesión y traspaso que le está fecha" (AGN-T 3518/6 fol. 2v).

c. Note that the total assets are less than the sum of the property value. This is due to the fact that the total value of the assets includes deductions for debts and loans.

Rental of pasture from indigenous owners also occurred: the sale between Andrés de Arano and Pedro de Sagastibarria included the rights to rent grazing land from a cacique of Chilapa (undoubtedly don Joseph de Moctezuma). With the exception of the fact that land acquisition in the western Chilapa–eastern Tixtla area was mostly limited to seasonal pasture, by 1650 the landholding and land use patterns of north-central and south-central Guerrero were quite similar. To the north Juan García Ponce had consolidated 3.36 sq km of farmland and 54.3 sq km of grazing land; to the south the Colegio Máximo had acquired an equal amount of farmland and approximately twice the amount of pasture (116.4 sq km).

This division between the identity of outsiders who acquired land in north-central Guerrero and of those who concentrated their efforts in the south, temporarily ended in late 1660, when the Colegio Máximo expanded its holdings northwards from Chilapa and Tixtla by buying Tepantlan from Juan García Ponce (son) for 10,000 pesos (see table 5a). The following year father Gaspar de Silva, the administrator of Santa Lucía, traveled to Iguala to take formal possession of the land in the customary manner. Accompanied by the alcalde mayor, he entered the property to carry out symbolic acts of ownership: uprooting plants and throwing stones.[26] Over the next 25 years the mayordomos of Santa Lucía brought approximately 30,000 sheep, divided into five herds *(pastorías),* to Tepantlan every year for winter grazing. Witnesses in

26. The possession to Silva is documented in AGN-T 3514/cuad. 65, fols. 124ff. Apparently the neighboring landowners were not issued summons to witness the event, a procedure usually followed to safeguard the interests of parties potentially affected by land transfers. In the dispute that ensued when the Jesuits sold the deserted hacienda of Tepantlan in 1708, one witness testified that his grandfather had told him that de Silva had taken possession during the night. This is highly improbable, but it indicates the culture of distrust that had quickly built up around de Silva's possession and Jesuit claims to the property in general.

The act of possession was carried out on 10 and 11 February 10 1661 at Metlaltepec, Achichipico, and Suapoloya (clearly the sitio de ganado mayor and 4 caballerías referred to in the titles; see table 5a); near a lake (probably that of Tuspan where the 4 *suertes* of Juan Mas and Pedro Millan were located); at Agueguepa (1 estancia de ganado mayor and 3 caballerías); at Acámac (3 estancias de ganado mayor); and at Zoquiapan and a hill near Cocula, as well as a nearby place named San Juan (2 sitios de ganado mayor). The description of the properties transferred agrees entirely with those that appear in the documentation of García Ponce's acquisitions; see table 5a.

litigation that was to embroil this property in the early eighteenth century differed slightly as to the location of each herd; but the general consensus seems to be as follows (in brackets I have indicated the merced that coincided with each *pastoría* and the *cuaderno* (notebook) in AGN-T 3514 that contains the corresponding documentation):

1) Zoquiapan and land near Cocula [merced to Sebastián de Rivera: cuad. 63]
2) Metlapa, San Andrés, the edges of the lake of Tuxpan, Yanquicapa, Achichipico, and other land near Iguala [mercedes to Pedro de la Piedra and Juan de Yturriaga: cuads. 60, 61, and 62]
3) Land near Tlaxmalac and Huitzuco [merced to Antonio de Nava and composición to Juan Mas: cuads. 59 and 64]
4) Cuaulotal, Pantla, Agua del Conejo, Tepochiuca, and Acayahualco
5) Land near Mayanalan, from Tetelilla and Alseseca to the south up to Acayahualco to the north

Although the details of their accounts varied, almost all witnesses testified that the Colegio gave sheep to most Indian villages in the Iguala jurisdiction (Tepecuacuilco and Mayanalán are not mentioned). One suggested that this was both to compensate indigenous shepherds and to lease pasture rights;[27] another speculated that the sheep may either have been gifts or rental payments.[28] Whether or not they were for leasing pasture, the payments are not unexpected given the circumstances. Father Gaspar de Silva took possession of lands that

27. One witness who gave explicit testimony was Juan Rodríguez, who was recorded as having stated that "every year he saw the aforementioned Fathers gave to the Indian villages of this area something like 30 young rams each, more or less, in accordance with the sacks (*bultos* [of wool?]) that the contributors obtained, and he doesn't know whether the payments were a contribution or pension (*contribución o pención*) . . . but what the witness does indeed know was that the said Indians of the pueblos came to the aforementioned ranch every year and received [the rams] from the mayordomos of the said Fathers, and then they publicly took them away, in full view of all the *vecinos*"; AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 50f–v). Another witness, Bernardino Rodríguez, stated that all the lands grazed on, besides the land near Tlaxmalac and Huitzuco, belonged to doña Juliana de Salazar, widow of don Melchor de Tornamira. The Jesuits, according to Bernardino Rodríguez, gave each of these two villages 12 adult rams every year, 6 for administering the herds and 6 for the use of pasture. The Jesuits also gave rams to Cocula and Iguala, although he has no knowledge as to whether doña Juliana de Salazar also received compensation. A third witness, Lorenzo Díaz, stated that the Jesuits grazed cattle on land of doña Juliana de Salazar; three times he saw them pay between 40 and 45 pesos in rent. He also saw them give about eight rams to Cocula, Iguala, Tlaxmalac, and Huitzuco.

28. Juan Román: "he doesn't know if it was a contribution or a pension (*no sabe si era por vía de contribución o pención*); AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 50f–v.

stretched from northeast of Tlaxmalac, around Tuxpan, to the west of Iguala, and then south to the plain of Zoquiapan, just east of Cocula. The *pastorías* (grazing lands) were even more dispersed. Not only did they penetrate the spaces between legally documented Jesuit holdings, but they extended south past Acayahualco to Tetelilla (see map 5g). Even if the mayordomos had restricted their herds to Colegio land, which seems unlikely, indigenous villages would have seen themselves beseiged by the flocks that seasonally invaded northern Guerrero after 1661. If the payments were not for land rental, they would have nevertheless served to reduce tension and the potential for conflict. And indeed, for over 30 years of Jesuit possession there is surprisingly little evidence of disputes over grazing rights, land use, and damage to crops, particularly considering the conflagration that was to envelop the region when the Jesuits sold their land in the early seventeenth century.

In 1686 Juan Nicolas, whom Konrad describes as "a pragmatic, cautious, and realistic businessman"[29] became *procurador* of the Colegio. During his tenure he halved the Colegio's debt, expanded its rural holdings, and provided sound management of the hacienda's resources. One priority was undoubtedly an honorable retreat from the ill-advised acquisition of grazing land in the Chilapa, Tixtla, and Iguala jurisdictions. In the early 1690s, the Colegio Maximo stopped pasturing its flocks in northern Guerrero "given that the land was not suitable for them [sheep]."[30] By 1700 they had managed to rent out 4½ sitios de ganado menor in the Chilapa jurisdiction for a total of 39 pesos per year, a poor return on an initial investment of at least 4,400

29. Konrad (1980:138). For a general account of the administrators of Santa Lucia and the Colegio Maximo during this period, see Konrad (1980:137ff.).

30. AGN-T 3518/s.n. at end of volume, folios not numbered. This quote is in reference to the land of Tepantlan in north-central Guerrero, undoubtedly the same opinion would have held for the southern lands.

Table 5d
Summary of Jesuit acquisitions in the Chilapa and Tixtla jurisdictions: seventeenth century

NAME OF ORIGINAL MERCED RECIPIENT	NAME OR LOCATION OF SITES	SITIOS DE GANADO MENOR	CABALLERÍAS	DATE OF JESUIT ACQUISITION
Diego Alonso de Alfaro	Near (términos de) Atzacualoya (1 sitio) Hill and gorge (loma y cañada) of Acatlan (1 sitio)	2		17 July 1617
Hernán Pérez de Luna	Plane of (llano) Quilchilapa	1		17 July 1617
Alonso de la Torre	Near (términos de) Apango (=Amula?)	1	4	11 Aug. 1618
Pedro Alonso Redondo	Plain or gorge (llano o cañada) of Acatlan (Cocotzintla?) Nexiapa Coatzinco	3		25 Apr. 1619
Pedro Alonso Redondo	Placed (puesto) called Ocotlacatlatla (or Zontecomatlan?) Chilatl Itempan	2		(?)
Don Joseph de Moctezuma	Tlatlauquitepec	1		16 Jan. 1620
Gerónimo Martín	Ayotzintepec	1		ca. 1620 (?)
Juan de Castro	Tecolomula		4	4 Aug. 1622
Governador of Tixtla	Tecolumula (?)	1		4 Aug. 1622
Antonio de Arratia	Toscacoquila Cañada de Ocoytuco Cañada de Ayotzinapa	3		2 Sept. 1645
TOTALS		15 (116.4 sq. kms)	8 (336 has.)[a]	

Source: for complete land history of these properties and the relevant sources, see appendix 8, table 8d.

a. Konrad (1980:62) gives lower figures of 54 sq. kms and 170 has. Some acquisitions were apparently not reported in the documents consulted by Konrad that, surprisingly, completely fail to mention the Colegio's acquisitions in the Iguala Valley (see below).

pesos almost a century earlier.[31] The Jesuits were not so fortunate with their lands in the Tixtla jurisdiction. When the *juez de composiciones* went there in 1709, he found that the Indians had taken over the Colegio's land, which they claimed as their own. In his words, "these children, given that they hold so little land, are not content with that which they possess, and [for this reason] they claim as theirs the land in this jurisdiction that belong to the Máximo Colexio. And risking the censure of Your Highness, I must say that as long as Your Highness doesn't remit the aforementioned merced [of the Jesuits], they will not calm down."[32]

For a clerical group that prided itself on sound investments and efficient management, the situation in north-central Guerrero was even more discouraging. Ranchers who had witnessed the Jesuits' ill fortune in the 1690s painted a dismal scene: sheep decimated by disease and an apocryphally melancholic mayordomo who died of "tristeza" (sadness) upon the loss of his flocks.[33] In the early 1660s, the Jesuits had sold the westernmost section of the Tepantlan estate (the area stretching from Ahuehuepan to Tuxtla and Oculixtlahuacan) to Sebastián Brito Salgado.[34] This was, however, simply an incidental and isolated sale, and virtually the sole

31. AGN-T 3427/1. In 1687 or 1688, Alonso Gutierrez began renting one-half a sitio de ganado menor south of Chilapa for 5 pesos/year; in 1700 Antonio Ramírez de Ojeda began renting 3 sitios de ganado menor (Chilatl Itempa; the hill of Acatlan, which had been given in merced to Diego Alonso de Alfaro; and Tlatlaquitepec) for 24 pesos/year. In 1696 Joseph de Salazar began renting Coatzingo for 10 pesos/year. The latter two were still renting this land in 1710.

32. AGN-T 3518/s.n., folios not numbered; *expediente* at the end of volume, letter of don Juan de la Vega Cansio, *juez de composiciones de tierras,* to Br. Lucas de Garay Villavicencio, representative of the Colegio in the Iguala jurisdiction, dated 29 December 1709. In mid-November of 1709, de la Vega Cansio had written to Garay Villavicencio requesting that he remit the Colegio's land titles to him.

33. The witness, Juan Rodríguez, owner of Tepastitlan, stated that he had heard that about 1692 the *mayordomo* "had died of sadness over the great plague that had killed off the cattle" (*había muerto de pesadumbre de la mortandad que hubo del ganado*); AGN-T 3514/2 fol. 52v.

34. AGN-BN 469/6. A document dated 5 November 1665, reproduced in AGN-BN 469/6, mentions that Salgado rented the trapiche of Oculixtlahuacan to Diego de Soto, reserving for himself Tuxtla, Totoapan, and Ahuehepan, "which he bought from the religious of the Sagrada Compañía de Jesús of the Colegio of Tepostototlan" [*sic,* for Tepotzotlan]. In the 1712 *vista de ojos* of the land the Jesuits had sold to Br. Lucas de Garay Villavicencio in 1708, Garay claimed rights to Ahuehuepan (by then a cattle ranch), Tuxtla (a small

monetary return the Jesuits would obtain for their initial investment. For approximately three decades, until around 1690, every winter the Colegio would infallibly bring tens of thousands of sheep to an area that they eventually admitted was inappropriate and inhospitable for their purposes.

In 1697, approximately five years after the Jesuits had abandoned Tepantlan, the *juez de tierras* don Francisco Ortiz de Herrera visited the Iguala jurisdiction. According to witnesses he went from village to village seeking out unoccupied land (*realenga)* to sell, and issuing composiciones for lands possessed without title.[35] Although the record of his activities is incomplete, he definitely legitimized recent encroachments onto Jesuit land in the vicinity of Tepecuacuilco, Tuxpan, and Iguala—land located at the heart of the Colegio Máximo's Tepantlan complex.[36] The site of Tepantlan itself—where Antonio de Nava had recevied a merced in 1611, and the only property the Jesuits would retain after 1715—was rented out to the adjacent and recently founded Indian village of Tuxpan.[37] In 1698 Br. Lucas de Garay

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trapiche*),* and Oculixtlahuacan (another trapiche*).* The possessors of this land, don Jorge de Gama and his nephew Br. don Francisco de Gama, protested saying that their *causantes* (those from whom they had obtained title) had bought the land from the Jesuits; AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 71v–72f. The history of Ocuilixtlahuacan is dealt with rather more extensively in chapter 9.

35. See, for example, AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 96–142. The witnesses were presented by Iguala in an attempt to recuperate land that they accused Ortiz de Herrera of selling to colonists.

36. For the mercedes and composiciones of Ortiz de Herrera, see appendix IV, tables 4b and 4e, particularly entries for 1697. In 1712 the Jesuits tried to reclaim much of this land. Noteworthy is the composición to Antonio Román for land at Yancuicapan, immediately adjacent to the site of Tepantlan.

37. Tuxpan was a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco. In 1619, in opposing Juan Bautista Benenciano's request for a licence for a *venta* at Cinacantlan (also a Tepecuacuilco sujeto, and sometimes called Plantanar), the indigenous authorities of Tepecuacuilco referred to the proximity of "a sujeto called Atzumpa by some and by others called Tuchpa, where many of the naturales of the said pueblo [Tepecuacuilco] go"; AGN-T 2756/11. This suggests some post-congregación indigenous settlment at Tuxpan during the early seventeenth century. Nevertheless, in the series of censuses elaborated to track seventeenth-century labor obligations to construct the Mexico City cathedral, Tuxpan is listed only once, in 1656, with a note that reads "San Andrés Tuspa, pueblo newly congregated." In 1659 Tuxpan was stated to be "a sujeto of Tepequaquilco"; AGN-I 23/302. On 9 June 1719 Garay Villavicencio, who was still "renting" Tepantlan at that time, wrote a letter to Juan Nicolás complaining that Indians from villages other than Tuxpan were settling the lands that they had been given in

Villavicencio, who was the *beneficiado* of Tepecuacuilco as well as the Colegio's local representative, wrote to Bartolomé González, *administrador general* of Santa Lucía and a close collaborator of Juan Nicolás, that between epidemics and other misfortunes, the Indians of Tuxpan had lost 14 mares and 2 teams of oxen that the Jesuits had given them, had castrated a burro (for no apparent reason), and owed 192 pesos in rent. Garay offered to replace these losses and take over the monetary debt in exchange for receiving the rights to rent this land. Although González immediately asked the Indians to turn the ranch over to Garay, Tuxpan continued to use the land. Ten years later, on 4 May 1708, González wrote to Nicolás:

> [the *naturales* of Tuxpan rented Tepantlan] with a simple piece of paper written in Nahuatl that they call a document (*escriptura*), and in such good faith many years had passed by with them holding the aforementioned rancho, until an epidemic took hold of the pueblo and killed the majority of its residents; as a result I had much difficulty in collecting the rent and finally I requested the help of their *beneficiado* [bachiller Lucas de Garay Villavicencio] in order to collect something.
>
> [I wrote to the *naturales* of Tuxpan that] they should turn over the ranch to the said *beneficiado*; and it has been held under his responsibility since 13 May 1698, for 60 fanegas of maize per year, which was its rental price;[38] but up until now he has not given me anything [in rent], neither maize nor money . . . I have found out that he has planted some sugarcane on this land and that he sends the sugar to sell in Mexico City, [so that] I hope to be able to collect something . . . For these reasons, should a good offer be made for these lands of Yguala and

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composición: "the Indians of Toxpan . . . claim to be of the old pueblo of Toxpan, which is false, for some are from the *partido* of Atenango del Río and the pueblo of Quetlazxochitlan, others of Tequexquetongo in the *doctrina* of Tlaquiltenango"; AGN-T 3518/s.n. unnumbered folios at end of *expediente).* As occurred in Tuxpan, migration to Indian villages and claims of rights based on community membership were not uncommon. In 1773, Tuxpan filed a protest against the incursions of don Francisco Salinas, owner of the hacienda or trapiche of Tepantlan, half a league distant from their pueblo. At this time they mention that they have held their lands peacefully for over 80 years (AGN-M 92/fols. 52v–54v). Interestingly, in much documentation Tuxpan was known simply as Pueblo Nuevo (New Pueblo) a reflection of the debate as to whether it was an old resettled Indian village or one newly settled with immigrants from other villages, as local landed Spanish claimed. Gemelli Careri (1983:17) refers to Pueblo Nuevo, not Tuxpan.

38. Sixty fanegas (or thirty cargas) had a value at that time of 22 pesos 4 reales; a carga sold for 6 reales in Iguala in 1698; AGN-T 3518/2.

Chilapa, we should be ready to sell them.[39]

This exhortation to sell the Colegio's pasture lands in northern Guerrero received partial fulfillment the following month. On 4 June 1708, Nicolás sold Tepantlan to Garay Villavicencio. The sale contract covered the hacienda lands only: "all uncultivated, without any farming implements, buildings, nor any sort of cattle."[40] The price was 5,000 pesos in a redeemable *censo* at five percent interest, with the obligation to pay off the principal at the rate of 300 to 400 pesos per year.[41] The previous day González had congratulated Nicolás on the impending sale: "in regards to the sale of the lands of Yguala, my brother has done very well and has conducted a good sale. I just wish that there might be someone who would give something for the lands of Chilapa, which are lost (*están perdidas*)."[42] On paper at least, the sale of Tepantlan seemed like an excellent deal.

From the early 1690s, when they withdrew their flocks from the Iguala Valley, to 1708, the date of the sale to Garay, the Jesuits had countenanced—whether through ignorance or indolence—the unauthorized occupation of their Tepantlan estate. But fools rush in where angel's fear to tread, and in Garay Villavicencio the Jesuits found a crusading accomplice willing to spearhead an ultimately futile effort to recuperate the land. From 1708 to 1715, when the illegal occupants had their composiciones formally ratified by the Real Audiencia, the Colegio

39. AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios at end of *expediente*.

40. Citation from the sale contract, in AGN-T 3518/6, fols. not numbered.

41. Letter dated 15 October 1773; AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios at the end of the *expediente*.

42. AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios at the end of the *expediente*. The letter continues noting, apparently in reference to some sheep that were still being pastured in the Chilapa area, that "I have taken it upon myself to consider that unfortunately no one who might see [the land] would be willing to buy it, and probably there will be no sale, and for this reason I wrote to the mayordomo that he should castrate the rams that are good in this waning moon and transfer them to good land, and that those that are ill should be brought to me separately when he returns." This suggests that some land in Chilapa was still being used at this time for pasture, although the majority of sheep were ill and of little value.

Máximo and Garay jointly advanced an eclectic array of aggressive territorial claims and rigoristic legal arguments in an effort to reclaim Tepantlan. However, Garay Villavicencio severely misjudged the potency of the forces aligned against him and, perhaps counting on the legal skills of the Colegio's lawyers, laid claim to land that vastly exceeded the Colegio's property. For their part, the Jesuit lawyers presented a judicial case based primarily on Roman civil law: an absolute definition of ownership and the concept of valid possession retained through *ánimo solo* (will alone). Finally, the invading ranchers, linked by kinship and temporarily allied with indigenous villages, countered with a legal discourse of prescriptive rights and the natural mode of property acquisition through occupation, an argument more in accord with the colonial state's emphasis on the social obligations of ownership. This case illustrates both the strength of Spanish-Indian political alignments based on common interests, and the tension between two competing discourses on property rights, one based on Roman law and the other more representative of Hispanic agrarian customs. The resolution in favor of the ranchers provides a clear example of the predominant trend in New World property rights. Despite the high social and moral status of the Jesuit titleholders, they lost their case.

If the Jesuits were unaware of the magnitude of the land invasions, as they were to argue, the same could not be said of Garay. His familiarity with both the social and physical terrain of landed society in the northern Iguala Valley contrasted with and complemented the distanced vision of the Jesuits. As *beneficiado* of Tepecuacuilco he was in a privileged position to know the social status and personal ties of the ranchers (see appendix 8 table 8h) who had invaded the Colegio's land. And with over 4,000 head of cattle, Garay was also probably the largest rancher in the valley. In 1694 he signed a nine-year rental agreement for grazing lands at Acayahualco with doña Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, who later became, along with her husband don Antonio de Ayala (see geneaological chart 5a), one of the principal litigants against the Colegio.

In 1704, Garay renewed the contract with Rivera and added half a league of pasture to the land he already rented. Garay's legal acquisition of Tepantlan in 1708, therefore, fits into his pattern of entrepreneurship and economic expansion, a pattern that was paralleled during the 1690s by the illicit encroachments of other ranchers onto Jesuit land. Indeed, from the vantage point of retrospective analysis, the early eighteenth-century conflict over Tepantlan represents an agitated vortex of detail in a more generalized landscape of economic and institutional change. The Jesuit withdrawal from transhumant sheep herding in Guerrero came as Santa Lucia's sheep population reached its nadir, at the end of a steady seventeenth-century decline.[43] The departure of the Colegio's flocks also marked the beginning of a lengthy hiatus from outside intervention in central Guerrero's rural economy, while the surge of cattle ranching constituted a significant transformation in land use and reflected increased local input and enterprise in an expanding regionalized economy, perhaps linked to resurgent mining activity in Taxco.[44] These shifts in both land use and in the founts of economic entrepreneurism coincided with a period of prompt resolutions of land conflicts. In 1697 and 1712, Francisco Ortiz de Herrera and Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio, two *jueces de tierras* commissioned by the Real Audiencia in Mexico City, visited central Guerrero to carry out composiciones and settle disputes.[45] One lawyer for the colonists and *pueblos* that challenged the Colegio-Garay alliance pointed out that disputes between private parties involved lands that had already been composed; thus they were no longer crown land and therefore did not fall under the competence of the commissioned *jueces.* Nevertheless, for the

43. Konrad (1980:176, fig. 3).

44. Although production statistics for Taxco are not found in the Mexican archives, mining production for the colony as a whole was recuperating at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. A resurgence of outside investment in central Guerrero, this time of commercial capital, was not to occur until the late eighteenth century (see chapters 8 and 9).

45. Actually, they were commissioned by the *juez privativo de tierras,* at this time Francisco de Valenzuela Venegas, an *oidor* of the Real Audiencia.

most part the two *jueces* did carry out both composiciones and settlements. These generally stood the test of time: there were few subsequent boundary disputes over the properties that they attended to.

Driving a wedge into this aseptic, and rather predictable, panorama of economic and institutional change—from extraregional to local ownership (filled with prosaic colonists and nondescript plains)—was the chaotic litigation over Tepantlan. This wedge quickly disintegrated; the "inexorable" forces of change resumed their advance, and from a distant enough perspective all that remains is a seamless succession of land use patterns and institutional processes. But litigations and disputes are like turbulent eddies, tempestuous interruptions in horizontal flows that briefly bring to the surface tender grist for the historian's mill, and during which meticulous legal arguments and facades of social convention can suddenly unravel and collapse before the passions of spontaneous testimony and the private musings of personal correspondence. The actions and accusations that wove through the struggle over the Jesuit land provide an added dimension for understanding the early eighteenth-century structure of rural society in the Iguala Valley.

In late December 1708, six months after having bought Tepantlan, Garay wrote to the *procurador* Juan Nicolás. At that time, and in a relatively mild tone, he mentioned the difficulty he had in taking possession of the Colegio's lands:

> our *vecinos* are very agitated with this change in status of your excellency's hacienda, given that it has all been occupied and in the good faith of their wrongful possession they consider themselves the rightful owners (*poseedores legítimos*) even though I have informed them that forty-seven years ago the reverend father Gaspar de Silva took possession when he came to these lands; but not one of them remembers this although they all saw it.[46]

Over the next three years, as *buena fe* (good faith) diminished, the conflict escalated. In

46. AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios at end of *expediente,* letter of 19 December 1708.

November 1711 Nicolás gave Garay a power of attorney to represent the Colegio Máximo before the *juez de tierras* commissioned for the jurisdiction of Iguala.[47] Giving short shrift to the Spanish maxim that *"un mal arreglo es mejor que un buen pleito"* (a bad settlement is better than a good dispute),[48] the Colegio Máximo insistently refused to accept as the Tepantlan estate anything less than the area acquired in 1660 from García Ponce and taken in possession the following year by Gaspar de Silva: 7 sitios de ganado mayor, 8 caballerías, and 4 *suertes*.[49] In doing so they not only ignored their early 1660s sale of the western section around Ahuehuepan, Tuxtla, and Oculixtlahuacan to Sebastián Brito Salgado (see the discussion of Oculixtlahuacan in chapter 9). They also slighted the evidence that before 1660 (i.e., before selling his land to the Jesuits), García Ponce had sold part of his estate to the encomenderos don Melchor de Tornamira and his wife, doña Juliana de Salazar y Monroi. It appears, for example, that on 7 May 1647 Salazar y Monroi was issued a writ of protection for landholdings that 60 years later the Colegio Máximo and Garay were claiming as their own.[50] In 1651 Salazar still owed 5,147 pesos to the

47. AGN-T 3514/2 fol. 7f.

48. A contrasting attitude is exmplified by the indigenous authorities of Iguala. They first contested landholdings, that stretched between Acámac and Tomatal, claimed by the Colegio on the basis of a merced for 3 sitios de ganado menor that had originally been given to Juan de Iturriaga. During the *vista de ojos*, the Iguala authorities said that "in order to avoid suits and litigation they agreed to accept that the party of the said Colegio, from the said site of Acámac, would measure on the aforementioned lands a sitio de ganado menor in accordance with what their merced expressed, and they agreed to content themselves with the land that remained"; AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 131f–134f. Pedro de Miranda Thenorio, owner of Tlapala, also declined to press his claims during a *vista de ojos,* stating that he wished to avoid litigation. Although reluctance to press claims might reflect a belief that a case was hopeless to begin with, and not simply an aversion to litigation, the desire to avoid litigation was perhaps probably much stronger than generally recognized. On the litigious nature of Hispanic society, see Kagan (1981).

49. In fact, although the Jesuit lawyers consistently used the figure of 7 sitios de ganado mayor, 8 caballerías and 4 suertes, Garay Villavicencio attempted to claim an additional 10 sitios of land. See the report of Pérez de la Vega Cansio cited in the text below.

50. For the legal writ of protection *(amparo)*, see AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 138f–139f. Apparently a short time later doña Juliana de Salazar was given possession of these lands; one witness in the early eighteenth-century litigation mentioned having seen the possession given to Salazar, although he does not mention a specific date; AGN-T 3514/2 fols 57v–58v.

estate of Juan García Ponce (father) and his wife María del Valle for the acquisition of lands that had become part of the hacienda of Palula (see table 5c). In 1712 one witness in the Colegio's litigation over Tepantlan mentioned having heard of a sale between García Ponce and Tornamira:

> [the witness] heard the majority of *vecinos* often say that it was in the time of these disputes that don Melchor de Tornamira said to the aforementioned Juan García Ponce that either he should buy his hacienda of Palula from him or that he should sell him [Tornmira] the one at Acaiagualco that belonged to Juan García Ponce because the free intercourse that the cattle had between one and the other was a great inconvenience; and the aforementioned Juan García responded that he preferred to sell his hacienda to the said don Melchor de Tornamira and in effect he did sell it to him and and in order to pay him its value he pulled out much cattle that had entered into Caiagualco as well as other areas.[51]

Another witness stated that the Jesuits' mayordomo would occasionally take his flocks south to Acayahualco, Pantla, and Tepochica, which the Jesuits rented from doña Juliana de Salazar y Monroi. Finally, as already mentioned, in 1694 and 1704 Garay signed rental contracts for Acayahualco with the granddaugher of Tornamira and Salazar, doña Michaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, and her husband, don Antonio de Ayala. Considered in its entirety, this evidence strongly suggests that before selling Tepantlan to the Jesuits, García Ponce had sold Tornamira the land of Acayahualco, a property that then probably covered an area from Tepochica, through Pantla, Zoquiapa (just south of Xonacatla), Sasamulco, Sabana Grande, and Acayahualco, and then back up to Tepochica (see maps).

Despite the evidence of García Ponce's sale of Acayahualco to Tornamira in the 1640s, and the Jesuits' sale of Ahuehuepan, Tuxtla, and Oculixtlahuacan to Brito Salgado in the 1660s, Garay Villavicencio asserted that these properties, as well as other additional lands apparently never possessed by the Jesuits (though perhaps rented from Indian villages), were part of the

51. The witness was Juan Rodríguez, a *castizo* 95 years old at the time of his testimony. He had lived in the area for 64 years and had worked as a *mayor vaquero* (principal herdsman) on the hacienda of Palula when it belonged to doña Juliana de Salazar; AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 48f–49v.

Tepantlan hacienda. His aggressive claims provoked the wrath of most Indian villages and of every rancher in the northern valley, both those who legally held their land and those who had invaded the deserted Jesuit holdings. In early 1712, upon returning to his Tepecuacuilco benefice after years of imprisonment in Mexico City, Garay again wrote to Nicolás informing him of the situation. The relatively mild tone of his 1708 complaint had changed dramatically; he accused the ranchers of forming a family clique and of having induced the Indian villages to press baseless charges *(capítulos)* against him:

> with this that those who have usurped the lands are related among themselves, one to the other, as well as the fact that the majority are my declared enemies because I bought the lands from the said Colegio, for these reasons they have incited the Indians of my parish to bring charges against me *(que me capitulasen)* with frivolous accusations that are not only false and outrageous but also removed from Christian behavior, [all of which charges] they were unable to justify given their complete lack of validity; I was found completely innocent [of these accusations], and acquited from their charges, restoring me to my parish after I had suffered 2 years and 3 months in prision and from which I have suffered grave harm and damages with great loss to my property given that over four thousand head of cattle were stolen from me.[52]

Shortly thereafter, in mid-February 1712, the *juez de tierras* Pérez de la Vega Cansio conducted a *vista de ojos* to determine the location of the disputed lands. Over several days Garay Villavicencio led the *juez* and a bevy of ranchers and Indian village authorities through the upper Iguala Valley. His claims went well beyond the 7 sitios de ganado mayor, 8 caballerías, and 4 *suertes* that García Ponce had sold to the Jesuits. Garay was challenged at virtually every turn.[53] At the end of the month, the *juez de tierras* Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio wrote a concise report

52. AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 28v–29f. Garay's adamancy in pressing his land claims (which in fact covered over twice the amount of land sold by García Ponce to the Jesuits, see the report of Cansio Pérez de la Vega just below) is startling, given the toll such militant behavior had on him. In a letter to the Colegio, probably from 1715, Garay noted: "I have suffered excommunication, a long time in prision, and suspension from my parish, all of which stemmed from my efforts to defend my rights to the aforementioned lands"; AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios at end of *expediente,* letter not dated.

53. The *vista de ojos* is documented in AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 63v ff. For a summary presentation of the objections, see appendix 8 table 8c.

on the location and legal situation of the disputed property:

> [apart from the seven sitios de ganado menor, eight caballerías, and four *suertes*,] I have found that according to what the said Licenciado [Garay] showed me in regards to the lands where I carried out a *vista de ojos*, there are more than ten sitios de ganado mayor above and beyond those mentioned in the document that the aforementioned Juan García Ponce gave to the Colegio, having the said legal representative [i.e., Garay] taken advantage of a merced to Juan Mas, Pedro Millán and others . . . [one word illegible] for a certain composición that they obtained that gave them in merced any unoccupied lands (*huecos*) and *baldíos* that there might have been; and among those who object (*los contradictores*) there is one, don Antonio de Ayala, who appears to be more victimized than others in the said *vista de ojos*, given that in all the places visited he objected, claiming to be the owner on the basis of a document issued by the said Juan García Ponce in favor of doña Juliana de Salazar, widow of don Melchor de Tornamira; I have found [these titles presented by Ayala] to antecede that which he issued to the said Collegio; and the said Ayala swore that he would [later] present the will and other land titles of the aforementioned [Salazar] . . . and in regards to all this, what is certain, your lord, is that the lands that are today recognized as belonging to the said Collegio are limited to the sitio of Tepantlan, which is little more than a sitio de ganado menor, and throughout all the rest [of the land,] different individuals have taken possession, as certified in the proceedings on this matter to which I refer.[54]

On the basis of his interpretation of the situation, Pérez de la Vega Cansio issued a series composiciones that legalized the de facto possessions of the ranchers and Indian villages that had opposed Garay and the Colegio. On 31 October 1715, don Francisco Valenzuela de Venegas, an *oidor* of the Real Audiencia, confirmed these composiciones and noted that the Colegio Máximo had not proved its case. The hacienda of Tepantlan was reduced to the sitio de ganado menor and two caballerías that had been given in merced to Antonio de Nava in 1611.[55]

Garay's performance as the Colegio's representative had been seriously compromised by his role as the buyer of Tepantlan, in which he advanced land claims that far exceeded any indefeasible rights the Colegio might have had. After the case was lost, Garay retreated to his position as buyer; in a letter he sent to Nicolás, Garay obliquely indicted the Colegio for selling

54. AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 84v–85f, report sent to the Real Audiencia on 26 February 1712.

55. AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 233f–234v.

him land that they did not possess and then mounting an inadequate legal defense of the property rights they had tried to transfer:

> the people have once again entered onto the land and the Indians of other villages have come to work the land and plant fields of maize on all the lands that the Máximo Collegio and Your Excellency has sold to me . . . and in this matter Your Excellency might have been more diligent as owner of these lands, as one who is responsible for clarifying the property rights, but instead [of legal acquisition] I have suffered the difficulties, imprisonment, losses and damages that Your Excellency is well aware of and that have not ceased. In fact [they even] took advantage of the cattle that I had brought together in a herd, frightened it and caused a stampede so that not one head of cattle remains of those that with great effort I had brought together, given that as a result of my seven-year absence from this hacienda the cattle and horses have been robbed, which has been a great loss. And the Christian spirit of Your Excellency will understand all that I have suffered and will take measures to remedy this situation in the name of God.[56]

In both the Tixtla and Iguala jurisdictions the Jesuits first abandoned and then lost control of their land, to Indian villagers in the former and to a tightly-knit group of ranchers in the latter. A more significant difference was that in the Iguala Valley the Jesuits' sale of Tepantlan placed them between Scylla and Charybdis, in the turbulent gulf of contention lying between Garay's avaricious claims and the ranchers' brash usurpations.

Uninterested, or perhaps incapable of independently navegating these treacherous waters, the Jesuits were drawn into Garay's ambitious schemes. Their lawyers elaborated a legal argument based on two points. The first was a question of fact. It dealt with the possibility, pernicious to the Jesuit case, that Tornamira and Salazar might have bought part of Tepantlan from García Ponce before he sold the hacienda to the Colegio in 1660. One way the Jesuits rebutted this possibility was with a moral argument—that the Colegio could not have been so negligent as to buy land already sold, nor García Ponce so philistine as to defraud such a venerated religious order: "It cannot be believed that the Compañía would buy [land] without

56. AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios at end of *expediente,* letter dated 19 October 1716.

being completely sure, nor that it would spend so much money for something that had already been sold to another party; nor that there might be a man so loutish as to sell to a such an esteemed and respected religious group that which he had previously sold to another; and for this reason either there is no such document, or it is false and imagined, or it refers to lands other than those in dispute."[57] Another argument in defense of their property rights way was through logical reasoning. Thus the Colegio asserted that "the objections (*contradicciones*) of Antonio de Ayala should be rejected given that if doña Juliana de Salazar, the original titleholder of Ayala's land, had indeed bought these same lands before the Compañía did, she would have objected or began litigation when the Compañía took possession with the notification of all neighboring landowners; [but] she did not do so then, nor in the many intervening years, nor during all the time that the Compañía grazed its cattle in the aforementioned sitios."[58]

The moral ground softens and the logic fades when one considers the probable course of events: that García Ponce sold Acayahualco (covering land both south and west of Tepecuacuilco) to Tornamira and Salazar in the 1640s, and Tepantlan (running east to west at the latitude of Iguala) to the Jesuits in 1660. Conflict was generally avoided from the 1660s to the early 1690s, during which time continuous extensive use of the land resulted in a pattern of leasing and reciprocal accommodation. This pattern was broken during the mid-1690s, when the Jesuits withdrew and ranchers and entrepreneurs expanded their holdings. Ayala, in particular, pushed northward against land at the Indian community of Iguala's borders at Tlayelapa, San Andrés, and Metlapa; and against Cocula at Cococingo and Zoquiapan. Other ranchers pressed

57. From a brief presented by Sebastián Vázquez for the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo on 20 June 1712; AGN-T 3514/2 fol. 89v.

58. AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios at end of the *expediente,* undated brief (probably from 20 June 1712) presented by Sebastián Vázquez. The identical point is made elsewhere: AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 20v–21f and 59f.

into the abandoned core of the Tepantlan hacienda. And Garay himself began to lease Acayahualco, signing contracts with doña Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada and don Antonio de Ayala in 1694 and 1704. Thus the acquiescence of Salazar and her heirs to de Silva's possession and the Jesuits' activities simply reflects the fact that problems only began when the Jesuits withdrew. They came to a head in 1708, when Garay bought Tepantlan and tried to both recuperate land that had been invaded and to expand his property beyond the boundaries of the Jesuit estate.

The second issue that the Jesuits' lawyers considered was a question of law: the relevance of a Roman-based or a traditional agrarian model for determining rights in real property. The discussion that developed between the Jesuits and Garay on the one hand and the ranchers and indigenous villages on the other, illustrates the interrelationship of legal discourse and land tenure developments during the middle colonial period. The struggle over Tepantlan represented, therefore, not simply a shift in the economic use of land, nor an institutional resolution (through composición) to the factual question of land ownership and legitimate title, but a debate over the nature of property itself. One Jesuit lawyer offered the following observation on the relevant merits of the land claims of his client and the opposing parties:

> the act of removing the cattle from the land because it was not propitious for ranching does mean that they relinquished civil possession of the land, particularly given that because of the distance involved [the Jesuits] did not know, nor could they have prevented the encroachments that took place without their knowledge, nor their having been informed or given a hearing . . . Everyone should know that what doesn't belong to him belongs to someone else and that the owner of an estate can attend to it or neglect it, can graze his animals on it or not graze his animals, as however he wishes or finds most convenient.[59]

The question was not simply of titles or boundaries. With the above argument, the

59. Brief presented by Sebastián Vázquez, AGN-T 3518/s.n. unnumbered folios at end of *expediente,* no date (but probably of 20 June 1712); cf. also AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 19v–20v.

Colegio asserted an absolute right to property in line with a generalized, though somewhat idealized, interpretation of the Roman legal vision: that ownership conveys the right to use, enjoy, and *abuse* the estate *(ius utendi, fruendi, abutendi;* see chapter 3, n. 49). The Jesuit lawyer ended his argument with an impetuous, and in the present case needless, flaunting of an individual right to property over a social obligation to produce. Coming during an upturn in the fortunes of mining, and the consequent increase in urban demand, and about a decade after the land commisioner Ortiz de Herrera had visited the Iguala jurisdiction actively seeking to privatize all unused crown land (it was Ortiz de Herrera, in fact, who had condoned much of the illegal occupation of Jesuit property[60]), an emphasis on the absolute right to let land lie vacant was undoubtedly an inopportune tactical and rhetorical choice.

As the Jesuits' brief suggests, a corollary of the right to abuse property is an unambigous recognition of the property rights of others: the golden rule of private property—what is not ones own must belong to someone else, and the right of this other is inviolable. In this absolutist vision, although the physical boundaries between one property and another may be in dispute, the theoretical distinction between *meum et teum* is beyond discussion. There is neither a hierarchization of rights as in feudal society nor is land ownership linked to social responsibility, as it is in many "traditional" systems. The Jesuit argument also implied that interrupted or "inappropriate" use of land[61]—acts that in many systems commonly lead to the loss of rights to titled land—should have no bearing on proprietary rights. As shown in chapter 3, however, the cornerstone for colonialization in Hispanic land policy, both at the start of the *Reconquista* and during the early conquest period, was generally antithetical to absolute property distinctions.

60. See the composiciones from 1697 in appendix 5, tables 5d–5f.

61. For a discussion of the relevance of suitable use to the acquisition of property rights, see Rose (1985:78).

Agrarian custom and the demographic and agricultural priorities of colonization affected the nature of property rights. "Self-help" and the occupation of vacant land was in many ways facilitated, if not encouraged,[62] and state land grants were conditioned not simply on occupation, but on the obligation to put the land to productive use within a relatively short period of time. Concomitantly, rights of possession were weakened. In the New World, colonial law developed few of those mechanisms whereby "a prior possessor who had been violently or fraudently dispossessed could recover against a present possessor merely by proof of the wrongful dispossession and without the necessity of proving a better title."[63] During the eighteenth century, the continual forays of *jueces de tierras* into the provincial countryside, armed with the power to issue titles based on composiciones, in part reflects the urgent necessity for titles in a system that offered little in the way of protection and recovery of possession. Without clear title to land they had lost, the dispossessed—and not simply dispossessed Indians—were at a distinct disadvantage. Toward the end of the colonial period the Colegio's vision of the inviolability of private property came to coincide with the dominant legal ideology; and legal title—often based on possession regularized through composición—was to become the principal evidence of land rights. But the early eighteenth century was still awkwardly situated on the cusp of two competing discourses of land rights and two contending models of economic expansion.[64] An economic policy based on agrarian development linked to a legal system that prioritized the

62. Indeed, during the *vista de ojos* in 1712, Garay had himself claimed a considerable amount of land based on a title (of land that had become part of the hacienda of Tepantlan) that gave the holder rights to empty and unoccupied spaces *(huecos y baldíos)*; see the report by Pérez de la Vega Cansio, cited above.

63. The reference (Berman 1983:240) is to the canonical process that eventually came to be known as *actio spolii*; see Berman 1983:240ff., 313. Vinogradoff (1909:86) suggests that the writ of novel diseisin, introduced in England during the reign of Henry II, was a secular variation and functional equivalent of the canonical process.

64. This concept of overlapping cultures of property (in land and grain, particularly) and tensions in economic development is explored in chapters 10 and 11, on grain markets.

security of privatized land was barely visible on the horizon.[65]

A complex final debate, also related to questions of the definition of property rights, was played out in the litigation over Tepantlan: the dialectic between physical control of a thing *(corpus)* and a consciousness or will of ownership *(animus),* between acquisition and abandonment of property, between natural and civil possession, and between interminable rights and prescriptive limits. Several times the Jesuits defended their civil possession of Tepantlan (rights based on a valid title acquired through purchase, and the subsequent conveyance of the land acquired) with the words "basta sólo el ánimo" *(animus* is sufficient [to retain possession]).[66] Roman law considered acquisition of possession to involve both a physical and a mental element: "we obtain possession by body and mind *(corpore et animo),* not by mind alone or by body alone."[67] But either one of these elements was in and of itself sufficient to retain possession.[68] "In Justinian's law, once a person had taken possession of a thing *animo et corpore,* he would retain it, if necessary, *animo solo*."[69] Physical abandonment of ones land did not indicate an intention to relinquish ownership, and possession was not lost.[70] The Jesuit argument

65. See Cintrón Tiryakian (1978) for a discussion of Campillo and the influence of agrarian-based British mercantilist policies on Hispanic political economy.

66. A similar argument is found on AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 88f–91f and AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 102f–103v.

67. The text, from Paul, is given in Thomas (1976:139–40); see also Barton (1989:53–54). Of the distinction Callahan (1961:41) wryly notes that "the combination of 'corpus' and 'animus' . . . may have been of better service to the Romans that it is to us."

68. Buckland (1963:202) notes in this regard that "in general, possession continued normally, *animo et corpore.* If it needs both elements it ought to cease if either ceases, but this is obviously not so, as a general principle. . . . there were cases in which possession was retained *animo solo,* e.g. *saltus hiberni, aestivi* [winter and summer pasture], which were abandoned for half the year." Buckland (1963:202, n. 7) also cites Paul to the effect that although *animus* and *corpus* are both essential to the acquisition of possession, possession does not cease until both cease. See also Thomas (1976:145–46), who notes that apparently the expression *animo solo* was first used by early classical jurists only in reference to summer and winter pastures.

69. Thomas (1976:146).

70. Thus Buckland (1963:207) notes that "*derelictio* of moveables was completed by throwing them away. In

of "basta sólo el ánimo," therefore, represented a Roman legal vision from the classic period, and it coincided with their opinion that ownership was absolute and properties discrete.

The litigants against the Colegio—a transitory coalition of ranchers and Indian villages who contracted a single lawyer—asserted a contrary legal argument, that their corporal possession, both civil *and* natural, prevailed over the Jesuits' civil possession, founded only on "ánimo," or "will":

> [the right] upon which the Collegio bases its claim has been lost through prescription of such a long time as 51 years, during which they have abandoned the land, as attested by the last natural and corporeal possession of the year [16]61; moreover, the identity and location [of the lands] has still not been justified with the information given, which is lacking the notification of the interested and neighboring parties who had rights [to the land] not because of simple holding of nor encroachment on [the land], as has been claimed, but rather with titles obtained through sales and composiciones with the crown as well as previous and subsequent possession.[71]

The ranchers and villagers, therefore, offered a two-pronged defense of their property rights. On the one hand they denied having invaded or seized Jesuit land. They argued that their civil possession was a positive right based both on valid purchases from private individuals and on composiciones conceded by viceregal authorities.[72] On the other hand, they contended that the Colegio had lost its property rights through what was basically negative prescription—a limitation on the Jesuits' right to pursue legal action to recover Tepantlan given that 51 years had passed since 1661, when de Silva first took formal possession of the land. The litigants neglected

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land, this was impossible: the owner must, so to speak, remove himself from the land. But people leave their land for long periods for many reason other than intention not to own it, and as land usually has some value, it does not seem that *derelictio* of land was common." Thomas (1976:146) cites an observation by Ulpian: "I have taught that what is generally said, i.e., that we retain possession of summer and winter pastures by intention, was said by Proculus only by way of example; the same applies in respect of any land which we depart from but without the intent thereby to give up possession."

71. AGN-T 3518/2 fol. 60v. See also AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 22v ff.

72. The composiciones referred to were those granted by Ortiz de Herrera in 1697, see appendix 4, table 4e.

to note that up to the early 1690s the Jesuits had maintained seasonal use of their property as winter pasture. Nevertheless, the Jesuits had failed to protest both the 1697 composiciones issued by Ortiz de Herrera and the subsequent invasions of their Tepantlan estate. As was the case with the Guadalajara hacendado who equated time immemorial with "at least forty years," here we see that the ranchers and their legal representatives were well aware of the time element as it related to prescriptive rights. Moreover, they were quite able to articulate a discourse that opposed rights so created to the more absolute system adhered to by the Jesuits.

The Jesuits weakened their case by supporting Garay's ambitious land claims and by failing to object to Ortiz de Herrera's 1697 composiciones. The short-lived coterie of ranchers and villages based their prescriptive rights on the rather feeble argument that the most recent natural and corporal Jesuit possession was in 1661. But rather than a case of contending rights within a single and unified legal system, the dispute over Tepantlan is one of competing legal discourses and their relevance to particular historical circumstances. Neither party ever cited a single law, prefering to argue on the basis of general principles.[73] And the most basic principle at issue—shrouded in the precepts of "ánimo solo" and prescription—was that of the nature of property, and of the monarchy's right to define the relative importance of title, possession, and use. The Jesuit position coincided both with an absolutist, anti-feudal political agenda and with the economic priorities of a commodified agrarianism. But it also alleged the inviolate nature of property and implicitly challenged the state's right to set conditions on the use of private land; the role of government was to be limited to the defense of property independently constituted. Essentially, the Jesuit position argued a particular vision of property rights: a classic, though

73. In this sense, that of citing principles not laws, this land dispute was more like conflicts over grain distribution (see chapter 11) than those over *repartimiento* labor. Although not discussed in this thesis, indigenous objections to forced labor were often based on very specific citations of relevant jurisprudence and law, particularly that which was gathered in the *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*.

historically conditioned, Roman concept of *dominium.*[74] But land law is a flexible institution and states frequently modify the terms under which occupancy creates rights or absence destroys them.[75] At the beginning of the eighteenth century the idea of inviolate private property had still not been wed to the state's interest, and the Jesuits found little administrative support for an argument that, perhaps half a century later, would not have so startingly failed to obtain judicial support. A paradox of early eighteenth century agrarian structure in the Iguala Valley is that in the process of establishing the clearly demarcated property rights of a commodified countryside, the viceregal authorities disavowed the evidence and legal arguments of the Jesuits, those whose position was most representative of land rights in a capitalized economy.

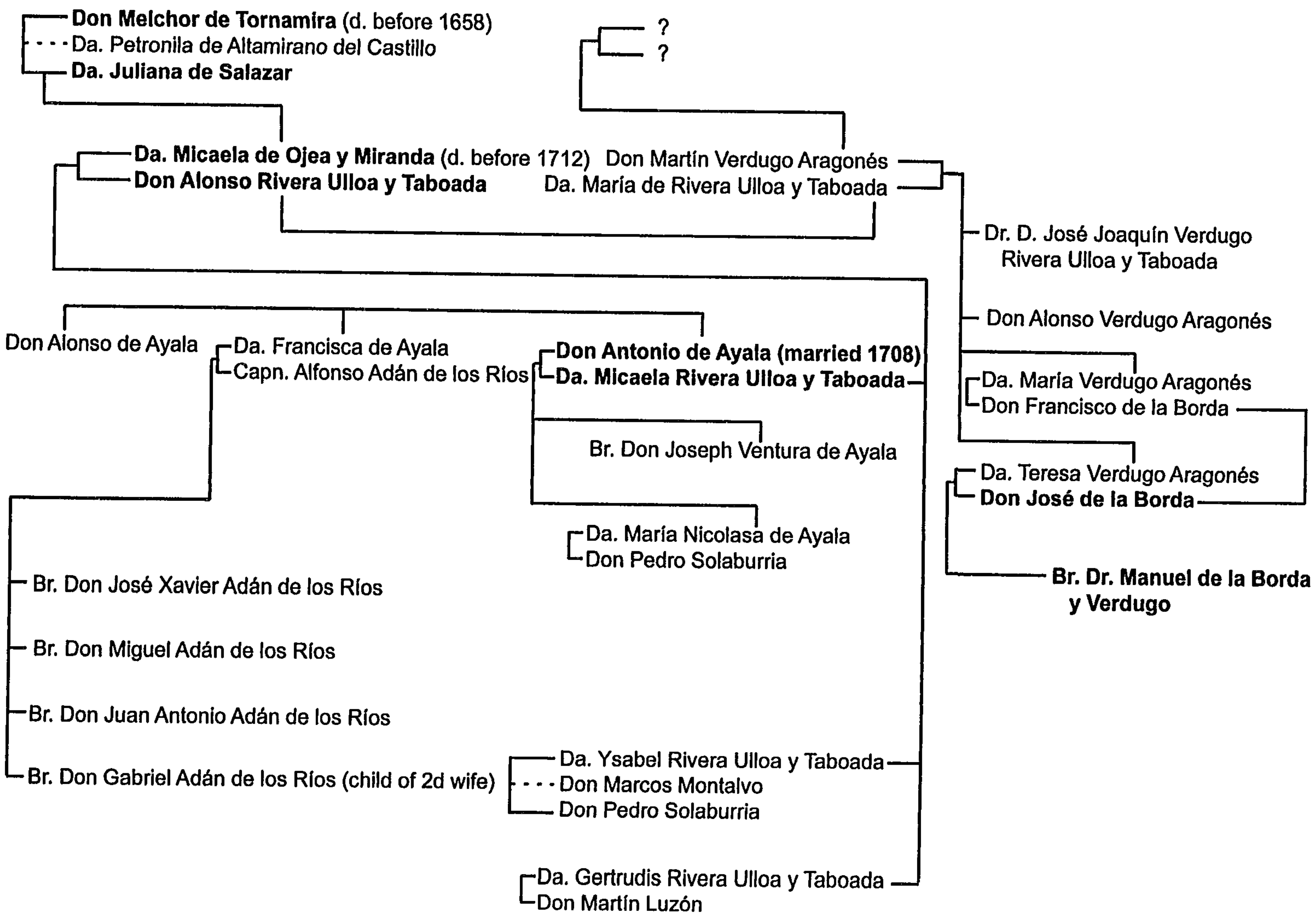
In slightly over two decades, then, the hacienda of Tepantlan suffered the combined effects of a rapid-fire barrage of economic, political, and cultural influences, each of which came to the end of a cycle at approximately the same time. The collapse of the Colegio's Iguala Valley enterprise coincided with an upswing in mining production and the regional ranching economy.

74. See Daube's (1979) discussion of absolute property rights in Roman law (chap. 3, n. 49).

75. Indeed, although much literature has been dedicated to how land rights in property are created, i.e., how land becomes owned, there is much less on how land rights are lost, i.e., the process of becoming *terra nullis.* Despite a general reluctance to consider absence from the land a sign of abandonment *(derelictio,* see n. 69 supra), during the later empire even in Roman law "the principles of *derelictio* were applied to *agri deserti:* persons occupying and cultivating land abandoned by its owner would themselves acquire ownership on the lapse of two years without the owner's seeking to assert his title; again, if a landowner, unable to pay his taxes, abandoned the land and did not return within six months, anyone who occupied the land and accepted the fiscal requirements, acquired the property"; Thomas (1976:168).

Prescription required simply *possession* and, in the fourth and fifth centuries, gave title only after the lapse of thirty or forty years. The far shorter period described for *agri deserti* had more stringent requirements: that the occupant work the land and pay taxes. It reflected state concern with maintaining agricultural production and fiscal income during a period when the impoverishment of the peasantry induced them to abandon their land and become clients of large landowners (see Levy 1951:124,195–97). For Roman Egypt, Segrè (1947) offers a detailed study of the complex interaction between state fiscal policies, privatization of public land, peasant impoverishment, the growth of a landed aristocracy with rights to labor, and legal changes in provincial land laws.

Similarly, during the *Reconquista* the role that the state assumed in controling colonists' right to acquire title through *presura* varied in relation to the availability of land, demography, the condition of agricultural production, etc.; see de la Concha (1946).


5a: A schematic genealogy of families involved with the hacienda of Palula
Don Melchor de Tornamira (d. before 1658)
Da. Petronila de Altamirano del Castillo
Da. Juliana de Salazar
?
?
Da. Micaela de Ojea y Miranda (d. before 1712)
Don Alonso Rivera Ulloa y Taboada
Don Martín Verdugo Aragonés
Da. María de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada
Dr. D. José Joaquín Verdugo Rivera Ulloa y Taboada
Don Alonso Verdugo Aragonés
Da. María Verdugo Aragonés
Don Francisco de la Borda
Da. Teresa Verdugo Aragonés
Don José de la Borda
Br. Dr. Manuel de la Borda y Verdugo
Don Alonso de Ayala
Da. Francisca de Ayala
Capn. Alfonso Adán de los Ríos
Don Antonio de Ayala (married 1708)
Da. Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada
Br. Don Joseph Ventura de Ayala
Da. María Nicolasa de Ayala
Don Pedro Solaburria
Br. Don José Xavier Adán de los Ríos
Br. Don Miguel Adán de los Ríos
Br. Don Juan Antonio Adán de los Ríos
Br. Don Gabriel Adán de los Ríos (child of 2d wife)
Da. Ysabel Rivera Ulloa y Taboada
Don Marcos Montalvo
Don Pedro Solaburria
Da. Gertrudis Rivera Ulloa y Taboada
Don Martín Luzón

As a result, the Jesuits' withdrawal motivated an impetuous struggle for the recently unprotected rural resources. Cattle ranchers moved onto the abandoned terrain, Indian villages regained use of land they had previously rented out, and Garay took over the lease of Acayahualco (which the Jesuits had previously held in rental, at least periodically). Thus a major shift in the regional economy took place in both the identity of the rural actors and in the productive basis of the regional economy. With the departure of the Jesuits, extra-regíonal interests and investments in the Iguala Valley were displaced, just as sheep were replaced by cattle. This reconfiguration of economic patterns was soon followed, in 1697, by an administrative effort, part of a colony-wide undertaking, to carry out composiciones of all occupied property (both colonist and Indian) and privatize the remaining unoccupied land *(realenga)*. Coming on the heels of the Jesuit withdrawal, these late seventeenth-century composiciones and mercedes redrew many land boundaries in the Iguala Valley. The redefinition of Tepantlan, however, was not challenged until the Jesuits found a buyer willing to lead the litigation. The resultant suit went beyond efforts to corroborate previous titles and transfers and to determine the location of contested boundaries. It included a fundamental debate on property. The viceroyal authorities, perhaps unnerved by the weight of the opposition to Garay and the Jesuits, condoned the takeover of Tepantlan. In so doing they were not, however, simply giving de jure status to a de facto situation. They were making implicit use of and giving tacit approval to a soon-to-disappear model of the proper relation between state, land, and society, a moral model that recognized a higher individual right than civil ownership and a more urgent obligation of society than the unconditional defense of property rights.

THE HACIENDA OF PALULA AND THE MONOPOLIZATION OF LAND IN THE IGUALA VALLEY: THE CONSOLIDATION AND TERRITORIALIZATION OF AN ENCOMENDER'S PROPERTY

In 1712 the *vista de ojos* carried out to ascertain the precise limits of Garay's claims to Tepantlan (see above and appendix 8 table 8c) had just been concluded. In his report, the *juez de tierras,* Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio, remarked that among those who objected "there is one, don Antonio de Ayala, who appeared to be more victimized than others."[76] Ayala had married into the third generation of owners of the hacienda of Palula (see genealogy 5a),[77] a property that by the early eighteenth century comprised some 150,000 hectares of land (1,500 sq km) in the fertile plain between the Cocula and Tepecuacuilco rivers (see map 5g).[78] In alluding to Ayala's

76. See citation at n. 53 above.

77. In one document (AGN-BN 670/8 cuad. 1) Ayala is stated to be the heir of doña Micaela de Ojea y Miranda, his mother-in-law. Other documents (e.g. AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f) suggest that Ayala held the land for his wife, doña Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, and her sister, doña Gertrudis Rivera Ulloa y Taboada. The third sister, doña Ysabel Rivera Ulloa y Taboada is once stated to have owned Tepochica, in the northern valley (AGN-T 3518/2, 33 unnumbered folios after fol. 196). José Domínguez, who rented Tepochica in 1728, stated that he had previously paid rent to don Marcos Montalvo, the first husband of doña Ysabel Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, and to his representative, don Alfonso Adán de los Rios (see genealogy 5a). After Montalvo's death, rent was paid to doña Ysabel Rivera Ulloa y Taboada and then to her second husband, don Manuel de Yriarte of the Orden de Santiago. Note that Martínez Cosío (1946:206) states that Yriarte was married to a certain doña Ysabel Rivadeneyra Ulloa y Taboada, probably the woman here known as doña Ysabel Rivera Ulloa y Taboada. When Ayala's property was embargoed in 1728, Tepochica was not included, given that there was no direct evidence that the property belonged to Ayala.

78. The calculation of size is based on a reconstruction of the hacienda working backward from *ejido* grants documented in the archives of the Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria. In 1892, after bitter litigation between two groups who stood to inherit the hacienda from the liberal coronel Juan Montúfar, the property of San Miguel, Carrizal, Xochicuetla, a late colonial name for the hacienda of Palula, the Supreme Court of the Nation ordered the estate divided as indicated in appendix 8, table 8e. (In one document Tepantlan is called San Miguel Tepantlan (AGN-M 83/fols. 74f–75v); this suggests the possibility that Tepantlan had finally been incorporated into the hacienda of Palula, which was then renamed San Miguel.) From the 1892 division it is not difficult to reconstruct the property history, and estimate its size through documents in the agrarian reform archives. Montufár had been adjudicated the hacienda under terms of the liberal reform laws (the most complete documentation of this adjudication is found in AGN-BNz 210-48/38 and AGN-BNz 212-101/94). Montúfar had been given a power of attorney by his previously married wife, Febronia Gómez, and his sister-in-law, Manuela Gómez, to redeem the property from the government (later Febronia Gómez and her nephew, Francisco Cuenca, unsuccessfully tried to regain control of the land). The hacienda land belonged to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of Taxco and thus as church property it was subject to the desentailment procedures stipulated in the reform laws of 1856 and 1857. José María Cervantes and Fructuoso de Cuenca, husbands of Febronia and Manuela Gómez, respectively, had originally "denounced" the land. The never paid the entailment fee (it was later paid by Montúfar) but they, and then their widows, retained the right to do so. Febronia and Manuela Gómez were daughters of Antonio Gómez, a rich merchant from southern Guerrero who moved to Tepecuacuilco shortly after independence and began to rent the Archicofradía property. Gómez thus effectively replaced Sañudo and Quijano, who had rented the same land at the end of the

"victimization," Pérez de la Vega was referring to the potential consequences of Garay's ambitious attempt to extend the borders of Tepantlan. Yet Ayala's successful litigation with Garay and the Colegio represented only one of several conflicts that the owners of Palula encountered as they expanded into the northern limits of the Iguala Valley. Other major disputes involved the indigenous villages of Cocula and Iguala and, to a lesser extent, Tepecuacuilco and Mayanalán. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, most of these conflicts had been resolved and the borders of Palula were firmly established in a pattern that remained virtually unchanged until the final decade of the nineteenth century. At that time a Supreme Court ruling brought a long dispute to a final resolution and divided the hacienda (then called San Miguel, Carrizal, and Xochicuetla) among the contentious heirs of its final holder, Coronel Juan Montúfar (see appendix 8, table 8e). Thus for almost two centuries, the Iguala Valley was dominated by a landholding that in several respects was highly unusual for central Mexico. The size of its single, continguous area probably surpassed that of most haciendas of central New Spain, as did its lifespan. Ownership did change—three generations of a single family (Tornamira and his heirs); two mining families (de la Borda and Martínez Viedma) who each

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colonial period. This property was that acquired by the Archicofradía at the end of the eighteenth century from don Manuel de la Borda and the Viedma de Martínez family (see below). There is no indication of any significant difference in extension between the hacienda of Palula in 1715, the holdings of de la Borda and Viedma Martínez through the eighteenth century, the Archicofradía land, and that adjudicated to Montúfar and later divided up in the 1892 settlement.

Information on Palula is found in the extensive colonial ligitation and documentation recorded in AGN-T 1667/1, AGN-T 3514, AGN-T 3518, and AGN-T 3576/1, as well as the independence period documents in AGN-BNz 210-48/38 and AGN-BNz 212-101/94. Other sources for this hacienda (or, as it came to be called in the later colonial and independence period, the haciendas of San Miguel, Carrizal, and Xochicuetla) are the following (both colonial and early independence period documents are listed): AGN-Alh 1/5; AGN-Alh 8/10; AGN-BN 85/72; AGN-BN 146/25 (referred to as exp. 25 in index, actual document appears marked as exp. 85); AGN-BN 368/17; AGN-BN 369/52–53; AGN-BN 436/9–12; AGN-596/29 (referred to as exp. 29 in index, actual document appears marked as exp. 1); AGN-BN 670/8 cuad. 1; AGN-BN 769/17; AGN-BN 929/55; AGN-BN 1605/1; AGN-BN 1814/13; AGN-C exp. 168; AGN-Con 33/1–4; AGN-GP 16/109; AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v; AGN-I 28/239; AGN-I 28/262; AGN-I 30/131; AGN-I 30/179; AGN-I 40/134; AGN-I 69/331; AGN-I 30/251; AGN-I 69/414; AGN-I 71/13; AGN-I 88/fols. 229f-236v; AGN-M 31/85v–86f; AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f; AGN-M 83/fols. 19v–21f; AGN-M 83/fols. 74f–75v; AGN-T 1264/5; AGN-T

acquired approximately one-half of the Palula hacienda when it was briefly divided during the mid–eighteenth century; the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco, which held the hacienda, often leasing it out to a single merchant entrepreneur, from the late eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth; and then Coronel Juan Montúfar, who in the 1860s acquired rights to the land as a result of the liberal reform. But these changes in ownership had little effect on either the size of the hacienda or on how it was administered. This brings up another striking characteristic of this hacienda: throughout its history it was leased out, first to cattle ranchers and then, particularly after the last rancher was expelled by de la Borda in the late 1750s, to migrant tenant farmers who streamed into the valley, establishing some 50 cuadrillas that at various times appear in the written documentation (see appendix 8, table 8d).[79] At no time did the owners take charge of production on their land nor hire farm labor. Finally, there was one further aspect of the hacienda of Palula that had a profound impact on its development. Throughout the colonial period the indigenous tenant farmers who had settled in its very center, Palula, litigated to achieve pueblo status, seeking recognition of their prehispanic origins from the colonial state. The history of the expansion of this hacienda and its implications for the political economy of central Guerrero during the colonial period is explored in the following pages. The conflict stimulated by migrants to the hacienda's core at Palula is dealt with in the following chapter.

Though they may have underlay many conflicts, the subtleties of legal discourse and definitions that were vented in the struggle over Tepantlan did not intrude into most land litigation. Tepantlan was unusual in that the legal arguments it provoked—prescriptive, morally based rights alleged by the ranchers against absolute, Roman-based rights of *animus* argued by

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3130/2.

79. The figure of 50 cuadrillas refers to the total number of settlements that appear at any time in the documentary record. Note that in 1816 one document mentions a total of 25 cuadrillas, all of tenant farmers

the Jesuits—illustrate the contending discourses on property that could be appealed to by colonial litigants. However, in regards to the expansion of Palula, the language of dispute was much more pedestrian, pervaded with debates over the identity of places and the location of boundaries, of sales realized or not realized, of debts paid or of debts still outstanding. The conflicts affecting the hacienda of Palula also illustrate the geographical and locational poles—center or periphery—to which many colonial land disputes drifted. Conflicts over centers often concerned the very right of a community, or hacienda, to exist. When Indian villagers attempted to resettle sujetos that had been forcibly congregated in the early seventeenth century, they often had to prove previous occupation. The remains of a church (the quintessential symbol of centrality) or the maintenance of a separate tribute list were often the best guarantee against the potential vagaries of witnesses *de oficio y de parte* (witnesses appointed by the court or presented by the litigating parties).[80] The language of mercedes was also a language of centrality, of a fixed point from which rights extended outward, as illustrated in the following example drawn from a mercedes grant:

> I give a merced to Francisco López of a sitio de estancia para ganado mayor and two caballerías of land in the vicinity of the pueblo of Tepequacuylco in a plain and flat savanna a short league more or less from the aforementioned pueblo, between two ancient and abandoned settlements, one named Xalapa and the other Zacacoyoque, which are about a league from each other, [and] *the center of the aforementioned sitio is to be in between the said two ancient settlements*, and it shall run from north to south toward the road that goes to Acapulco [my emphasis].[81]

Mercedes invariably specified a place and stipulated a size; borders, even in the rare event that recipients limited themselves to the terms of the grant, were often the painful result of

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who planted maize, beans, and chile; AGN-BN 435/3.

80. For the significance of a church in community identity, see the discussion of Palula in chapter 6.

81. Merced to Francisco López on 12 December 1615; AGN-M 32/fols. 32f–33v.

Map 5g
Palula and other haciendas in the Iguala Valley (with approximate extension of the Tepecuacuilco a:ltepe:tl and direction of 18th-century migration)

Migration
Venta de la Negra
Buenavista
Los Huajes
Los Amates
Cienaguillas
Oculixtlahuacan
Tuxtla
El Naranjo
Platanar
Acamac
Tlayelapa
Agua Manteca
Tonalapa del Río
Ahuehuepan
Iguala
Tepantlan
Tlatocan
Tomatal
Palapa
Atetetla
Tepetlan
Quetzalapa
Metlapa
Lagunillas
Tepochica
Cuescontlan
Escuchapa
Ceja Blanca
Xalapilla
Tepexitlan
Tepecuacuilco
Tepehuaje
Huitzuco
Pololcingo
Pantla
Tierra Colorada
Joya de Pantla
Tecolotla
Amatitlan
Xonacatla
Zacacoyuca
Rincón de la Cocina
Xoyocuautla
Cocula
Apango
Acamahualco
Tlapala
Cuahulotal
Santa Teresa
Almolonga
Atlixtac
Apipilulco
Rincón Chiquito
Cacahuananche
Cococingo
La Mohonera
Mayanalán
Sasamulco
Apesapa
Xilocintla
Zapotitlan
Sabana Grande
Tecuescontitlan
Xolocamotla
Cocotzingo
Alsesoca
Venta de Palula
Tetelilla
Tonalapa del Sur
Palula
Tepozonalco
Estola
Coacoyula
Río Tepecuacuilco
Río Cocula
Las Mesas
Maxela
Contlalco
Carrizal
Real de Limón
Xalitla
Atzcala
Xochicuetlan
Río Balsas or Mezcala
Mezcala
Migration
Xochipala

LEGEND
- *Indigenous villages (prehispanic)*
- *Indigenous village (postconquest)*
- Haciendas and renters settlements
- Mines
- Approximate area of Tepecuacuilco altepetl

0 2 4 6 Km

the *practice* of occupation, the equilibrium point between two forces pushing in opposite directions. When the state formally conveyed a merced, the focus was on the site named in the document, where symbolic possession was given of land at best only vaguely delimited.

The ritual of composición, on the other hand, was invariably distinct: a *vista de ojos,* a perambulation along the land's perimeter and the building of boundaries. The map that accompanies the written documentation to the Tepantlan dispute (see map 5f) illustrates the tension that resulted from the early eighteenth-century shift of property documentation from center to periphery. The map itself is a visual chronicle of centers, their identity and history. Villages, mercedes, ranches, and haciendas are all encircled—often accompanied by glosses that relate their history. The dispute unleashed over Tepantlan, however, was over unmarked space and the boundaries between centers, not so much the location, rights to, or identity of the center itself. The map, then, is a virtual negative image of conflict; the areas highlighted on this historical text were at the lowpoint of contemporary interest. The action of dispute, so to speak, was now at the fringes (not centers) of registered rights.[82] This tension between center and periphery is significant for an exploration of the development of the hacienda of Palula.

This dual focus on center and periphery is necessary because the territorial integration of the hacienda of Palula was achieved, unlike that of most haciendas, over resistance in two spheres of contention. Throughout the colonial period the hacienda's core—situated in Palula, a congregated ex-sujeto of Tepecuacuilco—was invaded by steady stream of indigenous migrants. The complexity of their struggle—to obtain pueblo status, to continue to plant maize despite a seventeenth-century onrush of cattle ranching, and to defend late colonial indigenous immigrants to Palula against the service demands of their village of origen—underscores questions about the

82. For a discussion of the importance of "silences" on maps, see Harley (1988:290ff.).

Table 5e
Summary of mercedes that became part of the hacienda of Palula

NAME OF ORIGINAL MERCED RECIPIENT	NAMES OR LOCATION OF SITES	SITIOS DE GANADO		CABALLERÍAS AND OTHER LAND UNITS
		MAYOR	MENOR	
Melchor de Tornamira (?) (between 1603 and 1607)	Palula			1 *sitio de venta* 6 caballerías
Francisco López 12 December 1615	Sabana Grande Sacacoyuca Xalapa (Xalapilla?)		1	2 caballerías
Pedro de Chavarría* 19 April 1616	San Andrés (near Iguala: sitio de ganado menor) Sasamulco Apazapa	1	1	
Miguel Plano* 28 April 1616	Carrizal	1		
Diego de Minerón 26 January 1627	San Andrés Yametlapa		4	
Tomás de Santa Fe* 20 February 1632	Zoquiapan to Quamustitlan *(potrero)* Quacoyula to Aguatlaan (6 caballerías)			1 *potrero* 6 caballerías
Juliana Salazar y Monroy vda. de Tornamira 29 May 1659	(Acayahualco?)			license for a trapiche (apparently not a merced)

Note: for a more complete account of these mercedes, as well as a complete list of source documentation, see appendix 5 table 5b

* the documentation of the mercedes given to these individuals mention that the land borders directly on that of don Melchor de Tornamira

composition and internal politics of indigenous settlements and the emergence of a rural landscape of diverse communities. This conflict was unusual in that the very definition of the site and settlement Palula, as *hacienda* or as *community*, was a source of conflict throughout the colonial period, and not just during the decades after congregación. This struggle at the core and the questions it raises in regard to the nature of place making during the colonial period are examined in the following chapter. But the hacienda of Palula, which evolved during the seventeenth century until it came to dominate the Iguala Valley (see map 5g), also encountered opposition at its edges, as it expanded through the area formerly occupied by the congregated sujetos of the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco. The overlap between the far-flung limits of the *alte:petl* of Tepecuacuilco (the shaded area in map 5g; see also the list of Tepecuacuilco sujetos in appendix 1b, which can be compared to the cuadrillas listed in appendix 8, table 8d) and the territory occupied by the hacienda of Palula is striking, and clearly demonstrates the degree to which the morphology of hacienda landholdings could reflect patterns of preconquest settlements and political jurisdictions.[83] It is this territorial expansion at increasingly well demarcated and ostensibly impermeable edges, that is examined in the remaining pages of this section.

Between 1603 and 1607, don Melchor de Tornamira, encomendero of Tepecuacuilco, was granted a merced for a *sitio de venta* and 6 caballerías at an abandoned hamlet named Palula, a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco recently relocated to the cabecera.[84] Over the following three decades

83. The following cuadrillas that were part of the hacienda of Palula (see appendix 8, table 8b) seem all to have been sujetos of Tepecuacuilco: Acayahualco, Apasapa, Ascala, Carrisal (=Asuchitlán?, present-day Xochicuetla?), Coacoyula, Copanaguasco (=Quauhpanahuazco, a sujeto that was ½ league south of the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco, although it has not been identified with a modern settlement), Estola (=Oistitla or Oistula), Maxela, Palula, Pantla, Sasamulco, and Zacacoyuca.

84. AGN-I 30/251; see appendix 5, table 5b. Interestingly, there is no mention of Tornamira, who is also at times called Tornamira y Monroi or Monroi y Tornamira as well as Tornamira y Mendoza (AGN-T 2942/124; AGN-GP 7/15) in Gerhard (1972), who gives Francisco Enríquez Magariño as encomendero

other individuals received an additional 5 mercedes in the central Iguala Valley that eventually became part of the Tornamira's hacienda (see table 5e); many of these land grants mention sites where sujetos of Tepecuacuilco had previously been located (e.g., Sacacoyuca, Sasamulco, Apazapa, Carrizal, Quamustitlan, Quacoyula, and Aguatlan).[85] By the late eighteenth century, the owners of Palula had significantly increased their land base, and much of this increase was anchored on land acquired through the legal purchase of mercedes, though obviously expanded through composición to fill the "holes" (*huecos*) between the various grants. Thus when in 1711 the *juez de tierras* Pérez de la Vega Cansio mentioned that he had seen and examined nine mercedes that formed part of the legal documentation to the hacienda of Palula, he was undoubtedly referring among others to the mercedes (except perhaps the license to Salazar) that have been identitified in table 5e.[86] These included the grants to Chavarría, Plano, and Santa Fe, all of which were for land that at the time of the grant bordered on property belonging to Tornamira. Francisco López, on the other hand, obtained a license to sell his merced four days after he received it; from its location and the susequent history of land tenure in the Iguala Valley it is likely that he sold his merced to Tornamira, in whose name he probably acted in first obtaining the land grant. A similar argument applies to the merced given to Diego de Minerón. Finally, at midcentury Tornamira (or perhaps his wife) bought Acayahualco from Juan García Ponce; shortly thereafter Salazar obtained a license to found a trapiche, probably here as well. The titles to Acayahualco might have been among the nine mercedes that Pérez de la Vega

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from 1591 to 1596, and María de Godoy as encomendera in 1597. Escheatment occurred, according to Gerhard (1972:147) by 1688.

85. By 1632 Tornamira was able to claim ownership of 3 haciendas, dedicated to combined ranching and farming ventures; see AGN-T 2942/124. Eighty-five years later, don Antonio de Ayala, the husband of his granddaughter and principal heir, was able to assert that he owned lands that comprised 12 ranching and agricultural haciendas, some 30 leagues (125 km) in circumference.

86. AGN-BN 670/8 cuad. 1, fol. 12. The documentation was presented by Ayala in a dispute with Cocula and

mentioned in 1711.[87]

When shortly before his death Tornamira bought cattle and land (apparently at Acayahualco) from Juan García Ponce, he cleared the way for expansion into the northern valley by making peace with a major entrepreneur who had the resources to challenge the encomendero and his heirs. On other fronts however, the encomendero's expansionist activities were already meeting with indigenous resistance and provoking legal action. And although Tornamira accused the corregidor of inciting the Indians to litigate, it is clear that the principal basis for conflict was fairly aggressive expansion through the northern valley, begun by Tornamira and continued by his heirs, which provoked a series of conflicts with Mayanalán, Cocula, Iguala, and Tepecuacuilco. Tornamira died sometime before 1658, but his widow, don Juliana de Salazar y Monroy, continued to increase the family's holdings, pushing northward from what by that time must have been a secure base in the southern valley, from Palula to the Balsas River. In 1658 she was said to have "much land and water, sufficient to plant sugarcane."[88] She requested, and was given, a license to establish a trapiche on this fertile land (again, probably Acayahualco). Besides Salazar's efforts to begin to cultivate and process sugar on her lands, there are other indications of an entrepreneurial (or perhaps better said aggressive) spirit. Shortly after the tension with García Ponce had been amicably resolved by her deceased husband, Salazar was involved in a bitter dispute in the area of Tetelilla and Alseseca (see map 5g) with Br. Agustín de Aguero, at that time owner of the hacienda of Tlapala, located between Huitzuco and Mayanalán in the eastern valley. Indeed, the principal barrier to the eastward expansion of the Palula hacienda was

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don Juan de Soto y Acuña.

87. See the testimony by Juan Rodríguez (n. 26 supra), and note the presence of a debt owed by Juliana de Salazar in García Ponce's will (p. 222 above, at n. 15).

88. AGN-M 49/161f–v dated 1658. A license to establish a trapiche was given the following year; AGN-M 49/fols. 169f–v.

the presence of a hacienda centered at Tlapala and the activity of several of its owners, who also determinedly expanded their own holdings (litigating against against the communities of Mayanalán and Tlaxmalac).[89] Similarly, the northwestern expansion of Palula was to a major extent halted by the combined efforts of another hacendado, Juan de Soto y Acuña, who allied himself with the beseiged indigenous community of Cocula at a time when it was under attack from both Garay Villavicencia and Antonio de Ayala (see the discussion in chapter 9).

The death of Salazar, probably in the final quarter of the seventeenth century, did little to quell the land disputes that increasingly characterized the northern Iguala Valley. Indeed, the most contentious period for the hacienda of Palula was apparently the 30-year span beginning in the mid-1680s, when conflicts continued on the northern periphery of the hacienda while flaring up as well at its very center in Palula. In 1689, for example, the villages of Iguala and Tepecuacuilco opposed the intrusion of don Alonso Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, a second-generation holder of Palula, into lands at Pachiuca, Atopula, and San Andrés (see genealogy 5a and maps 5f and 5g).[90] They claimed that the only merced that Rivera possessed was one issued to the first

89. The documentation on Tlapala is extensive; here only the major documents are cited. Particularly important are AGN-T 1667/1 dated 1699–1706 and AGN-T 3518/1–2. See also AGN-GP 2/194 dated 1579, AGN-T 1287/6 dated 1797, AGN-T 1406/11 dated 1810, AGN-T 3130/2 dated 1773 and 1774, and AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2. In 1711 the hacienda's titles comprised 10 sitios de ganado mayor and menor and 15 caballerías; AGN-T 3518/fols. 1–16 for a list of the titles. The land evaluators estimated that at this time the hacienda contained another 3 sitios of untitled land. The hacienda was built up by Br. Agustín de Aguero, who was given land by an Indian cacique in 1609, acquired additional land from Nicolás de Nava, and seems to have been particularly close to Francisco de Zárate, all early recipients of mercedes in the vicinity of Tlapala. Aguero then sold the land to Blas de Toledo for 10,500 pesos in the 1650s (there were two sales, dated 1650 and 1655). Toledo's widow, Antonia del Valle, sold it to Pedro de Miranda Tenorio on 6 December 1686. In the final years of the century, Tenorio sold Tlapala to don Manuel de Chávez Villaseñor (owner by 1699), who was particularly aggressive in litigating (successfully) against Mayanalán for control over Tetelilla and Alseseca, and against Tlaxmalac (unsuccessfully) for rights to Palapa. His widow, doña Antonia González de Thenorio inherited the hacienda and herself sold it to the Gómez de la Madrid family. Santiago de la Madrid was owner in 1773 (AGN-T 3130/2), and don Manuel Eustaquio Goméz de la Madrid was owner in 1797 (AGN-T 1287/6). For a brief summary of the mercedes that came to form part of the hacienda of Tlapala, see appendix 8, table 8f.

90. AGN-I 30/251. Pachiuca is undoubtedly Tepochica, identified on both maps. Atopula is found on map 5f, and was probably located near present-day Tepehuaje or Joya de Pantla (map 5g). San Andrés was north of and

holders (i.e., don Melchor de Tornamira and doña Juliana de Salazar) by the conde de Montesclaros (1603–7) for 1 *sitio de venta* and 6 caballerías near Tepecuacuilco's abandoned sujeto of Palula. The Iguala and Tepecuacuilco authorities requested that boundaries be erected at the edge of the property awarded in the original grant[91] and that Rivera be enjoined to not exceed its limits. But at the same time the Tepecuacuilco authorities were leading a multivillage attempt to retake the lands of its ex-sujeto, Palula. In 1689 the Viceroy authorized Tepecuacuilco to "resettle (*poblar*) the ancient pueblo of Palula with *naturales* from the pueblo of Iguala."[92] At the same time the indigenous officials of Tepecuacuilco were even more vigorously defending the rights of the naturales of Oapan and other villages to resettle Palula.[93] The implications of this intervillage alliance and multivillage resettlement of a congregated sujeto for our understanding of indigenous political and social organization will be explored in the following chapter. Here the focus will be on the territorialization of the hacienda as it expanded northward and the long-term effect of this process on the organization of rural production and social relationships in the Iguala Valley.

What is clear in the discussion up to this point is that the shape of the hacienda of Palula was influenced by two major factors. The first was the geographical pattern of prehispanic settlement and political relations. As illustrated in map 5g, the hacienda of Palula took over the immense space vacated by Tepecuacuilco's congregated sujetos, some of which had been located over a dozen leagues from the cabecera, mainly to the south and west. Yet the hacienda also

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contiguous to Metlapa (map 5f, probably between present-day Metlapa and Ahuehuepan, map 5g). However, in some documents Metlapa itself is referred to as San Andrés Metlapa.

91. For the location of the land granted in this merced, see appendix 4, table 4b.

92. AGN-I 30/251.

93. See, for example, AGN-GP 16/169, AGN-I 28/239, AGN-I 28/262, AGN-I 30/131, and AGN-I 30/179. All of these documents date from the latter part of the 1690s.

occupied some land belonging to the Indians of Iguala (the ex-sujeto of Metlapa and the land near San Andrés) and pushed up to the edges of Cocula (at Atlixtac, Apipilulco, Atetela, and Zoquiapan) and Mayanalán (at Tetelilla, Xolocamotla, and Alseseca). The other major factor that affected the territorial extension of the Palula hacienda was the configuration of other haciendas in the northern valley and the legal actions undertaken by their owners (or, in the case of García Ponce, acquiescence and sale to Tornamira and Salazar). The case of Tepantlan has already been discussed; the Tornamira heirs were able to acquire land around the Tuxpan lake only after the Jesuits abandoned their sheep-ranching enterprise of the northern valley during the late seventeenth century and after Garay Villavicencio had been unable to regain possession of even the core titled lands of Tepantlan. In the eastern valley, the owners of the hacienda of Tlapala (as well as the authorities of Mayanalán) resisted the efforts of doña Juliana de Salazar to expand her holdings up through Tetelilla, Xolocamotla, and Alseseca. By the late seventeenth century the major dispute in the eastern valley no longer involved Palula; rather it was between Tlapala and the indigenous villages of Mayanalán and Tlaxmalac. Finally, to the west and northwest (see chapter 9), the Soto y Acuña family, two of whom held property from Tepozonalco up through Apango, also resisted pressure brought to bear by the second and third generations of the owners of Palula—first Salazar's daughter and heir, doña Micaela Ojea y Miranda, and her husband, don Alonso Rivera Ulloa y Taboada; and then their daughter doña Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada and her husband, don Antonio de Ayala, a Taxco miner, who succeeded to the hacienda at the beginning of the eighteenth century and controlled it until it was embargoed in 1728 (see genealogy 5a). By that time it had reached its full extension, from the Balsas River northward, mostly between the Cocula and Tepecuacuilco Rivers, past Iguala. Added to the extremely large area covered by the hacienda of Palula were two other unusual features that were to define the remaining century of colonial rule and virtually the entire independence period. First, despite the

1728 embargo and sale of the estate, ownership remained relatively stable and the property intact. Second, although the rural economy of the valley gradually shifted from ranching to farming, the hacienda owners made no effort to cultivate the land for themselves. Rather, they leased the property to tenant farmers who, given the favorable labor and market conditions, continued to migrate into the area, apparently right up to the beginning of the Mexican Revolution. The pattern of tenure and use from 1728 up to the early nineteenth century and its impact on the dynamics of rural society in late colonial central Guerrero are treated in the remaining pages of this section.

In 1728 bachiller don Antonio de Ucarranza claimed that although for 43 years (i.e., since 1685) he had held a *capellanía* (an endowed chaplaincy) that was maintained with the standard 5 percent interest (100 pesos/year) corresponding to a 2,000-peso lien on the hacienda of ganado mayor at Palula, he had only been given a total of 1,130 pesos over this entire period. The *capellanía* had been founded in the mid–seventeenth century by don Melchor de Tornamira and his first wife, doña Petronila Altamirano del Castilla, probably to support a relative who had become a cleric (for a summary account of *capellanías* on lands in the Iguala Valley, see appendix 8, table 8g).[94] When don Antonio de Ayala succeeded to the hacienda, he inherited the debts of its previous owners, including the interest owed to Ucarranza. He failed to meet this obligation and in response Ucarranza sued for payment. An investigation into the assets of the hacienda was carried out by the viceregal officials in Iguala and as a result, on 17 January 1729 the hacienda and its annexes were embargoed. The properties were to be sold to the highest

94. The sources for this discussion of *capellanías* are given in this appendix table. The founders of this capellanía were Tornamira and his wife, doña Petronilla Altamirano del Castilla. Her identity is not further revealed, but given that Juliana de Salazar is described in other documentation as Tornamira's wife, I have assumed that Altamirano del Castilla was a previous spouse. This might be erroneous and some other relations might have held.

bidder, with 3,170 pesos of the sale price to be paid to Ucarranza.

The report on the finances of the hacienda provide a succint account of the agrarian economy of the Iguala Valley at the beginning of the eighteenth century. At this time there were a total of eight ranchers rented parcels of land from Ayala (see table 5f, rightmost column). The rental payments due—225 pesos/year for the seven ranches for which precise documentation exists—far exceeded the yearly interest owed to Ucurranza. Moreover, to the rental income paid by ranchers should be added approximately 32 pesos (in maize or cash) contributed yearly by the migrant indigenous tenant farmers at Palula itself. Finally, although the rent that García Villavicencio paid for Acayahualco is not given, it was probably at least 50 pesos/year.[95] In sum, Ayala perceived some 300 pesos/year, perhaps a little more, by leasing his hacienda.

Given that the rental income was three times the required yearly payments to the *capellán*, it is not immediately clear why Ayala was unable (or unwilling) to liquidate his debts to Ucarranza. One explanation would be that most of the accumulated debt represented decades of financial instability before Ayala acquired the hacienda. Yet the available information (see table 5f) suggests that many properties had a long rental history (e.g., Carrisal, Coacoyula, Cuaulotal, and the Rancho de los Pedernales), and in at least one case (Cuaulotal) the fee had risen from that charged by the previous generation of hacendados. Moreover, it is unclear why Ucarranza would have chosen to bring a suit against Ayala after 43 years of problematical financial relations with previous owners of Palula if Ayala had indeed begun to meet his yearly obligations, as Ucarranza seemed to admit. Another possibility suggests itself: that Ayala might have been using the income from his rural estate to provide capital for mining ventures in Taxco,

95. It is interesting to note that despite the long, bitter dispute between García V. and the other ranchers installed in the northern Iguala Valley, a dispute that earned García years of prison, he still rented Acayahualco from his major adversary, don Antonio de Ayala.

or at least to meet financial commitments elsewhere. This is suggested by the fact that he had pawned San Andrés Metlapa to doña Isabel Rodríguez de Molina, an act that intimates at least some degree of insolvency (see appendix 8, table 8h, for major the major economic actors in the Iguala Valley at this time). A document in a private collection also suggests that Ayala was afflicted by financial difficulties.[96] Whatever the reasons for the lack of sufficient payment to Ucarranza, the hacienda was embargoed and put up for public sale.

After 1728 Ayala virtually disappears from the documentary record; and there are few later references to border disputes along the periphery of the hacienda of Palula. The maximum extension of the hacienda had been reached; subsequent discord focused on matters internal to the hacienda, which itself was gradually converted into little more than a loose group of tenant settlements with a common landlord. One area of dispute related to the social and political identity of the core settlement of Palula, whose migrant residents continued to litigate for pueblo status until the final days of the colonial period (see chapter 6). The second area of dispute, discussed below, relates to the question of land use and the vertical integration of grain supplies to a booming mining economy and urban market. It was this latter concern that set the overall tone for agrarian development and rural-urban relations in central Guerrero for the remainder of the colonial period.

96. The archive of the Domínguez Islas family in Taxco contains a document from "instrumentos públicos" dated 27 March 1712 that refers to a mine that Antonio de Ayala had with his brother Alonso at a place called Cantarranas, and which had been encumbered with debts for mercury. Much of this debt had been paid off by 1712. Nevertheless, the document does suggest Ayala's unpaid expenses in his mining ventures.

Table 5f
Hacienda of Palula
Land conflict, rentals, and embargoes of the early eighteenth century

CUADRILLA	1712 *VISTA DE OJOS*	1728 EMBARGO
Acamac	Objection voiced by Ayala to Garay's claim. Joseph Gómez was recognized as the owner of this land.	
Acayahualco	Ayala objected to Garay's claim of ownership, stating that he rented Acayahualco to Garay and that his wife's antecessors had bought this land from Juan García Ponce (father).	Rented by Lic. don Lucas de Garay, *cura beneficiado* of Tepecuacuilco, who kept his cattle here. He testified that he recognized doña Gertrudis de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, widow of don Martín Luzón, as the legal and rightful owner of Acayahualco. Garay is not certain how much backrent he owes, but estimates it to be over 1,000 pesos. He suggested that doña Gertrudis de Rivera would know the exact figure. The estancia of Acayahualco was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Ahuatetla		Rented by the *mestizo* Joseph del Balle, who pays no rent because his wife, Juana Pasquala, was Ayala's *comadre* (ritual co-parent). Ayala permitted del Balle to graze his cattle on this land until he found a rancher who would rent Ahuatetla. The ranch was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Apipilulco	Objection voiced by Ayala to possession given to Cocula. Eventually Cocula was to sell the adjoining land at Atlixtac, but retained ownership of Apipilulco.	
Ascala	Uncontested property of Ayala, it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	
Atetela (near Cocula)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the pretensions of Garay and to the possession of Cocula,	

	which had a cattle ranch there. Apparently Cocula retained control of this land.	
Atlixtac (near Cocula)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the pretensions of Garay and to the possession of Cocula. Soon afterward Cocula sold this land to don Juan de Soto y Acuña.	
Carrisal	Uncontested property of Ayala.	The ranch or *venta* at the *paraje* called Carrisal had been rented by Pedro Joseph, deceased by 1729. His widow, doña Pasquala de los Reyes González, stated that the rent had been 60 pesos per year, and 8 months rent is owed. The ranch was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Coacoyula	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	To graze his cattle, Diego de Soto y Acuña rented both the ranch of Tonalapa and the estancia of Coacoyula. He had been renting these lands for a long time and recently signed a new lease for 50 pesos/year. In 1728 he owed no past rents and that year paid 16 pesos, with anther 34 to be paid by the end of the rental year in June. The rancho was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Cuaulotal (or Venta de Cuanaca)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the ownership claim of Garay. Ayala retained control over this land, which remained part of the hacienda of Palula until its division in the late nineteenth century.	Joachin de Astudillo, *castizo* over 70 years old, rented the "rancho o venta de Cuanaca y hazia [sic] alias Quaulotal." During the life of doña Micaela de Ojea, Astudillo he had paid only 25 pesos per year. Now he pays 33 pesos and owes only 15 pesos in rent. The ranch of Cuaulotal was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Joya de Atopula	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	
Metlapa	Objection voiced by Ayala, who rented this land to the widow of Antonio Román, to Garay's claim of ownership. It remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-	In 1728, Metlapa was rented by don Pedro de Soto y Acuña, son of doña Isabel Rodríguez de Molina. He did not pay rent because Ayala had pawned this land to Soto y Acuña's mother beginning in 1713 for an unspecified amount of money. The

	century division.	property is here referred to as San Andrés Metlapa, i.e., it probably embraced the adjacent lands of San Andrés and Metlapa. The ranch was embargoed and don Antonio de Ayala was not permitted "uso ni dominio alguno en dicho rancho" (use nor any property rights to the said ranch).
Palula	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	In 1728, the land at Palula was rented by a total population of sixteen "Indian tenant farmers." Eleven were present at the time of the proceedings and five were absent. They all paid a flat rent of 2 cargas of maize, irregardless of how much they planted. If the harvest failed they paid 2 pesos, and if because of illness or any other reason an individual could not plant his field he was not charged rent; this was the situation the previous year with five Indian tenants. In 1728 twelve individuals planted and owed 24 pesos rent. No back rent was owed. The *paraje* of Palula was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Pantla	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	The *trapiche* of Pantla was rented by Diego de Nava, a Spaniard, who kept his cattle here. He paid 70 pesos per year in rent and at the time of the proceedings still owed about 50 pesos for the present year of 1728. The *sitio* of the ranch of Pantla was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Pedernales, Rancho de los	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	Rented by Juan Francisco Domínguez, a Spaniard who kept cattle and horses here. Previously his uncle Juan Baena had rented these lands. Now he and his first cousin, Miguel Baena, rented the ranch for 12 pesos per year, paid in June. The lands of the ranch Los Pedernales were ordered embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Plantanar (=Tzinacantlan)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio.	
Quetlacochiapan	Claimed by Ayala.	

Rancho de Cortés	Objection voiced by Ayala to Garay's claims of ownership. Ayala rented this land to Bernabe Baena. Apparently this land originally belonged to García Ponce, who sold it to the owners of Palula before he sold Tepantlan to the Jesuits.	
Sabana Grande	Objection voiced by Ayala to Garay's claim of ownership. This property remained part of the hacienda of Palula until the late nineteenth-century division.	
San Andrés	Objection voiced by Ayala, who rented this land to Ana Rodríguez, widow of Joseph de Soto y Acuña. It remained part of the hacienda of Palula until the late nineteenth-century division.	See entry under Metlapa.
San Juan	Objection voiced by Ayala to Garay's claims of ownership.	
Sasamulco	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio; it remained part of the hacienda of Palula until the late nineteenth-century division.	
Tepochica	Although located within the area contested by Ayala and Garay Villavicencio, Sasamulco remained part of the hacienda of Palula until the late nineteenth-century division.	Rented by José Domínguez who lived and kept cattle here. He recognized as owner don Manuel de Yriarte, Caballero del Orden de Santiago and *vecino* of Mexico City, who acquired the property as widower of doña Ysabel de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada. Previously Domínguez had paid the rent to doña Micaela de Ojea y Miranda; then to her son-in-law don Marcos Montalvo, the first husband of doña Ysabel de Rivera; then to the widowed doña Ysabel (probably the actual heiress of doña Micaela de Ojea); and finally to Yriarte. In 1728 the rent was 50 pesos per year; by June Domínguez will have accumulated a debt of 150 pesos for back rent.

		The ranch was not embargoed given that it did not belong to don Antonio de Ayala.
Tonalapa (del Sur)		See entry under Coacoyula.
Venta (located near Plantanar)	Claimed by Ayala, whose rights were apparently not contested.	
Venta de Cuanaca		See entry under Cuaulotal.
Xalapilla	Although located within the area contested by Ayala and Garay, Xalapilla remained part of the hacienda of Palula until the late nineteenth-century division.	
Zoquiapan (near Cocula)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the ownership claims of Garay and to the actual possession by Cocula, which had a cattle ranch belonging to a *cofradía* here.	

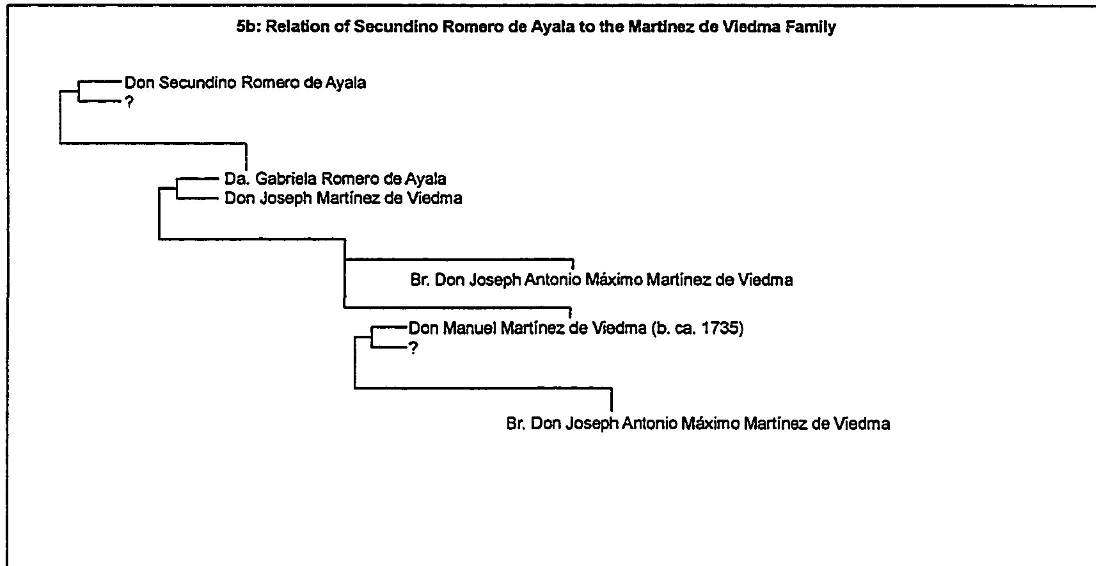
Sources: For the 1728 embargo (rightmost column), see AGN-T 3518/2 (from 33 unnumbered fojas after fj. 196); for the dispute with Garay, see AGN-T 3514 and AGN-T 3518/2 and 6.

THE EXPLOITATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF RURAL RESOURCES: FROM EMBARGOED LAND TO CORPORATE CHURCH PROPERTY

The immediate results of the 1728 embargo and public sale are not known. The land might have been bought, or it might have continued to be held in deposit, with the rents going directly to the *capellán* until a more stable proprietary relationship could be established. However, sometime during the eighteenteenth century, the hacienda of Palula passed into the hands of two elite mining families. Don José de la Borda, perhaps the most celebrated miner of his time, acquired half of the original hacienda. His property, which became known as San Miguel, covered the area north of Estola (located slightly southwest of Palula, see map 5g). The other miner was don Joseph Martínez de Viedma, whose land, Carrisal and Xochicuetla, extended south from Estola to the Balsas River.[97] Eventually both de la Borda's and Martínez de Viedma's properties were acquired by the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco, which by this means reintegrated the hacienda of Palula (by then called San Miguel, Carrisal, and Xochicuetla) to its most expansive original dimensions. On 18 May 1782, bachiller doctor don Manuel de la Borda donated San Miguel to the *archicofradía* attached to Santa Prisca, the church his father built at a cost of close to a half million pesos (see transcription in appendix 8i).[98] Carrisal and Xochicuetla

97. Xochicuetla was still populated by migrants from Ameyaltepec up to the time of the Mexican Revolution and appears on many nineteenth-century maps. It is a prehispanic site (heavily looted at present) located a kilometer or so south of present-day Xalitla and falls within the ejido land of this community (itself originally formed by migrants from Ameyaltepec). In 1806 the lands of Xochicuetla (which included Carrisal) were evaluated in 15,290½ pesos and were said to measure 28.5 leagues (approximately 119½ km) "in longitud, latitude, and circumference"; AGN-BN 1814/13. The meaning of the measurement is unclear, but if one assumes a square that is 30 km per side, this would yield a circumference of 120 km and an area of 900 sq km or 90,000 has. A clear exposition of the history of the two separate haciendas, San Miguel and Carrisal, Xochicuetla is found in the *archicofradía's* response to the *consolidación* (a program of forced liquidation of church liens and loans) in AGN-BN 1814/13 and AGN-BN 1604/1, both dated 1806. For the consolidación, see Flores Caballero (1969) and Hamnett (1969). In the vestry of San Prisca a portrait of don Juan Ygnacio de la Cuesta commemorates his role as the legal representative of the *archicofradía* in defense of its landholdings before the Junta Superior de Consolidaciónn on 12 May 1807.

98. This donation is referred to often in the documentary record, as well as in a portrait of don Manuel



were passed on by don Joseph Martínez de Viedma to his son Manuel and acquired in 1796 by the same *archicofradía* for 10,000 pesos in a public auction, probably the result of a judicial order to pay off the debts of its opprobrious owner.[99]

The predominant nature of agrarian society in the Iguala Valley was defined by the characteristics of its northern region (land that was more fertile and productive, more heavily populated, and closer to the urban grain markets of Taxco and the central highlands than the

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that hangs in the vestry of Santa Prisca in Taxco. The archive of the Domínguez Islas family has a copy of the original donation, which they kindly allowed me to photocopy (transcribed in appendix 8, document 8i). See also AGN-BN 435/3, fols. 4f–7f.

99. See particularly AGN-BN 434/3 dated 1816. By this time these lands had 3 *capellanías* imposed on them, worth a total of 7,000 pesos in principal (see appendix 8, table 8f). The sale price involved payment of 3,000 pesos in cash and the recognition of the obligations entailed by the three *capellanías*. In 1806 the *capellanes* were don José Benito Alvarez Pacheco (3,000 pesos of principal), don José Agustín de Añorga (2,000 pesos of principal), and don Ignacio Zalasar y Garnica (2,000 pesos of principal); AGN-BN 1604/1 dated 1806. The money to acquire this land was lent to the *archicofradía* by don Manuel Sañudo, who at that time was renting de la Borda's ex-lands of San Miguel from the same *archicofradía*.

Don Manuel Martínez de Viedma's bad character is referred to several times in the record. His father requested that he be sent to a *presidio* after he had threatened him with a knife. In the deposition he referred to his son as "of an inborn and intrepid nature, haughty and arrogant, but so disobedient and incorrigible that it has not been possible to control him to lead a life as a true son"; AGN-GP 39/200 dated 1754.

section south of Estola) and by the personality of its owner for the greater part of the eighteenth century: don José de la Borda.[100] The date at which de la Borda, who was born in Spain in 1699, acquired land in the Iguala Valley is not precisely known. The first unequivocal reference to his holdings is in 1755, when he issued a rental contract for land near Acayahualco to don Francisco Calzado, erstwhile alcalde mayor of Iguala and the last remaining large rancher in the jurisdiction (see discussion in chapter 11).[101] But it is quite possible that by then de la Borda had already held these lands for several years. Some of the evidence for this is "negative," and perhaps somewhat trivial: no other owner is mentioned in the documentary record and the absence of conflict, particularly with indigenous villages, is quite in accord with the "notoria magnanimidad" of de la Borda.[102] Indeed, in expelling Calzado, de la Borda said he was motivated by the protests of indigenous tenant farmers "who had been incessantly complaining about the serious damage they suffer from Calzado's cattle."[103] However, there is also evidence that de la Borda's parents had already acquired some property in the northern Iguala Valley, well before the embargo and auction of Ayala's estate. In 1708 Garay Villavicencio, in remitting 80 pesos of rent to the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, made a rather oblique and unclear reference, apparently to land near Iguala and Cocula that don Martín Verdugo held "as a gift or legacy from his godmother, doña Juliana de [Salazar] Monroi."[104] Verdugo, father-in-law of de la

100. Besides the documentation cited from the AGN, information on de la Borda can be found in Toussaint (1933), Vargas Lugo (1982), and Ximénez y Frías (1779).

101. The 1755 contract for land at Acayahualco, extended to don Francisco Calzado and his brother don Miguel Román, is mentioned in AGN-M 79/fols. 230f–231v. For documentation on the dispute between Calzado and de la Borda, see the appropriate sections of chapter 11.

102. The quote is from a muleteer who thus acknowledges de la Borda's cancellation of a debt; AGN-GP 44/56 dated 1761.

103. AGN-M 79/fols. 230f–231v.

104. AGN-T 3518/s.n., unnumbered folios, letter dated 19 Dec. 1708 from Garay Villavicencio to Juan Nicolás.

Borda, had married Salazar's daughter, doña María de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada (see genealogy 5a), a marriage that linked the Taxco mining family to Tornamira's heirs and, most notably, to don Antonio de Ayala. Verdugo's land near Iguala and Cocula would have passed on to his heirs by 1728, giving them perhaps a stronger motive or greater inclination to acquire Ayala's estate when it was offered up for public sale.[105]

Whether or not the Martínez de Viedma family was similarly related to Ayala is not clear. This family was closely related to don Secundino Romero de Ayala, a noted miner and administrative figure in the Taxco and Iguala jurisdiction (see genealogy 5b), but the relationship between Secundino Romero de Ayala and Antonio de Ayala is not known, despite the fact that the two shared a last name.[106] If a relationship did exist, it would in turn have established a kinship link between Ayala and Martínez de Viedma and a possible means by which the hacienda of Palula was transferred from one family to the other. Both Secundino Romero de Ayala and Antonio de Ayala were also close to the Verdugo and de la Borda family. The former had been selected by don Francisco de la Borda, don José's brother, to be a witness at his official request to marry doña María Verdugo Aragonés. Also, in 1708 don Martín Verdugo and doña María de Rivera had been the godparents (*padrinos*) at the wedding of Antonio de Ayala and Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada. And when despite her father's objections in 1711, doña María Verdugo Aragonés consented to marry don Francisco de la Borda, she was temporarily placed "en depósito" in the house of Antonio de Ayala.[107] Finally, as the genealogical chart (5a) indicates,

105. Don Martín Verdugo died in 1720; doña Teresa Verdugo, his daughter and don José de la Borda's wife, died in 1727.

106. Romero de Ayala was alcalde mayor of Taxco from 1708 to 1713 and from 1764 to 1765; he was *teniente* of the alcalde mayor in 1719, 1755, and 1769. In 1736, 1737, 1739, and 1750 he was *diputado de* minería; see appendix 7, tables 7a and 7b.

107. For the preceeding information, see Toussaint (1931:83). For a discussion of the institution of *depósito* during the colonial period, see Penyak (1999).

doña María de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada was both the aunt of Antonio de Ayala's wife and the mother of José de la Borda's wife. There was, obviously, a close relationship of kinship and friendship among the Ayala, Romero de Ayala, Verdugo, de la Borda, and Martínez de Viedma families.

Whatever the date of and whatever the mechanism for de la Borda's acquisition of the hacienda of Palula (through public auction at the time of embargo or as the result of subsequent acquisition through an intermediate owner), it is highly likely that he (though perhaps not Martínez de Viedma) procured valley lands in an effort to ensure maize supply to the *real y minas* of Taxco. In many respects, the future of rural-urban relations between the mining center and its agricultural hinterland in the Iguala Valley revolved around rights to the maize produced in the valley, and this struggle began to surface at about the time of the embargo. De la Borda's concern with maize supply was first manifested in 1724, a little under a decade after he arrived in Taxco, and when he was still only 25 years old. At that time he led a group of miners in petitioning to incorporate Iguala within the jurisdiction of Taxco, in order to prevent hinterland maize from being monopolized and manipulated by the alcalde mayor of Iguala. By obtaining politico-administrative control over the valley, Taxco colonial officials would be able to ensure that maize would be sold at a reasonable price in the regional urban market, and not exported elsewhere.[108] There are other indications that de la Borda was particularly concerned with assuring that the subsistence needs of mineworkers and the urban poor be met. In 1750 he bought 2,000 cargas of maize from Indians in the province of Iguala to take to Taxco; and in 1753, when the *real y minas* suffered a scarcity of grain, he bought maize and ordered it distributed in the urban center. During his funeral, painted scenes were displayed of de la Borda surrounded by

108. The petition, in AGN-GP 25/49f–52f, is transcribed in ZyC VIII:231–36.

provisions that he had bought to distribute to the poor.[109]

Whether or not a direct statement to the effect exists, then, it is apparent that de la Borda, a pious man who exhausted his entire fortune of close to half a million pesos in construction the sumptuous Santa Prisca church in Taxco, was also particularly sensitive to the needs of the rural and urban poor, and was concerned about provisioning the mines with grain. He carried out many actions with this goal in mind and was remembered for this in the eulogies presented at his funeral. To a great extent he set the pattern for hinterland development as early as 1724, when he led a group of miners in petitioning for a redrawing of jurisdictional boundaries so that the agrarian Iguala Valley would fall under the direct authority of Taxco's alcalde mayor and mining deputies. Whenever he might have taken over the northern section of the hacienda of Palula (be it in 1728 or closer to midcentury), this acquisition gave him additional control over rural-urban integration, over the consolidation of a regional economy that comprised both grain producing and grain consuming zones. The goal of an integrated system of supply was clearly expressed in the instructions issued by Br. Dr. don Manuel de la Borda in 1782, when he donated his Iguala Valley hacienda to the *archicofradía*. He stipulated that the income generated by the lands not only be used to ensure the proper maintenance of the parish church his father had built, but that "all the maize, which is the grain that is the major and almost only one produced [on these lands], be sold precisely in this *real y minas* at accessible prices for the relief and help of the poor."[110] This mandate was remembered in an anonymous complaint by the "naturales and other common workers" of Taxco, who in 1809 noted that Dr. D. Manuel de la Borda had given the lands to the church to support the "divine cult," while at the same time requiring that the lands should be

109. For 1750, see AGN-I 56/17; for the 1753 acquisition of grains and de la Borda's funeral, see Vargas Lugo (1982:28–29).

110. AGN-BN 1604/1.

rented and that the maize collected brought to the *real* "so that the public would not suffer from lack of such a necessary grain."[111] These wishes, the unsigned complaint continued, had been attended to when the *archicofradía* directly administered the lands. And to assure that this practice would continue, when the religious confraternity started to rent the entire hacienda of San Miguel, Carrisal, and Xochicuetla to don Manuel Sañudo, this arrangement was set down in the fourth clause of the contract, which obligated Sañudo "to transport to this *real* all that is produced on the aforementioned lands, and which is to be sold at the current price."[112] He was also required to build a public granery and to see to it that if maize was still lacking, it be brought in from other jurisdictions. But, the document alleged, Sañudo was able to avoid this obligation and profit from speculation in maize because his legal representative, don Antonio del Corral y Velasco, was on the governing board of the *archicofradía*. The Taxco authorities denied the validity of the charges and noted that the problem was not grain supply but rather the decadent state of mining, which had impoverished the resident working population, now no longer able to buy the grain that was, in fact, brought to Taxco from the province of Iguala in sufficient quantities. (A discussion of these two conflicting views of the late colonial political economy of grain and subsistence in presented in chapter 11.)

The final proprietor of the hacienda of Palula during the colonial period was, as already indicated, the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of Taxco, founded in 1691.[113] Despite its valuable holdings in cash and property, including the haciendas of San Miguel and of Carrisal and Xochicuetla (acquired in 1782 and 1796, respectively), which once made it among the most

111. AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v.

112 Ibid.

113. AGN-BN 1028/23: the seven "constitutions" by which the Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, founded in the Real y Minas de Taxco, is to be governed. Among those present was Capn. D. Alonso de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada.

opulent and well-established confraternities in the colonies, the *archicofradía* was in continuous financial straits during the final decades of the colonial period and well into the nineteenth century. By 1816 the situation had become deplorable. In requesting permission to appoint a full-time, salaried administrator, the legal representative of the *archicofradía* noted that over 70,000 pesos had been lent out to various individuals, most of them among the wealthiest in Taxco. Few made any attempt to pay the interest owed, let alone the principal.[114] Likewise, the urban properties were either in a decrepit state or occupied by individuals who, seldom pressed by the mayordomos, often failed to pay their rents. But the major unexploited source of potential revenue was the "fertile and abundant lands" of San Miguel, Carrisal, and Xochicuetla in the province of Iguala. Recently these lands had been leased to don Manuel Sañudo for 3,000 pesos/year (2,500 for San Miguel and 500 for Carrisal and Xochicuetla). But, the representative claimed, with proper and careful administration these lands would yield two or three times this

114. AGN-BN 435/3. Additional, and fairly extensive information on the sorry state of *archicofradía* finances just before independence is found in AGN-BN 1604/1 and AGN-BN 1814/13, both dated 1816; and in AGN-BN 136/45 dated 1817. AGN-BN 435/3 provides the most complete list of the *archicofradía's* properties, which included the lands of de la Borda and Martínez de Viedma; two large and well-situated houses donated by Manuel de la Borda (which, because they were not continuously occuiped, yielded between them 700–800 pesos/year; together they had 4,870 pesos of principal in two *capellanías*; these had been redeemed, i.e., the principal paid to the colonial state, as a result of the order of *consolidación*); three houses "among the best in the town" that had been donated by don Antonio Alvarez (but by 1816 two had fallen into ruin; the third was rented out at 52 pesos/year); two houses (one rented out for between 50 and 70 pesos/year, and the other for 600 pesos/year) donated by doña Ana de Viedma in compensation for some 14,000 pesos that her father and grandfather had owed to the archicofradía; another house (rented for 75 pesos/year) ceded by Miguel José Espinosa to cover a 3,500 debt; and another 13 houses belonging to various individuals that were held to guarantee payment of 55,000 pesos, more or less, in outstanding loans. Not one of the owners had paid any interest in many years, and four of the houses were in complete ruin. Thus the total income from all the urban properties was between 1,477 and 1,597 pesos per year. Besides the properties donated by de la Borda and Alvarez, the others represented unpaid loans of about 72,500 pesos, which at 5% should have yielded 3,625 pesos/year, over double the amount actually perceived.

On 16 October 1816 the archibishop approved the regulations proposed by the governing board of the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento; AGN-BN 369/53 in index, 17 in the actual *legajo*. An administrator was named in 1817: don José Avila Sandoval; AGN-BN 136/45. In 1848 the rent for the Iguala Valley hacienda was 4,000 pesos, apparently paid by two individuals, Fructuoso Cuenca and José María Cervantes, who then subrented the parcels to individual tenant farmers in the customary manner; AGN-BN 369/53 in index, 17 in *legajo*.

amount (8,000 to 9,000 pesos/year); in a short time this income would replenish the *archicofradía's* depleted coffers. With this solution in mind, in 1816 the archicofradía requested permission to appoint a full-time, salaried administrator, to be paid 800–1,000 pesos per year, and to be enjoined (unlike the mayordomo) from being a member of the board—"in this manner to avoid the relationships that might at some time prove harmful, as up to now has been [our] painful experience."[115]

The financial health of the *archicofradía* suffered from a sort of circular illness: as its debts mounted and it was more and more unable to meet its annual budget for religious services at Santa Prisca, it increasingly had to rely on individuals who, as mayordomos, could make up any deficit from their personal assets. In "administrative" terms, as the *archicofradía* became increasingly impoverished, its traditional system of governance—a hierarchical system whereby an individual would be elected treasurer and then progress year by year to second deputy, then to first deputy, to rector, and finally to mayordomo (serving five years total)—had to be abandoned. Instead, a wealthy citizen would be sought, pleaded with, and practically begged to shoulder the responsibilities that other less prosperous men could never bear. Unfortunately, these impromptu mayordomos, selected from among the wealthiest and most well-established individuals in Taxco, were unwilling to make enemies by pressing for the payment of outstanding debts on money all too liberally lent out. Nor did they show much inclination to properly manage *archicofradía* affairs.[116] But given that these mayordomos volunteered for single years during

115: There follows a list of 12 rules (reglas) by which the administrator is to proceed in carrying out his obligations.This request is the substance of AGN-BN 435/3. The account that follows is taken from this document, unless otherwise indicated.

116. In AGN-BN 435/3, dated 1816, the reluctance of the mayordomos to collect debts is commented on: "and surely the mayordomos, to avoid conflict with their fellow citizens, have played dumb, and in this way year by year the debts and the difficulties in collecting them have increased. Mayordomos who have followed have neither had the courage nor the time to undertake litigation, which necessarily and certainly would have caused them a lot of unpleasantness and inconveniences that they have not wanted to assume, without any

which time they covered most of the yearly expenses, neither could they be chastized for deficient performance in office. Financial obligations might be met, but the financial stability and independence of the religious corporation increasingly suffered.

The Taxco *archicofradía*, then, demonstrates a not altogether unsurprising opposition between the use of corporate property and of individual wealth for the sponsorship of religious worship. The primary or traditional system was that of a religious hierarchy of officers (entry onto the board, or *mesa*, as treasurer and progression upward to mayordomo after five years) who would administer *archicofradía* property to meet the yearly expenses of the parish church. Individual sponsorship involved a breakdown of this traditional system; it emerged, as two scholars remarked in regard to similar developments elsewhere in New Spain, as "a reaction and adaptation to a complex set of colonial political and economic circumstances."[117] Perhaps what is most surprising, however, is not simply the progression from corporate to private sponsorship, but the level of assets that were squandered over the course of the eighteenth century. A conservative estimate of 70,000 pesos in outstanding loans and 45,000 pesos in rural estates yields a total worth of 115,000 pesos, an enormous sum for a religious sodality; the annual income was low, slightly over 4,500 pesos. The development of the *archicofradía* suggests that at a certain point a sort of "catch-22" situation emerged: the mismanagement of funds created a situation of two contrary pressures whereby the yearly deficit required a short-term solution of individual sponsorship that, for the reasons indicated by the board, made any long-term improvement in fiscal health (the calling in of debts and direct administration of the rural properties) impossible. The solution of the governing board was to appoint an administrator who

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compensation, since the holy church gives them only 100 pesos to pay the scribe who keeps the acccounts."

117. The citation is from Chance and Taylor (1985:20).

could turn the situation around quick enough so that private wealth would not be needed to ensure the proper celebration of religious worship and festivities. The administrator was to be separate from the governing board of the sodality; he would make sure rents were paid on urban property that would be properly kept up; and he would start enforcing payment of interest and principal on outstanding debt. He was also to appoint a subordinate specifically charged with overseeing the Iguala Valley haciendas.[118]

For the next half-century, well into the independence period, an administrator often did directly manage the haciendas of San Miguel, Carrisal, and Xochicuetla, although this simply meant collecting the maize rents due, cuadrilla by cuadrilla. Contrary to what the *archicofradía* expected, however, direct control did little to increase rents beyond the 3,000 pesos paid by Sañudo at the beginning of the century (see chapter 11). Perhaps as a tacit admission of the failure of direct administration to significantly improve *archicofradía* finances, the hacienda of San Miguel, Carrisal, and Xochicuetla was once again rented out to a single individual, don Antonio Gómez, the mid–nineteenth century equivalent of Sañudo. His son-in-laws José María Cervantes and Fructuoso Cuenca (husbands of Febronia and Manuela Gómez, respectively) leased and subrented the lands until their death. Shortly thereafter Coronel Juan Montúfar, second husband of Febronia Gómez, was ceded the rights to adjudicate the land by his wife and sister-in-law. He soon paid the fee to privatize this property. After his death two factions of heirs (his wife and sister-in-law and their children by Cervantes and Cuenca on the one hand, and Montúfar's children by Febronia Gómez on the other) bitterly fought over the land. In 1892 it was finally divided by into parcels that surrounded the then extant tenant cuadrillas.[119]

118. The responsibilities of this subordinate are given in the tenth of twelve rules that were to guide the administrator's activities; AGN-BN 435/13 fols. s.n.

119. The main sources for this dispute are AGN-BNz 212-101/94 and AGN 212-101/48. Three decades

The history of the hacienda of Palula is unusual. The estate had its roots in the entrepreneurial activity of the encomendero of Tepecuacuilco, don Melchor de Tornamira, who received a merced, perhaps had a few others processed by his agents, and acquired additional nearby land from other property owners (see table 5e). At the time that he was active in the central Iguala Valley, he had two major "competitors": the García Ponce family from Texcoco (which controlled land around Acayahualco) and the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo (which owned Tepantlan). Tornamira bought land (and cattle) from the former, while his heirs, along with many other ranchers, took over vast sections of the lands abandoned by the latter. The final borders of the Palula hacienda became fairly well defined after the composiciones of the early eighteenth century. Shortly thereafter, in 1728, the hacienda was embargoed and perhaps divided into northern and southern sections. These were acquired by José de la Borda and Joseph Martínez de Viedma, respectively, before being reintegrated into one unit held by the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento. Thus although it was at one time divided between two owners, de la Borda and Martínez de Viedma, the unit remained basically intact for approximately two centuries. In sum, after the composiciones of the second decade of the eighteenth century, the hacienda's borders varied little; the process of territorialization and demarcation had, for all intents and purposes, been completed. Subsequent developments related mostly to the internal social and productive structure of this land and urbal-rural struggles for control over the distribution of its yield. Moreover, given the size and stability of this hacienda, the central Iguala Valley was characterized by a very reduced land market. As a result there was little speculation in land; little evidence (at least in the extant documentation) of rising real estate

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later, as the postrevolutionary agrarian reform began in earnest, these parcels were expropriated: at this time many of the eighteenth-century cuadrillas became the ejidos (settlements that received expropriated land) that now exist.

values; and, except for the sugar industry, little if any capital investment to intensify and increase productivity in the agricultural sector.[120] All these processes (speculation, rising land values, and investment to increase productivity), which tended to characterize late colonial rural society elsewhere in New Spain, were for the most part absent from the central Iguala Valley. Instead, other processes and themes dominated rural development during the last century before independence (as well as the 75 years that followed).

The documentation presented so far suggests that once the process of territorialization was completed, one key theme of rural-urban relations in north-central Guerrero during the late colonial period was control over grain, as the urban elite tried to construct and maintain a vertically integrated and regionally bound market system. Taxco's desire for control over hinterland produce was clearly stated in the terms that Br. Dr. don Manuel de la Borda set forth when he donated the hacienda of San Miguel (the northern section of the temporarily divided Palula hacienda) to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento. This same perspective was reasserted some 20 years later in the lease that the *archicofradía* extended to don Manuel Sañudo for the more extensive hacienda of San Miguel, Carrisal, and Xochicuetla. This urban-based craving for provisioning over profit never translated into an attempt to control production; rather, it focused on distribution. Therefore, peasant immigrants into the valley became tenants, not workers. The result was a type of homesteading society in the valley, a wide-open space that defined the playing field for the spatial dynamics of hinterland demography and markets during the late colonial period.

120. Other areas of north-central Guerrero did have a more active market, e.g., Oculixtlahuacan, a sugar hacienda whose history is dealt with in chapter 9. The western valley properties of Atlixtac and Cococingo, acquired by Juan de Soto y Acuña from Cocula, are also briefly discussed in this chapter. Not discussed, except in passing, is the hacienda of Tlapala, which did have a more active history of transfer and conflict than Palula.

The final century of colonial rule the Iguala Valley, therefore, was characterized by three general process. The first was the inrush of peasant migrants, attracted by a booming rural economy of grain (chapters 6 and 7). The apparently favorable rental terms available, combined with the proximity of a secure market outlet in Taxco, became all the more attractive from the perspective of the marginal economies of indigenous villages situated on poor and distant lands. What emerged in the valley were cuadrillas of tenant farmers, small villages that seemed to occupy a social space somewhere between that of the traditional indigenous communty and that of a migrant workforce more directly tied to demesne production. The demographic growth of the hinterland, combined with a liberalization of intercolonial trade in the South Seas, led to the second process: the influx of commercial capital attracted by the possibilities for profit in trade (of manufactures, of overseas imports, and of grain; see chapters 8 and 9). Finally, a third key development: lacking control over the production of grain in the valley, and unable to dominate the commercialization of maize, the urban Taxco authorities shifted their struggle to integrate a grain market to the politico-administrative sphere, in which the major division was between the urban and the rural elite. At the same time an emergent class society of urban and rural poor asserted the rights (and common interest) in a more morally based subsistence economy (chapters 10 and 11).

A CONCLUDING COMPARISON

Sketched in broad strokes, the pattern of land ownership and use in the central Iguala Valley paints a seductive picture of seemingly natural progression and inevitability. A wealthy encomendero expanded his holdings into land abandoned by the sujetos of the village he held (Tepecuacuilco). His daughter doña Micaela de Ojea y Miranda, and his granddaughter doña Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, married into elite mining families (don Alonso Rivera Ulloa y

Taboada and don Antonio de Ayala, respectively) from the neighboring jurisdiction of Taxco. During this period, coincident with what has been called "New Spain's Century of Depression," the large estate, rented out to some half-dozen poor ranchers and less than two dozen poor Indian tenant farmers, produced little revenue.[121] As the economy began to recuperate, bankruptcy, embargo, and public sale of the estate occurred—perhaps because Antonio de Ayala, the owner at the time, was paying more attention to his mining than to his rural ventures. Whatever the reason for the hacienda's economic crisis, the land stayed in the hands of owners based in Taxco. With the economy growing, the viability of commercial farming increased, though it was poor tenants, not entrepreneurial hacendados, who produced most of the grain grown in the central Iguala Valley. There were two major factors that transformed the hacienda of Palula from a "depression era" estate—expansive, underpopulated, and underproductive, with small-scale ranchers scattered loosely throughout its domain—into a booming, tenant-dominated agricultural enterprise. The first was the increasing demand for maize, used as food for workers and fodder for animals, that accompanied the recuperation of the mining industry in Taxco. The second was the rather fortuitious acquisition of the most productive hacienda lands by José de la Borda, who neither aggressively exploited the land nor utilized this rural property to secure loans for nonagricultural ventures (a situation that affected many estates, which were often unable to pay the interest on outstanding loans, or *censos*).[122] The role of ecology and of markets and demand on land tenure and use in the Iguala Valley can be appreciated by briefly comparing the fate of the hacienda of Palula, which in 1728 had obtained its maximum expansion, to that which affected an even larger estate in south-central Guerrero, which also reached its maximum

121. For the Century of Depression, see Borah (1951).

122. The hacienda of San Miguel, de la Borda's share of the hacienda of Palula, had no *capellanías* or liens on it up to the end of the colonial period, an unusual circumstance for such a valuable property.

extension in the early eighteenth century, only to fragment and disappear over the course of the following one hundred years.

During the mid–sixteenth century (from 1550 to 1567), several members of the highly prominent Ircio, Mendoza, and Velasco families (encomenderos of Tixtla, Mochitlán, Huitziltepec, and Oapan) acquired small amounts of land, mostly for *ventas*, near Tixtla and Mochitlán (see the first five mercedes in appendix 5, table 5c). Over the following half-century, the viceroy continued to grant land in this area to others. Some of these recipients were given land near that already in possession of the Ircio, Mendoza, Velasco family, so they might have been simply acting as agents for these elite families.[123] The grants were all for rather limited amounts of land, mostly *ventas* (a total of eight by 1630) and a few caballerías (16½ by the same date; see the third column of the same table 5c, appendix 5). Interspersed among these mercedes were others that comprised a total of 3 sitios de ganado menor and 1 sitio de ganado mayor. The total area given in merced was only 4,818.3 hectares plus 8 ventas (the size of which is not known, but which was probably small). Moreover, there is virtually no documentary evidence of land transactions between 1616 and the early eighteenth century. In one of the few that has been found, a certain Capn. Diego Zorrilla de la Peña, owner of Mazatlán and Coacoyula, requested and was granted a license to plant and process sugarcane.[124] Mazatlán continued to produce sugar throughout the colonial period (see chapter 9). It had also been at the center of the acquisitions of the Ircio, Mendoza, and Velasco families. It is not clear whether Zorrilla de la Peña was related to this line, was acting in its behalf, or had bought this property from them.

Given the relative absence of documentation for the greater part of the seventeenth

123. This would perhaps be true of the grants to Baltasar de la Serna, Joan de la Serna, and Antonio Gómez, all of which were for land near Mazatlán (see appendix 5, table 5c).

124. AGN-M 49/fols. 160v–161v; and AGN-M 49/fols. 163f–164f. For further information, see the same

century, it is somewhat surprising that by the early eighteenth century evidence emerges of a huge hacienda in the hands of a single individual of somewhat puzzling identity: Juan Hurtado de Mendoza. In 1694 he is mentioned as a *vecino* and hacendado in the jurisdiction of Tixtla, and owner of an *ingenio* in Chilapa, who had recently bought two sitios de ganado mayor in the area and who now was requesting a license to plant cacao on lands he owned in the jurisdiction.[125] Over the next several years he was involved in several disputes with the naturales of Acapizatla (probably modern-day Petaquillas), where he had a *mesón* (inn).[126] In 1702 he obtained a composición for an large number of holdings: the haciendas of Mazatlán, Coacoyula, Amaixtlahuacan, Itzcuinatoyac, Zoyatepec, and Salinas, as well as the *ventas* of Cuaxinequilapa, Acahuizotla, Mazatlán, and the *mesón* of Acapizatla. In addition he was given valid title to his possession of two sitios de ganado mayor at Jaleaca [Xaliaca] and Ostotlatlauca, "which are found in remote and unpopulated areas that are more than 20 leagues [about 84 km] distant from the nearest settlements."[127] Fourteen years later he again, along with all Indian and non-Indian property owners of the jurisdiction of Tixtla, was required to "compose" their lands.[128] At this time Hurtado de Mendoza was found to have untitled possession of 6 sitios de ganado mayor, 20

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appendix table mentioned in the previous note.

125. AGN-M 64/fols. 11v–12f dated 1694. Hurtado de Mendoza is also mentioned in the following documents: AGN-M 66/fols. 113f–113v dated 1702; AGN-M 68/fols. 52f–53f dated 1709; AGN-T 2899/49 dated 1709; AGN-T 2732/23 dated 1710; AGN-T 3514/2 dated 1712; AGN-M 67/fols. 288v–289v dated 1716; and AGN-T 3603/9 dated 1716. The mention of Hurtado de Mendoza having an *ingenio* in the jurisdiction of Chilapa is found in AGN-T 2899/49 dated 1709.

126. The dispute involving Acapizatla is mentioned briefly in chapter 7.

127. AGN-M 66/113f–113v. Hurtado de Mendoza paid 200 pesos for this composición; AGN-M 67/288v–289v.

128. This extremely interesting document is found in AGN-T 3603/9, also AGN-Bus 8 June 1953. Unlike every other composición I have seen, this one contains not only the composiciones of Indian villages and colonial haciendas and ranches, but an extensive section on the *vecinos* who have house plots and houses in Tixtla; it thus provides a virtual census of the non-Indian population at the time (1716).

caballerías, and 4 *ventas*.[129] However, the most striking facet of this composición is the vast amount of land that Hurtado de Mendoza held. The 1716 composición first states that "it appears in the aforementioned papers [shown to the *juez de composiciones*, or land comissioner] that the said haciendas and *ventas* contain 250 sitios de ganado mayor [438,902.5 has or 4,389 sq km], more or less, and 20 caballerías [876 has] of land." Hurtado de Mendoza's named holdings at this time included the hacienda of Mazatlán (where sugarcane was planted), the hacienda of Zoyatepec (also planted with cane, and with a mill), the hacienda of *ganado mayor* named Amixtlahuacán, and the following *ventas* located along the camino real to Acapulco: Acahuizotla, Quaxinequilapan, Cacahuatla, Peregrino, Agua Escondida, and Dos Arroyos (see map 5h for the location of most of these properties). The description of the borders of this property is stunning for the vastness of the area it covered.

The account begins at a location called Sopilotillo, close to the port of Acapulco and bordering on a place called Organos and another called El Exido (probably present-day Organos and perhaps near Ejido Nuevo, both located about 20–30 km north of Acapulco). Hurtado de Mendoza's lands then penetrate into the Sierra Madre to a hacienda called La Brea (perhaps near or at modern-day San Cristóbal, about 18 km southwest of Santa Bárbara) before turning and extending northward to the hacienda of Chichihualco, in the jurisdiction of Iguala. The border then runs back southeast, to the west of the lands of Zumpango, Chilpancingo, and Petaquillas, before continuing south to the Omitlán River. It then follows the Papagayo River to the lands of the Indian village of Cacahuatepec, there turning west to Organos, near the point of departure about 20 km due north of Acapulco.[130]

129. AGN-M 67/288v–289v. dated 17 Dec. 1716.

130. The description of these lands is taken from AGN-T 3603/9. Many of the sites are still identifiable on modern maps. AGN-P 17 lists many of the *ventas* and small ranches and gives their distances from

The preceding description (with a distance of some 65–75 km north to south, from the southern border of Chichihualco to just north of Acapulco) is in full accord with the reported size of the property: 250 sitios de ganado mayor and 20 caballerías. However, the identity of the individual who was able to consolidate such a vast holding is somewhat unclear. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza was born around 1652. When he was 30 years old he worked as a *bracero de las pastorías* (apparently a sort of temporary worker with large herds of cattle) for the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo; he later gave evidence for bachiller Garay Villavicencio in his litigation to recuperate the hacienda of Tepantlan.[131] Although Hurtado de Mendoza is usually referred to as a hacendado, or as owning a trapiche, he also held the title of *capitán* in the militias of the area. He married a woman named doña María Ana Bermudes y Cruz and had (at least) four daughters: doña Theresa, doña Rosa, doña Basilia, and doña Juana Hurtado de Mendoza.[132] In 1748 doña Theresa and doña Rosa Hurtado de Mendoza owned the hacienda of Mazatlán, which

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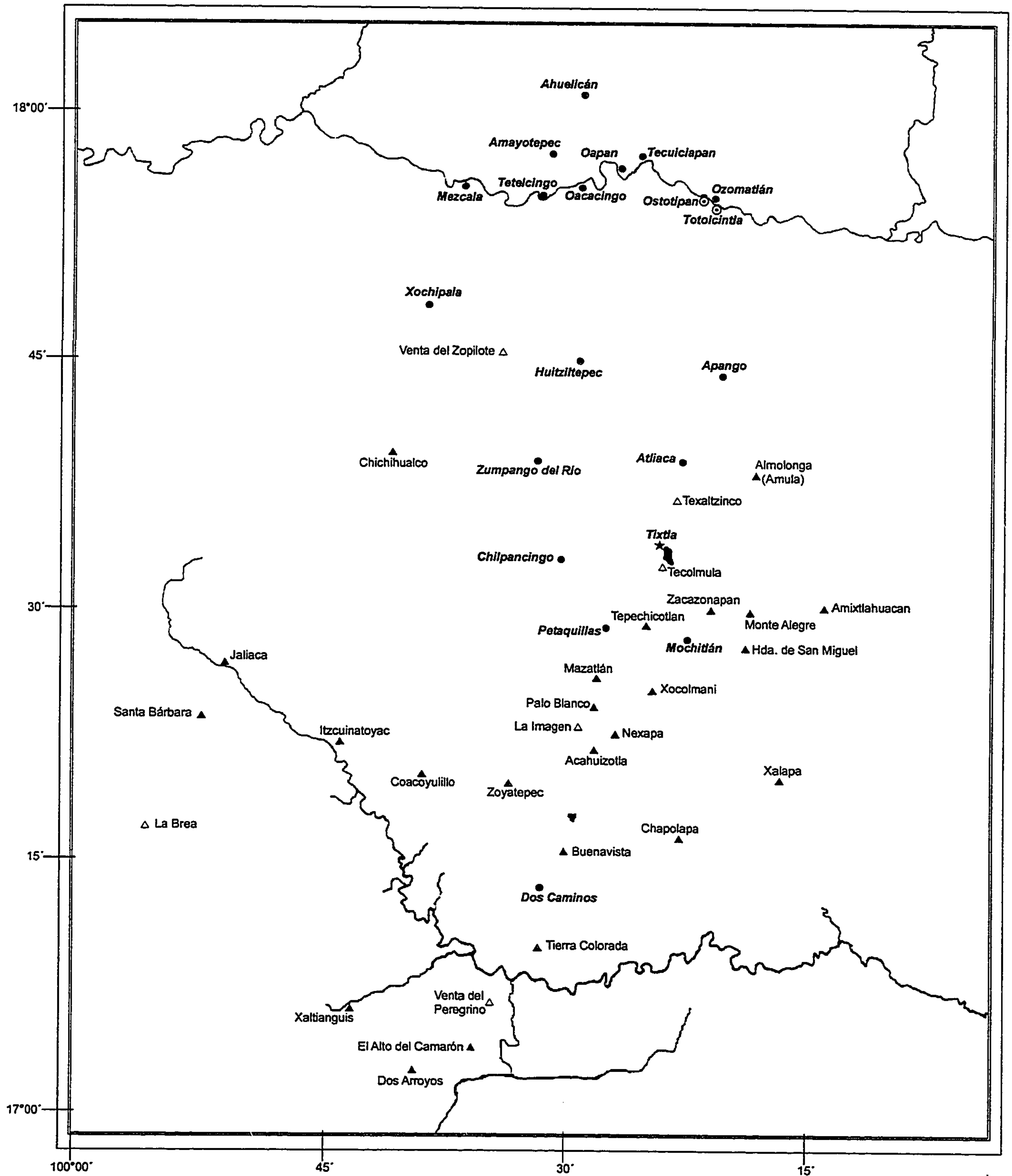
Acapulco. Noteworthy are Dos Arroyos (11 leagues), Escondida (14½ leagues), Alto Camarón (15 leagues), Peregrino (18 leagues), and Xaltianguis (13 leagues). On a map that accompanies AGN-Tab 410/s.n. the following sites are identified on the same road from Acapulco to Chilpancingo: Puente del Papagayo, Venta del Peregrino, and Venta de Dos Arroyos. On this map Peregrino is located south of Dos Arroyos, yet this is the result of a simple error and a mistaken gloss. The *ventas* are identified by a small drawing of a house, with a nearby number that is explained in the legend. From Acapulco (#11), there follows Puente del Papagayo (#12), Venta del Peregrino (#14), and then Venta de Dos Arroyos (#13). The numbers are out of order and if #14 and #13 were reversed, the map would have Peregrino north of Dos Arroyos, as in the Padrones documentation. Gemelli Careri's (1983: chaps. 1–3) account of his trip from Mexico City to Acapulco in 1697, part of his trip around the globe, gives the correct order: Venta de Atajo (3 leagues from Acapulco), Venta del Ejido (3 leagues from Atajo), Venta de Dos Arroyos (4 leagues from Ejido), a place called de los Pozuelos (4 leagues from Dos Arroyos), and Venta del Peregrino (distance not given, probably about 2 leagues). From here it is about 2 leagues (along the slope of the Papagayo mountain, first up a league and then down) to the Papagayo River. Then follows the Venta del Cacahuatal (Hurtado de Mendoza's Cacahuatla, perhaps some 2 leagues from the river). After this the sites are easily identifiable: Los Dos Caminos (4 leagues from Cacahuatal), and then Acahuizotla (4 leagues from Dos Caminos). There follows the trapiche of Mazatlán (4 leagues from Acahuizotla) and then Petaquillas (2–4 leagues) and Chilpancingo (2 short leagues).

131. This testimony is found in AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2, fols. 29v–30v, dated 1712.

132. The information on his family is found in AGN-T 1464/3, dated 1748 (also in AGN-Bus vol. 80/4, dated 1950), in reference to the land titles of Tlacotepec.

Map 5h: Indigenous villages and haciendas of the jurisdiction of Tixtla, late colonial period



they had inherited from their parents. They rented Jaleaca (apparently the same site that their father had "composed" in 1702) from Tlacotepec, which in 1748 was given formal title to this land after having claimed to have held possession "for more time than a year and a day."[133] Here the legal term of art "year and a day" (another term of prescriptive rights) is interesting, for it replaces the more usual "tiempo immemorial" found in such documents, a longer period that would be much more effective against derelict owners intent on reasserting their absolute property rights. With this mention of his four daughters (who might well have never married), the documentary evidence on the Hurtado de Mendoza family ends. Two questions might be asked, questions that highlight the nature of rural society in central Guerrero. The first has to do with the origins of a person who was able to acquire so much property. The second concerns possible explanations for the final fate of these same holdings.

The identity of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza presents an interesting problem. His reported work as a sort of glorified cowboy for the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo suggests a rather humble birth; while his status as *capitán* in the militia hints at a higher position in regional society. But perhaps most perplexing is his name. It is identical to that of a family that married into the line of the conde de Santiago Calimaya (see genealogy 4a), direct descendants of don Luis de Velasco II and doña María de Ircio y Mendoza, whose parents had received mercedes in the Tixtla jurisdiction around Mazatlán. Given his occupational history, his residence in Tixtla, and his general dedication to rural enterprises, it is unlikely that Juan Hurtado de Mendoza was closely related to colonial nobility. But the identity of names seems to be beyond mere coincidence—he might have been a second son of a second son—particularly considering his

133. Ibid. The use of this terminology clearly indicates that the document was composed by a legal representative familiar with European custom of possessionary and prescriptive rights. The representative also pointed out that doña Rosa and doña Theresa Hurtado de Mendoza had moved cattle into these lands, which they rented but which, he was careful to mention, "gave them no rights to the land."

acquisition of land in the same vicinity as the mercedes to Ircio, Mendoza, and Velasco. If he were to have been related to the three original recipients of land grants in the area, this would indicate the maintenance of a single property within a encomendero family line, similar to what occurred in the Iguala Valley.

Table 5g

Non-Indian Population in Haciendas and Ranchos in the Jurisdiction of Tixtla: 1792

Name	Owner	*	**	Population
Ayotzinapa, ranch	don Sebastián Biguri	9	7	families
Zacatzonapa, ranch	Francisco Muñoz	15	7	men
San Miguel, hacienda	don José Larumbe	14	11	women
		12	11	boys
		5	4	girls
		46	33	
Acahuisotla, trapiche and *venta*	don José Ortega	9	18	families
Tepechicotlán	don Phelipe Orna	13	22	men
Mazatlán, hacienda	don Manuel Guebara	15	17	women
Soyatepeque, hacienda	don Joaquín Guebara	8	24	boys
Chichihualco, hacienda	doña Luisa de la Cámara y Enziso	8	26	girls
		44	89	total population in "ranchos de Chilpancingo

Source: AGN-Padrones vol. 17
*españoles, castizos, and mestizos
** pardos

Matching the remarkable emergence of Hurtado de Mendoza's vast estate is the singularity of its decline: it waned as stealthily as it had waxed. The admission by doña Theresa and doña Rosa Hurtado de Mendoza that Jaleaca (which their father had obtained in composición) belonged to Tlacotepec is slight but suggestive evidence that the property holdings of the Hurtado de Mendoza family were beginning to fragment, particularly at the edges, in

places such as the sierra of Tlacotepec.[134] However, while some land might therefore have reverted to indigenous villages, many of Hurtado de Mendoza's other haciendas and *ventas* were acquired by colonists who were locally prominent (see table 5g: Acahuizotla, Soyatepec, and Mazatlán). Manuel de Guebara owned the more important northern properties of Mazatlán and Zoyatepec, as well as the more peripheral Itzcuinatoyac. José de Leyva, a Chilapa hacendado, had acquired Acahuizotla and Cuaxinequilapan, as well as Palo Blanco and La Imagen (probably originally part of Hurtado de Mendoza's lands as well). Many of these late colonial holdings were small, with few assets.[135] Other *ventas* (the *mesón* of Acapizatlan, Cacahuatla, Peregrino, Agua Escondida, and Dos Arroyos) seem to have wound up in different hands, perhaps of less wealthy rural entrepreneurs, although clear evidence is lacking. By the end of the colonial period, then, the once egregiously vast holding of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza had disappeared from the landscape, replaced by a few scattered, small, and poorly capitalized haciendas, ranches, and *ventas*.

In sum, up to the early eighteenth century, the history of landholding in north- and south-central Guerrero followed a remarkably parallel course. If nature abhors a vacuum, it seems that colonists were not much more tolerant: in both regions early encomenderos and their heirs expanded into vast empty spaces. To the north this vacant landscape had been forged by the

134. AGN-T 1464/3 also mentions Ostotlatlauca as belonging to Tlacotepec.

135. The future of some of the other properties are more difficult to document. Jaleaca and Ostotlatlauca, as mentioned in the text, were by 1748 part of the communal holdings of Tlacotepec. In regards to the assets of some of the haciendas and ranches in the jurisdiction, AGN-OG 971/12 provides a list of the property confiscated by Morelos. These includes the trapiche of La Imagen, annex to the hacienda of Zoyatepec, the trapiche at Acahuizotla, the ranch of Cuaxinecuilapa "de Leiva" (including 713 branded head of cattle and 60 horses and mules), ranch of Chocolmani (owned by don Mariano Barrientos), ranch of Itzcuinatoyac (including 720 head of cattle; owned by Manuel Guebara), Ranco of Cocoyulillo (with 137 head of cattle), hacienda of Zoyatepec (some 125 horses and mules, an unmentioned number of cattle, and 25 *suertes* of sugarcane; owned by Manuel Guebara). By 1799, José de Leyva, a hacendero and merchant from Chilapa, owned the trapiches of Palo Blanco, Ymagen (annex to Zoyatepec), and Acahuizotla; AGN-Tr 4/9. I am indebted to Peter Guardino for pointing this document out to me.

forcible relocation of the indigenous population. In particular, the nucleation of the far-flung sujetos of the Tepecuacuilco cabecera created an enticing zone of opportunity that was quickly taken over, with relatively few actual land grants, by Tornamira and his wife. In the south-central region, especially in the torid and broken terrain of the Sierra Madre between Chilpancingo and Acapulco, a low population was perhaps as much a pre-contact as a colonial legacy, although in the colonial period disease and warfare (against the Yopis of the area around Acapulco) were major factors. Yet the history of early colonial land tenure in the south was similar to that in the Iguala Valley: the dominance of encomenderos in securing—through mercedes, sales, illegal expansion and composición—landed property throughout the region near the villages under their control.

In addition, the principal properties in both regions manifested similar expansive tendencies during what appears to have been, at least in central Guerrero, a depressed seventeenth century—with undeveloped markets, limited demand, and a population that was still near its lowest point. Both the Iguala Valley and the Sierra Madre witnessed the enormous growth of a single landholding that was, in the end, more bark than bite. The pattern that manifested itself during this century is neither in direct accord with Chevalier's thesis that during moments of economic contraction hacienda expansion reflected a sort of entrenchment into self-sufficiency, nor with the counter-argument, that hacienda expansion represented, at some basic level, a response to market stimuli.[136] This is not to say that there was no "self-sufficiency" or market motive in either Ayala's or Hurtado de Mendoza's acquisitions. Ayala (or previous owners of Palula) did pawn some of his rural property, perhaps in an effort to underwrite other activities in a diversified family economy. And Ayala's failure to pay the *capellanía* interest

136. See Chevalier (1952, 1966) and Taylor (1972, 1974). For summaries, see Mörner (1973) and Van Young (1983).

owed to Ucarranza suggests that he was spending income from his rural estate elsewhere. Hurtado de Mendoza, on the other hand, acquired *ventas* along the camino real, obviously oriented to the market demand provided by travelers between Mexico City and Acapulco. Yet for the most part, the land of both Ayala and Hurtado de Mendoza was highly unproductive, little desired, and (particularly given their size) not too difficult to acquire. Ayala and his antecessors did run into opposition when they pushed the limits of their hacienda against the holdings of the Indian villages of Mayalán, Cocula, Tepecuacuilco, and Iguala, and against the properties of other landowners. But in general they were able to acquire much property with little difficulty, to a great degree due to the vast area left unoccupied after the congregación (forced nucleation) of Tepecuacuilco. Hurtado de Mendoza perhaps encountered even less opposition; in fact, the absence of documentation relating to the consolidation of his property might well effectively reflect a lack of conflict. In both regions, therefore, expansion involved a minimum of effort. Perhaps for this very reason, the result were properties that were difficult to manage.

The beginning of the eighteenth century marked, for central Guerrero, the most concerted state effort up to the time to firmly establish land boundaries and property rights throughout the region. In Tixtla this meant documentation of the size and location of all house-sites held by non-Indians. In the Iguala Valley this meant a self-interested state rejection of the Jesuit's claims to absolute property rights (able to be preserved "by will alone") at the same time hard and fast lines of demarcation were being measured and inscribed on the surface of the earth. By the end of the three-decade period that commenced in the mid-1690s, the territorialization of central Guerrero was for the most part complete. Yet while the growth of extremely large landed properties in north- and south-central Guerrero had up to this time followed similar paths, the histories now began to diverge. The southern zone suffered from a notorious lack of markets and industry, and even as the indigenous population began to recuperate, out-migration to the Iguala

Valley began in earnest. There might have been many reasons why Hurtado de Mendoza's property collapsed, but one of them was certainly the lack of motivation to invest in turning these lands into productive enterprises. The Iguala Valley, on the other hand, began to surge forth. The growing Indian population started to abandon home communities for the opportunities of tenant farming in the valley, and mining interests in Taxco began to perceive the importance of control over maize in ensuring the increasing prosperity of mining enterprises. The hacienda of Palula, its vast expanse firmly anchored in borders that would prove immutable for over close to two centuries, provided a stable shell for the emergence of a dynamic rural economy based on petty tenant farming.

CHAPTER 6

FROM THE RECUPERATION TO THE PRODUCTION OF PLACE: INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT CYCLE OF COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

In his notable inquiry on urban land value, elaborated during the apogee of a geographic emphasis on quantification and pattern analysis, William Alonso tendered his readers two apologetic caveats. His city, he cautioned, was situated on a featureless plain: "beautiful views, social cachet, or pleasant breezes, [while] undoubtedly important, [cannot be incorporated] into the type of theory that will be presented."[1] And urban landowners, with their diverse personalities and disparate preferences, were all "reduced to that uninteresting individual, economic man. The squalor of the pawnbroker and the flair of the exclusive fashion-house will disappear into that gray entity, the firm. The exquisite legal complexities of real estate will vanish into straightforward buying or renting and the rich topography of the city will flatten to a featureless plain."[2] Buyers act to maximize their total revenue, unhampered by legal, social, or aesthetic restraints. With this approach, the terrain and its denizens becomes a neoclassical dream, but an anthropological and historical nightmare.[3]

1. A similar point is made by Richard Morrill in his authoritative statement (*The Spatial Organization of Society*) on the relevance of uniform terrain for spatial studies: "Although the differential quality of area is interesting and its effect on location and interaction is great, most of the observable regularity of structure in space results from the principles of efficiently using territory of uniform character. The theoretical structures for agricultural location, location of urban centres, and the internal patterns of the city are all derived from the principle of minimizing distance on a uniform plane" (1970:15; cited in Johnston 1991:98). Note that Morrill does specifically limit the topics of research to agricultural location, the location of urban centers, and the internal patterns of the city, spatial structures that, perhaps somewhat amenable to an economically centered analysis, are the favored topics of locational theorists.

2. Alonso (1964:1), the previous quote is from page 17. The featureless plain, a key element in locational geography, is where "all land is of equal quality, ready for use without further improvements, and freely bought and sold" (p. 15). For a critique of the neoclassical assumptions in location theory, see Massey (1973) who notes (p. 184) that in location theory "We learn, certainly, of producers and consumers, but not of capitalists, workers, imperialism, and private property." See also reference to Barnes in n. 37 below.

3. The neoclassical approach has been championed in what became known as Regional Science,

Unfortunately, Spanish agriculturalists and Indian migrants, the major participants in the settlement of rural space during the colonial period, at times have been perceived as these very same "uninteresting individuals," and the ground they inhabit has been deemed to be bereft of history and sentiment. Monographs on haciendas, one pole of a continuum of rural settlements in New Spain, generally explore quantifiable features directly related to questions of production (such as ecological potential, land size, and capital investment) or distribution (such as distance from consumption centers and transport infrastructure). The historiography of hacienda studies, excellently summarized by both Mörner and Van Young,[4] partially accounts for this emphasis. The early terms of debate were set by Chevalier's argument that self-sufficient haciendas developed as a defensive entrenchment in the face of economic recession and shrinking markets, and by a more ubiquitous perspective that hacendados' "feudalistic" mentality focused on prestige more than profit.[5] In response, critical studies stressed an analytic concern with regional variation, the economic rationality of rural entrepreneurs, and the structure of production and allocation of resources (as well as the alternative acquisition of prestige from endeavors such as mining and commerce), far removed from a perceived bucolic urbanity of rural estates.[6] For

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particularly in the work of Isard (e.g., 1956, 1975) and his followers. In this approach, geography essentially became a branch of economics and a heavy, almost exclusive, focus was placed on quantifiable elements of spatial structures.

4. Mörner (1973) and Van Young (1983).

5. Chevalier (1952, 1966). For an overview of agrarian structures in New Spain as well as a discussion of the debate over feudalism as a model for the landed estate in Latin America, see Bazant (1950), Carmagnani (1976), Florescano (1971), Kay (1980), Patch (1993:245ff.), Semo (1973), and Van Young (1983:17ff.).

6. For a focus on regional variation, see the essays in Altman and Lockhart (1976), particularly the introduction. Also note the following studies of agricultural society in New Spain that take a regional focus: Bazant (1975), Brading (1978), Ewald (1976a), González Sánchez (1969), Lancaster-Jones (1974), Martin (1985), Morin (1979a; 1979b), Patch (1993), Prem (1978), Serrera Contreras (1977), Taylor (1972, 1974), Tutino (1975), Van Young (1979, 1981), and von Wobeser (1988). Economic studies of particular haciendas are found in Barrett (1970), Bazant (1973), Couturier (1976), Harris (1975), Konrad (1980), and Riley (1973), as well as some essays in Florescano (1975).

Clearly, even within the "prestige" model, a neoclassical focus is possible. In fact, in such models, prestige becomes a good ("capital" in Bourdieu's terminology) whose pursuit thus becomes "rational" and

positivistic geography, then, "economic man" represented a reduction of human behavior that facilitated a neoclassical analysis of the spatial implications of economic decisions. For colonial historians "economic man" represented a theoretical perspective that has expanded "hacienda studies" into the complex realm of rural-urban relations as well as into the demand and supply considerations of market structures.

The other pole of rural society in New Spain is occupied by the Indian village. Studies of indigenous society have often focused on the community as a social and spatial manifestation of the permanence of structures and the inviolability of sentiment. And, for many colonial historians, attachment to place has become almost the exclusive domain of Indian villagers, who are at times presented as almost culturally determined to defend community and patrimonial rights.[7] Yet there have been attempts to bring "practical reason" to the study of Indian society, and the antinomy of hacienda and village is now often mitigated by theoretical approaches that explore the interdependence of these forms of rural settlement. From the perspective of capitalist enterprises, "articulation of modes of production" analyses were perhaps the first that posited a symbiotic relation between two erstwhile enemies: haciendas (as well as other capitalized enterprises) were able to survive precisely because their workers maintained a stake in a village-based subsistence economy that provided part of what has been called the "cost of reproduction of labor."[8] From the perspective of the permanence of rural communities, modern migration studies, culminating in

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maximizing for the individual entrepreneur.

7. There are notable exceptions to a simple dichotomization of permanence (community) and breakdown (emigration). For example, Farriss (1978) suggests that the particularities of subsistence maize agriculture in the Yucatán peninsula are such that the natural tendency is toward dispersion. In this context the community is maintained through the factors of sociopolitical integration, especially "by cultural and social needs that might be satisfied only by living in larger groups" (p. 191). Powers (1995) explores the strategic aspects of migration, and links emigration to ethnic survival. Bauer (1979a and 1979b; cf. Loveman 1979) has provided a fluid model, or perspective, on the relationship of community to hacienda. Unlike Powers, he does not look at questions of ethnic survival, but rather focuses on decision making, as opposed to coercion, as a major factor in the demography of rural colonial society.

the recent focus on transnationalism but with roots in the African studies of the Manchester School of social anthropology, have linked the two poles of analysis by examining how community survival may be favored by temporary or seasonal migration into a cash economy that provides many of the resources for household survival in a community context. And finally, historical studies on interethnic colonial alliances between the indigenous elite and Spanish society have explored lines of cooperation and patronage that bridge the gap between colonized and colonized.[9] All these approaches attempt a more seamless analysis of colonial society—village and hacienda, Indian and colonizer—than at one time assumed.

In many of these paradigms, it is the Indian migrant (implicitly if not explicitly) who becomes one of the principal means through which the native community is articulated with the wider range of colonial society. And it is in the analysis of migration that the Indian tends again to become this same "uninteresting individual" found in Alonso's formal analysis of urban society. In the greater part of the literature on the subject, as migrants leave their communities they leave behind "beautiful views, social cachet, [and] pleasant breezes," a lyric phrase for the intangibles of sentiment that are so difficult to capture in historical narratives and social theory, particularly in regard to actors, such as migrants, with such tenuous bonds to place. As a result, Indian migrants often become the raw statistics of an impersonalized demography. In this chapter I seek to deal with this situation by exploring a middle ground between formal decision making models on the one hand and an entrenched culturalism on the other, between small-scale indeterminacies and large-scale patterns. To do so, I begin, in the following section, by examining migration literature in general, suggesting that there are two major gaps that should be resolved in future studies. The first concerns the experience and production of place. It relates to what may

8. See, for example, Mallon (1983).

9. See Spalding's (1970, 1973a, 1973b) work in this regard, as well as Stern (1982).

perhaps be considered something akin to the development cycle of the community and the emergence of public patterns of identity and community, of textured structures of village life. The second concerns the particularity of place, a consideration that, like the first, critiques a neoclassical and positivist geography searching for nomothetic laws and universal patterns. Instead, particularism grabs the bull by the horns, accepting an idiographic notion of space while rejecting the idea that such an admission relegates geography to a hapless meandering through isolated case studies. This theoretical examination of geography as it pertains to migration will, I hope, suggest new avenues for exploration in colonial studies.

The remaining sections of this chapter explore the production and particularity of place in a specific locality—Palula. Originally a sujeto of the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco in central Guerrero, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Palula became a site of contention between various sectors of society (not simply colonists and colonized) that offered their own differing interpretations of the history and identity of this locale. What is unusual about this site is that the conflict was not between a hacienda and an Indian village struggling over territory and historical rights. Rather, Palula was a migrant community founded on the site of an ancient settlement; for this reason its inhabitants were able to utilize a discourse of community and patrimonial rights in their struggle to create a pueblo that would fit into the rather rigid paradigms of colonial law. The characteristics of this discourse changed over time, particularly in relation to the shifting regional context. The construction of community was to a great extent an attempt to establish rights based on an identity that had roots in the prehispanic past, though the strategies for validating this claim shifted during the colonial period. However, the production of place was also a social process intrinsically linked to developments in the regional economy and changing orientations in the politics of the colonial regime. The struggle for control over Palula reveals the complex ways in which all these factors were intertwined.

It also reveals shifts in the patterns of place making that affected a migrant community during the colonial period. This process is akin to a development cycle, processual stages that progressively reveal themselves as migrants create structures of feeling, bonds of identity, and links to the past—all of which are manifested by the process of becoming attached to, and creating an identity in, a particular place. In the pages below, the coalescence of community concomitant to the resettlement of Palula is analyzed in three phases. The first began in the 1680s, when migration to Palula first appears in the documentary record, and lasted until the first decade of the eighteenth century. At this time migrants appealed to prehispanic patterns of regional authority and utilized patron-client alliances among indigenous groups with common interests. The second period extended from the first decade of the century to the 1750s, as migrant residents of Palula combined a pragmatic politics of independence (no longer beholden to a native elite) with symbolic assertions of community identity. During this period the litigants abandoned regional structures of indigenous authority in favor of a village-based discourse of community identity. Finally, in the third phase, from the mid–eighteenth century through to the end of the colonial period and beyond, community structure had become fragmented. Migrants were spatially dispersed and divided among themselves into those who identified themselves with the community and those considered outsiders, who apparently often returned to their villages of origin during the dry season. By this time, social relations within the village had become somewhat diversified and conflictive.

Clearly, an examination of Palula represents the exploration of a type of rural settlement often neglected in the study of demographics and community in colonial New Spain: a village of migrant tenant farmers who in this case aspired to community, or pueblo, status. This struggle sheds light on how indigenous society might have dealt with the reconstruction of place in the vast spaces of *terra nullius* that were themselves constructed by the European invaders. This case

study explores how, in effect, the land could and was at times recolonized by its original inhabitants. And it offers a new perspective on the "survival" of indigenous society at the interstices, in the new spaces opened up by rural units such as the hacienda of Palula, which maintained its size and stable borders but that, even with the enticement offered by nearby markets, never developed a production system based on capitalized farming by its owners. This study also offers new insight into what may be considered "lost" indigenous communities of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. These communities were formed in open spaces by Indian migrants, who perhaps even without official recognition from the colonial state reconstructed many aspects of community political and social organization in their new settlements. After independence and the end of the two republic system, many of these new villages effectively *became* indigenous villages. Some, such as Palula, lost this identity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Others, such as Maxela and Xalitla to the south, have retained it (at least up to the present generation or the immediately preceding one). However, all such Iguala Valley communities, which often acquired and then lost an indigenous identity, have a common origin in the tenant cuadrillas of the late 1700s.

Finally, the recolonization of the Iguala Valley by indigenous peasant migrants offers an unusual opportunity to view the politics of place making that accompanied migration and the construction of community. The specifics of settlement at Palula itself were somewhat unique. First, it was a prehispanic sujeto resettled by Indian peasants who, although not the original inhabitants, initially enjoyed the political support of cabecera authorities. One of the most salient facets of the history of this settlement at Palula is precisely the effort of residents to reestablish community rights and identity at the core of a hacienda while, paradoxically, indigenous villages at the edge of the hacienda (Tepecuacuilco, Iguala, and Cocula) were struggling to reduce hacienda property rights, which they conceded only at the very same embattled core at Palula.

Second, given that migration to Palula was dominated (at least during the initial stages) by Indians from adjacent areas within the same jurisdiction of Iguala, the tensions that were produced were localized—between home communities in the Balsas River valley and the point of destination at Palula, and between priests of the neighboring parishes of Oapan and Palula, who struggled for control over the rights to fee-paying souls whose residence shifted with the seasons.

The migration patterns that are explored in the following chapter (from the jurisdictions of Taxco and Tixtla/Chilapa into the Iguala Valley) are different from the preceding in two major respects. First, migrants, who tended to first settle in the northern valley though as time progressed the southern cuadrillas also grew in population, never made any effort to reconstruct an indigenous community, a *república de indios* as legally defined by the colonial state. Thus there is less documentary evidence for place making (for community formation in the general sense), although in the nineteenth century several cuadrillas were apparently considered, and considered themselves, Indian communities. Second, given that population movement crossed jurisdictional boundaries, the struggle for control over the migrant indigenous peasants was played out in a larger context—between colonial officials in neighboring jurisdictions who needed the tribute of the emigrating Indians, as well as between contending elites who desired the labor power of these same migrants. These issues are explored in the following chapter, where it is suggested that the most adequate holistic analysis of demographic movements must take into account not only the origin and destination of migrants, but the nature of the jurisdictions whose boundaries are crossed (and thus whose integrity is threatened) as people move from one place to another.

SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY AND MIGRATION IN COLONIAL RURAL SOCIETY

The neoclassical influence present in much of spatial science can also be felt in migration research,[10] which became of greater concern in colonial Latin American studies after Mellafe's short but influential 1970 article. In it he suggested that "the basic characteristic of colonial Hispanic American people was geographic mobility," and he called for the study of "the causes and characteristics of the migrations, their direction and rhythm, and their social results."[11] Empirical research has tended to examine the first two concerns, to the notable neglect of the third. Migration studies of colonial Mexico[12] generally stress demographics: marriage patterns

10. For a general overview of the neoclassical bent in migration studies (although in a modern setting), see Kearney (1986).

11. Mellafe (1970:303).

12. See Carmagnani (1982), Greenow (1981), Robinson (1979, 1981, 1990a), and Swann (1979, 1982, 1989, 1990). See also the essays in the edited volumes by Robinson (1990b) and Calvo and López (1988). Farriss's 1978 article is noteworthy for its clear and innovative theoretical focus. Lovell and Swezey (1990), Gosner (1979), and Robinson and McGovern (1980) discuss the implications of migration for the closed corporate peasant community model, as does Farriss. However, a distinction must be maintained between residence and membership. A high percentage of migrant residents in an Indian village says nothing about their integration into the community's structure of rights and duties: residence is not coincident with community membership, and in-migration does not necessarily imply openness in corporate structure (see the discussion in Cole, 1984). Particularly noteworthy in regard to migration studies are the works of Andeanists: Saignes (1985), Powers (1995), Wrightman (1990), and, in particular, Sánchez-Albornoz (1982, 1983a; 1983b).

A much more subtle approach to migration, to which I am indebted, is suggested by de Certeau's (1984) work on "stubborn procedures which elude discipline." (1984:96). His critique of statistical analysis is pertinent to some migration studies of colonial Mexico:

> Even statistical investigation remains virtually ignorant of these [errant] trajectories [obeying their own logic], since it is satisfied with classifying, calculating, and putting into tables the "lexical" units which compose them but to which they cannot be reduced, and with doing this in reference to its own categories and taxonomies. Statistical investigation grasps the material of these practices, but not their *form;* it determines the elements used, but not the "phrasing" produced by the *bricolage* (the artisan-like inventiveness) and the discursiveness that combine these elements, which are all in general circulation and rather drab. Statistical inquiry, in breaking down these "efficacious meanderings" into units that it defines itself, in reorganizing the results of its analyses according to its own codes, "finds" only the homogenous. The power of its calculations lies in its ability to divide, but it is precisely through this ana-lytic [sic] fragmentation that it loses sight of what it claims to seek and to represent. (1984:xviii)

among caste groups; the structure of demographic hinterlands in relation to urban and mining centers; and the manner in which migration responds to an uneven distribution of economic opportunity.[13] There are two notable gaps in this literature.

The first is what Gupta calls "place making": "the structures of feeling that bind space, time, and memory in the production of location."[14] This process becomes particularly interesting

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De Certeau's work is similar in some respects to that of James Scott (1985, 1990), for he speaks of "transcriptions," "arts," "tactics," and "victories of the weak." However, his work is also much better informed as to the nature of linguistic models (conversation and discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, ethnomethodology, etc.; in this regard, see Gal (1995)) and his approach emphasizes evasion, play, and ambiguity much more than occurs in Scott's use of resistance. Certainly, for the spatial practice of colonial migration, "stubborn procedures that elude discipline" is a more apt metaphor than "resistance." In a more recent book, Scott (1998) does explore a de Certeau–like interpreation of migration and state power, looking at modernizing state efforts as controlled spatialization and noting that "gypsies, vagrants, homeless people, itinerants, runaway slaves and serfs have always been a thorn in the side of states. Efforts to permenantly settle these mobile poeples (sedentarization) seemed to be a perennial state project—perennial, in part, because it so seldom succeeded" (p. 1). This approach to the modernizing state control of space should, however, be considered with three caveats. The first is that state initiated spatial politics predates modernism, as witness the Aristotelian basis of early Spanish colonial regularization of settlement through the grid pattern. As Thomas (1996:256) states, "Neatness, symmetry and formal patterns had always been the distinctively human way of indicating the separation betwen culture and nature." The other is that villages themselves (that is, very small units of authority) also have a spatial politics that can, in its manipulation of the rights and duties of community membership, be as imposing as larger-scale political projects. The third is that state projects at spatial rationalization often have the unintended effects of bringing into contact elements of society that in a more heterogenous space had been kept apart. Here see Berman's analysis (1988: part 3, chap. 3, "The family of eyes") of an essay by Baudelaire from *Paris Spleen*, "The eyes of the poor."

13. This is true even of Swann's excellent studies (1989, 1990). A notable exception is Cope's (1994) exploration of the dominant ideology of race and its redefinition by the urban poor of Mexico City, the quintessential mecca for rural migrants.

14. Gupta (1992:76; cf. to Harvey's (1989:chap. 14) focus on social power in capitalized societies as command over space, time, and money). The concern of globalization studies with the social production of space, i.e. the emergence or construction of identity and locality in the face of an apparent erosion of social and geographical boundaries, has led to much recent anthropological and sociological literature on the subject. See Appadurai (1986, 1990, 1995), Friedman (1988, 1990, 1994), Gupta and Ferguson (1992), Lash and Urry (1994), and Robertson (1992), as well as the articles in the edited volumes by Wilson and Dissanayake (1996), Fardon (1995), Featherstone (1990), Featherstone, Lash, and King (1991), and Wilmsen and McAllister (1996). This literature on the global/local dichotomy provides a very useful discussion of the relationship between incorporation and fragmentation, and a needed focus in world-systems theory on the relationship between scales of political economic and sociocultural processes. (For a discussion of geographical writings on the construction of place, see below.)

Unfortunately, there seems to be a disjunction not only between anthropological literature on globalization and geographers' concerns with the construction of place (such as Massey's work on spatial divisions and a "new regionalism" which stresses locality; Relph and Pickles emphasis on phenomenology and existentialism; and Tuan's work on psychology and the affective attachment to place; see bibliography). Globalization literature (see, for example, Appadurai, 1995) at times also tends to reify the nation-state project

for rural studies of colonial Mexico after the sixteenth century, when a wide range of individuals—from the upper echelons of the Spanish elite to the poorest of Indian peasant migrants—resettled and restructured vast areas that, though litigated and contested, were often beyond the direct control of Indian villages. Place making affected both new and old settlements. New communities emerged from the constructive practices of migrating groups of peasants, workers, and merchants.[15] Old communities were continually reproduced through the regenerative village practices of indigenous peasants, who were in this manner linked to spaces made pregnant with historical memory and communal identity. In both spaces—recently populated locations and ancient sites of occupation—locality was produced and reproduced

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as all-encompassing and monolithic, leaving little room for plurality and locality; in this scheme difference in and of itself becomes "counter-hegemonic" (for a discussion of the contrast between "locality studies" and postmodernism's rejection of metanarratives, see Massey, 1991; for an examination of parallels between postmodern social science and a geographical interest in locality, see Cooke, 1989). Finally, globalization and postmodernist perspectives give undue emphasis to the uniqueness of "late capitalism," the idea that international commerce and communication has a profound effect is not particularly new. Thus 250 years ago one encounters the statement that commerce on a world scale is a mechanism which would unite all nations into "one single state, of which all the societies upon earth are members" (Montesquieu, 1952 bk XX:23), and which would lead to cultural homogenization. For a discussion of changing seventeenth and eighteenth perspectives on the sociocultural implications of commerce, as well as of the meaning of the word itself, see Hirschmann (1977:76ff.). Winch (1978:chap. 3) explores Smith's views on the relationship between commerce and politics, noting that the *Wealth of Nations* "can be accurately, if not very fully, described as an extended treatise on the reciprocal relationship between commerce and liberty" (p. 70). For a critique of postmodernist inventions, see Berman's seminal work on modernism, where he notes that "[Other literary and artistic intellectuals] have embraced a mystique of post-modernism, which strives to cultivate ignorance of modern history and culture, and speaks as if all human feeling, expressiveness, play, sexuality and community have only just been invented—by the post-modernists—and were unknown, even inconceivable, before last week" (Berman 1988:33; Berman is particularly concerned with the rich tradition of past modernisms as a potential link to the lives of millions of people who are living through the trauma of modernization. In sum, the globalization literature, though helpful in an analytical sense, seems weak in two major aspects: its stressing the uniqueness of the present process of "time-space compression" (Harvey's term; see Harvey (1993) for his discussion of the construction of place, and (1989:part III) for his treatment of space and time); and a generally weak use and incorporation of geographical literature on space and place.

15. These settlements would include urban barrios and neighborhoods as well as a wide range of rural settlements and structures (of *pegujaleros, aparceros, arrendatarios, peones acasillados,* etc.). Place making was also affected by the political status afforded new settlements in changing state structures. In this sense a particularly important watershed was independence which led to significant changes in the rights of indigenous villages and migrant cuadrillas. The post-1915 agrarian reform constituted a second clear break in the nature of these two types of settlements, which often became *comunidades agrarias* and *ejidos,* respectively.

"under conditions of anxiety and entropy, social wear and flux, ecological uncertainty and cosmic volatility, and the always present quirkiness of kinsmen, enemies, spirits and quarks of all sorts."[16] Viewed from this perspective, the construction of locality in colonial society involves a complex tension in the way in which mobile individuals (in the case being studied, indigenous peasants) experienced and produced a sense of place at both their points of origin and of destination. The sphere of analysis for ethnohistorical research becomes, therefore, the extended terrain of physical presence and social activity in which colonial subjects appear and perform. For migration into rural settlements, this means a unit of analysis that embraces both the home and target settlements. At the same time, a focus on how the experience and production of place infuses all sociospatial relations mitigates a dichotomy implicit in much of the anthropological and historical migration literature. In response to the classic positions of Maine, Töennies, Durkheim, and then Redfield, modern migration studies have stressed the production (as opposed to a predicted disintegration) of "community" in urban or new settings.[17] At the same time

16. Appadurai (1995:206).

17. Transnational studies, however, have attempted to deal with processes of deterritorialization and globalization. Thus in a key book, Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc examine what they call a "new type of migrant experience" (1994:24) the result of which are networks that create "social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders" (1994:7). Through these linkages "various settlements have become so closely woven together that, in an important sense, they have come to constitute a single community spread across a variety of sites" (1994:15). Although the distances involved may be greater than in the past and the numbers of migrants higher, it seems an overstatement to assert that a new *type* of migration is occurring. The origins of many analytic tools prevalent in transnational studies can be found in the works of British anthropologists from Manchester (e.g. Mitchell, Cohen, Epstein) who pioneered network theory, situational analysis, instrumentalist approaches to ethnicity, and other approaches to loosely structured or spatially mobile social groups. A second problem with transnational studies concerns an effect that I noticed in my own ethnographic research. Migrants forge attachments to their place of destination and may publicly manifest these attachments through ritual expressions in their home communities. Thus, during the annual village festival in San Juan Tetelcingo, state of Guerrero, migrant groups returning from Acapulco, Zihuatanejo, Houston, Chicago, etc. will sponsor firework displays *(castillos)* which often conclude with an unfurled banner proclaiming *¡Viva Acapulco!, ¡Viva Houston!,* etc. The fragmentation (or even internal competition) within the "transnational community" is not only a matter of ritual expression. In a very real sense the network structure itself is atypical of a "community" in any meaningful sense: there are virtually no linkages *between* the satellite settlements. They come into contact only in the home village which, therefore, continues to function as a necessary point of articulation.

ethnographic and ethnohistorical studies have tended to ascribe an almost intrinsic social strength and cultural commonality to peasant and indigenous communities.[18] The existence of a shared experience of place is often a given point of departure; its reproduction is taken as problematic only in the face of antagonistic outside forces or debilitating internal factions.[19]

One way, therefore, to add the texture of place making and the structure of feeling to the fabric of rural colonial society is by broadening the discussion about the colonization and resettlement of rural space beyond the well-traveled median of geometric patterns and a rigorous economic geography of migration, land acquisition, and agricultural production so that it includes considerations of affect and alienation, of the experience and meaning of place over a range of sites, of "practices that are foreign to the 'geometrical' or 'geographical' space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions."[20] Positivistic approaches to space and formal economic models of action, both dependent on rational actors with perfect knowledge, are only imaginable in an idealized yet mundane middle ground—not too distant yet not too close—of detached contemplation. Yet to each side of this median are extremes that foil the predictability of

18. A major problem in the study of social action and cultural patterns within communities is that of division and representation: to what degree do actions and beliefs represent a community phenomenon, and to what extent is a sensitivity to divisions—according to class or status, along lines of gender or age, in reference to political factions, etc.—necessary (see the discussions of mid-eighteenth-century factionalism in Iguala in chapter 11. What seems to be of particular interest is not protest, revolt, friction, in and of itself, but how in these moments of stress the lines of tension in peasant communities might become particularly salient.

19. Again, note Appadurai's comments (1995:207) that "most ethnographic descriptions have taken locality as ground not figure, recognizing neither its fragility nor its ethos *as a property of social life*. This produces an unproblematized collaboration with the sense of inertia on which locality, as a 'structure of feeling,' centrally relies" (emphasis in original).

20. The quote is from de Certeau (1984:93); Raban (1974) offers a similar vision of the city, of urban planning falling victim to the everyday practices of urban dwellers. (Note that the relevant chapter of de Certeau is called "Walking in the city"; cf. to Raban's 1974 title, *Soft City*.) Harley (1992a) adopts a Foucaultian interpretation of cartography: "Cartographers manufacture power: they create a spatial panopticon" (p. 244). If so, the migrant (or traveler) is a potential escapee. Note, finally, what Tuan has called "topophilia," which includes "the feelings that one has toward a place because it is home, the locus of memories, and the means of gaining a livelihood" (1974b:93); in colonial studies Indians are much more prone to be presented as "topophiliac" than are Spanish agriculturalists.

operational models and the possibility of "rational" action. To one extreme, that which is beyond contemplation, are the *terrae incognitae,* places that have tempted the chimeric pursuit of cities of gold and the quixotic cosmographies of unbeholden worlds, activities that fascinate us as revelations of the irrational and the imaginary sides of the human mind.[21] At the other extreme, that which is too close for detachment, are the *terrae patriae,* loci of an emotional—at times not entirely "rational"—involvement of person with place, where land becomes an icon of identity and "every tree, every stain, hole and fissure has meaning."[22] These metaphors of *terra incognita* and *terra patria* (lands characterized by a scarcity of knowledge and an abundance of sentiment) extend to the romantic and sentimental edges of the colonial encounter: the conqueror as intrepid explorer of the unknown and the Indian as inveterate defender of community. *Terra incognita* signifies a persistent nescience of place and a continued estrangement from the environment and its inhabitants.[23] *Terra patria* intimates assimilation and closeness. It suggests an involution of space and a circumscription of horizons as new communities coalesce and an affective identity of place emerges.[24] Colonial migration studies—with an implicit neoclassical focus on decision-

21. For the cosmography of the New World see Harley (1992b). For the medieval period see Wright (1965). See also Greenblatt (1991).

22. The quote is from Rapoport (1972) on Australian aborigines and place. Attachment to place, regionalism, in Latin America developed as a Romantic movement in literature during the late nineteenth century; see Alonso (1990) and Jordan (1994a; 1994b). In Mexican history this *terruño* or *amor a patria* perspective has been most notably realized in the work of Luis González (1968).

23. In its romantic aspect. travel to the unknown epitomizes heroic exploration and lofty aspirations. But if detached from a mythic search for a socially recognized goal, physical displacement becomes the mundane personal world of the traveler, migrant, or (at worst) vagabond—states that represent an increasing loss of civil identity linked, as it is, to rootedness in place and stable society (thus note Diderot's comment that "[there is] no state more immoral than that of the continual traveler" (cited in Pagden, 1995:133). Carter (1996:3) notes a paradox of global colonization that may be applied to the Spanish policy of settlement and expansion, and the negative view of the traveler: "Is it not decidedly odd that a culture intent on global colonization should persistently associate movement with the unstable, the unreliable, the wanton and the primitive?"

24. In looking at new settlements (the *cuadrillas de arrendatarios* that sprung up in the Iguala Valley during the late colonial and early independence periods) and regional society, I hope to explore processes of identity that differ from those that affect indigenous communities and the nation, units of analysis that have received

making and a positivistic concern with prediction (not meaning) of locational phenomena—position Indians squarely onto the middle ground of social science research.[25]

Gupta's terminology shifts the focus back to the edges. It contemplates migration as a process not simply of physical movement, but of shared personal experiences that develop into (or maintain and reproduce) public patterns of identity and community. He borrows "structures of feeling" from Raymond Williams, who used it in various ways,[26] but frequently to capture the dialectical relation between the individual and the social; particular and general; private and public; process and structure; and, finally, of the present with both past and future. "The concept of 'structure of feeling' implies feeling as a crucial human response to existing social relationships rather than as an emotion solely experienced and articulated at the subjective level."[27] In this sense it mediates between phenomenological and psychological perspectives that

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greater attention in colonial studies. In this chapter I explore various aspects of these renter settlements: a historical and affective association with place; nascent community structures of political authority, social cohesion, and symbolic identity; the presence of indigenous cultural attributes (language, dress, etc.); and changes in how the national state and society defined community and ethnicity. In chapters 8 through 11, I examine questions of regionalization, market structure, and, in particular, the implication of a shallow historical consciousness and regional identity in the New World for the operation of a system of Old World customary rights and legal privileges that were strongly tied into a regional framework. Buttimer (1978) makes a similar point in questioning the relevance and applicability of a Vidalian model of regional differentiation and identity (based on long-term interaction of humans and environment) for colonial societies.

25. This last comment is not, however, meant as critique. Much recent historical work on the Americas has examined the active role of indigenous and non-indigenous peasants in social, political, and economic transformations. In a certain sense (particularly the degree to which considerations such as tradition, community, egalitarianness, and conservatism fade to the background) the migration literature may be considered a forerunner of a later focus on indigenous and peasant participation in commercial society and state formation. For commercial activity, see the work of Spalding (1970, 1973a, 1973b, 1984) and Stern (1982), both of whom are particularly sensitive to the brokerage and patron-client aspects of the Indian elite. The recent collection of essays in Larson and Harris (1995) continue this focus. Peasant impact on state formation is treated in Guardino (1996) and Mallon (1995); general studies of peasant protest are found in the edited volumes of Katz (1988), Schroeder (1998), and Stern (1987b).

26. For a discussion of this key concept in Williams' writing, see Elridge and Elridge (1994, particularly chapters 6 and 7) and O'Connor (1989:83–85 and passim). Williams discusses this concept in *Letters and Politics* (1979:156–65.

27. Elridge and Elridge (1994:159).

stress the role of personal events in experiencing and defining place, and certain anthropological perspectives that infuse space and place with an agentive, structuring role in social reproduction.[28]

The first gap in the migration literature is essentially a gap in the experience and production of place, the fluidity of detachment and attachment that characterized population movements in the colonial period. Hispanic colonization itself was deeply concerned with the supervision of identity (the caste system) and the administration of place (the grid system). The "two republic system" that legislated a physical and social separation of the Indian;[29] the congregaciones that equated nucleated settlement with rational society;[30] the constant tension in colonial law between freedoms allowed to and restrictions imposed on Indians' right to move,[31] all point to the manner in which the Spanish state structured location and delimited space as part of its colonizing project.[32] Indian migrants opened up this space by casting off the two basic indexes of their colonial identity: family and community. De Certeau provides a useful analogy for interpreting this process:

28. For an existential or phenomenological interpretation of place, see Pickles (1985) and Relph (1976, 1985). The validity of ontogenetic considerations, based on the child's increasing awareness and incorporation of the environment, is suggested by Tuan (1974b:chap. 5, 1977:chap. 3; note de Certeau's (1984:110) observation that "To practice space is thus to repeat the joyful and silent experience of childhood," and his comments that follow). At a different, indeed opposite, extreme place itself may become an active subject in the process of social reproduction. Basso (1990a, 1990b, 1996) discusses landscape as a guardian of social mores; Rapoport (1972) explores how aboriginal land preserves the historical memory of dreamtime events. For landscape as the product, not precursor of culture, see Schama (1995); for a definitive study of the idea of *nature* in Western thought, see Glacken (1967).

29. See Mörner (1970).

30. See Crouch, Garr, and Mundigo (1982).

31. See Zavala (1948).

32. One characteristic of colonial exploitation was precisely an administration of identity that required clear demarcations of space and society. Priests, corregidores and alcaldes mayores, indigenous *oficiales de república,* and miners (among others) all depended to varying degrees on resources (sacramental fees, tribute, community obligations, *repartimiento* labor) that demanded a precise social and spatial definition of colonized subjects. In the case I discuss below of mid–nineteenth-century migration from the Balsas River basin to the southern Iguala Valley, it is clear that the question of community allegiance came up as a result of a jurisdictional dispute between two priests for the right to save fee-paying souls.

> The long poem of walking [read *migration*] manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be: it is neither foreign to them (it can take place only within them) nor in conformity with them (it does not receive its identity from them). It creates shadows and ambiguities within them. It inserts its multitudinous references and citations into them (social models, cultural mores, personal factors).[33]

Gupta's place making, Williams' structures of feelings, and de Certeau's spatial tactics of everyday practice are all metaphors of actions that challenge the geographic and social order of colonization.[34] If the Indian migrants who moved into the Iguala Valley were just, so to speak, "going to work," then perhaps there would be less of a problem in sociohistorical analysis. But the points of tension—which terms such as "temporary migration," "return migration," or "flight," "drift," and "dispersal"[35] leave surprisingly slack—lie in the unstable dichotomy of rural societies in flux: the succession of structures of feeling affecting *work places* and *lived-in-spaces*, the anxiety that comes with the realization that place making requires place breaking, and the continual effervescence of landscapes of aspiring identities as communities melt into air and condense (sometimes in the same spot, sometimes dispersed over the colonial terrain) while tenuously holding onto localities, structures, and reminiscences of the past.

The first gap in colonial migration literature, therefore, concerns experience: the construction and deconstruction of affective bonds of attachment that create places of personal and shared identities at the center of geographical systems. But if Alonso's "uninteresting individual, economic man" establishes a foil for the discussion of the personal experience of place, Von Thünen's "isolated state," the foundation of location theory, functions as a counter-

33. De Certeau (1984:101). One of the contributions of de Certeau's approach, useful in considering the disruptive effects of migration on state designs and procedures for social engineering, is his focus on the implications of very ordinary activities (cooking, walking, reading) for social discipline.

34. Mitchell's (1970) discussion of tribe as "structure" and tribe as "category" provides another metaphor for understanding the dialectics of place and identity in processes of migration.

35. These last three terms are those used by Farriss (1978).

metaphor for considering the political economy of spatial relations. This leads to a second gap in the migration literature, which relates to the particularization of space, part of the theoretical and empirical focus of what is often called the "new regional geography."[36] On the one hand, this approach responded to the ahistorical and decontextualized algorithmic models of location studies. From its "isolated state" origins in the early nineteenth century, location theory has plunged further and further into a bottomless pit of mathematical "precision," generating spatial arrangements that only demonstrate how very imperfect humanity actually is.[37] On the other hand, the new regional geographers asserted the positive role of space (in addition to productive relations) in shaping social processes.[38] In this way, by declaring that "space matters," they responded to and critiqued the universalizing discourse on class common to more orthodox Marxist perspectives.[39] The practitioners of this new regional geography, as one commentator notes, "attempted to mediate the spatial analysts' concern with space, the neo-Marxists' concern

36. For a general perspectives on the "new regional geography," see Gilbert (1988) and Pudup (1988). For an overview of locality studies, written by its adherents, see *New Perspectives on the Locality Debate*, a special issue of *Environmental Planning and Development A* (#23, 1991). The assertion of Massey and her colleagues of the particularity of place reopened issues of an unfortunate longstanding debate on the "anarchy of regional empiricism." This is Haggett's (1965:182) term, in apparent reference to the nomothetic vs. idiographic debate in geographical theory and methodology between Hartshorne and Shaeffer (see Entrikin and Brunn, 1989; Gilbert: 1988).

37. This is recognized even by spatial geographers, see Wolpert (1964). For a discussion of the role of mathematical models and scientific metaphors of rationality in both neoclassical and Marxist economic geography, see the work of Barnes (e.g. 1992, 1996). Lösch was perhaps most clear on this when he states: "capitulation to reality is as useful as the advice of those who on principle contradict no-one—a contemptible attitude that is satisfied to accept one's era rather than serving it. No! The real duty of the economist is not to explain our sorry reality, but to improve it" (cited in Holland, 1976:10–11). Holland also criticizes Lösch for employing "mathematics not to test reality in an econometric sense, but to sophisticate the regularity and symmetry conditions of the theoretical model" (p. 11).

38. Massey (1973) offers a critique of traditional locational geography and (1991) discusses the importance of spatial considerations in countering Harvey's more universal Marxist analysis. Livingstone (1992:331) refers to this new regionalism as "historical-*geographical*-materialism."

39. The similarity of certain Marxist and modernizing discourses has often been noted. The class consciousness of the former and the rational actions of the latter are both based upon detachment from loyalties to place, ethnicity, and gender; and proletarianization functions as the radical equivalent of changes in Parsonian pattern variables.

with social relations and structures, and the humanists' concern with agency and meaning."[40] Massey, a founder of this approach, offers a clear statement of the manner in which the particularity of place emerges:

> What gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus. . . . each place can be seen as a particular, unique point of the [intersection of social relations and movements and communications]. The uniqueness of a place, or alocality, in other words, is constructed out of particular interactions and mutual articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings, in a situation of co-presence, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are actually constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, a region or even a continent.[41]

Locations, then, may be considered nodal points uniquely characterized by their embeddedness in wide-ranging webs of social, cultural, political, and economic relations. As loci of relations, places are neither static, internally seamless and undifferentiated, nor necessarily bounded. And as with the succession of structures of feeling already mentioned, there is also a dialect of process and structure in the political economy of spatial differentiation. Locality is both the sedimented, layered product of a "succession of roles the local economy has played within wider . . . spatial structures,"[42] as well as a factor to be reckoned with in present and future developments in the articulation of the local with the extra-local.

Migration, clearly, involves two distinct aspects of an articulated polarity between places of departure and points of arrival: the centered experience of place (the focus of humanist geography), and the decentered political economy of spatial differentiation (the focus of the new

40. Entrikin (1991:20).

41. Massey (1993:66).

42. Massey (1984:118).

regionalism).[43] In colonial Mexico, however, the nature of the documentary evidence (usually parish records on the administration of sacraments) pulls the historian to the quantifiable end of the migrant's journey into towns and cities. Mapping points of origin does little to decipher the intricacies of either the experience or the political economy of space: migrants' home villages become just so many decontextualized dots on an otherwise bland terrain, where physical distance is left as the principal marked feature. Space becomes precisely what recent regional studies have so directly criticized: an undifferentiated playing field for social action, rather than a dynamic field of interaction that directly affects social processes. There is, then, still a need for a political economy of population movement and a move to explore the experience and particularities of both places of origin and points of destination.

This and the following chapter attempt to deal with these lacunae in migration studies of colonial Mexico. The underlying pattern of change in the area under study is simple. By the early seventeenth century the hacienda of Palula had emerged as a vast field for potential agricultural development in the Iguala Valley. Sheep ranching here ceased by the late seventeenth century, and during the 1750s the last major cattle rancher was expelled. The valley then opened up to a

43. A particular problem in the study of location in colonial society is that of the uneven displacement of cultural systems. I discuss this problem briefly in chapter 8. There, in reference to grain markets, I examine the problematical relation of a Hispanic legal system that emphasized regional privileges with a colonial geography that was regionally "immature" (in the Vidalian sense of having a shallow history of attachments to place). For migration studies the cultural element is much more vague. It is virtually impossible to identity cultural differences between the home communities (in the Balsas River basin, or in the Taxco, Tixtla, and Chilapa jurisdictions) of migrants to the Iguala Valley. The approach suggested by Massey is, therefore, more operational. The difficulties of applying the ideas of new regional geography to cultural studies is apparent in the work of Lomnitz-Adler (1991) who "invented the term 'intimate culture' to represent the real, regionally differentiated manifestations of class culture" (1991:202). In essence, his "intimate culture" is a manifestation of how, in cultural studies, "geography matters" and is in this sense an anthropological application of Massey's critique of Harvey. The problem is not with Lomnitz-Adler's theoretical approach (others have pioneered similar work in regard in regional culture, see the review in Gilbert, 1988), but with the possibility of applying it to spatial differentiation among indigenous cultures (or communities) during the colonial period. Lomnitz-Adler (1991:212, n. 11) does mention the British Marxist geographers Gregory, Urry, Harvey, and Massey, although he does not note the important differences between them in regard to the significance of spatial variation.

flood of migrants; resettlement meant the incorporation of indigenous people into the very changed circumstances of agricultural society during the late colonial period.

But if the overarching process is simple, the details of change are complex. The valley itself had a sedimented past: layers of meaning, memories, and economies that, at least in some circumstances, shaped both the discourse that Indians used to reassert their rights to valley land and the patterns in which they accommodated themselves into a developing rural economy. Rather than attempt a "body-count" approach to migration—a statistical documentation and sociological interpretation of fluctuating rhythms of demographic movement—this chapter and the next focus on sociocultural changes in home and destination settlements (the integration and disintegration of place) and the spatiotemporal flow of resources (the political economy of regions). Migrants to the valley came from three major areas—the Balsas River basin, the southern extremes of the jurisdiction of Taxco, and impoverished villages near Tixtla and Chilapa. The remainder of this chapter explores the experience of migrants from the first area and examines the process of place making, presented as a three-stage developmental cycle, through which migrants from the Balsas River basin formed a community at the resettled Tepecuacuilco sujeto of Palula. The following chapter offers two case studies of migration into the Iguala Valley, from the jurisdictions of Taxco and Tixtla, to illustrate the regionalization and territorialization of colonial space and how these processes affected the strengths and debilities of community organization. It then concludes with a brief exploration of the economic geography of agricultural production. Here the graphs and charts that are used to illustrate statistical patterns and encourage sociological interpretation seem to have been drawn by the eerie rationality of a ghostly hand, as small-scale indeterminacies juxtapose into large-scale patterns. Thus—and here the question of analytical scale is an important consideration— ultimately the neoclassicism of Ricardian rent theory and the simple land use patterns of Von Thünen's location theory return to

haunt a humanistic study, unexpected late arrivals in a chapter that began with a critique of "uninteresting individuals" and "featureless plains."[44]

1. PLACE MAKING AND THE INDIGENOUS PAST : LAND RIGHTS AND REGIONAL STRUCTURES OF AUTHORITY

By the early seventeenth century Palula, located on the camino real to Acapulco some half-way between Iguala and the Balsas River, seems to have shifted permanently from the indigenous to the colonists' domain. This was the fate shared by many congregated villages that, located in the best agricultural terrain, became the coveted first prizes of colonial expansion into rural areas.[45] In 1569 Palula had been the most heavily populated of over three dozen of Tepecuacuilco's sujeto villages, with 119 married couples, 134 men over fourteen years old, and 172 women over twelve. Nevertheless, along with every other subject village, Palula was forcibly relocated to the cabecera at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[46] Shortly thereafter the *naturales* of Palula fled Tepecuacuilco; but instead of returning to their original settlement, they escaped to the lands of another sujeto, San Cristóbal Mezcala, situated some three leagues south of Palula at the point

44. One reader pointed out that here, in reintroducing economic geography, I critique my own chapter on the experience of place. This issue is dealt with in greater depth at the end of chapter 7. Here, to spare present readers any burden, it may be said that what is at issue is the level of analysis and the way in which migration is problematized. In the three case studies, the focus is on place making and tensions between home and destination settlements. But, if one pulls back from the particular and looks at overall diachronic patterns (not processes) or migration, one finds that a peasants choice of destination (not what occurs afterwards) often reflects both economic and social conditions, questions of fertility and productivity of the land, closeness to markets, availability of the tools of production (teams of oxen, plows, etc.), and familial ties to previous migrants. There is no contradiction in exploring this process of place making in a particular instance within an overall framework of locational geography in which larger scale patterns of residence choice emerge.

45. See chapter 5, n. 83.

46. For a list of Tepecuacuilco's subject villages in the sixteenth century, with their location and population, see the appropriate tables in appendixes 1b and 2b.

where the camino real crossed the Balsas River.[47] The original inhabitants of Mezcala remained in the congregated cabecera.

There was reason to avoid a return to Palula. Between 1603 and 1607 the marqués de Montesclaros had given land there in merced to don Melchor de Tornamira, encomendero of Tepecuacuilco, who rapidly expanded and consolidated his holding.[48] Property along the camino real was becoming the focus of colonial interests, although the point at which it intersected the Balsas River remained a potential domain for Indian settlement: their labor was needed to assist transport across the river.[49] For the Indians of Palula, flight to Mezcala offered both the refuge of a desolate frontier (which sheltered them from the fiscal and service demands of the colonial state and indigenous authorities) and the prospects of a nascent commercial society (which promised profits from supplying colonists with food and fodder and from working as *balseros* along the Mezcala River). The attraction of Mezcala was precisely the balance it struck between "refuge" and "prospect."[50] Another tension, that between fiscal control and economic exigency, informed the viceroy's pragmatic response to the Tepecuacuilco petition that fugitive Indians from Palula

47. The case is mentioned in AGN-C/168, dated 1604. For the camino real, see the route traced on map 5f. Gerhard (1972:438, Tixtla, n. 9) cites a manuscript, which I have not had the opportunity to consult, in the Bancroft Library ("Plano geográfico de una parte de la América septentrional . . . Santos Alonso Guerra") that shows the three principal points at which branches of the camino real crossed the Balsas River: Mezcala, Totolcintla, and Tlalcozauhtitlan. The Mezcala crossing quickly became the principal route between Mexico City and Acapulco.

48. For this merced, see table 5e and appendix 5b.

49. For this reason, when the many indigenous communities and small hamlets in the Balsas River valley were congregated, the majority were moved to San Francisco Ozomatlán, a sujeto of Oapan, and not the cabecera. Only Ameyaltepec (then called Amayotepec), Ahuelicán, and Oacacingo were moved to the cabecera; 23 other villages, including San Juan Tetelcingo, were moved to Ozomatlán, for the specific purpose of helping transport across the Balsas River. The congregación in Oapan fell apart within a year; of those villagers moved to Ozomatlán, only those of Tetelcingo quickly returned to their original settlement. See AGN-C exp. 179 dated 1604.

50. The interpretation of landscape as "refuge" and "prospect" is taken from Appleton (1975, 1990). He applies the terms in a quite different sense, but the metaphor is apt for the ideal poles of attraction that entice migrants.

be returned to the cabecera. Although he ordered the corregidor of Iguala to repatriate the renegades, the viceroy also directed him to leave in Mezcala the number of Indians needed to attend to the travelers and traders.[51] Mezcala "survived" as an Indian village, but it survived, at least at first, with residents of Palula. Although there is little documentation on this community for the greater part of the colonial period, in the late eighteenth century it is mentioned as "a small Indian hamlet" (*población corta de yndios*). By this time it had its own vicarage and two Indian alcaldes.[52]

Indigenous settlement at Palula had a more complex and revealing history.[53] During the seventeenth century, the hacienda centered at Palula expanded inexorably through the Iguala Valley, eventually reaching the dimensions discussed in the previous chapter: approximately 1,500 square kilometers of fertile farmland, the greatest part of which stretched southward from Iguala in the space between the Cocula, Balsas, and Tepecuacuilco rivers. Yet about the time it reached its maximum extension, pressing northward against Iguala and Cocula, a conflict abruptly emerged at the hacienda's core: Indian peasants claimed their patrimonial rights to Palula itself (see the summary of events in table 6a).

The initial dispute for control over Palula occurred in the midst of profound changes in the regional economy centered in Taxco and the Iguala Valley. By the late seventeenth century the indigenous population was beginning to recuperate from its postconquest nadir, and the Iguala

51. AGN-C/168, which also states that this number will change "according to the season and the necessities of transport." There is an oblique reference in this document to another petition submitted by the Indians of Mezcala and to which the viceroy had responded; the corregidor is ordered to see to it that the *principales* of Tepecuacuilco comply with the order. Unfortunately the contents of this petition and dispatch are not recorded, nor have they been located elsewhere.

52. The quote is from AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v dated 1794; see also the list of villages in AGN-T 3601/8 dated 1780. Mezcala is mentioned in 1683, in a complaint by an Indian principal resident in this village; AGN-T 2968/132. It was also involved in a dispute with San Francisco Xochipala over personal services in the vicarage; AGN-I 69/431. The quotes around "survive" indicate the problematic nature of this concept in colonial historiography.

Valley was starting to produce grain to supply the Taxco mines, which themselves were beginning to recover from the "century of depression." It was in this context of shifting land use and demographic recovery that the first indigenous attempts to claim and define space in the valley occurred. But the discursive strategy that underpinned these early Indian efforts to resettle and reassert rights to Palula, a key center for the control of valley land, manifests a rearticulation of preconquest patterns of regional authority in which rights to Palula were defended more on the basis of prehispanic territorial and political jurisdictions than on simple rights of descent and community integrity. In some cases, at least, the self-contained community struggles for land that characterized most of the colonial period were not the initial reaction to land loss. Rather, indigenous litigants could utilize extracommunity political and social structures that were soon to disappear as the colonial period progressed.

In 1686 the indigenous authorities of Tepecuacuilco petitioned for their right to resettle Palula and rebuild its church. Some four years previously, Indians from the parish of Oapan, jurisdiction of Tixtla, had begun to migrate to Palula.[54] Their resettlement efforts were resisted by the priests of Oapan and Atenango del Río, undoubtedly afraid of losing their fee-paying flocks; by the encomendero of Oapan, for similar reasons; and by Alonso de Rivera, then owner of the hacienda of Palula (see genealogy 5a), who adamantly defended his legal title to the land. One of his principal arguments was that the migrants were not descendants of the original inhabitants, but rather Indians who had fled their religious and community obligations elsewhere and should be forcibly returned.

Interestingly, the Oapan migrants did not assert their rights to Palula directly. Instead, the claims were presented by the authorities of Tepecuacuilco, a village that in preconquest times had

53. The relevant documents for this period are listed in the final column of table 6a.

54. For slightly earlier (1667) evidence of out-migration from Oapan (although the precise destinations are

housed an Aztec garrison and served as the entrepôt center for tribute collection in the area. At contact, a large area had been under its direct control, with subject villages dispersed up to 17 leagues to the west and over 10 leagues to the south. In 1686 (approximately 80 years after Palula's inhabitants had been relocated to their cabecera and the abandoned land given in merced to their encomendero), Tepecuacuilco petitioned for the right to resettle its erstwhile sujeto and rebuild its church:

> Even though it is true that [the recent settlers at Palula] are from various pueblos, the lack of opportunity that they must face [in their home villages] undoubtedly inspired them to appeal to . . . [the authorities] of Tepecuacuilco, requesting admission into their community (*para que los admitase entre si*) so that they could resettle the aforementioned pueblo [of Palula] and obtain in the said village clear benefits. Besides what they obtain for themselves by acquiring enough land for planting and other uses, it is also true that if the land is resettled, regions will be brought into contact through traffic on the roads, since if there are settlements [like Palula] along the roads they can be more easily traveled. But if settlements are lacking, then supplies will be short and other difficulties will arise, which is what happens in these cases. And in this case [of Palula] the benefits are even more striking, given that the settlement being sought is along the camino real to the port of Acapulco, and that muleteers now suffer many inconveniences and misadventures for the lack of villages and places (*parajes*) where they can take shelter and acquire all that is necessary.[55]

While noting how settlement at Palula would result in personal benefits for the migrant Indians and public benefits for commerce and the state, the Tepecuacuilco authorities were also adamant in defending their right to resettle Palula with Indians *from other villages*. In fact, while the hacendado Rivera argued his case by asserting that the migrants to Palula were not related to the original inhabitants, and hence were without rights to the land, Tepecuacuilco authorities freely admitted that the settlers were from various other villages, but claimed the right of the cabecera to resettle sujetos however it saw fit. Tepecuacuilco's role as the leading arbiter for indigenous rights in the region was augmented a few years later, when the village of Iguala began a struggle

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not mentioned), see AGN-I 24/163.

to defend its land in the northern valley against encroachment by don Alonso de Rivera. Iguala joined the opposition to the colonization of Palula headed by Tepecuacuilco.[56] No longer simply litigating for Palula on behalf of the Oapan migrants, Tepecuacuilco authorities now requested permission to "return to settle the ancient pueblo of Palula with the *naturales* of the pueblo of Iguala."[57] This development suggests how common interests among indigenous villages—the efforts of Iguala to defend community land and limit the size of a hacienda, the search of Oapan residents for more fertile soil, and the initiative of Tepecuacuilco to regain control of an ex-sujeto while reasserting authority over a region it previously controlled—could foster intercommunity cooperation in parallel and joint litigation. In this early dispute, there was still no claim by the recent migrants to Palula that they had a direct link to the land they occupied. The link between the present and the past was mediated by a formerly powerful indigenous elite at the twilight of its influence.

Thus, in spearheading the bid to retake Palula, the indigenous authorities of Tepecuacuilco formed patron-client alliances with indigenous peasants from at least two neighboring villages: Oapan and Iguala. The land around Oapan was of poor quality; the documents suggest that Indians from this village approached the Tepecuacuilco authorities and requested to be admitted "among them" and then assigned farmland at Palula *(que los admitase*

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55. AGN-I 28/262 dated 1686.

56. AGN-I 30/251 dated 1689. The actual language of the document states that Iguala was "ancillary (*dependiente*) to the litigation that those of Tepecuacuilco have undertaken with don Alonso de Rivera."

57. The language in reference to this last assertion is not altogether clear in the original (AGN-I 30/251), where the viceroy orders: "with the present I order carried out what was determined by this superior government in the litigation that don Alonso de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada has pursued against the *naturales* of the pueblo of Tepequacuilco in regards to whether they be given license to return to settle in the ancient pueblo of Palula with the naturales of the pueblo of Iguala (*sobre que se les conceda licencia para volver a poblar en* pueblo *antiguo de Palula con los naturales de el* pueblo *de Iguala*), for which a dispatch shall be issued to the aforementioned don Alonso so that the judge of the said jurisdiction (*partido*) measures and sets up boundary markers around the *sitio de venta* and 6 caballerías of land contained in the merced that he has presented according to the center and boundaries expressed in that document so that he does not exceed it" (see note to table 6a).

Table 6a
Early litigation over the resettlement of Palula

DATE	SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTS AND POPULATION DATA	SOURCES
18 February 1686	This is the first indication that Indians are returning to the abandoned *sujeto* of Palula. The Indian authorities of Tepecuacuilco request a licence to resettle the land and rebuild the church. The *alcalde mayor* of Iguala is ordered to investigate.	AGN-I 28/239
1 June 1686	Viceregal response to a petition by the *naturales* of Tepecuacuilco who requested that the licence (see above) be granted in spite of the unfavorable report of the *alcalde mayor* and opposition from the priests of Oapan and Atenango del Río. The latter should be instructed to allow the Palula church to be rebuilt, to return the bell that they confiscated, and to free the Indians they took as prisoners. The *naturales* argue that *cabecera* villages are allowed to utilize all the lands of their congregated subject villages, that they can repopulate the congregated sites, and that Indians in general are allowed to live where they wish as long as their spiritual and temporal needs are met and the royal tribute paid. They admit that Indians settling in Palula are from villages other than Tepecuacuilco and add that the resettlement began about four years previously. Finally, the *naturales* note how an Indian settlement at Palula would benefit travelers along the *camino real.* The viceroy orders that don Alonso de Rivera, owner of Palula and who had presented his land titles to the *alcalde mayor,* be given a copy of the present petition.	AGN-I 28/262
8 May 1688	This is an order that the appropriate judicial officials question the witnesses presented in the case between Tepecuacuilco and the contrary parties of Capitán don Alonso de Rivera and the Marqués de Astorga Belada y San Román. Lic. don Antonio de Ucaranza, *capellán* of a *capellanía* imposed on the lands of Palula, is also mentioned.	AGN-GP 16/109
2 August 1688	Reference to the ligation over Palula (involving the parties mentioned above).	AGN-I 30/131
23 February 1689	Don Antonio de Rivera complains that the Indians from Oapan who have settled in Palula have also elected a *governador* and *alcaldes* "como si fuera pueblo formado." Hiding the fact that litigation is pending, the Indians have sought to have the election confirmed. Rivera requests that the election be annulled and the Indians expelled until the case is resolved. The viceroy prohibits the Indians from building a church.	AGN-I 30/179
27 March 1689	The village of Iguala complains that don Alonso de Rivera was given possession of their land at Pachiuca, Atopula, and San Andrés. They request that he be limited to the *sitio de venta* and 6 *caballerías* near Palula, given to him in *merced* by the Marqués de Montesclaros. The *naturales* of Iguala are said to be "dependiente de [el] pleito que han seguido los de Tepequacuilco con don Alonso de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada sobre tierras." The petition is granted and the lands of	AGN-I 30/251

	Rivera are ordered measured and bounded. An unclear reference is made to the request of "el pueblo de Tepequacuilco sobre que se les conceda licencia para volver a poblar el pueblo antiguo de Palula con los naturales de el pueblo de Iguala."[a]	
November 1689	Two *naturales* of San Francisco Palula were accused of witchcraft by other Indians who sought their expulsion. The accused claim that the testimony against them was false and obtain several Spanish witnesses who agree that the charges were leveled with the sole intent of forcing the two accused Indians into exile.	AGN-BN 596/1[29]
16 April 1717	Two Indian representatives from Palula file a complaint against don Antonio de Ayala, owner of over 12 cattle haciendas and whose land measures over 30 leagues in circumference. They assert that in the middle of these lands they and their ancestors have "mantenido y fomentado... un pueblesillo...." The Indian representatives request that their *amparo* to these lands be enforced. They allege that the *alcalde mayor* and Ayala are in league with each other and that Ayala's servants had taken the church bell and destroyed the church walls. They accuse Ayala of trying to expel them in order to found a cattle hacienda, which he has already begun. Finally, they add that it is important to have a settlement at Palula given that the closest village is 7 leagues distant and that the area is a haven for robbers.	AGN-I 40/134
27 July 1717	In a resolution to the petition of AGN-I 40/134, don Antonio de Ayala receives an *amparo* to his lands at Palula against *naturales* from Oapan. Ayala claims that the Indians rent land from him for 2 pesos or 2 *cargas* of maize per field planted. Although he has rented Palula to Antonio Rodríguez, a cattle rancher, Rodríguez and the Indians have come to an agreement so that they could continue farming. Ayala claims that the Indians residing in Palula are from the parish of Oapan, in the jurisdiction of Tixtla; and he requests that they be ordered to return to their home village where they are matriculated as tributaries.	AGN-M 71/fjs. 26v-31f
7 January 1729	In litigation to embargo the hacienda of Palula, Indians who rent land there state that they pay a flat rent of 2 *cargas* of maize (or 2 pesos if the crop failed) regardless of how much land they planted. In 1728 twelve Indians rented land. The others, who because of illness or other reasons did not farm, were not charged any rent.	AGN-T 3518/2

a The document is unclear at this point as to whether the Tepecuacuilco authorities had sought a licence to resettle Palula "con los naturales de el pueblo de Iguala" (with the *naturales* of the *pueblo* of Iguala) or whether Tepecuacuilco's request for a licence should be "understood with *(entenderse... con los naturales de el pueblo de Iguala)* [the litigation of] the *naturales* of the *pueblo* of Iguala."

entre si para volver a poblar dicho pueblo*)*.[58] The situation is highly suggestive of an appeal to prehispanic patterns of authority and jurisdictional or territorial rights, while at the same time demonstrating the mechanisms that might have worked in affecting fission and fusion among the indigenous population and settlements. It suggests that migrants from Oapan still perceived the regional indigenous elite as the final arbiter in the adjudication of rights to land. The situation in regard to Iguala was slightly distinct but manifests a similar pattern of obsequious respect to a regional hierarchy of indigenous rule. In the 1680s both Tepecuacuilco and Iguala were embroiled in the turbulent land situation that was developing in the northern valley. Resettlement of abandoned sites by peasants other than the direct descendants of the original inhabitants was, like intercommunity migration, probably not uncommon.[59] Whether Tepecuacuilco's petition for a license to resettle Palula "with" the naturales of Iguala *(con los naturales de el* pueblo *de Iguala)* indicates an instrumentalist use of poor peasants or an alliance of convenience between besieged elites is unclear. But combined with the case of the Oapan migrants, it does suggest that even at this relatively late date Tepecuacuilco authorities held some sway in regional indigenous society beyond their own community and its former sujetos.

This first phase in what has been referred to as the development cycle of the community witnessed an appeal to prehispanic indigenous patterns of land rights and authority and an openness of community that belies a "closed corporate" model. In their 1686 petition to the

58. See quote above from AGN-I 28/262. In AGN-I 30/179 Ayala repeats the charge of damages caused by the fact that the *naturales* of Oapan "taking advantage of those of Tepequacuilco [seek] to establish the aforementioned settlement [at Palula]."

59. See AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 244f–245f, deposition dated 23 November 1716 by the "gobernador, alcaldes, común y naturales del pueblo nuevo nombrado San Andrés Tuspa." For population statistics of Tuxpan, see AGN-RCD 20/524, fols. 312f–312v. The list runs from 1644 to 1692. Tuxpan only appears in 1656, when it was referred to as "San Andrés Tuxpa, pueblo nuevamente congregado." It was clearly inhabited after this date. Note that often during the colonial period it was referred to simply as "Pueblo Nuevo"; Gemelli Careri (1983:17). See also, for example, AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2, where the village is called "el pueblo nuevo nombrado San Andrés Tuspan.

colonial state, the Tepecuacuilco elite was not reticent to admit that they sought territorial rights for migrant Indians who themselves had no historical claims to the land at Palula. In fact they had previously sought the return of Palula migrants from Mezcala, where they had fled, to the cabecera. Thus in a sense the regional elite was attempting to retain close fiscal and social control over its tributaries, while at the same time inviting outsiders into the community by offering to litigate for outlying land that had been lost in merced. Moreover, this unusual prolongation of a regional and hierarchical structure of indigenous authority suggests that a nuclear and fragmented model of native society was not a given, neither before nor immediately after conquest, and that some intercommunal structures existed and remained in place over 150 years after conquest. It is also interesting that while residents of Oapan and Iguala sought to establish community rights at Palula (or, perhaps, the authorities of Tepecuacuilco sought to use Indians from Iguala and Oapan to reclaim land that was at the core of an expanding hacienda), those more directly attached to this site, the descendants of the original inhabitants of Palula who had been forcibly relocated to Tepecuacuilco, sought instead to establish rights or residence in Mezcala. In central Guerrero, similar cases of intercommunity links, involving individuals who sought patrimonial rights to sites of prehispanic occupation to which they had no historical or hereditary rights, was not unheard of. The case of Tuxpan in the northern Iguala Valley, for example, is similar to that of Palula: the migrants who claimed rights on the basis of being from the "old settlement of Tuxpan" (*imponían ser del* pueblo *viejo de Toxpan*) were challenged (much as the Oapan migrants were challenged at Palula) by the landowner, who complained that in fact "some were from the jurisdiction of Atenango del Río and the pueblo of Quatlazxcochitlan [Cuitlaxochitlan] and others from the pueblo of Tequexquetongo, in the parish of Tlaquiltenango," to where they should be returned.[60] Nevertheless, in 1654, half a century after the congregación, the colonial judicial

60. AGN-T 3518, s.n. and unnumbered, in letter from Garay V. to Juan Nicolás dated 6 Sept. 1719.

authorities of Iguala were ordered to protect the *naturales* of Tuxpan "at the site and lands that they have returned to occupy" (*que se han vuelto a recoger*).[61] In 1656 Tuxpan reappears with 18½ tributaries as "San Andrés Tuspa, pueblo newly congregated (nuevamente congregado)" in a list of villages drafted to help construct the Mexico City cathedral.[62] Though abandoned in the early seventeenth century, Tuxpan was soon reestablished as an Indian village and later even received permission to elect a governador, indicative of its achieved status as an Indian cabecera, and had obtained a composición for its community land.[63] Yet throughout the colonial period it was referred to, in some way or another, as a "pueblo nuevo"—thus tagged with a moniker that belied the ancient origins that the community's legal status would otherwise indicate.[64] Another case from the mid–seventeenth century involved the villages of Tetela del Río and Guautla, in the Tierra Caliente to the west of the Iguala Valley. These communities were quite willing to accept newcomers from distant jurisdictions, and requested only that they be obligated to pay tribute or rent.[65] Although not a case involving the persistence of regional structures of indigenous authority, the receptiveness of these villages to newcomers again suggests a permeability of community boundaries that has not received sufficient attention. All these cases indicate a continual readjustment and reformulation of village identity and membership. The litigation of Tepecuacuilco authorities on behalf of emigrants from Oapan and Iguala indicates tenacious

61. AGN-T 3514/2, fols. 244f–245f, deposition dated 23 November 1716 by the "gobernador, alcaldes, común y naturales del pueblo nuevo nombrado San Andrés Tuspa."

62. AGN-RCD 20/524, fols. 312f-v. The list runs from 1644 to 1692. Tuxpan only appears in 1656, although it was clearly inhabited after this date.

63. The *composición* is dated 2 February 1707 and cost 100 pesos. There is no mention of the size of the land composed (AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 244f-245f. Note that Tuxpan rented land from the Jesuits in the 1690s (see chapter 5).

64. See note 59 supra. A reference to a *governador* of Tuxpan is found in AGN-I 38/176 dated 1713.

65. AGN-I 20/80 dated 1656. The authorities of these villages requested that immigrants be required to pay either land rent or tribute. The viceroy ordered that the migrants continue to pay tribute in their home village, but pay rent to the communities whose lands they farmed.

regional social and political structures. Nevertheless, during the following phase the politics and language of community formation at Palula were to change.

2. THE NASCENT COMMUNITY AND THE CREATION OF SENTIMENT

A second moment of confrontation occurred in 1717, some three decades after the first. By this time the structure of the dispute, if not its superficial presentation and arguments, had changed considerably. No longer were Tepecuacuilco's indigenous authorities litigating on behalf of other villages. By 1717 migrants to Palula, which was in the parish of Oapan, had taken charge of their own destiny and were constructing their own past at the site they had settled. At this time two Indians appeared before the viceroy and identified themselves as "*naturales* of the pueblo of Palula . . . in the name of the entire community (*naturales del* pueblo *de Palula* . . . *en nombre de todo el común*). The key words—*naturales de*, *el* pueblo, *el común*—indicate an inchoate relation to place; the second generation migrants were now directly identifying themselves with a space that had become the pueblo *de* Palula, a pueblo whose existence was predicated on the denial of the rights and authority of the indigenous *principales* of Tepecuacuilco. The language of the petition from Palula, while pointing out the benefits to the state of having a pueblo at this location, also referred to key symbols of village identity—church and church bell:

> Captain Antonio de Ayala, *vecino* of the Real de Tasco and owner of lands that comprise over twelve haciendas of for ranching and agriculture, that measure over thirty leagues in circumference, in the center of which we and our ancestors have maintained and fostered a small pueblo (*pueblecillo*) . . . and his servants . . . continually bother us, chasing and expelling us from the aforementioned pueblo, they have even taken our church bell and desecrated our church, which they have tried to destroy . . . [and] as soon as we might abandon the pueblo it will be taken over and converted to a hacienda of ganado mayor as in fact [has occurred], they have started to bring cattle in, and if the goal of having us abandon the said pueblo is attained, many problems will ensue because the site (*paraje*) is very necessary for the travelers and mule trains, and the commerce with Acapulco needs this settlement for the mail post and other crises that every day occur in our pueblo given that there is no other settlement within seven leagues in any direction, and

> without us [this place] will become a den of thieves as in fact has occurred with an estancia of our master (*nuestro amo*) Antonio de Ayala.[66]

Although the dispute was phrased in terms of settlement rights based on patrimonial privileges and a previous *amparo,*[67] the underlying conflict seemed to be over land use in a changing regional economy. The Indian litigants began their petition by noting that Ayala wanted them to abandon the land so that he could establish a hacienda of ganado mayor, as he in fact had started to do. Ayala alleged that he allowed the Indians, whom he refers to as tenant farmers *(terrazgueros),* to rent his land for 2 *cargas* of maize per cornfield *(milpa),* regardless of its size. He admits to having recently rented the site of Palula to Antonio Rodríguez, a cattle rancher, but adds that Rodríguez and the Indians had come to an agreement over continued subrental. Apparently tenant farming continued. When the hacienda of Palula was embargoed in 1728, the Indians residing in Palula were called to testify. Eleven tenant farmers *(naturales terrasgueros del paraxe nombrado Palula)* appeared; six other were absent. They certified that the land belonged to don Antonio de Ayala, and that they paid 2 *cargas* of maize in rent (or 2 pesos in the event of harvest failure) regardless of the amount of land planted. If for illness or any other reason a tenant did not farm, he was not charged any rent. In 1728 twelve Indians had farmed; in 1727 only eleven.[68]

The early struggles in Palula—the first in the mid-1680s, the second in 1717—reveal the convergence of political economic change with the production of place and the emergence of identity. The two disputes occurred at two separate moments of profound changes in the

66. AGN-I 40/134 (also AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f) dated 1717. For an example of the connection between new settlements and safe highways, see Nader (1990:86).

67. The *amparo* was apparently not to their rights to settle in Palula, as the Indians claimed, but to maintain the status quo of their settlement in the interim that the dispute was resolved. It was signed by the viceroy conde de Paredes (1680–86).

68. Testimony taken in Palula on 7 January 1729; AGN-T 3518/2 33 unnumbered folios at end of *expediente).*

economic structure and tenure arrangements of the Iguala Valley: the late 1680s and the second decade of the eighteenth century. In regards to the first, Jesuit ranching in the Iguala Valley, which had involved some 30,000 sheep in the 1660s and 1670s, began to decline in the 1680s. Shortly thereafter the Colegio definitively withdrew from the region, leaving open a vast expanse of now underutilized land. The timing of indigenous migration to Palula in the middle valley suggests a process parallel to that occurring in the north, where cattle ranchers took over the land of Tepantlan, the Jesuit hacienda, as soon as it was abandoned. The number of migrants to Palula, however, was minimal. After a short period of litigation with don Alonso de Rivera, the hacienda owner, a temporary accommodation seems to have been reached and the handful of tenant farmers were allowed to remain.

In 1717 the second flare-up occurred, this time between the Indian tenant farmers and don Antonio de Ayala, now the effective owner of Palula.[69] Just two years previously, litigation over the ex-Jesuit hacienda of Tepantlan had been definitively resolved, with Ayala the major beneficiary. Land ownership questions had been settled and titles quieted. Data from 1728 show that Ayala rented out various sections of his hacienda (see table 5f); all but the site of Palula itself were leased to ranchers. Nearby at Carrisal and Tepochica the rents were 50 and 60 pesos per year; Palula barely yielded 24 pesos (or *cargas* of maize) from its tenants.[70] The evidence is not altogether conclusive, but it suggests that in 1728 Palula was being leased at below its market value, a consequence of indigenous peasants maintaining hold of a tenancy arrangement in the face of a changing regional economy, pressure from ranching, and competitive leasing elsewhere. Although phrased in the idiom of rights to patrimonial land, the dispute in 1717 seems to have

69. See genealogy 5a for the relationships among the owners of Palula. Ayala held and administered the hacienda for his wife and sisters-in-law.

70. See below for a discussion of rental prices in the early nineteenth century, the only period for which complete data is available.

been over rights to exploit the land: Ayala wanted to promote ranching and raise income in an increasingly dynamic regional economy, the indigenous farmers wanted to preserve their tenancy and peasant lifestyle, as well as lower rents. For them the most effective discourse, however, was that of patrimonial rights to ancestral land. To accomplish this they had to redefine themselves as *naturales de Palula.*

During the initial decades of the eighteenth century another important change was taking place: the territorialization of indigenous space concomitant to a series of *composiciones* that stabilized and legally certified land boundaries in central Guerrero.[71] Economic crises, often linked to international conflicts, had motivated the launching of *composición* programs as revenue-raising efforts in the past and were to do the same in the future.[72] In central Guerrero, however, the early eighteenth-century *composiciones* were exceptional in that they affected indigenous villages as well as colonists. Communities acquired titles expedited by a Spanish judiciary agent and confirmed by viceregal authorities. These documents protected an explicitly demarcated territory the borders of which were established during a legal process known as the *vista de ojos,* when the land commissioner would perambulate the land accompanied by village members and officials. The land laws and resolutions of this period established a paradigm of indigenous land tenure that molded the nature of agrarian disputes: the integration of territory (at the very least the 600 varas of the *fundo legal*) could be most directly achieved through pueblo status legally recognized by viceregal authorities.

71. Taylor (1972:6–7) recognizes the *composiciones* of the 1640s as a benchmark in the rural history of southern New Spain and states that "These composiciones confirmed title to many pieces of land that had been acquired informally by estates without written title. From this point on, the history of the hacienda seems to be one of uninterrupted growth" (ibid.:7).

72. Generalized *composiciones* in New Spain had occurred in 1591, 1612, 1631, 1645, and would reoccur in 1743 and 1777. Tax impositions, which often became permanent, to meet specific state expenditures were quite common, such as the *alcabala* increases in 1632 for the *unión de armas* and in 1635 for the *armada de barlovento.*

This early eighteenth-century struggle in Palula, then, reveals how new mechanisms of state-authorized territorialization influenced indigenous discourse relating to the production of place and the emergence of village identity. By 1717 the morphology of struggle had changed; the locus of activity had shifted to the residents of Palula themselves. No longer did they solicit the patronage of indigenous authorities from a regional center; instead they sought land rights within the legal and political economic structures of the colonial regime. This change was not sudden, but had begun on the cusp of the previous, regionally based struggle. In 1689 Ayala accused the Oapan immigrants in Palula of having elected a *governador* and *alcaldes* "as if it were a fully constituted pueblo" and of having obtained a viceregal confirmation by hiding the fact that litigation was pending.[73] He successfully requested that the election be annulled and that the residents be enjoined from building a church. At a time when Tepecuacuilco authorities were still presenting a claim to Palula based on their right to resettle the lands of a congregated subject village, the efforts of Palula residents to elect a governador and alcaldes were at best paradoxical, at worst counterproductive. In the late colonial period petitions for a license to elect a governador were often the most public secular symbols (to churches and cemeteries were the religious counterpart) of a subject village's political independence from an erstwhile cabecera; de facto separation of finances and tribute payment had often occurred well before the formal breach in political structure.[74] In their early struggle for pueblo status, Palula residents quickly faced a defining moment: they could maneuver behind the authenticity of Tepecuacuilco's resettlement claim and the authority of its regional domination, or they could assert their own independent

73. AGN-I 30/179.

74. See Dehouve (1990[1984]). The role of church and cemetery as symbolic representations of village independence is briefly mentioned in n. 81 below, and in the following section's discussion of the third phase of community development.

identity and community heritage. They could not effectively do both: a reliance on Tepecuacuilco signified dependent status, the election of a governador signaled independence.

By 1717, however, the metamorphosis toward a discourse of primordial rights and community tradition was virtually complete. A petition from that year opened by presenting "Miguel de Santiago and Juan Mathías, *naturales* of the pueblo of Palula";[75] the rights they defended were to a place where, they noted, "we and our ancestors have maintained and fostered a small pueblo (*pueblesillo*), and have not neglected the things that are our responsibility, both in regard to the Church and to the crown." Future litigation involving Palula would fit, often somewhat awkwardly, into the paradigm of village versus hacienda struggles, a constant feature of colonial historiography. But woven into the explicit conflict over spatial control was a more subtle struggle of definition, the divergent perspectives on place and identity that informed the language of dispute over Palula. The referential lexicon of each party reveals the underlying hermeneutics of litigation. The immigrants to Palula once referred to Ayala as their "amo" (master), which suggests at least a subconscious recognition of subservience.[76] But usually the linguistic breach in perspective between Indian and colonist is clearly marked. Thus the indigenous parties would represent themselves as *naturales de* Palula (not *arrendatarios de,* a phrase that their opponents would use),[77] they would call Palula a pueblo (not a *paraje, puesto,* or *cuadrilla,* again, the language of their adversaries),[78] they would refer to the *reedificio* (rebuilding) of the church (not the *fábrica,* or 'building,' as the owners of the hacienda of Palula would say), and they would present arguments that combined pragmatic and symbolic aspects in

75. AGN-I 40/134.

76. AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f.

77. Meaning 'renters.'

78. Meaning 'place,' 'spot,' and 'work settlement.'

a rhetorical attempt to convince the colonial state of the utilitarian benefits and intrinsic legitimacy of their position.

Table 6b
The language of dispute: Indigenous and hacendado references to the settlement of Palula

Indigenous discourse	Hacendado discourse
naturales de (citizens of)	*arrendatarios de* (renters of)
pueblo (village)	*paraje*, *puesto* or *cuadrilla* (site, place, or tenant settlement)
reedificio (rebuilding) *de la iglesia*	*fábrica* (construction) *de la iglesia*

The utilitarian approach involved repeated references to the benefits for travelers of a settlement at Palula. The 1717 petition asserted that Palula was "very necessary for travelers and mule trains."[79] Similar words occured in 1794: "it is located on the camino real to Acapulco, where it will be very useful to travelers."[80] More interesting are the repeated references to the church and the church bell.

The church was the sine qua non of community stability; it was the physical, symbolic, and indeed legal center of village life. The church was situated in the town square; the building and consecration of churches was frequently the most significant act in establishing a community identity;[81] and village lands were measured outward from the church. In their 1686 petition, the Tepecuacuilco authorities requested a license to resettle Palula and rebuild its church, and referred to the still visible foundations of an old church, an implicit legitimation of present rights based on past residence.[82] When in 1689 the viceroy annulled the election of *oficiales de*

79. AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f.

80. AGM-M 83/fols. 19v–21f.

81. For example, in 1757 Amayotepec, a barrio of Oapan, requested that they be given pueblo status. An investigation was carried out and as a result of the favorable opinion Amayotepec's chapel was consecretated, although a governador was not elected; AGN-T 3213/1.

82. AGN-I 28/239. Van Young (1996:149, n. 32) refers to the "transcendental importance of the symbolic

república in Palula, he specifically enjoined them from building a church.[83] In 1717 Ayala's servants are accused of having torn down the church walls.[84] By 1794 the litigants from Palula placed special emphasis of this issue, providing testimony that their village had a modern church in which the sacraments could be administered, and that next to it were the walls of an ancient church which had been built by "the ancestors of those of Palula, at great expense."[85] Late colonial documents refer to emerging factional divisions between permanent residents on the one hand, and recent or temporary immigrants on the other. A point of friction was the latter's disobedience to church commandments and disregard for the requirements of religious service, including participation in rebuilding the village chapel.[86]

Throughout the colonial period, then, Palula's church or chapel figured as a central element not simply in the contentious rhetoric presented to colonial courts, but in day-to-day interaction of residents. To outsiders, the existence or the lack of a church was public evidence of Palula's sociopolitical status; among residents it (or willingness to maintain it) functioned as a practical measure of an individual's commitment to place. But early conflicts often revolved around the church bell itself, a mobile and much more ephemeral symbol of identity in the amorphous landscape of a rural society in flux.[87] In most villages the bell was hung on a crossbeam set between forked posts and sheltered under a low-lying canopy of clay slates or

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resonances of these physical remains." For an account of the deliberate destruction of churches in the subject villages of Contlalco, Acaquila, Mexcaltepec, and Aguacatlan when they were congregated in their cabecera of Taxco el Viejo, see AGN-T 2754/3 dated 1603. An inventory was taken of each church and the ornaments transfered to the cabecera.

83. AGN-I 30/179.

84. AGN-I 40/134; AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f.

85. AGN-M 83/fols. 19v–21f.

86. AGN-M 83/fols. 74f–75r and AGN-BN 929/55.

87. For a discussion of the significance of a church bell in establishing a community's presence, see the case of Tateposco in Van Young (1996: 148, n. 31).

palm.[88] It was easy to steal. In 1686 Tepecuacuilco authorities accused the priests *(beneficiados)* of Oapan and Atenango del Río of imprisoning Indians who had moved their corporeal bodies and administered souls to Palula, of interfering with church reconstruction, and of having stolen the church bell. They requested that the prisoners be released and allowed to live in Palula, that church construction be allowed to proceed, and that the bell be returned.[89] The priests' attacks against the new church at Palula was an attack against the Indians' efforts to establish ecclesiastical and religious independence from the parishes under the priests' control. Two decades later Palula's representatives leveled charges against Ayala and his servants that culminated with the accusation that they had "even taken our church bell (*hasta la campana nos han quitado*) and desecrated our church, which they have tried to destroy." The rhetoric of "hasta" (even) at the end of the list of grievances effectively shifts the theft to the fore; it becomes the ultimate yet definitive indignity, a coup de grâce that struck at the heart of an agonizing village.[90] Ayala responded that his father-in-law, don Alonso de Rivera, had lent the bell to Palula. But what can be given can also be taken away, and Ayala claimed that the bell, like the land, was his. With both, he concluded, he could do as he wished. In Ayala's bleak discourse of absolute property—which had room for neither morality or sentiment—there was no indignity, indeed no deeper meaning, in removing the bell or vacating the land. In his vision the bell and the land were linked, but not as symbols of identity and the basis of subsistence; they were simply objects of ownership to be manipulated at will.

88. Such an arrangement can still be observed in indigenous villages of the Balsas River valley whose churches do not have towers.

89. AGN-I 28/262.

90. AGN-I 40/134 and AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f. By the time of the complaint the bell had been recovered and returned by some soldiers on their way to Acapulco. They caught the mulato who had stolen it and remitted him to a Mexico City jail. The litigants from Palula imply that the mulato was in Ayala's service.

Ayala asserted his indefeasible, absolute rights to Palula in 1717, only two years after major litigation in the northern Iguala Valley had been resolved in his favor. But by this time the status and structure of the Iguala Valley was changing. Between 1701 and 1705, in order to place administrative control over the distribution of valley maize directly in the hands of the urban and miner elite, the province of Iguala was briefly incorporated into the Taxco jurisdiction.[91] The realignment was short-lived; and in 1724 don José de la Borda, a wealthy and deeply religious miner, led a group of his peers in petitioning that Taxco be given political jurisdiction over the once again separate province of Iguala. Early eighteenth-century administrative pressures adumbrated a tension between urban and rural interests that came to dominate the political economy of Taxco-Iguala relations during the final century of the colonial period.[92] This tension was played out both politically—in struggles over the incorporation of Iguala into the jurisdiction of Taxco—and economically—in efforts to increase agricultural production in the Iguala Valley and control the distribution of its grain. Administrative reincorporation occurred in 1768. The restructuring of production and distribution was a more gradual process; it depended upon the continual immigration to the valley of mostly indigenous peasants from surrounding areas. In 1728 don José de la Borda acquired Ayala's embargoed landholdings. In addition to his political activism in regard to administrative reorganization, he now possessed the material means to vertically integrate Iguala Valley maize production with market demands created by Taxco's mining industry and urban population. Gradually he turned his lands over to tenant farmers, evicting the last major cattle rancher in the late 1750s. For over 75 years, from 1717 to 1792, immigration to Palula and its environs proceeded with little apparent friction.

91. AGN-RC 89/141. See my discussion of grain markets in chapters 10 and 11.

92. AGN-GP 25/fols. 49f–52f (published in ZyC VIII:231–36).

The first two phrases in the struggle over Palula illustrate how processes of community formation were embedded in both the wider range of political economic developments in colonial society and in historical patterns of political and social relationships. The moments of increased tension at the village level coincided with overall structural changes at the regional level, particularly the Jesuit abandonment of sheep herding during the 1680s and the final settlement of land boundaries with the composiciones of Pérez de la Vega Cansio about 1715. At the same time, the manner in which Palula residents articulated their demands reflected their attempts to construct an identity, either as part of or apart from existing lines of social and political relations within indigenous society in the valley.

Yet these issues regarding the construction of *new* communities have not been adequately addressed in previous literature. Thus in discussing the impact of Gibson's 1964 magnum opus, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, James Lockhart notes that:

> [Gibson] kept track of the component parts of all the preconquest altepetl, the encomiendas, the parishes, and the postconquest municipalities, mapped them, and they all turned out to be the same. The succession of chapters that shows the coincidence of the different entities is perhaps the most majestic, powerful display in the Latin American historical literature, like a line of tall ships each in turn coming abreast and firing a broadside, one and then another and yet another."[93]

This diachronic focus on structural isomorphism and corporate organization has been extremely important in clarifying the manner in which indigenous and Hispanic constituents coalesced in early colonial social and political organization.[94] But as the activities in regard to Palula demonstrate, myriad social processes crossed the boundaries and penetrated the cracks that divided the formal elements of rural colonial society. The allocation or assignment of Palula land

93. Lockhart (1991b:170. Lockhart (1992:chap. 2) basically follows Gibson is his structural analysis (e.g., p. 29). He also offers the best summary and analysis of the indigenous *a:ltepëtl.*

94. It has also, in the form of the corporate community as a unit of analysis, furnished an important methodological and theoretical tool for research in colonial and modern Mexico.

to Oapan and Iguala natives brings up questions of land rights: to what degree were the Tepecuacuilco authorities exercising their prerogative to distribute corporate property to outsiders?[95] to what degree were Oapan and Iguala migrants activating claims to land based on extra-communal kinship and affinal ties to Tepecuacuilco? and what was the role of control of landed assets in promoting shifts in personal and group identities (through migration and realigned commitments) as migrants moved from one community to another? These questions are very difficult to answer. But it is clear that the colonial state was reluctant to recognize either village prerogatives over land distribution to outsiders or cross-cutting ties over community boundaries, and preferred the relatively stable and unproblematic structure of discreetly bounded villages and clearly defined rights. The emergence of community at Palula also brings up questions of political structure: to what extent was there a fragile persistence of preconquest patterns of indigenous regional authority despite a colonial political and administrative organization that neither established nor recognized any native unit above the village level? Before the Spanish conquest Tepecuacuilco had been a provincial entrepôt for tribute collection and a military fortress for an Aztec garrison. A large area was under its direct control, and subject villages were dispersed up to 17 leagues to the west and over 10 leagues to the south. Tepecuacuilco's lead role in orchestrating an intervillage coalition to reclaim Palula and Oapan's implicit recognition of Tepecuacuilco's legitimacy undoubtedly reflects, at least to a certain degree, the continuing influence of Tepecuacuilco's elite in structuring indigenous political response above the village level. It was an idiom of sociopolitical discourse that found little acceptance in colonial litigation. Finally, the litigation process itself brings up the question of how the discursive practice of contending indigenous and colonial parties manipulated the

95. Note also that by assigning Palula to outsiders while the tributaries originally from Palula were maintained in the cabecera, the Tepecuacuilco authorities obtained a patronistic control over territory while avoiding the dispersal of tribute-paying commoners.

categories and processes of colonial society. Simple textual divergencies (see table 6b) offer significant insight into varying perceptions of history and identity. Thus when the Indians referred to the *rebuilding* of their church while Ayala mentioned its *construction* it is clear that each party was attempting to situate the building in a historical context that was relevant to the issue at hand: the identity of Palula as indigenous village previously abandoned or as a tenant cuadrilla with pretensions to community status. Thus as the struggle over Palula shifted from one phase to another the language of contention and terms of debate shifted with this. This metamorphosis of structure and text was to continue into the final phrase.

3. THE FRACTURING OF COMMUNITY

The first two series of conflicts, one in the 1680s and '90s and the other in the decade of 1710, had been prompted by a rapid sequence of changes in the Iguala Valley: an end to extensive sheep ranching, and a definitive settlement to lengthy litigation over property rights. Analogous changes took place in the late colonial period. Again, shifts in the nature and process of place making coincided with transformations in the wider sphere of economic and political processes.

When de la Borda owned the hacienda of San Miguel, which included the settlement at Palula (just above Estola, where it met up with Martínez Viedma's haciendas of Carrisal and Xochicuetla), he had entered into direct and seemingly unproblematical relations with his tenant farmers, and had apparently kept his monetary demands temperate.[96] But late eighteenth-century changes in property ownership, and an increasing commodification of the rural economy, led to shifts in the structure and composition of extant rental arrangements. The *archicofradía*

96. This was not simply altruistic conduct, though undoubtedly de la Borda's character and interest in resolving the problems of grain supply to the mines and city played a significant role in his actions. But in general, an abundance of land and a low population density in the Iguala Valley maintained a downward pressure on land rents, and it was leasing of the tools of production—plows and teams of oxen—that provided the best return on capital investment.

experienced serious problems in administering its landed property and monetary assets, and attempted several solutions. One of these was to lease Iguala Valley haciendas to local merchants and agricultural entrepreneurs, who met their payment obligations to the *archicofradía* by subrenting to indigenous tenant farmers. These merchants and entrepreneurs were not only situated in an intermediate position between the titleholders and the peasant producers, but they were more focused on profit than on urban provisioning, which had been de la Borda's primary concern. In 1795 one of these entrepreneurs, don Lucas de Pineda, leased Palula, raised rents, and altered the customary arrangement whereby individual tenants would not be charged for pasture. He also reintroduced ranching, grazing his cattle and horses dangerously near his tenants' fields. Palula Indians charged that Pineda had increased rents and initiated ranching in order to deter them from soliciting the 600 *varas* of land that was the right of all Indian pueblos.[97]

If the etiology of conflict in the 1790s was similar to that of 1717, so too were the institutional symbols around which struggle revolved: pueblo and church (see the summary of the demographics of Palula during the late colonial period in table 6c). The 1794 *interrogatorio* (list of questions for a judicial proceeding) that the "común y naturales" of Palula drew up for their witnesses' depositions reveals how they planned to justify their claim to pueblo status and the 600 *varas* of land that such status entailed.[98] Ninety families of tribute-paying Indians lived in Palula: fifty in the nucleated center, and forty others within a league. Many heads of households had been born in Palula. Others had immigrated over the previous ten to thirty years, and during this time had built homes and had children in Palula. The original villages of these immigrants—pueblos such as Chilpancingo, San Marcos, and Ajuchitlán—were distant, overpopulated, and situated in

97. AGN-T 1264/5. See Wood (1990) for a summary treatment of the colonial legislation on the amount of land to which Indian villages were entitled. García Martínez (1990) provides an excellent overview of the creation of eighteenth-century "Indian" pueblos by migrant *castas* and others who had no historical ties to the place newly assigned pueblo status. He is one of the few historians who has paid attention to this process.

98. AGN-M 83/19v–21f. The remaining citations in this paragraph are from the same document.

Table 6c
Demographics of Palula in the late colonial period

DATE	POPULATION	COMMENTS	SOURCE
9 August 1793		The Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento of Taxco, owner of the haciendas of San Miguel, Carrisal, and Xochicuetla in the Iguala Valley complain that Indian immigrants are settling in Palula and refusing to pay rent or to leave.	AGN-M 83/fols. 74f–75v
22 July 1794	90 families	The Indians of Palula, in a dispute with the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento over the assignment of the 600 *varas* of land to which Indian villages have a right, offers a list of questions to be asked of the witnesses in litigation with Palula. These questions suggest that there are more than 90 Indian families in Palula, many having been born there and others with residence established 10 to 30 years previously. About 50 families live in Palula itself and another 40 within a league. Migrants have come from Chilpancingo, San Marcos (Oacacingo?) and Ajuchitlán. There is a church and vicar in Palula. The request that these questions be asked of witnesses they offer to present, and they recuse the *subdelegado* of Taxco and his *teniente* in Tepecuacuilco, offering instead to present the witnesses in Zacualpa or Tixtla.	AGN-M 83/fols. 19v–21f
11 November 1794		The Indians of Palula complain that they had traveled to Zacualpa to present witnesses in their litigation for the 600 *varas* of land but that the justicia of Zacualpa had not received their testimony. Instead he had demanded that they build a house for him in Palula and pay him 200 pesos to go their and received the witnesses' testimony. The litigants now request that the administrator of mail in Tepecuacuilco (the justice officer of Tepecuacuilco had been recused) be ordered to receive their testimony. This request is granted.	AGN-I 69/331
20 July 1795		Indians who promoted litigation so that Palula would be given the 600 varas of land to which Indian villages had a right complain of a rent increase, new charges for using pasture land, and harassment from renters *(arrendatarios,* probably referring to don Lucas Pineda or other intermediaries who rented directly from the Archicofradía). Eight Indians stated to be *naturales* of Palula appear in Taxco to be informed of the contents of a viceregal order. They are said to be fluent in Spanish and therefore not in need of an interpreter.	AGN-T 1264/5
28 February 1798		The naturales of Palula originally from Amayotepec and San Marcos Oacacingo state that they have resided in Palula for over 30 years, where they perform personal community service and pay their tribute. They complain that in 1795 the *governadores* of Amayotepec and San Marcos began to	AGN-I 71/13

		require them to perform community service in their native villages. For this reason some Indians were imprisoned in Tixtla. The viceroy now confirms a 1795 order that freed the prisoners as well as several other orders that the *cabeceras* of Amayotepec and San Marcos "se abstengan en lo sucesivo de molestar a los naturales de la quadrilla de San Francisco Palula con servicios personales y otra pensión" ([that] they desist in the future from hounding the *naturales* of the *cuadrilla* of San Francisco Palula to perform personal services and other community obligations).	
12 June 1807	367 families	Br. don Juan José Cadrecha, vicar of Mexcala, requests permission to bless the chapel of Palula, a *cuadrilla* in the vicarage with 367 families in the village and its immediate vicinity. He complains that the *naturales* and *vecinos* of Palula had desisted from repairing the chapel "oprimidos y aterrados de los baivenes y amenazas que anteriormente sufrieron por los arrendatarios de dicho suelo [de Palula] lo que aun concedida la licencia de la superioridad [para reparar la capilla] trataron con obstinada impiedad de impedir el imponerable beneficio, utilidad pública de mayor culto a que de dicha capilla resulta" (persecuted and fearful from the comings and goings and threats that they had previously suffered at the hands of the renters of the aforementioned land [of Palula]; even after the superior order which granted a licence [to repair the chapel] had been issued they stubbornly and impiously tried to obstruct the immeasurable good, and public benefit to religious observance, that would have resulted from the said chapel). The licence to bless the chapel is ordered expedited on 20 June 1807.	AGN-BN 929/55

unfavorable terrain;[99] residence in Palula offered the migrants a means of subsistence that they would otherwise be lacking. The *interrogatorio* continued with questions about the proper condition of the church, the presence of ruins from an earlier church, and the great benefits (in an argument that echoed that put forth by Tepecuacuilco authorities one hundred years previously) that a pueblo at Palula would offer to "the travelers, muleskinners, troops, prisoners, and couriers who would there be accommodated and provided with what they needed." Finally, the witnesses were to state "if the person who rented the lands of Palula has burdened the naturales who live there with many heavy charges, which had meant that they live in continuous servitude, and many in great misery, from which they would be free if they had their own land on which to plant."

The image of pueblo that the litigants now presented was a structural and functional one—ahistorical except for the passing reference to the church ruins. Thus, when in 1798 immigrants from Amayotepec and San Marcos protested against being imprisoned and forcibly returned to their original village, they objected that they were "settled in the aforementioned place [Palula], congregated in a Pueblo *(reducidos a Pueblo),* carrying out the personal services that are required and promptly paying their tribute." The phrase "reducidos a Pueblo" conjures up the image of congregaciones, the early colonial program designed to bring social order and religious conversion to what the Spaniards considered the uncivil state of small scattered settlements.[100] The previous 1794 *interrogatorio* had even celebrated the great distances from which migrants had come (for instance Chilpancingo and Ajuchitlán), an implicit commentary on the advantages offered by Palula. The metaphor of *"reducción,"* and the illusion of migrants from a dispersed demographic hinterland becoming fixed in space by an indigenous corporate structure that would

99. Chilpancingo was about 60 km due south, Ajuchitlán about 100 km due west, and San Marcos (if the San Marcos referred to is S. M. Oacacingo) 20 km to the southeast.

100. The translation of *"reducido"* as "congregated" is based on the virtual equivalence of *"reducción"* and *"congregación"* as terms to describe villages that had been formed from the sixteenth-century forced relocation and nucleation project.

satisfy both the fiscal and the economic demands of the pragmatically oriented Bourbon state was a tactic that responded both to the transformed regional economies and to the rationalized state administration of the late colonial period.[101] The arguments for Palula's status as pueblo had now come almost full circle.[102] In 1686 Tepecuacuilco authorities had asserted their right to resettle an outlying sujeto, an argument for the right to disperse. In the 1790s litigation was not simply over the right of migrants to remain in new settlements, but over the rights of a recently nucleated population at Palula, *reducido* to a pueblo *de indios*, that was structurally (if not historically) an indigenous pueblo.[103] Nevertheless, the result of a successful petition during either the late seventeenth or late eighteenth century would have been similar: an "Indian" pueblo with land rights, tributary obligations, and service responsibilities.

Concomitant to and complicating the late-colonial litigation for pueblo status was a localized breach in the social fabric of Palula, the defining feature of this third phase in the development cycle of place making in this locale. In 1795 the lawyer for "those of the pueblo of San Francisco Palula" reported hostility between renters and subrenters and alleged that despite the orders that the renters not harass the newcomers, nor wrongfully assess them charges for back rents owed, don Lucas Pineda continues his mistreatment.[104] In trying to collect from their

101. García Martínez (1990) notes in regard to late colonial pueblo formation that the Spanish state might have promoted the creation of new pueblos made up of both *castas* and *indios* as a convenient means of acquiring control over an important segment of the population and ensuring their appearance as tributaries.

102. These late colonial petitions for pueblo *de indios* status are in need of study, as García Martínez (1990) notes. They are in effect the structural and ahistorical eighteenth-century variant of *"títulos primordiales"* from the previous century, whereby historical rights to place were alleged, often through "origin myths" (see Lockhart, 1991a; Gruzinski, 1993:chap. 3).

103. The difference between the right to remain in Palula, as exemplified by the successful petition of Amayotepec and San Marcos migrants (AGN-I 71/13), and the right of Palula to the 600 *varas "por razón de pueblo"* (in virtue of being a pueblo; AGN-M 83/fols. 19v–21f, AGN-I 69/331, and AGN-T 1264/5), should be kept clear. The first right, that of Indians' freedom of movement, was generally recognized by the colonial state if tribute obligations were met (see the cases discussed below). The second right, that of individuals with no historical right to settlement being granted pueblo status, was much less common.

104. AGN-T 1264/5.

Iguala Valley tenant farmers, the *archicofradía* reported a fragmented community at Palula. They noted that among those who punctually paid their rent were others who had fled their own pueblos and taken refuge in the *paraje* of Palula, refusing to pay rent or leave, and benefiting from the land "with no other title than force and violence." The *archicofradía* requested that the subdelegado of Taxco forcibly repatriate those who have usurped land, while making sure that legitimate tenants paid their rents.[105]

Table 6d
The language of dispute: Fragmentation and conflict in the settlement of Palula

Source of description	Parties in dispute	
	Committed to community	Resistant to community
Litigants for pueblo status	Renters	Subrenters
Landowner (Archicofradía de la Santísima Sacramento, Taxco)	Legitimate (renters)	Illegitimate (sharecroppers)
Vicar of Palula	Those with a religious commitment (long-time residents)	Those without a religious commitment (recent migrants)

Finally, the dichotomization of Palula was also manifested in a third context: a contemporary struggle over the construction and consecration of the village church or chapel. On 8 June 1792, the archbishop of Mexico authorized the renovation of the Palula chapel, then on the verge of collapse.[106] It was not until 20 June 1807, however, that bachiller don Juan José Cadrecha, the vicar residing in Mezcala, was issued a license to sanctify the recently completed house of worship. The delay, he commented at the time, occurred because the naturales and *vecinos* of the cuadrilla had for a long time neglected to repair the church, frightened by threats

105. AGN-M 83/fols. 74f–75v.

106. AGN-BN 929/55. Note that in the *interrogatorio* of 1794, the witnesses were to be asked both whether the Palula church had all the paraments necessary for administering the sacraments, and if they had a vicar. The church, or chapel, was probably still not repaired at this time, and the vicar referred to probably resided in Mezcala (Mezcala is stated to be a vicarage in AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v dated 1794).

from the tenants (*arrendatarios*), who with "obstinate impiety" had tried to thwart the reconstruction and prevent the "imponderable benefit . . . of increased worship" that would follow should the chapel be rebuilt.[107]

In each of the three cases some sort of localized conflict is mentioned (see table 6d). In the litigation for pueblo status it was between renters and subrenters. For the *archicofradía*, Palula was divided between legitimate (rent-paying) and illegitimate (recent immigrants who refused to pay rent) occupants. For Cadrecha, the struggle pitted the "naturales y vecinos de la quadrilla" who wished to rebuild their church and the "arrendatarios," or tenants, who obstructed them. In this final statement there is a hint of an ethnic division, for the "arrendatarios" were said to be opposed to allowing the "aforementioned Indians" (*los ya nominados indios*) to "construct their church" (*poner su Yglesia*).[108] These sets of divisions represent the fractured quotidian structure of late colonial life in the oldest *cuadrilla de arrendatarios* (tenant settlement) of the Iguala Valley. The hundred years from early recolonization to mature settlement generated more than a quantitative demographic change in Palula. In addition, a layered pattern of confrontation began to emerge. This conflict represented not simply the political implications of hierarchized productive relations: owner, capitalist entrepreneur, *capitán de cuadrilla,*[109] renter, subrenter, squatter. Rather, the production and political economy of place contained a temporal element, a developmental cycle.[110] One may use a geological metaphor[111] and refer to the sedimentation of sentiment, in which attachment to a new place represents not only a logistical choice of location

107. AGN-BN 929/55, letter of the Br. don Juan José Cadrecha dated 12 June 1807.

108 Ibid.

109. By 1800, and probably commencing several decades previously, Palula had a *capitán de cuadrilla*; AGN-I 71/13. His duties undoubtedly included administering the details of land assignment and the business of rent collection. By the late nineteenth century most of the other cuadrillas also had their *capitanes.*

110. For a diachronic approach to regional formation, see Paasi (1986).

in the context of the relative advantages of home settlement or destination, but the increasing weight of an affective bond that emerges as a consequence of time's impact in constituting social identity. In Palula, speculative investment in agriculture, furtive cultivation by elusive tenants, and seasonal migration by enterprising peasants all meant that permanent residents could easily contemplate their own situation as a "we vs. they" dichotomy, an oppositional categorization that is key to any type of meaningful social identification. By the late colonial period, then, a discursive practice involving a peasant's self-identification as a *natural de Palula* had shifted away from pragmatics (a means to engage the colonial state in a debate over spatial rights) and toward ontology (the way in which a person defined him or herself through reference to a particular place).

Although the intensity of affiliation with Palula was in part a function of the impact of time—as permanence or transience in space—in structuring identity, it was also the consequence of a complex spatial politics that characterized late colonial rural society around Palula. In 1794 the *interrogatorio* drawn up by Palula residents suggested a dispersed settlement pattern: 50 families living in Palula, and another 40 scattered within one league (approximately 2.6 miles). By 1807, however, the vicar of Mezcala was able to assert that "the cuadrilla named Palula . . . comprises 367 families within its environs and immediate vicinity."[112] The dramatic increase of 277 families in a dozen years might indicate a different area of reference; the vicar could well have been including all families under his ecclesiastical administration and not simply those residing within a league of Palula.[113] Nevertheless, population growth undoubtedly did occur

111. This metaphor was used by Warde (1985) to refer to Massey's writing on spatial processes.

112. AGN-BN 929/55.

113. These would have included the *cuadrillas* south of Palula (Coacoyula, Las Mesas, Maxela, Potrero, Guajiotal, Contlalco, Carrisal, Xalitla, Xochicuetlan, Real de Limón, and Atzcala) and perhaps a few to the north (Sabana Grande, Sasamulco, Zapotitlan, and Tecuescontitlan); see map 5g and the final section of this chapter.

(compare the preceding figures to the 16 tenants less than a century before). This growth probably reflected a dramatic yet temporary mass exodus from Ahuelicán, a beleaguered village at the northern extreme of the Balsas River basin. The short burst of intensive emigration from Ahuelicán provides an illustrative case: peasants who changed residence in response to localized pressures, in this case land conflict with a neighboring community, and how this affected community formation and place making nearby. It also constitutes an additional case of emigration from the Balsas River area to the southern part of the Iguala Valley.

In 1717 Ahuelicán solicited 600 *varas* of land and formal separation from its cabecera, Oapan, a tactical move that the former village undertook to protect its subsistence base from a potentially adverse decision in a boundary dispute between Oapan and neighboring San Juan Tetelcingo.[114] Conflict between Ahuelicán and Tetelcingo flared up periodically during the eighteenth century; it reached a climax in the mid-1790s when don Manuel Eustaquio Gómez de la Madrid, the owner of the hacienda of Tlapala, also began to exert pressure, but on the northern border of Ahuelicán, then a village of approximately 135 tributaries.[115] Between 1799 and 1802 the viceroy issued approximately half a dozen decrees confirming the 1717 dispatches and ordering that the 600 *varas* of land be measured and conveyed as previously instructed.[116]

114. Ahuelicán was originally a barrio of Oapan, congregated in the cabecera in 1604 but resettled that same year. Documentation on this 1717 dispute, which was not resolved until the late nineteenth century, is found in AGN-I 41/150, AGN-I 41/216, AGN-I 43/70, and AGN-T 343/4. The 600 *varas* of land Ahuelicán was eventually given was privatized among residents in the late nineteenth century as part of the liberal reform. Today it remains private property embedded in the communal holdings of Oapan, land which is divided among three actual settlements: Oapan, Ahuelicán, and Analco. (This information was obtained on the basis of fieldwork, documentation in the Secretaría de Reforma Agraria, and private documents in the community of Oapan.)

115. For documentation on Tlapala and Ahuelicán, see AGN-T 1287/6 and AGN-T 1406/11. The tributary population of Ahuelicán was reported as 130 in the mid-1790s (AGN-I 76/3) and 142 approximately a decade later (AGN-I 76/2). In 1791, when the Oapan church was rebuilt, Ahuelicán had 135 families according to an ecclesiastical census, probably extremely accurate (AGN-BN 403/27). For the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century dispute with Tetelcingo, see AGN-Cv 214/3, AGN-T 1406/11, AGN-T 2951/59 and AGN-T 2951/82.

116. AGN-T 2951/59.

Apparently Ahuelicán was given possession of its *fundo legal,* but the dispute with Tetelcingo and Tlapala continued. In late summer 1809, the subdelegado of the Tixtla jurisdiction requested that he not be held responsible for tribute from Ahuelicán, a pueblo that had ceased to exist before he had assumed office on 15 November 1807. The parish priest from Oapan was commissioned to carry out an inquiry. He visited Ahuelicán in December 1809 and found only 12 families in the village; slightly over 50 others were in the "surrounding hills and ravines" and another 30 in cuadrillas and hamlets in the Iguala Valley (probably for the most part in Palula).[117] Bachiller Agustín Tello, the priest, wrote to the viceroy and archbishop of Mexico about his efforts to convince the Indians of Ahuelicán to resettle their village. He petitioned the officials in charge of administering justice where the Indians had fled to persuade the migrants to come see him in Oapan, where he would inform them of a viceregal decree that protected their communal land against both Tetelcingo and the hacienda of Tlapala. Thirty married Indians had gone to Oapan, and each had promised that after picking up their belongings they would immediately return to Ahuelicán, where they would rebuild their houses and start paying the tribute due to the crown.[118] The village was reestablished; and by spring of the following year over one hundred families were living in Ahuelicán. Nevertheless, the stability of this settlement was a continuing concern. Tetelcingo persevered and in early 1810 managed to reopen the litigation. The final document from the colonial period is a brief letter from the priest of Oapan in which he expressed fear of a second exodus from Ahuelicán.[119]

117. AGN-Cv 214/3. In 1836, the priests of Oapan and Tepecuacuilco were cited in order to report whether Indian men from Amayotepec, San Marcos, San Juan, and Ahuelicán migrated to Palula with their families or alone, and how long the migrants were absent from their home villages (see below, AGN-BN 769/17.

118. AGN-Cv 214/3, fols. 7f–8f.

119. AGN-T 1406/11.

This constant threat of emigration and dispersal points to a final element in the complex restructuring of late colonial rural society in the Iguala Valley. In addition to divisions in the organization of productive relations (that ranged from owner to squatter) and in the implications of time on identity formation (emotional distance from or attachment to the core settlement of Palula), the evolution of Palula as place was complicated by spatial and jurisdictional divisions that developed as a result of increased migration and demographic pressure. This increase, in turn, was closely related to intervillage land struggles among indigenous communities in the Balsas River valley. Yet at a certain point increased migration to Palula effected a qualitative, as opposed to simply quantitative, change: new cuadrillas (potential identities) and a more dispersed settlement pattern emerged in the southern Iguala Valley and as these developed, a permanent vicarage (*vicaría de pie fijo*) was established in Palula. The result was a new line of tension and division in the southern valley, as priests fought for control over a shifting population of seasonal migrants dispersed over increasingly large areas of the southern Iguala Valley.

Colonial secular and religious administration of indigenous society was based on the illusion of a fairly rigorous bond between person and place.[120] The indigenous "closed corporate peasant community" was the quintessential example of this link; and the layering of units noted by Gibson points to the reproduction and persistence of sociospatial divisions over time. But a model that stresses the structural isomorphism of political-administrative units runs the risk of generating complacency in examining the politics of place that often intruded into the historical geography of colonial spatial organization. Migrants were a powerful challenge to the production and maintenance of boundaries by the state. Insofar as migrants permanently moved to places within areas already classified within the taxonomy of colonial administrative units, problems of

120. The same rigorous bond was also sought between person and ethnicity. See Cope (1994) for a discussion of the disjunction between the "coherence" of elite ethnic categorizations and the challenge of plebeian responses.

spatial definition and delimitation were mitigated. But in the late colonial period new seasonal and permanent rural settlements—ranches, haciendas, cuadrillas—multiplied. The location of major jurisdictional boundaries, such as those delimiting alcaldías mayores and corregimientos, was perhaps not seriously affected; but parochial divisions were more problematical. The parish, in general, was particularly susceptible to the pressures of population growth; there was a practical limit to the area, number of settlements, and volume of souls that a priest could effectively administer. In order to accommodate increases in population and settlements, many new vicarages and parishes were created in the eighteenth century.[121]

By the late eighteenth century, migration to the Iguala Valley was becoming increasingly disperse; legitimate tenant farmers formed new cuadrillas south of Palula at Contlalco, Cuajiotal, Maxela, Las Mesas, Potrero, Real de Limón, Atzcala, Xalitla, and Xochicuetla (see map 5g); many of these undoubtedly showed a high level of temporary, seasonal occupation. The *archicofradía* complained that in addition to Palula's legitimate tenants there were others, fugitives from their home villages, who refused to pay rent or vacate the land. And the vicar residing in Mezcala commented on the threats and intimidation that the *naturales* and *vecinos* of Palula suffered at the hands of renters who obstructed the repair of its chapel. The presence of all these individuals created a new settlement pattern in the southern valley, and led to tensions in the identification of person with place. While clearly within the political jurisdiction of Iguala, the ecclesiastical affiliation of the southern settlements—to either the parish of Oapan or the new vicarage at Mezcala—was problematical. This final moment in the production of place around Palula, then, involved a dispute over the boundaries of a new parish and its control over the souls of migrants who to recently formed tenant settlements.

121. See, for example, Dehouve (1990 [1984]). This process is still in need of research.

Between 1807 and 1819, the vicarage administering the southern valley was transferred from Mezcala to Palula.[122] Documentation on the origin and status of the new tenant settlements comes from an 1836 dispute between the priest of Oapan, bachiller José Ildefonso del Castillo, and the vicar at Palula, *presbítero* don Dionicio Crispín Urcuyo. The dispute began before independence, and the issues raised accurately reflect the situation during the last decades of the colonial period. Yet more generally, this conflict, even though it crossed the chronological line dividing colony from independent state, reflects the final phase of the development cycle, one in which the social and spatial fragmentation of community was a key element.

Upon returning to Oapan in 1836 after an 11-year absence, Br. Ildefonso del Castillo found that the vicar of Palula was no longer honoring an 1819 accord.[123] This agreement allowed *cuadrilleros* (tenants in the cuadrillas of the southern Iguala Valley) from Amayotepec, San Marcos, San Juan, and Ahuelicán to freely choose whom they wanted to administer their sacraments: the priest of Oapan or the vicar of Palula. The former summarized the situation as follows:

> The children of the pueblos of Amayotepec, S. Marcos [Oacacingo], S. Juan [Tetelcingo], and Ahuelicán, given the advantages that they obtain from lands located within [the area administered by] the permanent vicarage of Palula, which is part of [the parish] of Tepecuacuilco, the increased benefits of which are lacking in their respective villages; for this reason alone, since time immemorial they have been migrating to the cuadrillas in the aforementioned vicarage, where some stay all year round although the majority remain only during the agricultural season, and then, once the harvest is in, go back to their home village; during this same [immemorial] time to the present all these said migrants have contributed and continue to contribute [in their home villages] either volunteering to serve as

122. It seems that the vicarage was transferred from Mezcala to Palula between 1807 (AGN-BN 929/55, which mentions the vicar's residence in Mezcala) and 1819 (AGN-BN 769/17, which mentions an 1819 agreement between the parish priest of Oapan and the vicar of Palula). The vicarage may have been moved from Mezcala as a result of the War of Independence. Palula might have been more secure, or Mezcala might have declined in importance after Morelos occupied Acapulco and San Blas emerged as the major Pacific port. Transit on the Acapulco highway would have declined and with it the importance of Mezcala, located where the highway crossed the Balsas River.

123. This case is documented in AGN-BN 769/17.

> *alcaldes, fiscales*, or *topiles*, or [contributing] to the repair of the church or other public works.[124]

Del Castillo supported his accusation with letters of complaint sent to him from the cuadrillas surrounding Palula.[125] Officials from Potrero, Maxela, Xalitla, and Las Mesas all stated that they buried their dead in the church of Ameyaltepec.[126] A representative of Maxela added that they gave a weekly Sunday contribution to Ameyaltepec, and a Las Mesas official complained that the Palula vicar prohibited them from being buried, marrying, or baptizing their children in Ameyaltepec, which he described as "nuestro pueblo" (our pueblo). Finally, in the clearest statement, a representative from Xalitla wrote that "we are from the cabecera of Oapan, legitimate sons of Ameyaltepec; and given that *we recognize our pueblo,* we insist on being buried there" (my emphasis).[127] The parish priest from Oapan complained that in defiance of the 1819 agreement and the *cuadrilleros'* preference, the vicar compelled the migrants to receive the sacraments in Palula. Worse, he repeated marriages that had already been conducted in the parish

124. AGN-BN 769/17, fols. 7f–8v dated 26 April 1836.

125. Besides the four settlements named below there are two additional unidentified ones: Capziris (probably Capires) and Copaltepecoitic (which had migrants from San Juan Tetelcingo and was probably located near the Balsas River close to Mezcala).

126. Ameyaltepec is the only village in the Balsas River basin that still buries its dead in the church courtyard.

I have not been able to locate Potrero, although it was apparently located near Maxela and Las Mesas. Las Mesas disappeared during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Maxela residents maintained close ties to Ameyaltepec (the modern name of Amayotepec appearing after the mid-nineteenth century) and brought offerings to the church during major religious festivals up through the early twentieth century. Relations between Ameyaltepec and Xalitla soured between 1915 and 1925 when both attempted to gain control of the land parcel named "Xalitla" which then belonged to Miguel Montúfar. Xalitla was awarded the *ejido,* but while it was being processed Montúfar illegally sold the land, no longer his, to Ameyaltepec. The following year, when peasants from both villages tried to farm the land, a skirmish broke out and two Ameyaltepequeños were killed.

Ameyaltepequeños refer to the history of Maxela as an ex-*rancho* of their village. They also interpret the toponym "Maxela" as derived from the Nahuatl root *{max},* referring to "bifurcation" or "splitting," and give this as evidence of the origin of Maxela as an offshoot of Ameyaltepec. The history of relations between Ameyaltepec and Xalitla are not clearly remembered. Nevertheless, old Xalitla residents sometimes refer to Ameyaltepec as "Calpan," literally "on the houses," a term often used in newer settlements to refer to home or original villages.

127. AGN-BN 769/17, fols. 12f–13f; letter dated 2 Aug. 1836.

of Oapan, or simply charged for religious services that he had not carried out. The evidence against the Palula vicar includes a letter that he sent to the *regidor* of Xalitla, and which reveals the mellifluous language of rigorous control with which the vicar hoped to tame an elusive and fugitive flock:

> Regidor of Xalitla
> Tepecuacuilco Aug. 2, [18]36
>
> Dear Son: I have told you to keep me informed about the orders that you received from Oapan and you have not obeyed me; be careful, because in this way you are asking for the problems that might come about should I appeal to Taxco.
>
> Send me the notice (*cordillera*) that you received from Amayotepec on 27 July; if you permit anyone from the cuadrilla [of Xalitla] to be taken to Oapan to be baptized or buried without informing me, you'll wind up in jail.
>
> I am your father you loves you,
> D. Urcuyo (signature and rubric)[128]

In sum, the late colonial period witnessed an increasing fragmentation of human society in the southern Iguala Valley around Palula. Social relations were becoming more complicated—renters dominated subrenters, mestizos apparently lived alongside Indians, and legitimate tenants planted alongside illegitimate ones, who seemed to have been able to avoid paying rents. At the same time there was a temporal division. Some tenants (permanent residents who fulfilled all the obligations that would be expected of a citizen in an Indian village) could probably trace their families back several generations at Palula. Other tenants were seasonal migrants whose main commitment was still to their home indigenous village. Then there was the imbricated space, with no clear-cut boundaries nor firm procedures for determining community membership, of more permeable tenant settlements that spread through the southern valley (at Potrero, Xalitla, Contlalco, Xochicuetla, Maxela, and Las Mesas) after the core village of Palula had approach a point of effective demographic saturation and community closure. Finally, a new ecclesiastical

128. AGN-BN 769/17, fols. 21f–21v.

division, and the breakdown of a compromise on shared jurisdictional claims, created a final domain of dispute. As two priests skirmished for lucrative rights to charge for the administration of sacraments, they essentially forced mobile peasant Indians to select a particular and unique spatial identity. That is, even though temporary tenant settlements might be formally unstructured, with fluid boundaries that allowed seasonal Indian migrants to meet the rights and duties of citizenship in their home villages while farming elsewhere, contentious parish priests could create problems in the identification of person with place. It was, in the end, the onerous obligations that were attached to specific locales that made fluidity in the identification of individuals with particular places problematic.

CONCLUSION

From the late seventeenth century to the end of the colonial period (and into the independence period) a steady stream of migrants flowed from the Balsas River basin communities around Oapan into the southern portion of the Iguala Valley.[129] Initially the migrants attempted to establish historical and patrimonial rights to land at Palula; first they allied themselves with Tepecuacuilco authorities who claimed the right to resettle an ex-sujeto with Indian peasants from other communities, and then they utilized a discourse that emphasized their own historical settlement and immemorial rights. Finally, as the colonial period came to a close, settlements became more diverse and place making more conflictive, or at least more nuanced. Nevertheless, it appears that with the exception of isolated moments when traditional arrangements or customary rights were briefly called into question, the migrants acquiesced to tenant status as a

129. Emigration was principally from Amayotepec (which later became known as Ameyaltepec, its present name), San Marcos Oacacingo, and Ahuelicán, but also from San Juan Tetelcingo. The first three were ex-barrios of Oapan who were caught up in a dispute between their cabecera and San Juan Tetelcingo. Emigration was undoubtedly stimulated by this local tension, by the first three villages' generally poor and limited land base, and by the fact that the four village were those Balsas River communities closest to the Iguala valley.

relative calm of low rents on fertile land prevailed. However, when conflict flared, the disputes served to highlight, like brief flashes of lightening over a jagged plain, the lines of tension in rural colonial society. As the colonial period progressed, these lines shifted, from those that flowed alongside prehispanic political arrangements to ones that coalesced around new jurisdictional entities, such as the late colonial vicarage at Palula.

Not surprisingly, the intensity of Indian migration from the Balsas area to the southern Iguala Valley increased over time. It began as a slow trickle in the late seventeenth century. A century later it had become a flood. At the same time the political economy of the valley was rapidly changing. New owners, entrepreneurial intermediaries, and an increasingly capitalized rural society transformed the Iguala Valley. But temporal and spatial aspects of place also played a pivotal role. Palula was the core of rural society in the southern valley. Over time, the social structure of Palula gradually coalesced. By the late colonial period it had begun to establish its own social and religious identity; the only element lacking was political: pueblo status and 600 *varas* of land.[130] Residents developed a self-identity attached to their new locale, and they deployed the most salient colonial symbols of community—pueblo and church—to reorganize rural society around their sense of place. Those in Palula who didn't develop this identity either became the illegitimate, aggressive faction of late colonial conflict—the *arrendatarios* whose comings and goings and threats oppressed and terrorized the *naturales* and *vecinos* of Palula—or they avoided friction through spatial displacement around Palula and seasonal migration back to their home villages.

By the end of the colonial period, migrants from the Balsas River basin had began to shift their destinations to new cuadrillas southwest and south of Palula where, as the 1798 dispute with

130. After independence the question of 600 *varas* became moot. As a category "Indian villages" were officially abolished and the grant of 600 *varas* disappeared.

the officials of Amayotepec and San Marcos demonstrates, migrants had already forged a new social identity within the context of this cuadrilla. But in the newer cuadrillas—Maxela, Las Mesas, Potrero, and Xalitla—a more positive relation with the home village was maintained, probably up to and beyond the time of the Mexican Revolution, as migrants often stayed in the tenant settlements only during the rainy season.[131] What had become a flood moving outward from prehispanic indigenous communities was now an ebb tide of sentiment flowing back to the Balsas River basin, as migrants to the newer, less established cuadrillas professed their emotive and religious bonds (exemplified by their choice of where to perform the sacraments) to their home villages—Amayotepec, Ahuelicán, San Marcos, and Tetelcingo—in the parish of Oapan. The final change gradually occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The economic opportunity that migrants saw in the open fields of the southern valley started to disappear, not simply as population density increased and land became scarce, but as the inhabitants of the cuadrillas themselves began to exercise increasing control over settlement and tenancy in the lands that they traditionally rented and farmed.[132] As opportunities for emigration in the southern Iguala Valley steadily decreased during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the illusion of traditional closure that now engulfs indigenous peasant communities of the Balsas River basin was created. Yet this closure was more the result of exclusion and a limitation of options beyond the community, than of any direct defense of a corporate structure in the original indigenous communities themselves.

Clearly then, the resettlement of the Iguala Valley involved a process—the creation of new communities—that has been little studied in central New Spain. Here, where Indian

131. See n. 126 supra.

132. The *capitán de cuadrilla* often became the intermediary between the owner and renters, effectively controlling the admission of new tenants. One interesting point is how twentieth-century *ejido* grants emulated traditional boundaries of *cuadrilla*-centere7d use that date to the colonial period.

communities dominated the rural landscape at contact, community was often coincident with history, and place was a reflection of time, not structure. This was not the case throughout the colonies. Along the northern frontier, for example, state mechanisms that established community structures were more fully in place, and the process of migration and the formation of new settlements has been more fully studied.[133] Yet despite the fact that in the central area institutional mechanisms for the creation of new communities were not in place, indigenous community formation (one of several examples of place making) did occur. The Iguala Valley offered a rather unique grounds on which this process could take come about. It was highly attractive: a fertile, expansive plain, near a major market center (Taxco), and pierced by a major trade corridor (between the central highlands and the Pacific coast). Thus it attracted migrants. Perhaps most significantly, given the nature of prehispanic political geography and the vast area dominated by the *a:ltepe:tl* of Tepecuacuilco, after the congregaciones and sixteenth-century epidemics it was left stripped virtually bare of settlements. Only a few communities remained in the northern valley (Iguala, Cocula, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, Tlaxmalac, and Mayanalán) as the majority of sujetos were swept up and deposited together in a single cabecera: Tepecuacuilco. Finally, land tenure patterns (the domination of a single vast holding by one or two proprietors little interested in direct involvement in commercial agriculture) were such as to discourage capitalization of agricultural production and the creation of a rural proletariat. Rather, once most ranchers had been expelled, the most attractive areas were opened up to tenancy, prompting the massive migration of the late colonial period.

In essence, then, Palula and its surrounding villages represents a process of "counter-colonization," characterized by the immigration of indigenous peasants who established their own identities in tenant cuadrillas. Yet if communities were reconstituted through the process of

133. See, for example, Alonso (1997) and Nugent (1993).

migration into the Iguala Valley, or if Indian peasants who moved into the valley tried to reestablish community structures in new locales, then the important question arises as to what constitutes an indigenous community, and what does "survival" mean when a deep and continuous historical timeframe is viewed from the perspective of the present. Such a perspective of place making in the Iguala Valley reveals that myriad shades of identity existed beyond those places continuously occupied from before contact. Rather, the identification of a place with indigenous society was often the result of formative processes throughout the colonial period and beyond. Thus Mezcala, which was recognized as an indigenous community throughout the colonial period, was resettled in the early seventeenth century (just after the congregaciones) by residents of Palula who had previously been forcibly moved to the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco. Tuxpan was also resettled by Indians from other villages; it too was officially recognized as an indigenous community by the colonial state, although it was tarnished by a name, Pueblo Nuevo, that indelibly identified it as a discontinuous settlement. Palula was also colonized by non-native Indian migrants, but was unsuccessful in ever obtaining full recognition as an indigenous community from the colonial state. Nevertheless, its structural and social organization was in essence very similar to that of formally constituted Indian villages. And this facet of community development created a line of tension during the late colonial and early independence periods, when established residents and more recent temporary migrants were divided in their commitment to community (manifested, among other ways, by their willingness to construct a new church). Finally, Maxela and Xalitla, late eighteenth-century destinations of migrants from the Balsas River valley, maintained an indigenous ethnic identity well into the twentieth century. As these two villages attracted more and more migrants, however, they seem to have lost one important aspect of indigenous identity: monolingual communication in Nahuatl. In Xalitla this occurred in the 1930s, when the opening up of the new paved highway to Acapulco attracted a

stream of non-indigenous migrants. Maxela also continued to attract newcomers although an important formal aspect of indigenous identity was preserved when community members joined together to buy a piece of the hacienda of Palula when it was broken up in 1892.[134] Still now, its property regime, communal, is that of a prehispanic indigenous village. Thus the range of "indigenous" identities of villages such as Maxela, Xalitla, and Palula (all originally formed by Indian migrants from the Balsas River valley), as well as of Mezcala and Tuxpan, illustrate the ways in which politics and demographics were interwoven as factors affection the process of place making during the colonial period and beyond.

134. Lorenzo Gómez of Maxela bought the property surrounding the village in 1892; see appendix 8e. Later, in the 1920s, when offered the chance, the community inserted this property within the regime of "bienes comunales" (communal property), a type of property that is almost always associated with indigenous villages that have property rights dating to the colonial period. Interestingly, residents of Ameyaltepec also bought land communally, selecting José García to acquire the parcel of the ex-hacienda of Palula named Ameyaltepec. With the agrarian reform, however, they refused to place this land within either a communal or a private property regime; as a result it was expropriated from José García's son and given to the village as an ejido. However, there was no effective switch in ownership as the property rights of the descendants of those who had acquired the land through García were respected. It is now officially an ejido, though within the community it is administered like private property.

CHAPTER 7

THE POLITICS OF ECONOMY AND SPACE: INTERJURISDICTIONAL MIGRATION INTO THE IGUALA VALLEY

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored the process of place making in the southern Iguala Valley, as indigenous migrants from several communities in the western Balsas River valley (Amayotepec, Ahuelicán, Tetelcingo, and Oacacingo) established a foothold in Palula and its environs. Ahuelicán and Amayotepec were but some 10 km from Palula; Oacacingo and Tetelcingo were just over double that distance. Late colonial cuadrillas that emerged at Maxela, Las Mesas, Contlalco, Xalitla, and Xochicuetla were also close to Balsas River valley. All were thus entirely amenable to settlement by seasonal migrants, peasant farmers who returned to their home villages during the dry season, taking most of their harvest with them. Place making in this southern region (a process that may be considered as the counter-colonization of space in New Spain), therefore, was greatly affected by the dynamics of temporality and spatial proximity; and at least some of the disputes that erupted in the renter settlements reflected tensions in the level of commitment to cuadrilla or community, expressed most directly in peasants' willingness to contribute to community service and work obligations. In this context it was Palula, the most ancient migrant settlement, that was most able to command the loyalty of immigrants, who over time established their own social and structural identity in the new locale, petitioning the colonial state for official recognition. From the perspective of migration and place making, the survival of indigenous communities was as much a question of Indians' ability to reassert domination over the colonial terrain in new places as it was due to the reproduction of place in original home communities.

Yet even though what may be called the principal lines of tension ran between points of departure (indigenous communities) and points of destination (renters cuadrillas), the entire migratory process was embedded in the greater colonial context. Perhaps the most overarching was the legal framework, which provided for freedom of movement while at least nominally anchoring indigenous peoples to a particular political and spatial design: the two republic system of prototypically isolated indigenous communities, and the grid system of prescriptive urbanized residence as the quintessential expression of human rationality in a shared locale. But there were other ways in which movement between the Balsas River valley and the southern sections of the hacienda of Palula was rooted a larger framework. One of the most prominent was the interminable struggle of Palula residents for pueblo status, a goal that set them in direct confrontation with the owners of the hacienda of Palula (Rivera, Ayala, and the *archicofradia*). During the early colonial period this same struggle resulted in the brief reemergence of a rhetoric of prehispanic political authority, as an intercommunity alliance was formed that involved the authorities of Tepecuacuilco and migrants from Iguala and Oapan. Subsequent generations of Palula migrants, however, were to articulate their own independent claims of patrimonial rights. Finally, a third overarching context of struggle that framed migration from the Balsas River region to the southern portion of the Iguala Valley was constituted by the parochial dispute for administrative control over ambulatory souls. Significantly, it was the demographic impact and spatial implications of migration itself that precipitated the formation of an ecclesiastical structure—rival parishes—that created an additional impediment to the free movement of indigenous peasants between home and destination settlements.

Yet besides parochial limits, migratory Indians challenged other entrenched interests of the colonial elite and the Hispanic state; and as they did so additional strains and tensions emerged in the rural society of New Spain. This chapter continues the case study approach in

exploring two areas of conflict. The first concerns access to indigenous peasant labor: as migrants moved from one place to another they often left behind an economy that as a result might well suffer from a labor shortage. Mining labor seems to have been particularly mobile, though the conflicts that this provoked between miners and between mining districts has been little studied. Whether the rural proletariat, sharecroppers, or tenants were equally mobile is unclear, but seasonal movement and permanent migration could easily create localized labor shortages as well as conflict and competition between employers. The close proximity of Taxco to its agricultural hinterland in the Iguala Valley, as well as the fact that agrarian production was in the hands of tenant farmers, meant that there was inherent competition for labor between the urban mining and rural agricultural sectors. Essentially, by creating a demand center for maize (as both food and fodder) the mining economy stimulated hinterland growth that could adversely affect the ability of mining (both extraction and refining enterprises) to attract a sufficient number of workers. Taxco indeed seems to have relied more on repartimiento labor that the other more capitalized mines of the north, and part of the reason might have been, as the case study below indicates, emigration from the jurisdiction of Taxco to that of Iguala.[1] Again, this dialectical tension between urban mining centers and nearby hinterlands for access to labor has not been adequately explored. Yet competition over labor also affected hacendados, and the availability of large extensions of arable land in the Iguala Valley seems to have had a somewhat deleterious effect on the ability of aggressive landowners to dominate local labor. The case study presented below, which involves emigration from the indigenous community of Cozcatlán in the jurisdiction of Taxco, illustrates the implications of migration for both the survival of an indigenous community and for the economic well-being of an aggressive hacendado who seized its land. The result was that erstwhile antagonists—Indian village authorities and an encroaching hacendado—shared a

1. See Amith (1993).

desire to force the repatriation of migrant community members who had established residence in the northern Iguala Valley. The first case study explores the dynamics of the struggle between colonist, indigenous village authorities, and migrant peasants from the same community.

The second case study involves the effects of regional disparities in late colonial economic transformations. If, as one researcher has noted, toward the end of the colonial period the rich got richer, while "the poor got skewed," it is also true that they got skewed in different ways, at different rates, and in different places.[2] Spatial disjunctions in economic development were undoubtedly common, and they would have had a profound effect of demographic shifts. In central Guerrero such disparity existed between the increasingly impoverished south-central regions of Tixtla and Chilapa and the Iguala Valley to the north. It was not only the parallel boom in mining and agriculture that stimulated the economic and demographic growth of the north-central region (Iguala and Taxco). Administrative and legal changes in the terms of late colonial commerce, particularly the opening up of intercolonial trade between Peru and New Spain, created a new dynamic to the Pacific coast economy, stimulating the formation of backward linkages in the transport sector that was dominated by commercial capital centered in the Iguala Valley. If a shift in transport activity northward, from Tixtla/Chilapa to Tepecuacuilco, did occur, as suggested in the following chapter, then it represented perhaps the biggest blow to the economic vitality of south-central Guerrero during the late colonial period, for it involved the decline of the principal sector that had maintained a growing population fixed in place, despite marginal subsistence agriculture and the absence of almost all manufacturing. The end result of these transformations, led by the boom in the breadbasket agrarian sector of the Iguala Valley, was not only a widening economic breach between the two regions of central Guerrero, north and south, but what may be accurately described as the demographic hemorrhaging of the latter, as

2. The quote is from a title by Van Young (n.d.).

indigenous peasant migrants abandoned the rough terrain around Tixtla and Chilapa for the fertile farmland of the central Iguala Valley. The outflow of tributaries from the indigenous villages around Tixtla and Chilapa had dire consequences for the colonial authorities of these jurisdictions, who were liable for tribute that they could no longer collect. Their reaction to the flight of Indian peasants, however, was not the typical response: an effort at forcible repatriation. Rather, they sought an administrative solution: the incorporation of the jurisdiction of Iguala, the destination of the majority of emigrants, into that of Tixtla/Chilapa. In this manner they would obtain authority over the spaces occupied by the absent tributaries, whose contributions could thus be more easily collected.

The effort to annex Iguala to the southern jurisdictions made little headway. Instead, in 1768 Iguala was finally incorporated into the Taxco jurisdiction. Its authorities had sought such a change for close to half a century in order to better assert control over hinterland grain production and distribution, which, based on traditional prerogatives of regional authority, they could now claim was an internal, provincial matter (see chapter 11). Thus for much of the eighteenth century, the jurisdiction of Iguala was the coveted prize of its two neighboring jurisdictions, one which hoped to assert authority over its migrant population, the other which sought control over its agricultural resources.

The two case studies presented in the following sections demonstrate the economic and political repercussions of migration. The first study explores the efforts of a hacendado to control a population whose decision to migrate had to a great degree been in response to his aggressive territorial expansion. The second study examines the administrative implications of demographic shifts during the late colonial period, as colonial authorities attempted to retain control over migrating populations by expanding their jurisdictional boundaries. These studies complement the case examined in the previous chapter, which focused on place making and community

formation as a developmental process. These three cases demonstrate that the dynamics and implications of migration can best be understood according to the relations among three factors: the characteristics of the home community, the nature and location of the destination settlement, and the basic colonial interests (parochial, entrepreneurial or administrative) that were most adversely affected by migration.

This chapter concludes with a review of migration into the Iguala Valley, drawing back from the particularities of case studies to look at overall demographic considerations, what I referred to in the previous chapter as large-scale patterns that can be perceived over small-scale indeterminacies. By drawing back from the particularities of case studies, certain general trends can still be appreciated particularly that it was the northern Iguala Valley—more fertile, more heavily capitalized (with a greater concentration of merchants and a more established infrastructure of agrarian production: teams of oxen and pack animals for transport), and closer to urban markets—that attracted the greatest number of migrants.

COZCATLÁN: STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Cozcatlán, in the Taxco jurisdiction, had the misfortune of being situated near the camino real linking Mexico City to Acapulco and, like Acapizatlan in the Tixtla jurisdiction, it was quickly surrounded by a series of small ventas and trapiches. From the early seventeenth century colonists began to appropriate a string of roadside properties in the eastern part of the Taxco jurisdiction: Zacapalco, Venta de la Negra, Buenavista, El Pajarito, Los Amates, Cieneguillas, and Plantanar (see map 5g, top center; Plantanar was actually in the jurisdiction of Iguala). Immediately north of Cozcatlán was the hacienda of Zacapalco, located at the site of an abandoned Indian village.[3]

3. Zacapulco was originally a sujeto in the Villa de Cuernavaca. In 1604 it was congregated in Amacuzac, in the jurisdiction of Cuernavca, along with Tecpancingo and Aguatepeque; AGN-C/188).

No merced for this land has been located. The first mention of a colonist's possession of Zacapalco occurred in 1654 when Martín de Chavarrieta, a miner and *vecino* of Taxco, obtained an *amparo* against the owners of sugar haciendas in the Cuernavaca jurisdiction whose cattle were destroying his land and whose lackeys were stealing his laborers.[4] By the early 1660s a subsequent owner, Juan Morales, obtained a license to build a trapiche at Zacapalco; the alcalde mayor's report, favorable to granting the permit, stated that the neighboring villages of Acamistla, Cozcatlán, and Tlamacazapa all had abundant lands and water. The business venture failed; in 1675 Morales's son, Joseph, gave his titles to a *vecino* of Mexico City in order to cover a debt of 1,000 pesos.[5] The next documented owner of Zacapalco was Nicolás Mexía Lobo, who in 1710 also held various properties south of Cozcatlán.

One of the first mercedes south of Cozcatlán was awarded to Juan Bautista Beneciano, who founded a venta at Pololoapa (probably near Los Amates on map 5g), a congregated ex-sujeto of Taxco el Viejo located on the camino real.[6] In 1619 he was given a permit to establish a venta one league south of Pololaoapa at Plantanal (also known as Tzinacantlan) because of a better water supply at the latter location.[7] By the 1630s Bautista Beneciano had plans to build a *trapiche* at Plantanal; but because of objections from various neighboring villages and

4. AGN-M 49/fol. 58v. Note that Chavarrieta was the father-in-law of Pedro de Ocampo (see n. 13 below).

5. AGN-M 55/53f–54f and AGN-M 58/95v.

6. For information on Pololoapa, see appendix 5a. Pololoapa was located approximately 3 leagues southeast of Taxco el Viejo and 1 league north of Plantanal. This would place it somewhere in the vicinity of Los Amates, Cieneguillas, and El Pajarito (see map 5f). The date when Bautista Beneciano acquired property 1 league north of Plantanal is uncertain, but it was probably in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Thus Pololoapa might first have been acquired by Luis de Barraza who was given a merced on 10 July 1601 for a sitio de ganado menor located 4 leagues south of Taxco, toward Iguala; AGN-M 23/fols. 171v–172f.

7. Antonio de Almaguer, encomendero of Tepecuacuilco, had been granted a merced for 1.5 caballerías at Tzinacantlan in 1542 (AGN-M 1/405), and then an additional 2 caballerías nearby the following year (AGN-M 2/366). There is no record of him having worked this property or having sold or ceded it to a subsequent owner (see appendix 5b). Bautista Beneciano's request is found in AGN-T 2756/11. It was apparently granted despite objections from Tepecuacuilco and Lic. Agustín de Aguero.

landholders the license he was originally granted was soon revoked.[8] Nevertheless, the following owner, Bernardo Mexía Lobo, converted Plantanal into a *trapiche.* In 1693 he sold it to don Andrés de Cervantes, who was perhaps a close kin.[9] Cervantes died eight years later and left Plantanal to his wife, doña Ana Mexía Lobo (who had been the executor of a previous owner, Juan Bautista Beneciano). Four years later, in 1710, she willed Plantanar to her nephew don Antonio de Ayala.[10] The other half of Bautista Beneciano's original property, Pololoapa (along with Cieneguilla, El Pajarito, and Venta de la Negra), passed into the hands of Ana Mexía Lobo's brothers, Alonso and Nicolás.[11] Thus by 1710 the basic structure of landholding along the camino

8. The original license was granted in 1635; AGN-M 63/fols. 54f–55f. Objections were raised by the villages of Iguala and Tepecuacuilco, as well as by Juan García Ponce (father), the owner of the hacienda of Tepantlan. The license was revoked in 1639; AGN-M 41/fols. 25f–28f. See also AGN-T 3518/6.

9. Information on Plantanal and Pololoapa between 1693 and 1715 is found in the following documents: AGN-BN 34/10; AGN-BN 1545/45; AGN-M 63/fols. 37v–39f; AGN-M 63/fols. 54f–55f; AGN-M 63/fols. 62f–66f; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2; and AGN-T 3518/6, as well as in private documents in the archive of the Domínguez Islas family. The kinship relations of this family are not altogether clear. Apparently Alonso Mexía Lobo, Nicolás Mexía Lobo, and Ana Mexía Lobo (whose husband, perhaps second husband, was Andrés de Cervantes) were siblings. Ana Mexía Lobo's parents were Alonso Mexía Lobo of Spain and Juana Crespo of Taxco. The relationship of all to Bernardo Mexía Lobo, one-time owner of Plantanar, who died penniless and intestate; in one document (AGN-BN 34/10) it is stated that he was the father of Alonso Mexía Lobo, who in this case could not have been a sibling of Ana Mexía Lobo. Thus it might have been that Bernardo had two sons, Alonso and Nicolás, while Ana was the daughter of a different Alonso Mexía Lobo, from Spain. At any rate, it seems clear that all were closely related, and that Antonio de Ayala was the nephew of Ana Mexía Lobo. There was also apparently a relation between Ana Mexía Lobo and the Adán de los Ríos family (Capn. Alfonso Adán de los Ríos had married Francisca de Ayala, sister of Antonio de Ayala), for when she requested that a *capellanía* be founded on Plantanar, the first *capellán* was to have been Br. José de Cabrera, who was also named as an alternate *capellán* when Alfonso Adán de los Ríos finally founded a trapiche at Plantanar (see genealogy 5a).

10. After acquiring Plantanal from Bernardo Mexía Lobo on 27 January 1693, don Andrés de Cervantes invested in the trapiche and added various parcels of land to it. In late 1705, when an inventory was carried out after the death of doña Ana Mexía Lobo, Plantanal was evaluated in 6,279 pesos 7 reales. In her will Mexía Lobo requested that a 4,000 peso *capellanía* be established against this property, with her nephew Br. don José de Cabrera as the first *capellán.* Ayala, who inherited the property from Ana Mexía Lobo, established the *capellanía* with other funds, leaving Plantanal momentarily free of encumbrances. But the trapiche remained in disrepair and in 1712 Ayala had to borrow 3,000 pesos from his brother-in-law, capitán Alfonso Adán de los Ríos (see genealogical chart 5a); Adán de los Ríos used this loan to establish a *capellanía* for his son, bachiller don José Xavier Adán de los Ríos (AGN-BN 1545/145, which also lists the conditions of the 3,000 peso loan to Ayala).

11. Cieneguilla is glossed as belonging to Antonio de Ayala in the early eighteenth century (see map 5f). In the 1712 *vista de ojos* of Tepantlan, however, Pedro de Ocampo as well as Alonso and Nicolás Mexía Lobo all claimed Cieneguilla (AGN-T 3514/2, fols. 65v–70f; for information on Nicolás and Alonso Mexía, see

real near Cozcatlán was well established: Plantanal was owned by don Antonio de Ayala, the major hacendado in the Iguala Valley; Nicolás Mexía had consolidated land along the camino real both south of Cozcatlán (Los Amates, El Pajarito, Cieneguillas, and Tlalxocopan[12]) as well as to the north at Zacapalco; and Pedro de Ocampo, son-in-law of Martín de Chavarietta, held Buenavista, a short distance southeast of Cozcatlán and the Mexico City-Acapulco highway (see map 5g).[13]

AGN-BN 34/10. Probably Cienguilla marked the point at which three properties met: Plantanal (Ayala); Buenavista (Ocampo); and El Pajarito (the Mexía Lobos). Note that there is a possibility that Alonso and Nicolás Mexía Lobo were not siblings of Ana Mexía Lobo, but close relatives, perhaps cousins; see n. 10 supra.

12. Although not identifiable on modern maps, Tlalxocopan was located east of Cieneguillas and north of Tlaxmalac (see map 5f).

13. Buenavista remained in the hands of the Ocampo family throughout the eighteenth century (see appendix 5d) and was even referred to as Buenavista de los Ocampos (AGN-T 3640/5, fols. 15f–20v). Another branch of this family, the Marbáns, controlled land around Chaucingo in the northernmost area of the jurisdiction of Chilapa, about 23 km west of Huitzuco. In 1712 don Pedro de Ocampo recevied a merced to 3 sitios de ganado mayor which included the sites of Chaucingo, Teocalgo (sic, probably for Teocalcingo), and Tlalquetzalapa (AGN-T 3566/5; see map 5b). Fifty years later the property covered perhaps five times the size of the original grant (increasing from approximately 52 to perhaps 250 sq km; maps 5b and 5c show a property that stretches from Cerro Masahuehue, south of Chaucingo, to the place where the Amacuzac and Jojutla rivers meet, approximately 35 km to the north). The heirs of don Pedro de Ocampo attempted a rather crude falsification of the original titles. In AGN-T 3566/5, fols. 8f and 10f, three times either the number "3" or the word "tres" has been altered to "13" and "trece" (see also AGN-T 933/8 and AGN-T 3541/6 for additional information on Chaucingo, particularly the lengthy dispute between the Marbans and the villages of Zacango and Teocalcingo). Litigation over this property headed to a violent confrontation after 37 Indian families resettled their ancient *pueblo* of Teocalcingo in 1746, claiming to be descendants of the original inhabitants who had been congregated in Jojutla, 25 km to the north (AGN-M 76/126v–129v). Nevertheless, they matriculated themselves in the parish of Atenango del Río, 30 km south of Teocalcingo, a preference which suggests that some of the Indians might have been originally from this parish, perhaps from Zacango, which was litigating with the Marbáns over Chaucingo (note the cases of Tuxpan and Palula, both of which were settled by Indians who were not descendants of the original inhabitants but who nevertheless claimed the right to resettle). Violence flared in 1771 and 1772 when the Marbáns tried to acquire control over the village itself by alleging that Indians were illegally working silver mines under their houses; several Indians died in jail and while fleeing an armed party that came to Teocalcingo; AGN-I 62/134 and AGN-I 64/56.

Although the extent of the land held by the Ocampo-Marbán family is difficult to determine, it is possible that by the late colonial period this property stretched from Buenavista in the west to the Amacuzac River in the east, a distance of approximately 30 km east to west.

Just to the south of Plantanar was Acámac, which belonged to Joseph Gómez. The original merced of for this property, 3 sitios de ganado menor running from Acámac to Tomatal, had been given to Juan Iturriaga in 1616 (AGN-M 31/fols. 64f–65f, see map 5f). Note that in the litigation, which began in 1769, the *naturales* of Cozcatlán claimed Acámac, and they had also established a cuadrilla at Tomatal, the two sites connected by this merced.

Despite being virtually surrounded by properties of Spanish colonialists—haciendas, ranchos, cuadrillas, ventas, trapiches—Cozcatlán seems to have avoided serious conflict with its neighbors until the final 50 years of the colonial period. Part of the reason might have been the origin of these properties. Although close to Cozcatlán, much of the alienated land had never belonged to this village. Zacapalco, only 5 kilometers distant, had been a *sujeto* in the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca; Pololoapa, the earliest *venta* in the region, had been subject to Taxco el Viejo. Moreover, although the earliest census, from 1569, reported Cozcatlán with a higher population than Tlamacazapa, the former was the sujeto and the latter the cabecera.[14] Throughout the colonial period the two villages jointly litigated disputes over land they held under one title, a factor which might have tempered individual responses to hostile border conflicts. As a result of the preceding factors, although short of land the *naturales* of Cozcatlán probably did not initially feel this as a direct consequence of colonists' territorial incursions, for, as a sujeto of Tlamacazapa (see appendix 1) they had perhaps been short of land before contact.

There were other considerations. Various aspects of Cozcatlan's location fostered interethnic social relations and economic opportunities that temporarily mitigated land conflict and shortage. Although Cozcatlán was situated in rugged, infertile terrain it was also positioned at a point of entry to three regions each of which offered opportunities for wage labor, petty trade, and commercial agriculture: the sugar-producing jurisdiction of Cuernavaca; the mining and urban center of Taxco (where Indians sold charcoal and products of woven palm); and the maize-producing Iguala Valley. Cozcatlán was also at the center of a tesselated terrain of abundant and closely packed settlements, each with a distinct structure and history. By the late colonial period the rural settlements in the area were multiethnic communities (see tables 7a–c, and charts 7a–c)

14. See appendix 1a for sujetos of Tlamacazapa. Apparently Cozcatlán was never congregated, perhaps because of its utility at the edge of the camino real.

Tables 7a–c

1777: Family census of the hacienda Señor San Joseph Zacapalco and the following ranches: Los Amates, La Negra and Nueces, Tlahuetzian, Nescomitl and Axuchiles, Buenavista, and Zieneguilla

ZACAPALCO (74 FAMILIES 335 INDIVIDUALS)	SPANISH MALE	CASTIZO	MESTIZO	MULATO	NEGRO	INDIO	DECEASED (LEAVING WIDOW)	TOTAL
SPANISH FEMALE	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	5
CASTIZA	1	1	0	2	0	0	3	7
MESTIZA	1	6	4	5	0	3	1	20
MULATA	0	3	4	9	0	1	1	18
NEGRA	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
INDIA	0	1	3	6	1	6	0	17
DECEASED (LEAVING WIDOWER)	1	0	2	3	0	0	—	(6)
TOTAL	6	11	14	26	1	10	(6)	Males (68) Females (68)

ALL BUT ZACAPALCO* (79 FAMILIES 328 INDIVIDUALS)	SPANISH MALE	CASTIZO	MESTIZO	MULATO	NEGRO	INDIO	DECEASED (LEAVING WIDOW)	TOTAL
SPANISH FEMALE	14	1	1	1	0	0	3	21
CASTIZA	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
MESTIZA	3	0	8	1	0	0	3	15
MULATA	0	2	2	7	0	0	1	12
NEGRA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDIA	0	1	2	0	0	17	3	23
DECEASED (LEAVING WIDOWER)	0	0	3	1	1	2	—	(7)
TOTAL	17	4	16	12	1	19	(10)	Males (69) Females (72)

COMPOSITE (153 FAMILIES 663 INDIVIDUALS)	SPANISH MALE	CASTIZO	MESTIZO	MULATO	NEGRO	INDIO	DECEASED (LEAVING WIDOW)	TOTAL
SPANISH FEMALE	17	1	2	2	0	0	4	26
CASTIZA	1	1	0	3	0	0	3	8
MESTIZA	4	6	12	6	0	3	4	35
MULATA	0	5	6	16	0	1	2	30
NEGRA	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
INDIA	0	2	5	6	1	23	3	40
DECEASED (LEAVING WIDOWER)	1	0	5	4	1	2	—	(13)
TOTAL	23	15	30	38	2	29	(16)	Males (137) Females (140)

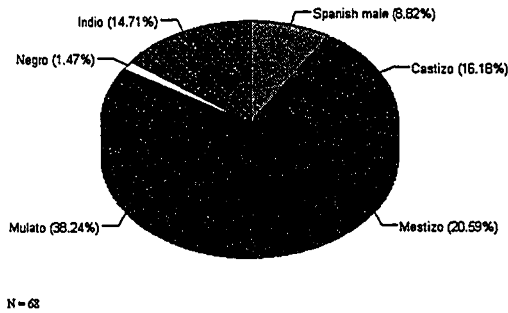
How to read charts: horizontal row across top lists male spouses, vertical row on left-hand side lists female spouses, shaded boxes indicate marriages (families) with spouses of the same caste. Thus in Zacapalco there was one marriage of a mestizo (male) with a Spanish woman, and 5 mulatos married mestizas. Note that in chart b, "All but Zacapalco," there were 62 married men and 7 widowers, whose deceased spouses's ethnic identity is not known; there were 62 married females, and 10 widows, whose deceased spouses's ethnic identity is not known. Thus there were 62 married heads of households, 10 households headed by widows, and 7 households headed by widowers, for a total of 79 families or households.

* The number of families and individuals in the ranches is as follows: Los Amates (10/42); Venta de la Negra and Nueces (4/27); La Cieneguilla (3/8); Tlahuetzian (6/30); Nescomitl and Azuchiles (22/84); and Buenavista (34/137).

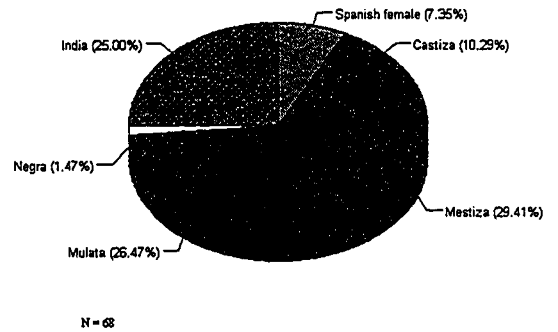
Source: AGN-BN 1229/10

Charts 7a-c: Hacienda and ranches of Zacapalco, 1777: Ethnic composition of heads of household by sex

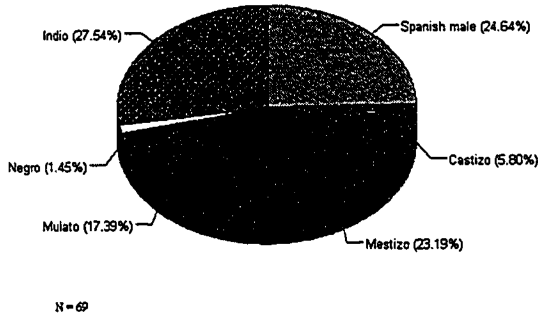
Zacapalco 1777
Ethnic composition among males



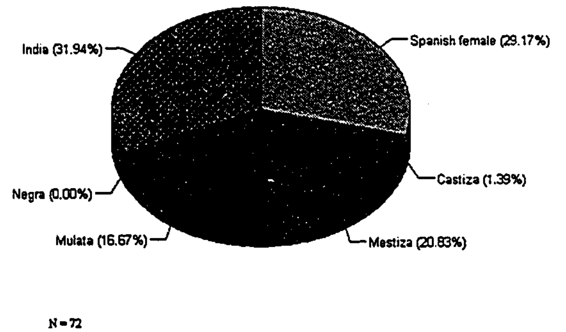
Zacapalco 1777
Ethnic composition of females



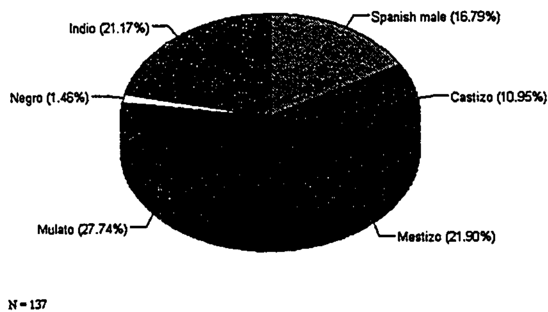
Zacapalco ranches 1777
Ethnic composition among males



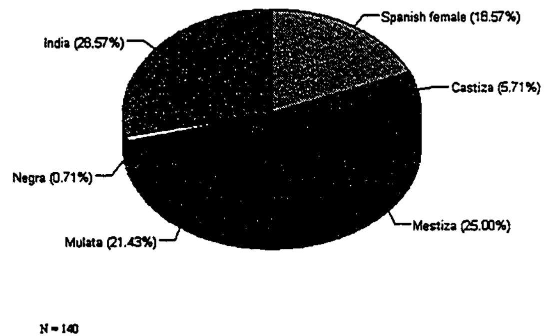
Zacapalco ranches 1777
Ethnic composition among females



Zacapalco hacienda and ranches 1777
Ethnic composition among males



Zacapalco hacienda and ranches 1777
Ethnic composition among females



that included many Indians from Cozcatlán, who thereby became enmeshed in diverse and complex relationships with local Spaniards and *castas*.

The ethnic diversity of the area (the haciendas and ranches are all within 10 km of Cozcatlán) is demonstrated by the census tables (7a–c), which list the male and female heads of households. The vast majority of which were married couples, although some families were headed by single widows and widowers. Overall, most married household heads (69 of 124 families, or 55.6%, table 7c) had partners of the same caste. However, the hacienda of Zacapalco (23 of 62 families, or 37.1%, table 7a) was much more heterogeneous in spousal choice than the outlying ranches (46 of 62 families, or 74.2%, table 7b). This perhaps reflects the domination of the two most endogamous groups (Indians and Spaniards) in the ranches, where 52.18% of the men and 61.11% of the women were of these castes (as compared to only 23.53% and 32.35% in the hacienda itself). It is surprising that there was such a high Spanish component (24.64% of males and 29.17% of females; see chart 7b) in the ranches, although the vast majority were concentrated in Buenavista, a large settlement described as being of "gente de razón," that was about half the size of the trapiche at Zacapalco.[15] It would seem then that unlike the Balsas River valley communities, which were relatively isolated from colonial settlements, and the Tixtla and Chilapa communities, where much of the contact was conflictive and where few alternatives to subsistence agriculture existed, Cozcatlán was centered in an active area that itself attracted interethnic migration and social relations.

Cozcatlán natives also seems to have participated fairly actively in itinerant petty commerce, which involved advantageous relations with non-indigenous producers and merchants.[16] In a 1780 dispute over alcabala payments, the newly appointed tax administrator

15. See AGN-T 3667 dated 1805–8.

16. For indigenous commercial activity, see Larson (1995), Stern (1995), and Tandeter et al. (1995), as

charged that the *naturales* of Cozcatlán traveled to Tierra Caliente to buy cotton and other manufactured goods, which they returned to sell around their home village. These *naturales* also engaged in local trade, buying animals from non-Indians and reselling at a profit. Not only did Indians claim a tax exempt status for products bought from *castas,* but *castas* "who mingle with Indians try to shroud themselves with their privileges," i.e., certain tax exemptions for trade. The vision offered in this dispute is of active, plebeian petty commerce—with Indians surreptitiously selling *casta* goods and poor *castas* ephemerally embracing an Indian identity—prompted by the tax exempt status that Indians enjoyed.[17]

The possibility of an aggressive response by Cozcatlán to late colonial land pressure was, therefore, mitigated by several circumstances: its original sujeto status and joint patrimony of land with Tlamacazapa (a village with which Cozcatlán did not always share the best relations), a local economy with opportunities for trade along the camino real and in the mines of Taxco, and nearby cuadrillas that offered some opportunities for wage labor (although under what conditions is not clear). Yet there was another possible response to chronic land shortage: migration to Iguala Valley farmland. By the early eighteenth century Indians from Cozcatlán were renting farmland in the northern valley. In this way they were able to accumulate enough surplus grain to attract the attention of the Taxco authorities. In 1724 Taxco miners, supported by the alcalde mayor and parish priest, began a concerted effort to incorporate the province of Iguala into their

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well as other articles in the collection by Larson and Harris (1995).

17. This dispute emerged soon after the crown assumed direct administration of sales tax collection in 1777, but the activities described were undoubtedly not new. In addition to simple tax evasion, the tax administrator reported Cozcatlán's violent resistance to a deputy who attempted to take up residence in Cozcatlán. Although the administrator argued that a tax exempt status applied only to items Indians themselves produced, the *fiscal* disagreed. An exempt status, he noted, should be applied to all goods produced in the colonies *(de la tierra)* that were owned by Indians at the time of sale, regardless of whether they were produced by the Indians themselves or had been bought from *castas* and Spaniards; AGN-In 1258/7.

For *castas* taking advantage of the privileges accorded to Indians, see Taylor (1985).

jurisdiction.[18] Previously, they claimed, their only recourse to alleviate food shortages had been "for the [mining] deputies of the district (*partido*) of Taxco to go to that of Iguala to survey the *vecinos* of the pueblo of Cozcatlán, who although they are of this [Taxco] jurisdiction plant their fields in that one [Iguala], and [the deputies should] compel them and others who are subject to us to obligatorily bring a portion [of their maize harvest], each pueblo in precise accord with the number of its citizens."[19] Cozcatlán was again singled out in 1739, when the alcalde mayor commissioned the mining deputy to search granaries there for any surplus maize.[20] In neither instance, 1724 or 1739, was any other village in the Taxco jurisdiction specifically named. The fact that in 1739 the mining deputy went directly to Cozcatlán to search for hidden grain suggests that at least some migrant Indians were bringing substantial quantities of maize back to their home village, and that their migration, at this time, was still seasonal. It also suggests that market mechanisms along (either the attractiveness of urban prices or the poverty and necessity of the farmers) were insufficient to induce indigenous participation and grain sales in the Taxco market at the most opportune times for consumers.

In 1751 another side of the response to emigration revealed itself, this originating in village authorities caught by their obligation to meet tribute assessments for a mobile population that was no longer under their control. In this year the *alcalde* of Cozcatlán petitioned for the power to collect from tributaries who migrated, the majority permanently, to rent land in other jurisdictions.[21] Part of the reason for this migration, and loss of tributary income, was clearly the

18. AGN-GP 25/fols. 49f–52f (ZyC VIII:231–36). In chapter 11 I discuss the efforts of the Taxco authorities to incorporate the province of Iguala as part of a continuous effort to assure an adequate supply of cheap maize in the mines.

19. ZyC VIII:234 (AGN-GP 25/fols. 49f–52f).

20. AGN-GP 31/335.

21. AGN-I 56/96.

disparity in land quality between the Iguala Valley and Cozcatlán, which even though it retained "ample" lands, much of this was unproductive. Thus in 1769 a Taxco scribe certified that although Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa had ample
land, which ran 7 leagues from north to south, it was "unproductive given its many rocky areas." And he added that it was for this reason that many migrated to rent lands in province of Iguala.[22] The precarious situation of the Indian villagers and the practical result—migration to the Iguala Valley—was mentioned several other times by the indigenous officials. For example, in 1769 the alcaldes of Tlacamazapa and Cozcatlán jointly alleged that they were "without lands in which they could plant a *cuartillo* of maize and [found themselves] obligated to abandon their *pueblo* for the greater part of the year . . . in order to go and request [land] in the province of Iguala, paying their rents in order to support themselves."[23]

At first, most migration was seasonal; renters would take in the harvest, probably shell the maize at their rented fields in the northern Iguala Valley, and return home to Cozcatlán, approximately 25 kilometers in the mountains to the north. However, by the late colonial period, particularly for many residents of Cozcatlán, migration had became permanent. This development precipitated a severe crisis between the two linked villages, Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, even as they were jointly pursuing litigation to recuperate land in the nearby colonized sites of Venta de la Negra, El Pajarito, and Pololoapa.

In 1769 Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa responded more directly to the problem of the scarcity of productive land: they initiated a suit to recuperate land from don Pedro Zorrilla, who had recently acquired the hacienda of Zacapalco and its annexed properties.[24] The merit of each

22. AGN-T 3640/6, fol. 33f.

23. AGN-T 3640/6, fol. 16f, dated 1769; see also fol. 1. Besides the 1751 and 1769 mentions of insufficient productivity of their land, a similar complaint was voiced in 1788; see AGN-T 1156/1.

24. AGN-T 3640/6; see also AGN-T 3640/5.

party's case is difficult to determine. The Indian villages claimed that Zorrilla had encroached on their land at Venta de la Negra, El Pajarito, Cieneguillas, and Pololoapa; Zorrilla countered that the Indians had arbitrarily stopped paying for parcels of land they previously rented at these sites.[25] In the spring of 1769 a *vista de ojos* carried out to survey the land claimed by Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa brought numerous objections from neighboring landowners (including the village of Taxco el Viejo which was the cabecera of the prehispanic settlement at Pololoapa, near or at Venta de la Negra). The ownership history of these disputed properties—starting with Bautista Beneciano's early seventeenth-century merced and considering Pololoapa's ties to Taxco el Viejo—suggests that the indigenous authorities of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa might have been trying to expand their territorial base beyond its original limits in order to stem the tide of emigration to the Iguala Valley.[26]

To justify their property rights, Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa offered an additional and stunning argument, one based on a primordial title. This unanticipated presentation of ancient indigenous records—a map and text—first occurred in 1769, when the *naturales* of Cozcatlán

25. Zorrilla was supported by the testimony of a *ladino* (fluent in Spanish) Indian, don Phelipe Santiago, from Tlamacazapa, who had a cattle ranch at the Venta de El Pajarito. Santiago testified that various *naturales* from Cozcatlán rented land at El Pajarito from Zorrilla. Since 1768, he continued, Indians from Tlamacazapa had invaded these lands and those of Cozcatlán had refused to pay rent. The representatives of the two villages attacked Santiago's testimony, alleging that since he himself rented from Zorrilla he would be afraid to contradict the owner. Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa also said that the witnesses they presented were more credible than those called by the alcalde mayor because they had presented three Spaniards, whereas the alcalde mayor had presented only one; AGN-T 3640/6. Here Indian petitioners sought and indeed asserted the greater validity of Spaniard testimony.

26. The possibility that Cozcatlán was attempting to expand its territory beyond its traditional limits is suggested by the fact that they also claimed that Joseph Gómez had encroached upon their borders at Tlalalamulco, Acámac, Tlamiaguala, Mascaltepeque, and Sihuapualiya. These places are far south of any of Cozcatlán's previous claims. Even one of the witnesses that Cozcatlán itself presented (as well as all the witnesses called by the alcalde mayor) stated that the first three sites "are and belong to the heirs of don Joseph Gómez, who for many years up to the present have possessed and do possess them"; AGN-T 3640/6, fols. 9v–11v, testimony of Juan Domínguez. Another witness, the same *ladino* Indian from Tlamacazapa mentioned in the previous note, refers to litigation over these three sites between Gómez and Taxco el Viejo, which seems more probable. Taxco el Viejo did win litigation with Gómez over rights to land at Mexcaltepec, an ex-sujeto. Note also that Ciuapoloyan was an ex-sujeto of Taxco el Viejo located near Mexcaltepec. (For the sujetos of Taxco el Viejo, see appendix 1a.)

petitioned the viceroy to order a *vista de ojos* of their land "according to the ancient map that to this effect we will present [to the alcalde mayor], as well as according to the titles of our lands, titles that are at present in the hands of the pueblo of Tlamacazapa, which is contiguous [to our village].[27]

These titles were again relied on in 1773. In this year the two villages first asserted that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, don Juan de la Vega Cansio had carried out a composición, which shortly thereafter had been confirmed by an *oidor* of the Real Audiencia, don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas. The *composición* and confirmation would have occurred between 1710 and 1715.[28] Nevertheless, in 1769 Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa stated that before the present litigation had commenced they had lost these titles. A search that the viceroy ordered conducted in the Juzgado General de los Indios (General Indian Court) yielded no relevant composición documents for the Taxco jurisdiction, an indication that the composición the *naturales* claimed had taken place might never have occurred, and that in fact no such judicial activity had been carried out in the Taxco jurisdiction.[29] Confronted with the lack of supporting documentation in Mexico City, the village representatives went back to their respective pueblos. On 16 October 1773 they returned to Mexico City and stated that they had "only found papers that with due solemnity and the necessary oaths we now present, and according to which, translated from Nahuatl to Spanish (*del idioma Mejicano al Castillano*) we have been in continuous possession

27. AGN-T 3640/6 fol. 16f.

28. The dates coincide with de la Vega Cansio's activity in the dispute over the Jesuit hacienda of Tepantlan and Valenzuela Venancio's confirmations to the affected parties. One witness for Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, Joseph de Truxillo, a Spaniard from the rancho of Cuitlascolapa in the jurisdiction of the Valle de Cuernavaca, mentions a possession given by de la Vega Cansio to Cozcatlán in 1711. He may have been referring to the *vista de ojos* of Tepantlan. I have been unable to find any documentary evidence of early eighteenth-century composiciones in the Taxco jurisdiction (see appendixes 3a and 5d).

29. The secretary's report denying the existence of composición documents for Taxco is found in AGN-T 3640/5 fols. 8f–9f. For an account of the Juzgado General de los Indios, see Borah (1983).

for over two centuries, given that in the year [1]521 [our ancestors] were protected in their possession under the indicated borders, this is set forth in the aforementioned papers, which are valid titles by legal prescription."[30]

The *fiscal* rejected the validity of the Nahuatl documents as "simple and deficient."[31] Nevertheless, he gave credence to the testimony of six witnesses presented by Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa and in 1774 these two pueblos were given possession of land described in the testimony. Yet due to the poor quality of the land around the villages and to continued conflict with subsequent owners of Zacapalco, the act of possession did little to alleviate land pressure.[32] In fact, the situation seems to have worsened. In 1789 the Real Audiencia attempted to calm the tempest *(calmar la borrasca)*: they ordered dissident Indians who had been imprisoned in Taxco freed and the villages given their 600 *varas* of arable land.[33] These were to be expropriated (not "restituted") at El Pajarito from the hacienda of Zacapulco whose owner, don Juan José

30. AGN-T 3640/5 9v–10v.

31. In 1826 there is a reference to 13 pages of Nahuatl titles that had been presented to the court in 1800;AGN-T 3640/5 fols. 21f–22f.

32. In 1769 don Pedro Zorrilla is mentioned as the owner of Zacapalco (AGN-T 3640/5 and 6); previous owners had been don Nicolás de Mexía (see below) and don Ambrosio Tagle de Bustamente, who apparently died intestate. Zorrilla is still named as the owner in 1774 when don José Parral, owner of the neighboring cuadrilla of Juliantla, represented Zorrilla in the *vista de ojos* during which Cozcatlán was given possession of its land. In a 1780 report, don José González Calderón, a *vecino* of Mexico City, was listed as the owner of the trapiche of Zacapalco. The panocha and sugar produced there is sent to him in Mexico City; AGN-T 3601/9. In 1790 and 1792, don Juan José Castañeda owned Zacapalco (AGN-T 3640/5 and 6), but by 1795 Salgado owned the trapiche (Indif-Alc Taxco 5/4 and Taxco 10/1). He still owned Zacaplco in 1807 (AGN-BN 1814/13), in 1810 (AGN-T 2903/8), and in 1828 (AGN-T 3640/5). In 1805 he was stated to be a renter of the hacienda (AGN-T 3667/3); given that renters of large estates are occasionally referred to as owners (*dueños*), Salgado may have never actually owned Zacapalco. In 1804 Salgado is mentioned as renting the hacienda of Oculixtlahuacan from don Ignacio Alvarez Ayala and the heirs of don Andrés Alvarez (AGN-I 71/158; AGN-T 1870/2). He was accused by the naturales of Huistac of having invaded their land. Finally, starting in 1793 he held the ranch of Tepetlapa, just north of Zacapalco, in deposit (AGN-T 3535/1). It had been embargoed from don Francisco Merino y Salinas, who also owned Tepantlan, also embargoed and later sold to don Manuel Orduña, a *vecino* of Tepecuacuilco (see also Indif-Alc Taxco 13/2; AGN-GP 44/264; AGN-M 82/fols. 52v-54v; AGN-T 3130/2; and AGN-T 3601/9).

33. The quote is from the fiscal of the Real Hacienda (Royal Exchequer), AGN-T 3640/6, cuad. 2, fols. 1f–2v. The following information is taken from this *cuaderno*. Mention that the land that was expropriated was at El Pajarito is found in AGN-T 3667/3.

Castañeda, was to receive 58 pesos in compensation. Even so, after 1792 the villages again entered into conflict with the hacienda of Zacapalco, first with Castañeda and then, after 1795, with the next owner, don Nicolás de Salgado.

In late summer 1826, the villages of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa,[34] acting jointly to defend land they apparently held in common, managed to obtain reconfirmation of the *composición* carried out in 1774.[35] The appropriate Taxco authority called together all the interested parties—the two villages and those with bordering properties[36]—and began a careful perambulation of the lands that had been given in possession just over a half century earlier. As a guide he used the eighteenth-century titles of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, which included a detailed description of the route covered in 1774 as well as a survey map drawn up at the time. Legally, the terms and dimensions of the 1774 settlement stood; although many of those who held land bordering on Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa had objected to the 1774 possession, they had not pursued *(mejorado)* their case in the Mexico City courts and thus the objections had not received subsequent legal consideration. Nevertheless, the two villages, Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, had suffered continual encroachment on the land that they had received in 1774. The most blatant invasions occurred after 1792, and were perpetrated by the two most recent owners of the hacienda of Zacapalco: don Juan José Castañeda and don Nicolás Salgado.

34. The information that follows is taken from AGN-T 3640/5 and 6. Other relevant documents dealing with Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa are: AGN-GP 6/fols. 298v–299f (ZyC V:101–2), AGN-GP 25/fols. 49f–52f (ZyC VIII:231–36), AGN-GP 31/335, AGN-I 12(2)/7, AGN-I 15(1)/42, AGN-I 24/274, AGN-I 24/290, AGN-I 56/96, AGN-I 71/77, AGN-In 1258/7, AGN-M 55/fols. 53f–54f; AGN-M 58/fol. 95v, AGN-T 1156/1 (folios 58–59, which were mistakenly inserted in an *expediente* dealing with the jurisdiction of Chilapa), AGN-T 3566/5, and AGN-T 3667/3. See also the reports in AGN-T 79/7, AGN-T 3601/9, and AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v. For population statistics, see appendix 2; for sujetos and congregación documents, see appendix 1.

35. The 1774 possession is documented in AGN-T 3640/5, fols. 1–21. The antecedent of this boundary settlement, a dispute beginning in 1769 with don Pedro Sorrilla, owner of the hacienda of Zacapalco, is found in AGN-T 3640/6, cuad. 1. The 1826 confirmation is found in AGN-T 3640/5 fols. 21ff.

36. Cited to this effect were the villages of Acamistla and Taxco el Viejo; the owners of the cuadrillas of Juliantla, Acámac, and Buenavista; and the don Nicolás Salgado, owner of the hacienda of Zacapalco.

In 1774 the *alguacil mayor* don Cayetano de Ocampo, the colonial official in charge of conveying the property settlement to Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, had paid careful attention to the etymology of each place where a boundary marker was to be set up. He provided the Spanish equivalent of the Nahuatl toponym and gave his opinion as to its appropriateness, considering the physical properties of the place. At the boundary named Teguezolotitla,[37] he remarked, "there is a heap of stones (*momoxtli*) and a little turkey of loose rock"; at Techichihualecan,[38] he noted, "[there is a stone] that has breasts like a woman . . . and here in fact a large rock was found with its teats on the ground, which had just been knocked off, in light of the fresh marks that were visible." In 1826 the *juez* in charge of confirming the 1774 possession attempted to retrace, step by step, the path taken by his predecessor. The appropriateness of the toponym to the places visited was again commented on. At Teguezolotitla he saw a crudely carved figure, "a stone that has a figure very poorly resembling that of a sitting turkey"; at Techichihualecan he found "a rock that has two bulges on its underside, like a woman's breasts."

The correspondences between the descriptions are evident. And it seems clear that the post-independence *juez* was confident that he was recreating history, reproducing—as was his legal obligation—the tracks his antecessor Ocampo had covered in the mid-1770s. Yet in retrospect the discrepancies—the stone had seemingly sprouted new breasts, and a shape that had been composed of loose rocks was now a rough etching—should be equally evident. These discrepancies suggest not simply that the wrong routes might have been followed, but that toponomy—the process by which places are named, etched in memory, and remembered—had turned the tables on terrain. At one time, during the pristine moments of inchoate landscapes,

37. Derived from *te-* (rock), *wehxo:lo:-* (turkey), and *-titlan* (a locative meaning 'near' or 'at the base of').

38. Derived from *te-* (rock), *chi:chi:wal-* (breasts), *-eh* (a possessive suffix meaning 's/he who owns (preceding noun),' and *-ka:n* (a locative meaning 'at the place of'). Note the judge's use in his Spanish gloss of the colloquial Spanish *chiche* (derived from the Nahuatl intransitive verb *chi:chi* 'to nurse').

words might have been sought that would capture topographic particularities, and different communities might have had different names for the same spaces.[39] But on the cusp of independence, with territorialization an accomplished fact and written documentation the standard of evidence, such variation had undoubtedly been tempered; and now the landscape itself was being altered and fitted to a toponomy etched in memory, if not in stone. A radical masectomy on an anthropomorphic rock, a hasty carving of a rudimentary turkey, were conspicuous acts of terrestrial surgery, of making the land now correspond to the documentation by producing or reproducing the meaning of a toponym by altering the physical form of markers on the landscape. By removing the material evidence that linked topography to toponymy, the name would become momentarily detached from its physical bearings, and the disputing parties could once again argue their distinct oral traditions without the encumbrances of tangible terrestrial evidence. The eighteenth-century composiciones of indigenous communities, the elaboration of written titles, the placement of boundary markers, and the conscientious identification of space (in which both geometric measurements and etymological digressions were functional equivalents though from opposing cultural traditions, European and indigenous) constituted parallel processes in the territorialization and documentation of spatial rights. In conjunction they tended to limit flexible use and occupation of the land and to silence the spoken word as a legally valid history of property relations.[40] With written documentation as

39. One of the most striking features of the Mexican landscape, from conquest to the present, is a stubborn toponomy that persists even in those occasional instances where toponyms have become detached from any physical location. Names at times free-float in space and one of the major difficulties of a modern agrarian reform that has recourse to colonial titles has been to nail these names back down on the ground, in a specific place. Colonial land disputes abound with examples of two litigating parties agreeing on the *name* of a common border, but disagreeing as to its *location.* Likewise, during my ethnographic fieldwork I was often confronted with situations in which elders could *name* their villages' ancient borders but could not *locate* them. Occasionally new (and often equivocated) folk etymologies would be offered in an effort to fit the toponym into existing schemes of spatial knowledge (see the case of Maxela discussed in the previous chapter).

40. For the effect of territorialization as limiting the flexibililty of customary land rights, see Peluso (1995).

the foundation of territorial claims, descriptive titles rather than possession and occupation became the bedrock for proprietary rights.

It was in this context of a rigid definition of boundaries and the formalization of written evidence that the *naturales* of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa attempted to reopen the debate and reassert the validity of what was probably a local territorial tradition. In 1826 they did this by suddenly veering off the path of the 1774 composición and heading westward onto land claimed by the neighboring village of Taxco el Viejo, which adamantly protested this change in itinerary. The Spanish judge exhorted the *alcaldes* of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa to explain the change and state the truth. Finally, the *alcalde* of Tlamacazapa spoke up. In the judges words:

> He [the alcalde] said that his conscience prompted him to affirm, in front of his entire village, that what those of Taxco el Viejo asserted was true, [and] that he revealed this in deference to the truth. But that what both he and the pueblos of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa wished was that they be given possession to their lands in accordance with a document that they had with them that dated to the year 1521 and a map that was in agreement with it [the document], which had already been seen by the judge, who responded that he could not acquiesce to such a petition since the said document did not have the required legal authorization and the map did not deserve this name because it was more like a sketch on which, erring in orientation, there were imprinted a thousand ridiculous figures of snakes, owls, and other animals, without having followed any scale whatsoever.[41]

The judge summarily dismissed both the documents and the map, but for different reasons. The former lacked the required legal certification of colonial authorities. The latter lacked the rational and measured ordering of space that had become the standard of surveying; instead it manifested what was by then an unfamiliar indigenous tradition of cartographic representation that, in Spanish eyes, lacked any sense of direction or proportion.[42] The physical

For the negative effect of written documentation on the force of oral testimony, see Clanchy's classic study (1993, particularly chaps. 8 and 9).

41. AGN-T 3640/5, fols. 24ff.

42. For the indigenous tradition in maps, see Mundy (1996).

destruction of colonial boundary markers and the fabrication of textual documentation portraying an autochtonous tradition represented complementary processes. The first took the landscape back toward a simpler state, one in which territoriality had been shorn of its most visible public symbol of colonial organization and control. The second, that of textual fabrication, reasserted land rights in dramatic though possibly falsified form, while recognizing the Spaniards' preference for writing over speaking.[43] The documents were dated 1521, the quintessential moment of a structural change in space and territoriality and at the same time ground zero for the desolation and colonization of the indigenous landscape. No colonist could have a more ancient right. By documenting prehispanic rights that were certified at the dawn of conquest, these indigenous written and pictorial texts venerated the authority of conquest while vanquishing the effects of colonization.

There is also a classic semblance to the struggle of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, in terms of the historiography of indigenous responses to colonization. As ranchers and hacendados expanded their holdings, the two villages offered paradigmatic responses to the demands created by an increasingly precarious subsistence base. They engaged in itinerant trade and petty production; they migrated, seasonally or permanently, to rent agricultural land under colonists' control; and they attempted to redefine the territorial divisions of late colonial society by subverting boundaries, litigating verdicts, and asserting the legitimacy of alternative spatial traditions. The protagonist throughout all these conflicts was the bicephalous landholding unit of Tlamacazapa and Cozcatlán, the surviving cabecera and sujeto of a prehispanic *a:ltepe:tl*.[44] This

43. A 1521 date suggests that Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa might have falsified the document (i.e., produced it at a later time), although it may well have reflected traditional land claims. For "falsification" and primordial titles, see Gruzinski (1993:99) and Lockhart (1991a:42–43); cf. Ouweneel (1996:138). Barreto Mark (1986) discusses an early map that he assigns to Chontalcuatlán, in the Taxco jurisdiction (previous researchers had attributed it to Coatlán del Río, in the Cuernavaca jurisdiction). The *naturales* of Teticpac, in litigation with Chontalcuatlan, considered the map to be a forgery (Barreto Mark 1986:341).

44. The development of the relationship between Tlamacazapa and Cozcatlán can be compared to that of

dichotomized structure was eventually split, though perhaps only briefly, by pressures related to the distinct spatial location of each village in the political economy of north-central Guerrero.

Cozcatlán was located in more rugged terrain and closer to the *camino real* than Tlamacazapa. Its population was more disperse, and its inhabitants more prone to migrate—to ranches in the immediate vicinity of Cozcatlán (see tables 7a–c),[45] as well as to northern Iguala Valley pueblos (Huitzuco, Iguala, Tlaxamalac, and Tepecuacuilco) and cuadrillas (Tomatal and Copalxocotes).[46] Late colonial emigration was problematical for the village officials charged with the difficult task of collecting tribute from citizens permanently living at distances of up to 10 leagues from Cozcatlán.[47] But in the first decade of the nineteenth century there was a shift in the politics of migration that had more profound implications for the dynamics of community relations and the structure of interethnic conflict.[48]

According to village authorities interested in resettling migrants in a renucleated Cozcatlán, emigration reached a point of crisis in 1803, when Cozcatlán's governador became embroiled in a conflict with various local Indian families.[49] Migration, the ruling faction asserted, suddenly surged as insubordinant families left the village for nearby cuadrillas in the southeastern

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Zumpango (cabecera) and Chilpancingo (sujeto) in the Tixtla jurisdiction. In both cases the subject village (Cozcatlán and Chilpancingo) was located on the camino real to Acapulco. Yet whereas the effect on Chilpancingo was positive—population growth and political independence—the impact on Cozcatlán was negative—demographic decline and lost of the parish seat (see below). For the demography of Chilpancingo, see appendix 2c. For the separation of Chilpancingo from its cabecera, see particularly AGN-I 26(1)/71, AGN-I 26(2)/21, AGN-I 27/328, AGN-I 31/167, and AGN-I 31/189.

45. See AGN-T 3667/3, fols. 81f–83f.

46. AGN-T 3667/3, fol. 4v, also 20f–29f, where migration to the hacienda of Tepantlan in the jurisdiction of Iguala and to the parishes of Puente de Ixtla and Mazatepec in Cuernavaca is mentioned. Probably a good portion of the 29 Indian men and 40 Indian women in table 7c were from Cozcatlán.

47. AGN-I 56/96 dated 1751.

48. The information that follows is taken from AGN-T 3667/3.

49. The manner in which the threat of abandonment and the potential of emigration to nearby cuadrillas affected indigenous villages has been briefly mentioned in the case of Ahuelicán, chapter 6.

Taxco jurisdiction and for more distant ones in the northern Iguala Valley. The allegations—which charged that emigrants were disobedient to duly constituted authority and remiss in meeting their fiscal obligations to the state—abbreviated the history of outmigration to recent political conflict and obscured its origins in land scarcity and conflict. Initially, the tactic was successful: on 27 April 1804 the viceroy ordered that the absent Indians be forcibly restituted to Cozcatlán. In the long run it was a failure: the migrants to the northern Iguala Valley, particularly to the *cuadrillas* of Tomatal and Copalxocotes, re1sponded by challenging the time frame of their adversaries; they documented their long-standing residence in the cuadrillas, and in response to the repatriation order, solicited their permanent inscription in the census *(matrícula)* of Tepecuacuilco.

On 22 May 1806 a decree was issued that suggests an underlying motive for the impetuous litigation over resettlement. The vicarage of Cozcatlán, which was an annex to the Acamixtla parish, was ordered moved to Tlamacazapa. As the lawyer for Tlamacazapa later noted: "among other things, Your Highness saw fit to order that while the citizens of Cozcatlán who had changed residence (*que habían mudado de domicilio*) were still absent, the Holy Sacrament and minister should be relocated to Tlamacazapa or San Antonio Buenavista, from where the spiritual needs of the reduced number of people living in Cozcatlán would be administered."[50]

Therefore, the efforts of Cozcatlán's indigenous authorities to compel the migrants to return can be seen as part of a larger struggle to regain control of the vicarage seat. It was the response of Cozcatlán's elite and political authorities bent on conserving their village's ecclesiastical status and privileges in the face of a redefinition of religious jurisdictions ordered by the colonial state. But like the migrants to Palula, who resisted the service demands of officials

50. AGN-T 3667/3, fols. 20f–29f.

from their home villages of Amayotepec and San Marcos, the indigenous peasants who left Cozcatlán for the northern Iguala Valley forged a new identity as residents of the cuadrilla where they had established residence. The considered themselves to be parishioners of Tepecuacuilco, and on 11 September 1805 they formally petitioned the parish priest to include them on the tribute rolls of Tepecuacuilco. Up to this moment they had paid their tribute in Cozcatlán and had also compensated their home village "paying in cash (*reales*) the community services that they had not been able to carry out in person, for no better reason than that their grandparents and ancestors had been from there"[51] This argument reveals that by the early nineteenth century, at least in Cozcatlán, a type of commodification of community service had evolved, with migrants paying cash either to compensate the village or to hire a replacement.[52] It also reveals how each side in the dispute—community authorities and peasant migrants—abbreviated history in accord with its own pragmatic goals in the production of place. As already noted, the history of

51. AGN-T 3667/3, fol. 8v.

52. This type of substitution for community labor service or minor *cargos* is now utilized in Nahuatl-speaking villages of the Balsas River basin. A particularly colorful manifestation of an Indian's perspective on the burden (not prestige!) of *cargo* service, in this case the high position of church *fiscal,* was given by Gaspar Antonio of Oapan in 1843 (AGN-BN 705/6, fols. 7f–8f):

> In January of the preceding year of 1842 I began to serve, with the greatest repugnance, in the office of fiscal in my village's church, for no other reason than that I didn't want it to be thought that I refused to take my turn with the other *vecinos* (citizens), despite the expressed and unequivocal law that prohibits such service, in view of how onerous it is for the residents [of Indian villages], but it was with the clear understanding that according to established custom I would be replaced by another citizen on the first day of January of the present year.
>
> For reasons of which I remain ignorant, the transfer [of office] was changed to the day of the Holy Kings, the sixth of the present month, and far from actually taking place, [the day of the change in office] has been repeatedly postponed. I couldn't do anything but approach the Justice of the Peace [*juez de paz*] of my aforementioned pueblo who finally told me that he had found out that the priest wanted me to continue as *fiscal* for another year; perhaps this is what would have happened had I not opened by mouth to resist as [is often the case] according to the stupidity of our class (*quizá así habría sucedido sin que yo abriese la boca para resistirme según la imbecilidad de nuestra clase*); but given that the service expected of the fiscal and his *topiles* [assistants] had been increased, as I will soon proceed to show, I find myself in the situation of reporting a responsibility that the law abhors and that I only accepted as a mere act of condescension.

migration advanced by community authorities was a shallow one. Migrants were political renegades, irresponsible toward community service and crown fiscal obligations; their motivation was to avoid their responsibilities and duties to higher authorities, not to seek more productive land that would better enable them to meet this obligations. Moreover, the authorities implies that migrants' residence in renters' settlements was so recent as to preclude the formation of any type of sentiment that could break the moral and legal bonds to their home community. The migrants countered with their own discourse, a modernist vision of truncated histories and the irrelevance of the past. This would have been a risky maneuver for peasants whose erstwhile identity was based on concepts such as "time immemorial" and on traditional ties to community, but it was a sensible shift for those interested in taking advantage of the spatially disperse opportunities of the late colonial economy. This irreverence to historical tradition and temporal depth is manifested in the migrants' complaint about service obligations required "for no better reason than that their grandparents and ancestors had been from there." At the same time, they justified incorporation into the parish of Tepecuacuilco "for having been born, married, and raised there, for having buried their parents, wives and children its parish, and for having in its territory lands to plant, houses in which they live, and grazing land for their cattle." Pragmatically, this was a discourse of ephemeral place, in which each generation (or pair of generations) was free to form its own identity and construct its own community, based on the shallow history of recent residence. Grandfathers and ancestors were left on the far side of a divide, that of a place deserted, definitely remembered though definitively abandoned. On the other side, that of new allegiance and affection, is the place constructed around the mobile family with a depth of one generation: parents, spouse, and children.

The struggle between Cozcatlán and its migrant communities was articulated in terms of historical and generational depth. But the rhetorical attack on Tlamacazapa—perceived by

Cozcatlán authorities as having usurped the vicarage—was phrased in terms of class (the reference to business and commercial interests) and caste (the greater number of *gente de razón*). In their effort to recuperate the vicarage the Cozcatlán authorities presented an *interrogatorio* meant to show that Tlamacazapa had a cold climate and bad water; that its church was in disrepair; and that it was inconveniently located in a corner of the parish district, an isolated *pueblo* "entirely of Indians without a cuadrilla nor anybody living outside of the central settlement (*de puros indios sin tener fuera del casco quadrilla ni gente alguna*).[53] Their rival village was, Cozcatlán hoped to prove, a rustic settlement unsuitable for ecclesiastical responsibility. The image Cozcatlán authorities sketched of their own village, however, was of a society as urbane as possible for a small peasant hamlet. According to them, it was "a Real de Minas, . . . where there are other *castas* and [*gente*] *de razón*, and also businesses and a flux of outsiders; all this demands the return of the vicarage [to Cozcatlán]."[54]

Litigation over the location of the vicarage drove a wedge not only between Cozcatlán governing elite and its migrants (whose "souls" were needed to justify the retention of the parish seat), it also divided the unity that had characterized relations between Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa when they confronted hacendados and ranchers who had encroached on their land. The interethnic character of Cozcatlán's commercial endeavors has already been mentioned. So too has its espousal of a racialized and colonial image of truth: the idea that the reliability of a statement varied directly with the caste identity of its speaker.[55] The nature of the rift between the

53. AGN-T 3667/3, fols. 75f–80f.

54. AGN-T 3667/3, fols. 33f–47f. The identification of Cozcatlán as a Real de Minas is based on minor mining activity there during the early colonial period. In 1794 it was described as an abandoned mining area *(mineral)*; AGN-H 578b, fols. 154f–162v. For early references to mining activity in Cozcatlán, see AGN-GP 6/fols. 298v–299f (ZyC V:101–2) and AGN-T 79/7, dated 1603 and 1614, respectively. The lawyer for Tlamacazapa denied that their church was in disrepair and that Cozcatlán was a Real de Minas.

55. This vision was apparent in the anti-Indian sentiment with which Cozcatlán had evaluated the reliability of witnesses in its land dispute with the hacienda of Zacapalco; see n. 25 supra.

two villages reflected these factors, as well as Cozcatlán's tendency toward a more cosmopolitan vision of its own identity.

Thus Cozcatlán's effort to regain control of the vicarage led to a final paradoxical twist in its complex relations with rural society in the surrounding area. During the early nineteenth century the bitter land litigation that characterized late colonial life in the southeastern Taxco jurisdiction revolved around the activities of Nicolás Salgado, an agricultural entrepreneur from Tepecuacuilco who had extensive agrarian interests and political influence in the Taxco area.[56] The agricultural estates under his control stretched from the hacienda of Oculixtlahuacan, located southwest of Taxco and bordering on the Iguala Valley, through his trapiche at Zacapalco, and then up a short distance to the ranch of Tepetlapa (see map 5g). Oculixtlahuacan was rented from the heirs of don Andrés Alvares;[57] Tepetlapa was held in deposit from the embargoed estate of don Francisco Merino y Salinas.[58] Salgado was also a particularly aggressive landowner. He exacerbated conflicts between Oculixtlahuacan and the neighboring pueblo of Huistac, and his territorial ambitions for Zacapalco were continuously contested by Cozcatlán and the Spanish owners of Buenavista. Salgado's incursion into the agricultural economy of the southern Taxco jurisdiction paralleled his interventionist activities in regional politics. He was one of fourteen agriculturalists from the Tepecuacuilco area who in the mid-1780s petitioned the viceroy for the right to freely trade in grain, part of a long-standing

56. Information on Salgado can be found in Indif-Alc Taxco 5/4, Indif-Alc Taxco 10/1, AGN-Alh 10/3, AGN-BN 1814/13, AGN-I 71/158, AGN-T 1870/2, AGN-T 2903/8, AGN-T 3535/1, AGN-T 3640/5 and 6, AGN-T 3667/3, AGN-Tr 16/3, and AGN-Tr 56/23. See also the mention of his activities in chapter 11.

57. AGN-I 71/158 and AGN-T 1870/2, both of which describe the excesses Salgado committed against the pueblo of Huistac.

58. For don Francisco Merino y Salinas, a resident of Mexico City, see AGN-GP 44/264, Indif-Alc Taxco 13/2, AGN-M 82/fols. 52v–54v., AGN-T 3130/2, AGN-T 3518/exp. s.n., and AGN-T 3535/1. Merino y Salinas held the hacienda of Tepantlan and ranch of Tepetlapa at least from the early 1770s; about 1793 these properties were embargoed for debts he owed as *fiador* of the alcalde mayor in the jurisdiction of Cholula; see AGN-T 3535/1. Tepantlan was bought by don Manuel Orduña, a vecino of Tepecuacuilco, who had

dispute with Taxco miners over grain markets and urban provisioning.[59] He served as a guarantor for the subdelegado don Fernando Mendoza (1790–99); and Mendoza's successor, don Miguel Pacheco (1799–1804), was accused of being in Salgado's service.[60] Under the next subdelegado, Salgado was briefly named *encargado de justicia*.[61] He was, in essence, a major player in the late colonial political economy of northcentral Guerrero, illustrative of a hinterland-based entrepreneur who expanded his range of activities toward the urban core of a regional society.

Of all the relationships in the area, it was that between Salgado and Cozcatlán's indigenous elite that underwent the most dramatic shift, as both responded in similar manners to the massive emigration from the indigenous village. The indigenous authorities were intent on acquiring the demographic strength to retain the vicarage, and Salgado was in need of poor peasants to rent the land that he had usurped; both required the return of the migrant population. On 27 June 1805 Salgado elaborated a document supporting Cozcatlán's effort to repatriate emigrants residing in the Iguala Valley. And just as Cozcatlán might not have litigated with its emigrants had the vicarage not been moved, so too might Salgado never have spoken up had the possibility of a cooperative effort with the indigenous elite not emerged. Some of his statements were hyperbolic (that he had visited Cozcatlán and found only ten *vecinos* in the village) and some were trite (that the Indians who had stayed in Cozcatlán were better dressed—i.e. better off—than those who had gone elsewhere). But the major part (and point) of his missive was a sanguine evaluation of the possibilities for productive agriculture in the immediacies of Cozcatlán. Salgado noted that although there was no arable land close to the village, Cozcatlán

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previously rented the property; in 1793 Tepetlapa was placed in deposit with Salgado.

59. AGN-Alh 10/3.

60. For Mendoza, see AGN-Tr 16/3; for the accusation concerning Pacheco, see AGN-T 1870/2. For a list of subdelegados, see appendix 7a.

61. AGN-T 3667/3.

had been given 600 *varas* of farmland expropriated from the hacienda of Zacapalco at El Pajarito, 1½ to 2 leagues south of the village. Moreover, Salgado added that he himself had enough land east of Cozcatlán to support the agricultural activities of 30 households, and another 40 peasants could farm on land he held north of the village. If necessary he had enough plows and teams of oxen to fulfill any need.[62] The *fiscal protector* responded in a tone unusual for its uncompromising rejection of Salgado's offer and its severe indictment of his person:

> [in regards to Salgado, there are reports of] very graves excesses and for this reason he was stripped of the title of captain (*comisario*), or corporal (cabo) of the Tribunal de la Acordada, and moreover, having a hacienda there which he rents, his objective is to have the Indians of the said cuadrillas return so that they might serve in [*sic*], in effect the style and content of his certifications reveal his incompetence for the job of *encargado de justicia*; and lastly, the aforementioned cuadrillas base their complain on very sound arguments, that it is true there is a shortage of land in Cozcatlán as the naturales at first contended although afterwards they have tried to argue the opposite. But what is most apparent is that in order to plant their fields they would need to rent lands from the hacienda that the said Salgado rents, living there as tenant farmers and servants.[63]

The *fiscal protector* recommended that the migrants living in Tomatal and Copalxocotes be allowed to register as tributaries in Tepecuacuilco. He also suggested that the subdelegado be told to dismiss Salgado as *encargado de justicia*. The viceroy ordered as the *fiscal* recommended.

The image of Salgado is that of aggressive expansion gone awry; a land-hungry hacendado left to contemplate his Pyrrhic victory over a desolate landscape of his own making. The irony was a pact with the devil: Cozcatlán (interested in repatriation to reassert it rights to the vicarage seat) utilized the certification of its most bitter enemy to try to force the return of indigenous peasants who—as the fiscal so accurately noted—would inevitably become Salgado's tenants and servants. Yet the strange joint venture between indigenous authority and colonial entrepreneur also holds a lesson for the sociology of development, particularly arguments that

62. For Salgado's letter, see AGN-T 3667/3, fols. 1f–2r.

63. AGN-T 3667/3, fols. 10v–14v, dated 11 November 1805. Note that here the *fiscal protector* indicates

posit an articulation of modes of production between capitalist and precapitalist (particularly subsistence) agriculture. In response to theories that predicted a rigid procession of modes of production in which the peasantry would (and should) be left by the wayside on the road to progress and advanced stages of production, what became known as "articulation theory" posited a sort of symbiotic equilibrium between capitalist and precapitalist agriculture. The hypothesis was that a precarious balance could exist, in which peasant landholdings were deficient enough to force the entry of some family members into the wage economy, but viable enough so that household production among peasants could effectively subsidize underpaid (defined as below the "cost of reproduction" of the workforce) laborers in the capitalist sector. In colonial America the articulation approach meant a complex of actions that would leave a space (basically a land base) for past societies in the midst of an inexorable drive to development and capitalist production.[64] The problem with this approach, as with so many structural and functional theories, is drawing the line that either connects individual agency to group benefits or, from another perspective, demarcates the point at which the delicate balance between the two modes of production is destroyed.

What proved to be the bane of both Salgado and the indigenous authorities of Cozcatlán was that neither they, nor the poor peasant migrants who they both so desperately sought to

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that Salgado was not the owner of Zacapalco, but only rented it.

64. Cf. Berman's (1988:60ff.) discussion of Goethe's Faust in the chapter entitled "Third Metamorphosis: The Developer" for an evaluation of modern development and the possibility of leaving untouched spaces. A now classic study in the articulation of modes of production framework is Mallon (1983), who merges a concern with structural processes with an empirical study of individual, class, and group actions. In general, the maintenance of community and household as supportive institutions in the peasant sector seems to reflect the impact of both rational estate management (what is now called flexibility) and simple resistance to modernization. Mallon's example of Agustín Ortiz (pp. 314ff.), an enlightened entrepreneur, is offered as a case of rational capitalism, one which shows that "a recognition of "community" could sometimes become the most efficient and profitable way to run an agrarian capitalist enterprise" (p. 343). Salgado's failure to recognize this fact until it was too late (i.e., his failure to be enlightened like Ortiz) had a drastic, negative effect on his agrarian enterprise (land without labor) and his level of capital accumulation.

control, lived in a vacuum. As Salgado, along with others ranchers and hacendados, took over land from Cozcatlán, there was no way that they could ensure that the dispossessed Indians would remain to work as tenants, laborers, or sharecroppers. This reveals one of the major shortcomings of a restricted view on hacienda-community struggles or symbiotic relations between these two units, for in the context of colonial society there was competition among hacendados (in this case between Salgado and the owners of Iguala Valley land, both of whom sought to rent to indigenous peasant farmers) and within and among villages (between the wealthy and the poor, the elite and the plebeian; and between cabeceras, or cabeceras and sujetos). Eventually the residential stability that might have created a situation around Cozcatlán of two articulated economies—commercial (on Salgado's land) and subsistence (within the land boundaries of Cozcatlán)—broke down, as poor Indian villages migrated, first seasonally and then permanently, to the northern Iguala Valley. Alone, of course, Salgado would have had no legal argument to force the repatriation necessary to put the land he had seized into production. Yet a fortuitous circumstance brought the interests of the indigenous governing elite into line with those of Salgado whose interests over controlling the spaces of residence of Cozcatlán migrants could only be presented to the colonial state through an indigenous voice of authority. At the same time, in the case of Cozcatlán, like that of nineteenth-century Palula, the catalyst for tension was a demographic shift (brought about by migration) that precipitated a change in the politics of religious administration. The emigrants had apparently been willing to recognize some of their obligations in Cozcatlán, and had been paying cash to meet them, an unusual development that, nevertheless, might have been more common in colonial New Spain than hitherto documented. But now their physical presence was required to buttress village claims for continued ecclesiastical privilege, against the efforts to move the vicarage seat to Tlamacazapa. This caused a temporary modification in the alignment of local forces: community solidarity (Cozcatlán and

Tlamacazapa) to defend an agrarian base, momentarily gave way to an intervillage dispute and an interethnic marriage of convenience (the Cozcatlán elite and Salgado).

In sum, then, the case study of Cozcatlán demonstrates another way in which migration to the Iguala Valley affected the social composition and political economic structure of rural society in central Guerrero. For many years Cozcatlán had apparently been able to maintain a stable demographic base. Petty commerce in Taxco and along the camino real; or seasonal or permanent migration to the nearby cuadrillas of Los Amates, Venta de la Negra, Cieneguillas, El Pajarito, and Buenavista was perhaps able to forestall emigration to more distant locales. But the late colonial situation both led to increased pressure on indigenous landholdings and stimulated the development of an agrarian hinterland in the Iguala Valley that offered a viable outlet for the pressure that was building within Cozcatlán. Apparently for some time an accommodation had been reached whereby emigrants would either compensate their home village in cash or utilize money to pay proxies who would meet the migrants' obligations to the community. By the late colonial period the attractiveness of the hinterland and the land pressure exerted by neighboring hacendados had broken the balance and stimulated rapid demographic decline in Cozcatlán, which induced village authorities to call for the forcible return of the migrant population. In this venture they found an unusual ally in the hacendado who had most aggressively taken over land in the area: don Nicolás Salgado.

This case history has further explored the complicated regional dynamics that emerged with changing economies and shifting populations. And it demonstrates the importance of considering both home and destination settlements, as well as the complex relations within which each locale was embedded. As occurred with early migrants to Palula, the emigrants from Cozcatlán established permanent residence at their new settlements and clearly sought to identify with the parish to where they had moved. Yet in the northern valley there was an additional

element of struggle, that of the landed elite to retain a labor base for property that they had taken from Indian villages. If we posit that there are three basic mechanisms through which space can be molded and controlled—social, economic, and politico-administrative—it seems clear that hacendados were mostly limited to the economic, while indigenous villages had both social (family ties and other social obligations) and politico-administrative means (both its control over rights in the village and its ability to appeal to the colonial state to enforce limits on residency) to shape the spatial environment of its citizens. Hacendados could, of course, seek legal injunctions for repayment of workers' debts, but this politico-administrative mechanism was underlying economic.[65] Given the competition from the Iguala Valley, the poor quality of land around Cozcatlán, and Salgado's rather unfavorable reputation, it was undoubtedly difficult for him to offer the economic incentives to induce tenants to rent his property. But if he wished to invoke state power to control the migratory movements of a potential workforce, he would have to articulate these demands through another voice. In this case the voice chosen was that of a neighboring indigenous elite with which the disgruntled landowner, Salgado, was at other times in conflict.[66] For their part, the authorities of Cozcatlán undoubtedly acted in self-interest by seeking the forcible repatriation of former citizens, although at the same time their ability to present such a demand to the state provided Salgado with a voice that would otherwise have been muted. What occurred, then, was that in an environment that made it difficult to attract workers and tenants through economic incentives and in a structural position that precluded the use of politico-administrative mechanisms to enforce repatriation, a hacendado was pushed toward

65. It should also be noted that interpretations of debt peonage have changed, particularly since Gibson's observations; see also Bauer (1979a; 1979b) and Loveman (1979). The existence of extremely large debts, much more than could ever be repaid, seems to indicate that at a certain point they should be considered "loans" extracted by a workforce able to impose its terms rather than as a way employers had of keeping workers tied (spatially) to the cite of production.

66. Note some parallelisms here with the case of early migrants to Palula, who first had their demands articulated by the indigenous elite of Tepecuacuilco.

forming alliances with other social groups. Often these would have been colonial authorities, such as alcaldes mayores, who could use their office to benefit their allies (as they often did in the classic case of *repartimiento de mercancías*); in this case it was with an indigenous elite.[67] In the following, final case study, it is this politico-administrative sector (a fourth section, in addition of Indians, priests, and hacendados) that most vociferously protested the fragmentation of space that migrants effected

TIXTLA AND CHILAPA: A NEOCLASSICAL TRAGEDY

The preceding studies explored the inevitable tension between ancient sites of occupation and recently settled locations, between migrants' points of origin and of destination. The structures of accommodation and conflict that developed varied. Cozcatlán authorities traveled to the Iguala Valley to collect tribute and cash, the first to satisfy the royal coffers and the second to recompense or replace community services not performed. The pattern is surprisingly "postmodern," similar to the affective and symbolic identification that long-distance migrants nowadays often maintain with their home village. For Cozcatlán the system collapsed when village officials, determined to recover the vicarage from Tlamacazapa, sought the physical repatriation of migrant peasants, and no longer simply the remission of their economic resources. They only succeeded in precipating a definitive split, as the migrants matriculated themselves on the tribute roles of their host community. The process by which migrants from the Balsas River basin identified themselves with Palula was distinct, and more complex. Here there was a secondary development. In the late colonial period, as Palula became more "closed," new cuadrillas emerged in the southern Iguala Valley, and their inhabitants conserved a strong

67. For a recent revisionist interpretation of the *repartimiento de mercancías*, see Baskes (1996).

attachment to their home communities: Amayotepec, Ahuelicán, San Marcos Oacacingo, and San Juan Tetelcingo (all in the parish of Oapan).

The geographical and historical components of identity formation were most strikingly evident in the discursive practices and strategies of indigenous migrants and community authorities. Language—how people talked about space and their movement through it—provides one point of entry into the public expression of the experience of place. In the cases just examined, this experience was manifested as, or mediated through, the community; the places named and talked about were village settlements. For discussions of higher level units, different interlocutors must be approached: priests talked about parishes, and colonial officials about jurisdictions. But it was not just Indians who were silent about these upper levels, colonial society as a whole showed little subjective appreciation for any unit between the village and the colony.[68] For Guerrero, occasional references to large-scale units such as *la costa* do appear, but there is no mention of other vernacular regions that are now salient in the consciousness of modern residents: *la montaña, Tierra Caliente, la sierra.*[69] Nor was personal identity predicated on the individual's

68. See the discussion in Gruzinski (1988). Paasi (1986:119) notes the problem of the experiential reality of different levels of society: "Consequently, it is essential to discuss and analyze the nature of loyalties more profoundly with respect to different regional levels ("communities") starting from one's place and going up to regions and finally the nation-state, since it is an undeniable fact that these communities vary in nature at different levels of spatial structure and in their relationship to the day-to-day life of individuals."

69. The insignificance of the subjective experience of regions (or jurisdictions) as loci of identity is suggested by the absence of overt names, such as the ones just given, for regions (cf. Shortridge 1984, 1985; Zelinsky 1980). Note also that jurisdictional names are always the semantically marked element in the community-jurisdiction pair. Thus "Iguala" refers to the village, *"jurisdicción de* Iguala" to the jurisdiction, etc. In modern Mexico the opposite is often the case, self-identification by an individual as from Oaxaca, Zacatecas, etc. will usually be interpreted as referring to the state, not the city. For vernacular regions in the United States, see Jordan (1978), Shortridge (1984, 1985) and Zelinsky (1980), who's article contains abundant bibliographical references for this cognitive approach. It is important to consider, for the colonial period, the implications of a poorly developed collective consciousness of region—what Paasi (1986:119) refers to as the personification of a region: "Does there really exist a feeling of 'togetherness' among the inhabitants of a region, and if so, how has it built up during history, or is this a question of a written identity represented in the institutional sphere (e.g. the mass media) as an expression of social control and thus power"—for the implementation of customary controls on grain distribution that were based on regional privileges.

jurisdictional origin; no matter how unfamiliar the village or long the migration, the migrants' place of origin was inevitably given as the name of a community.

The Iguala Valley had the same impact on the indigenous villages of the Tixtla jurisdiction as it did on those of both the Balsas River basin[70] and the southeastern section of the Taxco jurisdiction: it constituted an enticing realm of agricultural potential that attracted indigenous peasants in search of more favorable circumstances for subsistence and profit. Yet for the Balsas and Taxco areas—perhaps the result of the proximity of pueblos of origin to target settlements—the most conspicuous impact of migration was the tension it generated between what I have referred to as place making and place breaking. As long as migrants could situate themselves in two worlds, boundaries were blurred in pragmatic structures of accommodation. Final separation of the new from the old was, therefore, often the result of a crisis of identity precipitated by the sudden exercise of political power to alter these structures of accommodation. The impact of migration on the Tixtla jurisdiction was distinct—perhaps the result of the greater distance to the target settlements. Unlike the cases discussed in the preceding sections, there is no evidence of significant tension between the authorities of indigenous communities and residents who had moved to live in other areas. Rather, in the Tixtla jurisdiction late colonial emigration of indigenous peasants to the Iguala Valley resulted in an official attempt to redefine the spatial limits of political administration. The negative consequences of out-migration for the control over Indian tributaries prompted a territorial strategy—advocated by Tixtla's *teniente de justicia,* don Ramos Barrios, and supported by his immediate superior, the *castellano* of Acapulco—that

70. The villages of the Balsas River valley were technically in the Tixtla jurisdiction, having been transferred from Iguala in the late sixteenth century (Gerhard 1972:316). Nevertheless, in many respects they may be considered a unit apart. Today they are the only surviving Nahuatl-speaking villages in what was once the Iguala and Tixtla jurisdictions; they are characterized by frequent intervillage contacts, which involve trade, participation in each others' festivities, and occasional joint ranching.

sought to give crown officials in Tixtla complete authority over the jurisdiction of Iguala.[71] An analysis of this strategy takes us to the halfway house of administrative reterritorialization, located somewhere between a humanistic approach that focuses on subjective experience and the production of place in new locales, and a positivistic perspective concerned with the unequal distribution of economic activities and demographic patterns in regional space.[72]

The historical geography of New Spain manifests an unfortunate lack of research on the politics of territorialization and the influence of socioeconomic power in structuring and controlling geographic areas.[73] Authority over the spatial design of administrative units was not simply a state-level prerogative. Although "zoning decisions" were handed down from above, they frequently responded to a territorial politics that was initiated in the contentious discourse of competing regional officials. But provincial interests in struggles over the politics of space and the administration of territory have not received sufficient attention in the historiography of colonial New Spain. In central Guerrero the most pronounced effort to "affect, influence, and control"[74] a geographic area was that of Taxco miners, who sought administrative control over both the distribution of Iguala Valley grain and the integration of a regional market of forced *repartimiento* labor. And just as Taxco authorities requested formal jurisdiction over the province

71. The strategy was similar to that which motivated Taxco officials to seek the incorporation of the Iguala province under their administration: Tixtla sought control over tributaries, Taxco (see chapter 11) sought control over grain.

72. Sack (1986:3) makes a similar point as to how the concept of "territoriality" is located between two distinct traditions, "social geography and historical geography." Vandergeest and Peluso (1995) offer an excellent study of territorialization in Thailand as a means to controlling access to natural resources. Their distinction between lived-in space and abstract space is similar to the distinction between humanistic concerns with experience and positivistic concerns with location.

73. Vandergeest and Peluso (1995:387), in examining the internal territorialization of state power in Thailand, note that, "all modern states divide their territories into complex and overlapping political and economic zones, rearrange people and resources within these units, and create regulations delineating how and by whom these areas can be used." This observation provides a concise epigraph for what could be an interesting research project on colonial New Spain.

74. From Sack's (1986:2) definition of territoriality.

of Iguala so that they might restrict grain distribution (see chapter 11), so too did Tixtla authorities petition for administrative control over the province of Iguala and the hundreds of peasant migrants who had fled there from the Tixtla jurisdiction. The Iguala Valley, then, was a bone of contention between the jurisdictions that lay to the north and to the south. This section offers a case study of regional economic and political action to assert control over a geographic space. It demonstrates clearly that indigenous migration was both an economic and a political act.

The responses to emigration discussed in the previous sections occurred at the individual, community, and parochial level and generally utilized a complex discourse of historical rights, community structure, personal identity, and economic benefits. The bureaucratic response from the Tixtla jurisdiction advanced a contrary discourse based on political economic solutions to two regional dilemmas: impoverishment and depopulation.[75] Forced repatriation was no longer sought, as it had in the two cases previously explored. Instead, the *teniente de justicia* proposed that he be given jurisdiction over the lands to which the Indians had migrated. But the shift from a focus on control of subjects to control of territory was not the only change; the character of the migrants themselves was presented in a different light. No longer were they renegades fleeing community responsibility and fiscal obligations to the crown. Rather, and in line with the late colonial shift in theories of political economy,[76] they were the victims of an ailing economy that

75. The late colonial development of Tixtla followed a pattern observed by Thomson (1986) for Puebla, where, he noted, there were two responses to regional economic decline: emigration; and "growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors, particularly in cotton textiles and mule transport" (p. 176). He observed "the reorientation of local merchant capital from agriculture and foreign trade into domestic manufactures, transport and interregional exchange, the introduction of European technology, particularly the Castilian loom and the spinning wheel, and the occasional use of discriminatory guild legislation" (p. 176). Another possible response that did not occur in Puebla was the fragmentation of large landholdings; something that did take place in Tixtla (see chapter 5).

76. See, for example, Tiryakian's (1978) analysis of Campillo's *Nuevo sistema de gobierno económico para la América* (1743) in which she notes:

> The basic premise of the New System was the the Indian, like all other men, was moved by self-interest, that he was responsive to the profit motive, and that

could be cured through proper management, particularly the creation of markets and the stimulation of commerce. A 1743 report from the province of Acapulco clearly illustrates this perspective:

> [the jurisdiction is generally] miserable although in many spots (*parajes*) the land could be cultivated with grains, cotton, tobacco, rice, and other items that grow in the hot lands. The naturales don't do cultivate these crops nor do they take advantage of the fishing opportunities within the jurisdiction because there are no nearby places where they could sell them and because the cost of transport to places where they might have some value is excessive.[77]

In this account, the deplorable state of the economy and the poverty of the Indians was directly attributed to the dearth of local markets and commercial outlets for regional produce. A situation of impoverishment that was at least in part due to ecological factors was presented as a political economic problem, and one that could be solved through the stimulation of markets and manufacturing and the growth of commerce. The agrarian mercantilist approach that underlay this report, and many others of the late colonial period, reflected the training of a cadre of bureaucrats formed in the context of the Spanish Enlightenment and economic liberalism.[78] Thus it is not surprising that a similar line of reasoning was advanced in the 1767 petition requesting the incorporation of the jurisdiction of Iguala into that of Tixtla. Here the *teniente* Ramón Barrios noted that "there is enough land in each settlement to provide for ample subsistence of a much greater number of people than those that have possessed these

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> consequently, as an economic actor he had to be motivated through incentives, instead of forced to participate in the economic life of the society. "Offer incentives, not force" would have been its slogan. (p. 237)

77. AGI 107(1), fols. 113f–113v.

78. See Herr (1958) for Enlightenment influence in eighteenth-century Spain. For Enlightenment influence on crown policy in New Spain, see Arcila Farías (1974). An examination of the political economic theory implicit in regional reports from the late colonial period would help us understand the impact of changing metropolitan discourse on the quotidian administration of New Spain.

lands during the time of the greatest population, this is as much by reason of [the land's] size as of its marvelous fertility; but the lack of commerce causes such demoralization that even the Indians need to be compelled to plant the indispensable maize fields that they need for subsistence."[79] Like the author of the 1743 report from Acapulco, Barrios underscored the infelicitous position of Indians, caught in between the unrealized ecological potential of the local terrain and the stifling commercial decadence of regional markets.

In these circumstances migration, although a problem, was both expected and accepted. The viceregal officials of southern Guerrero responded on two fronts: they proposed specific programs to stimulate commercial and market activities within the regional context, and they sought to expand their territorial jurisdiction to include the destination settlements of migrants. The most notable effort to increase the level of commerce was undertaken by the subdelegado don Juan Antonio de Rivas, who in 1792 established a spinning school *(escuela de hilados)* with capital borrowed from the community funds of pueblos under his jurisdiction.[80] The nature of the

79. AGN-F 4/16, fols. 368f–374f. This document provides the basis for much of the discussion that follows.

80. The most detailed account of the founding of this school is in AGN-H 498/9, see also AGN-ICom 2/7 and 8. Rivas was active in the region. He bought the hacienda of Santa Bárbara for 400 pesos from don Joaquín de Guevara in 1797 (Indif-Alc Chilapa 4/6 *sección* Chilpancingo), and he was the brother-in-law and then executor of don José Larumbe, owner of the hacienda of Chapolapa (AGN-CC 22/2). For Rivas's problems with Mochitlán, see AGN-I 67/330. The school is briefly mentioned in Arcila Farías (1974:2:40–41).

Tixtla and Chilapa had been administratively separated from Acapulco in 1789. One witness presented by the castellan of Acapulco in a 1797 attempt to regain jurisdictional control over the two separated provinces noted the decline of the provinces since separation (AGN-Cv 241/12, fols. 342f–353v):

> [Before separation] they enjoyed some flow of cash that has kept [the jurisdiction] afloat, but since separation [from Acapulco] it has been declining day by day, so much so that nowadays they find themselves in the most pitiful misery, a condition that has spread to all the pueblos in their respective districts to such a degree that the subdelegados are severely taxed and burdened by efforts to collect the royal tribute; in a word, one must live there and see with ones own eyes the lack of basic necessities that the inhabitants, in general, suffer in order to believe the decline that those jurisdictions have suffered since the establishment of the intendencies, contributing much to their decadence the lack of industry and the complete

calculations he submitted to the intendant leaves little doubt that Rivas sought to establish a cottage industry in spinning for his jurisdiction in order to create a positive cash flow that would activate the regional economy and bring to a halt its "depopulation and ruin." The subdelegado noted that the Tixtla jurisdiction had a population of 21,928 individuals (apparently he was referring only to Indians).[81] He then proceeded to offer a series of demographic statistics and calculations with numbers that are of a notable "neatness." Of the total population 8,000 were too young or old to be productive, leaving 13,928 of working age. A fourth of these (3,482) were farmers and another 446 muleskinners and artisans. This left 10,000 unemployed *(sin industria alguna)* men and women. Rivas estimated that they could work nine months of the year (the other three months being holidays, *días de fiesta*); the men would earn 2 reales per day and the women half that amount. As a result 513,750 additional pesos would circulate in the jurisdiction each year.

Over a century before Rivas made his proposal, with his somber unemployment statistics and optimist production figures, the corregidor of Tixtla had already suggested that the *naturales* of his jurisdiction be put to work at spinning cotton.[82] The rhetoric of this earlier petition reveals an underlying conviction of Indian soddenness and sloth and a belief in obligatory labor as a remedy. Unlike late colonial analysis of the economy, perceived as a complex of decisions embedded in a system of incentives and rewards, seventeenth-century discourse still understood hard (and if necessary forced) labor as a solution to sins of character.[83] The changing rhetoric

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absence of [government] promotion (*fomento*) for this purpose.

81. There were 4,588½ Indian tributaries in the Tixtla jurisdiction (AGN-Tr 43/9). A total population of 21,928 yields a ratio of about 4.8 individuals per tributary.

82. AGN-I 24/444 dated 1672.

83. See Hirschman (1977).

about the desires of indigenous peoples to participate in productive activity was one facet of the shift from early to late colonial political economy.

The Tixtla spinning school managed to repay the loan of 729 pesos from community funds, but the experiment ended in failure sometime during Rivas's term as subdelegado. In 1808 another subdelegado, don Bernardo Tadeo de la Guerra, attempted to revive the industry and rectify the "dismal political situation of the pueblo of Tixtla and its district (*y su partido*)." While Tixtla had once again plunged into decadence, dominated by contraband and crime, the neighboring jurisdiction of Chilapa had developed, according to Tadeo de la Guerra, a flourishing spinning industry:

> Chilapa observed the degree of promotion (*fomento*) that Tixtla had given to its new plan: it observed the roads it took to wealth, and it observed its early decline, and mirroring what Rome did with Greece, it took advantage of its spoils, its discoveries, and its fervor. It [Chilapa] gave itself over completely to that industry; and in a very few years it became opulent and rich, as it is today, already promoted to the seat of a diocese with no other industry than that of spinning and weaving.[84]

The rapid growth of the spinning industry in the jurisdiction of Chilapa (particularly in the Villa de Chilapa itself) was impressive, part of a late colonial boom in cloth manufacture.[85] The spinning wheel was first introduced in 1793; by 1800, according to one report, there was not a house in the Villa de Chilapa without one, two, or up to eight spinning wheels. Of 1,951 families (983 *de razón,* and 968 Indian) 1,740 men and women spun cotton, and another 142 individuals had looms; in Chilapa there is no indication that spinning was an occupation dominated by indigenous workers. Several outlying villages also had spinning wheels.[86] Nevertheless, both

84. AGN-ICom 8/18, fols. 394f–396f (letter dated 16 May 1808). The order to establish a diocese in Chilapa was not put into effect until the mid–nineteenth century.

85. See Bazant (1962, 1964), Miño Grijalva (1983, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1993), and Thomson (1986, 1989). Also, AGN-Sub 34/7 and 36 for an account of cotton spinning and the marketing of thread in Sultepec and in Tecostlan and Tuxtla.

86. AGN-H 122/2, fols. 38f–43v. The other villages where spinning took place were (the number of spinning wheels and looms, if any, is given in parenthesis): Quechultenango (12, and 3 looms), Ayahualulco

spinning and weaving was concentrated in the town center of Chilapa; there was very little activity in the almost three dozen outlying communities. This may reflect either the more precarious economic situation of the urban poor, or the fact that cotton merchants found it easier to supply urban dwellers with raw cotton.[87]

Tadeo de la Guerra exaggerated the benefits of Chilapa's cottage industry in spinning and simplified the reasons for its growth at Tixtla's expense.[88] Nevertheless, Chilapa had several advantages: it was closer to the major market outlet for thread in Puebla, and it seemed to have enjoyed closer contacts with highland merchants who could provide both the credit to stimulate protoindustrial production and the goods to exchange for cotton grown on the Pacific coast.[89] But clearly, just as the demographic stability of the Tixtla jurisdiction had suffered from the proximity of the fertile Iguala Valley, so did its spinning industry decline in the face of competition from Chilapa, where both economic and political factors (the state promotion of the cottage spinning and weaving industry) were important factors.

A quarter of a century before Rivas started his experiment in cotton spinning, the *teniente de justicia* of Tixtla, Ramón Barrios, had offered a different plan. He began his presentation by noting two parallel processes that had severely and adversely affected the demographic composition of his jurisdiction: the in-migration of criminal elements attracted by opportunities for contraband and the

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(18, and 3 looms), Quemecatitlan (23), Azaqualoyala (8), Ayahualtempa (5), and Acatlán (6).

87. For out-migration in the Chilapa jurisdiction, see AGN-H 501/5 in reference to Ayahualtempan (dated 1810), and AGN-I 64/10 in reference to Zitlala (dated 1771).

88. For a more somber account of the cotton industry, see the Juan Villa Sánchez's observations on Puebla in the 1740s, cited in Thomson (1986:178).

89. For an example of this trade, see AGN-V 74/10, and discussion in chapter 8. For a general overview of proto-industrialization theory, the most relevant to the emergence of a cottage industry in spinning, see Kriedte, Medick, and Schlumbohm (1981). Perlin (1983) offers a critique of the evolutionary implications of proto-industrial theory. The proto-industrialization approach has been applied to spinning and weaving in New Spain by Miño Grijalva (1987).

cultivation of illegal tobacco; and the "prodigious desertion of Indians," which had desolated the province.[90] Compounding the problem was a lack of commerce (here as elsewhere to be understood as the lack of income from commercial activities) that had a negative effect even on Indian subsistence agriculture (see statement at note 79 supra). The first problem could be solved, Barrios noted, by punishing the lazy and exiling the lawless. The poverty of the region could be alleviated by awarding the Tixtla jurisdiction the contract to provide armed escort for silver and travelers going to the port of Acapulco and Manila Galleon cargo being taken to Mexico City.[91] He also called for the establishment of a two-day *feria* for cattle, horses, and mules—animals which predominated in the coastal region—that would be held monthly and allow tax-exempt sales. As a result, the price of ganado mayor would drop and their potential market area increase; peasants and farmers from the Tixtla and Chilapa jurisdictions would be better able to acquire these animals, thus stimulating trade and commercial agriculture. Barrios's proposals were the functional equivalent to Rivas's cotton spinning venture: both were designed to provide work opportunities that would supplement (or replace) subsistence agriculture, and spur the flow of economic resources into the jurisdiction. The result would be an accumulation of capital that could be invested in agricultural improvements, beasts of burden for transport, and other productive activities. Local produce (in particular salt, cotton and rice) would become cheaper and enjoy a larger area of distribution, licit employment opportunities would grow, vagabondage would disappear, and fiscal revenue would increase.

But there was still the dilemma of Indians who had already migrated to the Iguala Valley. To this problem Barrios offered two possible solutions: "uniting the jurisdiction of Iguala to that

90. AGN-F 4/16, fols. 368f–374f., dated October 1767. This document is the source of the discussion that follows.

91. Up to this time this service had been contracted out to individuals who bid for the exclusive right to the escort. In 1767 don Pedro de Vertiz provided this service. For examples of some previous bids, see AGN-GP 19/152 and AGN-GP 19/164, both dated 1709, and AGN-GP 31/264 dated 1738.

of Tixtla because it borders on it, is of a very small area, and it provides asylum to all those who have deserted these jurisdictions [of Tixtla and Chilapa]. If such an important consolidation cannot be carried out, "it will be necessary to issue a dispatch with the most stern order and pressure for the alcalde mayor of that jurisdiction [of Iguala] to restore to the jurisdiction of Tixtla all those who have established residence there (*todos los abenzinados en él*), and in the future not admit anyone [into his jurisdiction]."[92]

Attempts to redefine administrative territories were not uncommon.[93] In central Guerrero alone, besides the present case, Taxco miners fought an eventually successful battle through the mid–eighteenth century to take over the province of Iguala, and in the late 1790s the castellan of Acapulco sought to reintegrate Tixtla and Chilapa under his authority.[94] The effort spearheaded by Barrios, however, was the only one that was a direct response to the problem of extensive out-migration. This suggests two important aspects of colonial society. The first was the challenge that migration posed not simply to the administrative hegemony of the colonial state, but to the fiscal and social integrity of provincial jurisdictions. The response of local authorities might be attempts at forced repatriation, or it might be the promotion of state controlled economic measures to stimulate markets and economic incentives. But it might also be, as in the case Tixtla, an attempt to convince the state to redraw administrative boundaries, thus effectively encircling the migrants and their destination settlements within the limits of the jurisdiction they had fled. The second aspect to consider is that although administrative units in a colonial society may have certain roots in precontact political society, they may also be historically more shallow,

92. AGN-F 4/16, fols. 368f–374f.

93. A reading of Gerhard (1972) gives many examples of the redefinition of jurisdictional boundaries.

94. Tixtla and Chilapa had been part of the jurisdiction of Acapulco from either 1694 or 1704 to 1789. In the mid-1790s the castellan of Acapulco attempted to regain control of the two provinces, arguing that the economy of Tixtla and Chilapa had severely declined since separation and that Acapulco had been left with an extremely low number of tributaries (579) not in accord with its standing; AGN-Cv 241/12.

having been molded in part by the relative force of contending interests among the colonial politico-administrative elite.

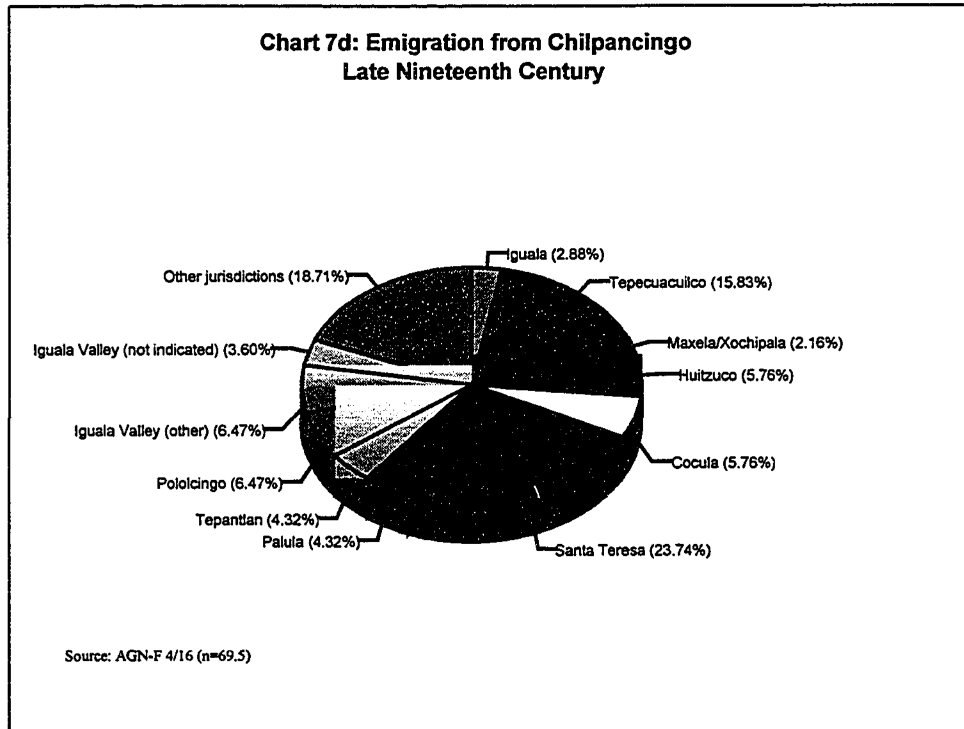
The precise level and characteristics of out-migration from the Tixtla jurisdiction are hard to determine A series of lists appended to Barrios's report gives the names of migrants from Mochitlán (65.5 tributaries), Sumpango (13.5 tributaries plus 11 individuals whose status as full or half tributaries is not given), and Chilpancingo (or perhaps Tixtla, 185.5 tributaries).[95] These were the four most urbanized and interethnic communities in the jurisdiction, just as the Villa de Chilapa was the largest and most ethnically complex pueblo in the Chilapa jurisdiction. It appears, then, that both a cottage spinning and weaving industry as well as out-migration to rural areas affected the major towns in the region, and that the poor in these settlements were in a precarious situation that made them particularly vulnerable during a declining economy.

95. AGN-F 4/16, fols. 375f–381v. The actual breakdown by civil status is Mochitlán with 61 married tributaries, 5 single men, and 4 widowers; Zumpango with 6 married tributaries, 8 single men, 7 widowers, and 11 whose status is not given; and Chilpancingo (or Tixtla) with 157 married tributaries, 35 single men, and 22 widowers.

The report which seems to be for Chilpancingo is missing the first folio, which would have listed the first 73 migrants. At the tributary migrant number 116 there is a subheading which reads "Account in which the tributaries of this pueblo of Chilpancingo are noted, those that are in the jurisdiction of Iguala and of Santa Teresa and of Palula and of Pololcingo and of Tepantlan, all in the jurisdiction of Iguala." Given the incompleteness of the list, it is possible that the first 88 tributaries had migrated to the Pacific coast. In his supporting letter, the castellan of Acapulco mentioned that from Tixtla alone 157 married men, 84 single men, and 22 widowers had emigrated. Two of these numbers (157 and 22) are equal to totals from the "Chilpancingo" list. This may either be a coincidence or a mistake of identification as to which pueblo is being referred to, either in the list or in the castellan's summary.

For population statistics of pueblos in the Tixtla jurisdiction, see tables in appendix 2c. Note that Tixtla shows a significant population decline between 1697 (with 721.5 tributaries) and 1797 (with 516.5 tributaries); this probably reflects a high level of out-migration, which more than compensated for population increase by birth. Chilpancingo, on the other hand, grew from 325.5 tributaries in 1729 to 674 by 1802.

There is an earlier (1698) mention of out-migration from Zumpango "to the north" in response to factional divisions and the aggressive behavior of an indigenous governador in alliance with the *teniente general* of the Tixtla jurisdiction; AGN-I 33/304.



A breakdown of target settlements for Chilpancingo migrants (see chart 7d) reveals that 32.4 percent settled in indigenous villages of the Iguala jurisdiction (Iguala, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, Cocula, Mezcala, and Xochipala), 18.7 percent moved to other jurisdictions (Chilapa, Acapulco, Taxco, and Teloloapan), and 48.9 percent departed for renter settlements or haciendas in the Iguala Valley. Apparently, although indigenous pueblos in the Iguala jurisdiction still attracted Indians from other villages, most *naturales* went to renter settlements or haciendas in the Valley. However, peasants from the Tixtla jurisdiction did not generally migrate to the cuadrillas that have already been discussed in other contexts: Xalitla, Las Mesas, Maxela, and Potrero, which were linked to the Indian communities of the Balsas River basin; and Tomatal and Copalxocotes, which were dominated by migrants from Cozcatlán. Apparently, then, some of the *cuadrillas de arrendatarios* were able to construct and maintain a certain degree of closure in regard to new renters. The links between home and destination settlements, then, involved the construction of social bonds between two places that were, at least to some degree, exclusive.

Most migrants from the Tixtla jurisdiction did not sever their tributary obligations to their home villages. Thus one list attached to Barrios's 1767 petition begins with the heading, "Memorandum in [which] are noted those who are in the jurisdiction of Iguala, children of the pueblo of Zumpango, married and single." It is followed by a short list of a few individuals who were registered as tributaries both in Zumpango and the Iguala Valley. They refused to pay in their village of origin, and were probably able to avoid payment at their destination. These "children of the pueblo of Zumpango" owed tribute in Tixtla. On the other lists submitted by the *teniente de justicia*, migrants' names were often followed by a figure indicating how much tribute they owed, most commonly 9 reales. Nevertheless, some individuals did reidentify themselves as tributaries of their new settlements, as what I have called place making involved (though not always) place breaking. The list for Zumpango, for example, includes a section of Indians who had matriculated themselves on the tribute list of Tepecuacuilco. Their names are preceded by the heading, "These are the ones who no longer want to be tributaries of Zumpango."[96]

The *teniente*'s petition for jurisdictional authority over the province of Iguala, therefore, was prompted by an obligation to collect tribute based on lists that no longer reflected the residence pattern of Indians in his jurisdiction. In a document dated 2 October 1767 the *teniente*'s immediate superior, the *castellano* of the port of Acapulco, supported his subordinate's efforts to incorporate Iguala:

> It [is] not just that I should have to account for the tribute owed by the multitude of Indians who, fleeing from the misery of the aforementioned provinces [of Tixtla and Chilapa] has migrated to the said [province] of Iguala. From Tixtla alone, it is certified in the memorandums presented by my *teniente* [that those] marked with the letter D (which does not include all) show that 157 married men, 84 single men, and 22 widowers are absent, and adding to these all those who are really missing from the said jurisdiction [of Tixtla] and those that have deserted [the jurisdiction of] Chilapa undoubtedly total to more than one thousand as

96. AGN-F 4/16, fol. 376f.

> attested to by the founding of the pueblo of Tepecuacuilco which has been built up on part of the ruins of my said jurisdictions.[97]

Assuming a more or less even division of out-migration from the Tixtla and Chilapa jurisdictions, Tixtla would have lost approximately 13 percent of its tributary population, which probably just under 4,000 at the time. Between 1743 and 1792 the indigenous component of the total population fell from 89 to 85 percent, in part due to Indian emigration and *casta* immigration.[98]

In the early nineteenth century the Tixtla subdelegado complained that Chilapa had carefully observed his jurisdiction's degeneration "and mirroring what Rome did with Greece, it took advantage of its spoils, its discoveries, and its fervor."[99] In the castellan's earlier interpretation it was the *pueblo* of Tepecuacuilco that was built up on Tixtla's ruins.[100] Yet despite the moralistic tone in which Tixtla's decline was sometimes portrayed—as preyed upon by an opportunistic Chilapa and a predatory Tepecuacuilco—structural, and not remonstrative, solutions were sought: the monthly *feria,* the contracted armed escort, and capital investment to revive spinning were all attempts to use an enlightened approach to enhance the regional economy. Likewise, the petition for jurisdictional control over the Iguala Valley was first and foremost a structural and territorial tactic. A coercive strategy of repatriation, applied on a personal level to a migrant population evading its tributary, was a secondary solution.

97. AGN-F 4/16, fols. 382f–384v, dated 2 October 1767.
Interestingly, after Tixtla and Chilapa were granted independent jurisdictional status, the castellan of Acapulco tried to reincorporate them under his authority (see nn. 80 and 94 supra).

98. In 1743 the Tixtla jurisdiction had 2,838 Indian families (Gerhard 1972:317). In the late 1790s it had 4588½ Indian tributaries (AGN-Tr 43/9). In 1743, with 348 non-Indian families, the Tixtla jurisdiction was approximately 89% Indian. By the late 1790s the non-Indian population had increased to a total of 2,964 Spaniards, mestizos, and castizos in 622 families (4.77 individuals/family), and 1701 *pardos* in 386 families (4.41 individuals/family); AGN-P 17. The total non-Indian population was, therefore, 4,665 individuals in 1,008 families. An indigenous presence of 21,928 persons represented approximately 82.5% of the total population of 26.593 individuals.

99. See n. 84, supra.

100. The population data for Tepecuacuilco (see appendix 2b) do not show a particularly unusual increase over the eighteenth century.

In sum, the absence of any direct evidence of indigenous participation in litigation over migrants' status suggests that communities in the Tixtla jurisdiction had reached some form of reconciliation with peasant Indians who had some form of dual attachment (to home and destination settlements), and that even emigrants who had established permanent residence elsewhere were not especially pursued by authorities in their villages of origin. The colonial provincial authorities from southern Guerrero were not so accommodating. The reaction of the southern jurisdictions to the emigration of its indigenous tributary citizens to the Iguala Valley was manifested on two fronts: an "enlightened" political economic program of state intervention to better provincial well-being and a more strictly administrative solution that would expand the geographical extent of judicial control over a population. The political economic focus was manifested in efforts to improve the agrarian (through *ferias*), the manufacturing (through the promotion of spinning and weaving), and the commercial (through several efforts to increase the wealth of the peasant population, e.g., granting the royal concession of convoy to indigenous villages) sectors. The administrative focus petitioned for the redrawing of jurisdictional boundaries through the incorporation of Iguala into the southern provinces.

The political economic agendas of regional authorities represents perhaps the highest level at which migrants engaged colonial society. Viewed as both a political and an economic statement, geographically mobile peasants could potentially challenge or ally with a wide range of colonial actors. The lowest level, not explored in this thesis, was the household, as single peasants (women as well as men) could in effect confront family authority through flight. Other actors, individual or collective, were also affected by migration, though here the dynamics were less personal (as in the family) and more social, reflecting the combined interaction of many forces on the relations between migrants and indigenous communities, tenant cuadrillas, haciendas, and parishes. This last case study has explored another domain in which the struggle

for place making was articulated: the *subdelegación* or *alcaldía mayor*, the basic politico-administrative level of colonial society.

THE AGRICULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE IGUALA VALLEY: AN OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

Another way of looking at migration is to pull back from the textured places of subjective experiences and unique histories in order to explore a more ecumenical image of the Iguala Valley. The emphasis of this view is comparative, its scale universal, and its goal nomothetic. Particularity of place is considered, but only to the extent that the building blocks of such specificity—human decisions in the context of natural ecology, productive relations, and market location—facilitate the construction of an integrated analytic system that can be applied to other regions. For the Iguala Valley, variation in the rent paid by peasant farmers provides an accessible and revealing statistic on the general nature of the rural economy and its potential impact on immigration patterns into the Iguala Valley. Demographic patterns, in turn, more directly reveal the relative attractiveness of one possible destination settlement over another.

Data on the agricultural geography and economy of the Iguala Valley is available due to a rather fortunate miscalculation by Taxco's Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, which felt it could increase its earnings through the direct administration of renter settlements established on their valley property. In 1816 the *archicofradía* estimated that potential income from the over two dozen cuadrillas on their Iguala Valley hacienda was eight or nine thousand pesos, paid mostly in maize and chile.[101] Nevertheless, to free itself from "administrative details and other annoyances that commonly occur when [the lands] are administered under the Church's responsibility, which for the governing board is profane" the *archicofradía* had rented out its entire Iguala Valley

101. The 1816 letter to the Mexico City archbishop requesting permission to hire an administrator for the *archicofradía*'s hacienda (and at the same time documenting the history of the Archicofradía's urban and rural properties, as well as its financial difficulties) is in AGN-BN 435/3. Rental information for 1832–34 is found

hacienda (over 150,000 hectares) to don Manuel Sañudo for 3,000 pesos a year.[102] By the end of the colonial period the *archicofradía* was 12,000 pesos in debt and unable to meet its yearly expenditures. As a result, the governing board decided to abandon the hierarchical system of promotion and each year seek a new mayordomo from among the richest citizens of Taxco, who could cover the parish's operational costs. This change solved the short-term problem of meeting expenses, but led to the deterioration of the *archicofradía's* overall financial solvency and administrative health. By covering the sundry expenditures of spiritual life and religious management—interest on *capellanías;* salaries of cantors, musicians, sacristans, and bell ringers; the cost of wax, wine, and oil; and parochial debts—the mayordomo effectively placed himself above and beyond the quotidian administrative responsibilities (debt collection and estate management) that the governing board so despairingly wished to satisfy. The solution, as the *archicofradía's* board noted in its 1816 letter to the archbishop of Mexico, was the appointment of a full-time salaried administrator—responsive to the board's dictates, bonded to insure professional management, compensated with wages and incentives, and free from the pressures of personal relations with the local elite. Extensive migration into the Iguala Valley had raised the stakes of effective management of church wealth by increasing the value of the *archicofradía's* rural property in the hinterland as demand for tenancy grew. Thus migrants stimulated another conflict that was to play out in the late colonial period: the structural reorganization of the *archicofradía's* administration of its urban and rural properties

Fairly complete sets of data on the economics of land rental in the Iguala Valley exist for 1833 and have been summarized in tables 2a and 2b, and in charts 2e to 2i. The data is taken from

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in AGN-BN 436/9-11.

102. The *archicofradía* stated that although they were given the 3,000 pesos each year, Sañudo earned over 50,000 pesos from subrentals during the period he rented the hacienda (see chapter 5). At one point, perhaps after Sañudo's death in 1815, the Archicofradía began renting out their hacienda in smaller parcels, a strategy which they claimed gave them a greater income.

the few rental records that exist for the vast property of the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento: the hacienda of San Miguel, Xochicuetla and Carrizal. Even though the available data are from the mid-1830s, the pattern that emerges most likely also holds for the end of the colonial period, since whatever inflationary or deflationary trends might have been set in motion after the independence wars, these price shifts would probably have affected all cuadrillas equally, maintaining the relationship among them. In both tables 2a–2b and charts 2e–2i, the cuadrillas are listed in descending order from north to south (see map 5g) and are separated according to the location of the granary where the maize payments were stored. A total of 640 peasants rented *archicofradía* land (table 2a, rightmost column).[103]

For the *archicofradía*, the major sources of income were pasture rights, rental of land planted in chile, and farmland rented for maize agriculture. Rights to pasture land were usually paid separately by each cuadrilla as a unit, although there were two cases of joint leases: Tlayalapa and Metlapa together paid 32 pesos 7 reales; and Santa Teresa, San Miguel, Acayahualco, Rincón de la Cocina, and Tierra Colorada shared one payment of 52 pesos. Such contract arrangements probably reflect common herding by several nearby cuadrillas.[104] Rental income in chile generally came from the southern valley (see, for example, chart 2f). The average rent was minimal, just under 3 *chiquihuites* (baskets) per peasant, which yielded about 18½ pounds of chile worth just under 2 pesos. Maize payments were the most important source of rental income; they accounted for just under three quarters of the total (73%), chile accounted for

103. Forty peasants appear as paying rent in both chile and maize.

104. Balsas River basin peasant communities still share large pasture areas enclosed by fences that run for miles through the communal or *ejido* lands of several villages. Thus, for example, in even numbered years Ameyaltepec residents let their animals graze with those of San Agustín Oapan to the east, and the two villages share a fencing system. During odd years Ameyaltepec herds its cattle to the west (which is lying fallow while land to the east is being farmed). The animals now graze in common with those of San Juan Tetelcingo and Xalitla, and all three villages share the responsibility of maintaining a common fence. I am not sure how far this system extends into the northern Iguala Valley.

14% and the rental of pasture another 22%. Rental of land for irrigated melon patches and sugarcane fields accounted for just under 2% of total *archicofradía* income.[105]

The most notable feature of the rural economy is the great difference between maize rental payments in the northern and southern cuadrillas (see chart 2h). Whereas charges to farmers in Tlayalapa and Metlapa averaged just over 5 cargas of maize (from a high of 10 cargas to a low of 2), peasants who brought their maize to the southernmost granary at Contlalco paid an average of 1 carga (rents varied between 4 and ½ cargas, with the vast majority of tenants paying 1 carga or less). With the notable exception of Coacoyula, a large cuadrilla in the south central valley, the north-south gradient in rental cost is fairly pronounced. One reason for the geographical variation in rental price was the location of the major regional and extra-regional markets (Iguala, Tepecuacuilco, Taxco, Cuernavaca, and Mexico City), all of which were situated to the north. Transport costs per carga were approximately 1 real per league.[106] Nevertheless, the cost of marketing in urban centers might not have been a significant consideration for subsistence farmers in the southern valley; and considerable demand for grain existed in the cuadrillas themselves, which provided an alternative to marketing in towns.[107] Another factor affecting

105. In 1833 irrigated fields planted with melon and watermelon were rented in Tierra Colorada, Rincón de la Cocina, Acayahualco, Santa Teresa, and Sacacoyuca for a total of 41 pesos. Sugarcane land was rented in Acayahualco (51 pesos) and Santa Teresa (3 pesos). Two private ranchers, Antonio Gómez and Mariano Ortiz de la Peña, rented grazing land. The descendants of don Antonio Gómez, who paid 200 pesos for pasture rights in 1833, would eventually take over the Iguala Valley. The husbands of two of his daughters, Febronia and Manuel Gómez, claimed the land under the liberal reform laws, and it was eventually redeemed by Coronel Juan Montúfar, the second husband of Febronia Gómez (see chapter 5).

106. In 1750 the cost of transporting a *carga* of maize 6 leagues from Iguala to Taxco was 4 reales (AGN-I 56/29). In 1770 it had risen to 5 reales (AGN-Alh 1/5). By 1833 a figure of 6 reales is given (AGN-BN 436/10). For the cost of transporting maize from nearby cuadrillas to bulking centers in Tepecuacuilco and Iguala in 1833, see AGN-BN 436/9. For Chihuahua in 1725, Hadley (1979:123) gives a figure 1 peso for every 10 leagues. Brading (1971:16), however, cites a much lower estimate by the rich merchant Juan Antonio de Yermo. He estimated a cost of approximately 11 reales for transporting a carga of maize 100 km (24 leagues), just under one half real per league.

107. Of the total rental payments in maize from 1832 and 1833, the *archicofradía* sold approximately 17.5 percent in the cuadrillas (AGN-BN 436/10 and 12).

differences in rental costs, therefore, was undoubtedly the higher productivity of the northern lands—the result of better topsoil, greater precipitation, a cooler climate, and a flatter terrain. By the late colonial period the rental price of land varied considerably by parcel, an indication of a competitive market and the "rationalization" of value and, undoubtedly, internal socioeconomic differentiation within the cuadrillas, as some tenants were able to pay higher rents for greater quantities or qualities of farmland.

Another interesting feature of the nineteenth century valley economy was the high cost of renting teams of oxen, and the concentration of the records of such rental patterns in the northern valley. Certainly in any peasant community there must have been some traditional arrangements for loaning plow animals, such as *mediería* or sharecropping; but the northern valley was unique in the high concentration of oxen in the hands of capitalist ranching entrepreneurs, including the *archicofradía*.[108] At 10 cargas per team of oxen, the price of rental was still high in comparison to both land rental and the market value of oxen.[109] In fact, the value of the maize paid to rent oxen was equivalent to the price of the animals themselves; in essence the lease for animals was simply a very expensive form of rural credit to poor peasants.[110] Nevertheless, the price of renting a team of oxen had dropped considerably from the mid-eighteenth century, when the cost was 15 cargas.

108. Presently in the Balsas River valley villages there are many arrangements for renting or sharing oxen. An owner will normally lend an untrained (never before used for plowing) animal for free, charge half rent after one year and full rent after a second year. Various sharecropping arrangements exist. The most common is for one peasant to contribute land, animals, and seed; the second peasant contributes all the labor. The land will be divided in half, with the harvest of one parcel going to the owner and the harvest of the second to the sharecropper.

109. No data on the price of oxen is available for the 1830s. But in 1806 a *yunta* was sold for 28 pesos (AGN-Con 105/2); an inventory of the hacienda of Atlixtac in 1808 gave 20 and 22 pesos as the value of a team of oxen (AGN-T 3576/1). For a similarly high ratio between the rental of a team of oxen and its cost of acquisition, see AGN-Sub 34/26, in reference to Autlan and Puerto de la Navidad in 1752.

110. The most scathing attack on the system of leasing oxen for the planting season in the Iguala Valley was elaborated by Taxco mining deputies in 1750 (AGN-GP 36/11). The rental price was then 15 cargas; a team of oxen cost 20 to 25 pesos and a plow 5. At harvest a *carga* would sell for 4 reales (yielding a return of 7.5 pesos). But by storing the maize the owners of oxen could earn up to 60 pesos from the 15 cargas, enough to invest in two more teams of oxen with their plows.

Generally, the cost of leasing plows and teams of oxen seems to have declined, although the price was still relatively high, suggesting that land was still a cheaper resource than the tools of production, and that credit was scarce as well. Nevertheless, the concentration of such arrangements in the northern valley suggests that capitalization and intensification of farming was occurring more in the north (which was more fertile and closer to markets); peasants unable to provide the tools of production (animals and implements) themselves would have been more attracted to the northern economy.

The economic data on rentals, therefore, quite clearly show that northern valley land was more valuable and had a more thoroughly developed infrastructure. These aspects of the rural economy were reflected in the north-south gradient of rents per individual tenant and in the greater concentration of plow teams offered for lease. Whether the gradient of rents, with cheaper land to the south, had some impact on migration patterns is not clear. It seems that the northern cuadrillas were slightly, though not significantly, more populated (see chart 2e and rightmost column of table 2a), although exceedingly more lucrative for the *archicofradía* (see charts 2g, 2h, and 2i). The major break in demographics occurred in the sparsely populated southernmost cuadrillas (Guajiotal, Contlalco, Xalitla/Xochicuetla, Azcala, and Real del Limón, although nearby Maxela, Las Mesas, and Coacoyula were significantly more populated). Other than these six southernmost cuadrillas, the average population size per cuadrilla seems to have varied little in direct relation to geographical location (see table 2a, rightmost column). However, there is one clear indication of greater demographic density in the northern valley. As a glance at the spatial distribution of the major renter settlements indicates (see map 5g), most cuadrillas were located north of Palula, with the greatest concentration from Santa Teresa to Tepochica. Thus despite higher rents, it does seem that migrants preferred the economic opportunities (greater potential yield of maize crops and closer markets) offered in the northern valley.

The three case studies in this and the previous chapter advanced a perception of colonial space as a loosely woven pattern of idiographic landscapes, each produced in unique circumstances. The Iguala Valley, in this vision, became a mottled terrain of discrete histories and overlapping experiences—emigration from the Balsas River valley and the drama of settlement around Palula; Cozcatlán and the tension latent in precarious structures of accommodation between home and destination villages; Tixtla and the dispassionate desire of colonial authorities to redefine territorial boundaries. Certain places tended to become the private domains of particular communities—Tomatal and Copalxocotes were distant offshoots of Cozcatlán, and "sons of Amayotepec" dominated late colonial cuadrillas in the southern Iguala Valley. Other places persisted as more open terrain—haciendas such as Zacapalco, Santa Teresa, and Tepantlan; and multiethnic ranching communities such as Pololcingo—attracting a wide range of immigrants from a variety of backgrounds.

Perhaps the clearest lesson from a distanced analysis of migration patterns is that as an initial pattern emerged it tended to replicate itself over time, undoubtedly as a result of the social bonds and sedimentation of sentiment formed between home and destination settlements. This is clearest in the southern valley, where the majority of settlements (Palula, Las Mesas, Maxela, Contlalco, Carrizal, Xalitla, and Xochicuetlan; see map 5g) emerged out of long-term emigration from the Balsas River valley communities west of Oapan. Although there is less evidence, in the northern Iguala Valley around Tepecuacuilco a similar pattern seems to have emerged, with Cozcatlán residents forging an identity at Tomatal and Copalxocotes. However, immigration from the more distant jurisdiction of Tixtla seems to have manifested a more varied pattern of final destination although some migrants, at least for a time, also maintained a dual association, or identity, with home and destination settlements (cf. the discussion of migration from Zumpango) and others seemed to target particular locales in the northern valley (see ch

In part, the variegated experience of place in the Iguala Valley was the consequence of the spatial practices of peasant communities and colonial authorities. As they produced places imbued with personal meaning and cultural significance they fractured the terrain: "here" was separated from "there," and "us" from "them." And the "structures of feeling" they experienced emerged from a complex dialectic of the present with both the past and the future. This process or what I have referred to as place making and place breaking seems to have been the dominant characteristic of migration into the Iguala Valley. But spatial variation was affected by another quite distinct process: the patterns of peasant production and agricultural development that emerged within the structuring influence of regional markets and the variation determined by ecology and climate. Here the major processes were economic: higher land rents and greater infrastructure in the northern valley. Yet there were demographic implications: the northern valley, from Palula to the area around Iguala, developed a more dense settlement pattern and the most southern cuadrillas (from Contlalco to the Balsas River) were the most sparsely populated.

Locational consequences of economic processes are usually examined in an analytic, unfractured space created by the impersonal discourse of academic inquiry. Here the subjective experiences of historical agents fade before an objective plain of flattened landscapes and ahistorical time. And social actors themselves become tokens of a pervasive rationality that is both a starting assumption and final conclusion of research. A paradox of analytic spatial theory, in fact, is precisely this circular feature—that universal patterns of social behavior are most prone to emerge after the particularities of ambience and personality have first been subdued.

Nevertheless, the seductive geometry that emerges from locational analysis should not be dismissed as a beguiling and cabalistic illusion. There is something to be learned from stepping back from the processes by which places acquire distinctive meaning in order to view from afar the spatial distribution of groups of peasants and landowners counting bags of maize and baskets

of chile. Not surprisingly, it was the economics of agriculture in the Iguala Valley that most clearly reflected the impact of productive potential and market potential. Within this overall framework one major demographic division occurred: the quite sharp division between the valley north of, as opposed to south of, Palula. The former was the destination of preference for most migrants, not only those from the jurisdiction of Taxco to the north, but also those from the jurisdiction of Tixtla to the south. The major source of immigration into the southern valley was the indigenous communities along the Balsas River, who first targeted Palula and then gradually spread out into the nearby area to the south, from Las Mesas to Xochicuetlan. The following chapter begins with the geometry of merchant capital and regional commerce that emerged in the last half century before independence. From an underpinning in the spatial distribution of economic activities it proceeds to explore the social divisions and alliances that emerged in various regional contexts: rural-urban relations, the internal structure of Indian communities, and caste and class aspects of ethnic relations.

CHAPTER 8

SPACES OF CAPITAL AND COMMERCE:
RURAL SOCIETY AND THE INTERREGIONAL ECONOMY OF CENTRAL GUERRERO

ETHNOGRAPHY, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND THEORY IN THE STUDY OF COLONIAL MARKETS

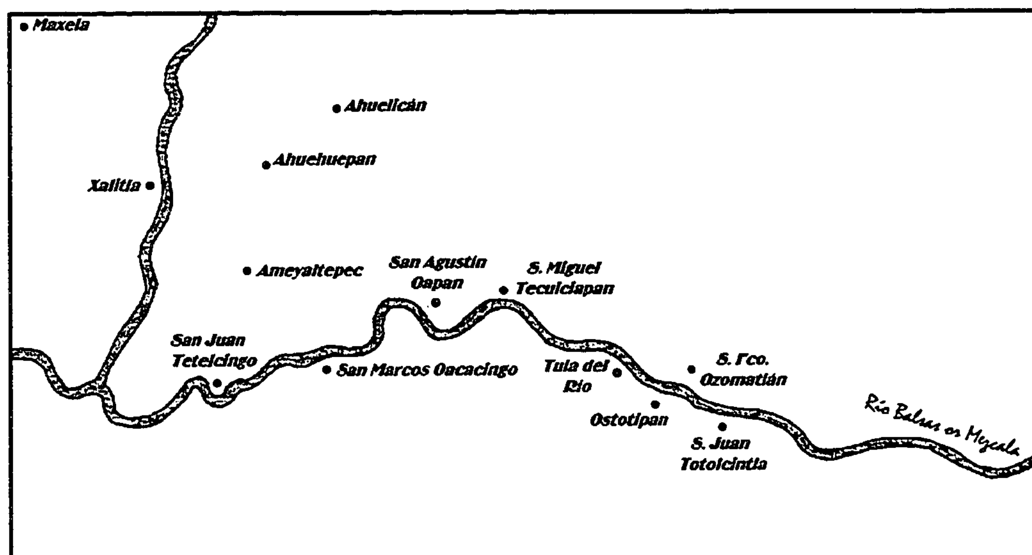
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO THE COLONIAL ECONOMY

During fieldwork it was not so much that I always got it wrong, but that I often didn't *get it*. Years ago, Garfinkel and his fellow ethnomethodologists made several concise and poignant statements about what they called the "background knowledge" that enable social actors to go about the task of *making* social structure (or, in a less grandiose claim, of *making it work*). My lack of such knowledge was brought home to me in many small ways. I remember once, during my first months of fieldwork, walking through the hills around Ameyaltepec with a friend from the village. Off in the distance, across several large gorges, we could see another man on foot, though it was not quite clear (at least to me) where he might have been going. Since I had already built up a rather well-deserved reputation for asking too many questions too many times, I decided that this was as good a time as any to add to my fame. So I turned to Luis Lucena, a seventy-year old man with quite a deadpan sense of humor, and asked in as serious a tone as I could muster, "So, who's that . . . and where's he going and what's he doing?" He answered without missing a beat. "That's a guy named José from Oapan who's coming to Ameyaltepec to look for a *yunta* (team of oxen) to rent for the coming season." Don Luis must have noticed the sarcastic edge to my thank you, for when we met the man, who indeed turned out to have been walking in our direction, he initiated a conversation that was rather more prolonged than the usual casual fare between two peasants passing each other on a path. Although he began with the normal greeting in such circumstances, "Where are you going brother José?" (kän tiaw mänoh Jó:seh?), after receiving the perfunctory answer, "Ameyaltepec," Don Luis pressed on. After a

few moments his original observation had been confirmed. The man was named José Cirilo, and he was heading to Ameyaltepec to ask some of the more wealthier farmers if he could rent a *yunta*.

After some time in the field I started to realize all the "clues"—the background knowledge or ability to read the physical and social landscape—that had led Luis Lucena to make his original comment, and that I had missed. A knowledge of the terrain and the multiple paths that crisscrossed its surface made it obvious that the man was walking from Oapan to Ameyaltepec (and not, for example, to Ahuehuepan or Ahuelicán). And when we first saw him from a distance, he was already outside the communal lands of Oapan. So he couldn't have been walking to his own field, nor would there have been much to look at. It was May and this was the

Map 8.a
The Nahuatl-Speaking Villages of the Balsas River Basin



time, in the agricultural cycle, to either clear the land or look for a *yunta*. And he obviously wasn't out chopping wood, fishing, or doing anything else of the sort; it was too late in the day

for that, and he didn't have any of the necessary equipment (nets, axes, a beast of burden, etc.). Even from a distance we could see that he was rather well dressed: a nicer hat and shirt than those used for work in the field. Moreover, someone like Don Luis could well have recognized from the man's clothes alone that he was not from Ameyaltepec. This was not a question of village style but of personal wardrobe. The men in the village would usually have one or two "dress shirts," and after awhile the bright colors and patterns of each man's predilections were as telltale a marker of identity as anything else he might carry. In the days before electricity, I was often told, if a man wanted to sneak out at night to steal maize, he would first strip off his outer clothes, since even in the dark they would give away his identity. Luis Lucena also knew that Oapan was a poor village, and that many of its residents lacked the plow teams necessary to farm their land. Not only was Ameyaltepec wealthier, but its men and women dedicated themselves to selling artisanry. Many now only maintained a precarious foothold in agricultural production; and those that did were more likely to use mules than oxen. There was also a special bond between Ameyaltepec and Oapan, dating back to the colonial period and probably beyond. Over time these cordial relations had surfaced in myriad ways, including close personal networks and lower rental prices for land and animals. Finally, Ameyaltepequeños joked that everyone in Oapan was named either José or María, and to the standard Oapan greeting of *kän tiaw* (where are you going?), they would usually add a tongue-in-cheek *mänoh José,* or *María,* as the case might be. The fact that our perchance meeting was with a man named José Cirilo, then, was the one lucky guess of Don Luis's observation.

The preceding anecdote illustrates how a series of particulars, of circumstantial evidence, can be threaded together to produce a sort of street corner act of divination. The ethnographer's magic, in this reading, is simply the not altogether welcome task of revealing clues that, depending on ones cultural knowledge, seem either public or private. This story, like many others

that could be adduced, suggests that a greater part of fieldwork is a sort of peeling off and delving into. Indeed the deictics that one could use to describe this process—of getting *below* the surface, *behind* the curtain, *under* the mask—imply a slow movement from the outside in, a crossing of a threshold of knowledge (despite any disclaimers to the contrary) that the more narrative type of ethnographies try to accomplish. Yet this same type of cultural knowledge permeates social (and economic) transactions that transcend incidental observations in quotidian banter. The examples are not hard to find.

Some years after the experience just described—and after I had moved from Ameyaltepec to Oapan, located down the valley and to the east (see map 8a)—I received another lesson in the particularities of cultural knowledge, this one with more implications of how we perceive peasant society and economics. By that time it had become clear to me that the geographical coordinates of the valley provide a not untrustworthy guide to the economic well-being of the villages that lie alongside the Balsas. As one penetrates eastward along the river basin, the communities, particularly those south of the river, become poorer and poorer. The poorest, at least by local reputation, is San Juan Totolcintla. During the dry-season months (from November to early June), the vast majority of its inhabitants abandon their homes for the sugarcane fields of Colima in northwestern Mexico, where some have established permanent residence. Others stay in Totolcintla, eking out a living. Women and children weave palm in long, narrow braided strips; an entire day's work (accomplished while talking, while walking, while praying…) might bring home the equivalent of a couple of soft drinks. The men will make chairs with a woven seat of palm on a frame made from *kuhchi:chi:hli*, a wood that abounds in the mountains near Totolcintla and that is coveted for its hardness and durability.

These chairs are hard to come by; production is low and most are consumed in the eastern valley. Yet one day, during a fiesta in Oapan, a man from Totolcintla showed up with several

dozen that he hoped to sell. He did not have to wait too long. By midday his merchandise was gone. Buyers paid eleven pesos for a chair; for those who bought more than a few, as I did, the price was lowered to ten. A few days later I headed out of Oapan with a couple of chairs on the early morning bus to Iguala (north of the area shown on map 8a), a regional market center and the throbbing heart of transport routes that penetrate the countryside in a slow pulse, with morning buses coming in and afternoon buses going out. For those who had other less rustic business, as I did that day, there were the *autobuses* to Cuernavaca and Mexico City. With an hour to kill, I unloaded my chairs and headed off to the western corner of the terminal, where Ameyaltepequeños are accustomed to gather, leaving bulky goods under the watchful eyes of friends, or just sitting around waiting to return to the village or to take a bus to Acapulco or Mexico City on their way to sell artisanry. I wanted to leave my recent acquisitions there while I went off for breakfast and perhaps a quick trip to the marketplace across the road.

Right away the chairs attracted attention. Ameyaltepequeños are inveterate merchants; I can't remember ever having shown up with something new and not having been immediately asked its price. Now was no exception. But equally certain, I felt, would be the comment *mlá:k patioh* (that's really expensive). I always felt that if I bought a 100-peso bill for 50, they'd still tell me it was too much to pay. So today, when some friends asked how much, I answered—trying to parry the inevitable comments about the chairs that Oapanecos bought for eleven and I bought for ten—that they had cost me nine pesos. It didn't work. Marcelo Venancio, a friend from Ameyaltepec, told me that he had bought some chairs for eight and that, clearly, I had paid too much. I tried to find the peasant catch-22: that it was his father who had bought the chairs several decades ago, that Marcelo had bought the chairs second hand, or that he had traveled all the way to Totolcintla to buy them himself. None of these scenarios was true. Marcelo had bought the chairs, the same as mine, in Ameyaltepec two weeks previously for eight pesos each. Others

had done the same. They swore to it. And no one would say *a:stah dió:s kistok* (may God be witness) while lying.

At first glance it appears strange that the price of a good would *decrease* over distance. Yet there were a variety of factors that led to a lower price in Ameyaltepec than in Oapan, despite the greater distance of the former from the site of production. Most prominent was Ameyaltepequeños' interpretation of the rationale behind this specific instance of long-distance exchange. Whereas Oapan was loosely linked to Totolcintla in a nominal trade network that covered the eastern basin, Ameyaltepec lay outside this system. Therefore the appearance of a Totolcintla trader in Ameyaltepec signaled, at some level, that the more established patterns of exchange had proved at least temporarily insufficient for the visiting merchant. Indeed, it turned out that the Totolcintla merchant had recently suffered a family tragedy and was in urgent need of cash. Long-distance trade in the *kuhchi:chi:hli* chairs was simply a household response to the structural conditions of the rural economy: few alternative sources of cash (i.e., a low opportunity cost for labor-intensive trade) and the limited, uneven demand of the eastern basin. Moreover, the merchant was not a peddler in the traditional sense, since he was marketing the fruits of his own production rather than merchandise acquired through the investment of capital. In formal terms, therefore, the long-distance sale can be conceptualized as a decreased return to labor; in Chayanovian terms, which rejects the assignment of "wages" to unpaid family labor, the long-distance trade represents a simple upward shift in household needs, compensated for by the self-exploitation of family labor.

Yet whatever our understanding of the economic processes that underlay the reduction of price over distance, the realization of these processes in a concrete instance of exchange represents a process of negotiation in which social factors become predominant. Like Don Luis's observation presented at the beginning of this chapter, Ameyaltepequeños' perception of the

factors that motivated the Totolcintla merchant's travel was no act of clairvoyance. But their ability to translate this local knowledge into benefits that circumvented the "economic logic" of market forces depended on their ability to act in a way that defined the economic event as a type of Chayanovian parable. In essence the Totolcintla merchant suffered the fate of Schroedinger's cat—his state (the economic potential of his trip) was undefined until it was "measured" in the context of economic exchange.[1] When Ameyaltepequeños were able to impose their logic of the situation by forcing sale at a below-market price, the merchant-producer appeared to us as a Chayanovian peasant seeking, or willing to accept, a monetary return that satisfied a temporarily increased familial need regardless of the self-exploitation or drudgery involved. In essence, sociopolitical factors (in the above case the power of Ameyaltepequeño buyers to define the situation of exchange to their benefit) were able to "bend space," creating a manifestation and impact of distance that was different from the Euclidean predictions of neoclassical economic geography. However, should the Totolcintla trader have succeeded in obtaining a higher price, and one that would have reflected a "fair" return for the transport of the goods, he would have fallen on the other side of the divide, his marketing strategy now appearing as the rational calculation of the cost of transport by a neoclassical actor.

Thus the pattern of return on labor is as much a social and political as an economic event and distance is defined in a human sociocultural, not natural, context. Ameyaltepequeños were able to acquire the chairs for eight pesos because they were able to define the exchange event as one driven by the familial need of the trader. Clearly, this determination was not a foregone

1. This quantum model is perhaps particularly appropriate as a critique of an economic geography of space given that the neoclassical emphasis on decisions and distance, as developed by Zipf, was itself compared to the effects of gravity as developed in Newtonian physics, and geography was compared to physics; see Steward (1956). To extend the quantum metaphor further, an anthropological approach to the spatial aspects of economics would look not at distance as in a classical physical model, but accept the possibility of cultural and cognitive factors creating the basis for unexplained (in a social-physical model) "action at a distance," as quantum physics has been described.

conclusion. It was, instead, the result of "negotiation" within the crucible of exchange, a context of barter in which Ameyaltepequeños held the decided advantage. Much more so than peasants from Oapan, those from Ameyaltepec could acquire goods from alternative sources: they traveled more frequently to the regional market center in Iguala and were generally better able to afford more luxurious (though not always more practical and comfortable) manufactured products. But perhaps the most important factor affecting the determination of price was that for Ameyaltepequeños bargaining was as much a shared as an individual process—there is social pressure to buy cheap and social communication to effect this goal, particularly when the seller is from another community. For example, during the first Friday of Lent producers and traders of finely woven and painted hemp bags from Coatepec de los Costales will take their wares to the fiesta at Cuetzala, in the *tierra caliente* (hotlands) of Guerrero. There, between visits to the local church and a sacred pool, pilgrims from Ameyaltepec will visit and revisit sidewalk vendors of *mamey* (a tropical fruit), of elegant *sombreros de estilla*, and of brightly decorated hemp bags. And for a couple of days *ka:non o:tko:w? ke:ch ika?* (Where did you buy it? How much was it?) will prevail as the most common greeting in the street. In the eyes of Ameyaltepequeños, the good bargain of one quickly becomes the birthright of all. The Totolcintla trader was caught in this web of discourse, though he was privy only to the final remark, the same one I would hear in a different context—*mlá:k patioh* (It's really expensive). And so he lowered his price.

For Braudel, who has introduced one of the more well-known analytic schemes for understanding the interpenetration of market and ménage, the economy of exchange was the point of articulation between culturally patterned practices of daily life on the one hand, and the grinding, mechanistic, and impersonal forces of merchant capitalism on the other. Yet as the preceding example makes clear, the market economy, " in which each party [knows] in advance the rules and the outcome, and for which the always moderate profits [can] be roughly calculated

beforehand," is seldom transparent.[2] Our hapless Totolcintla trader might well have *thought* he knew the rules in advance, as he set out from home on a search for profit. But like the liminal feline of the quantum paradox, who was suspended in a "superposition of states" until the moment of measurement, the trader or our story would find out that things were not defined (nor his market identity determined) until the moment of exchange, the time at which the relative force of buyer and seller would be mediated, measured, and resolved. This transaction event brings to the fore a truth that is pursued most fully in the third part of this thesis (chapters 10 and 11): that incipient markets, as a formal economic system, represent the unstable resolution of tension between social, political, and cultural factors on the one hand, and economic ones on the other. As we pull back in time and space, however, the former factors fall to the wayside along with specific individuals and explicit events in which they are manifested,[3] leaving behind the bare bones of ledgers and bills of sale, trade routes and the locations of markets, that become so much grist for the mill of socioeconomic and econometric history and of stochastic analysis, comfortable in the belief "that large-scale patterns are the outcomes of small-scale indeterminacy."[4]

Undoubtedly the colonial past was full of individuals and events such as the ones just described.[5] Their disappearance from the record might be mourned by those who seek a more

2. Braudel, cited in Pred (1990:42).

3. Van Young (1999) refers to these events as the "soft tissue, [which] . . . is the first to go with the passage of time and the hardest to recover for the historian." He also makes the point, parallel to the one that has motivated my beginning a chapter on the economic history of markets with an ethnographic anecdote, that "at risk of becoming too confessional, I should say that my own very brief ethnographic field work in Mexico, among Otomi peasants in the Mezquital Valley around 1970, was among the most valuable research experiences I have ever had, since it taught me the myriad sorts of daily cultural events (the 'soft tissue' of meaning and practice, I have been calling it) that are missing from documents" (p. 228, n. 38).

4. Johnston (1991:152).

5. See Glave (1989) on indigenous peddlars, and Kinsbruner (1987) on small store owners (*pulperos*). Stein (1997) examines the entrepreneurship of a petty merchant in the Real de Huautla; Kicza (1983:96–99) gives a brief account of non-indigenous *itinerant* traders, though from the perspective of their ties to elite

humanistic and cultural-economic history; or it might be celebrated by those who aspire to a more structural and economic interpretation. For both, however, the preceding anecdotes clearly suggest that the thickness of ethnographic description—the complexity of exchange relations when viewed up close—thins out as occurrences recede into the past.[6] This elusive aspect of commerce is disturbing if we consider that despite the extent to which *productive* relations might have been spatially restricted in colonial New Spain, *trade* did in fact penetrate into the lives of rural Mexicans (who acted as petty merchants, mule skinners, and occasional buyers) in a way that other nonagrarian economic relations could and did not. Thus, for example, in 1784 an estimated 4,590 muleteers (though many may have made repeated trips) paid tariffs on the camino real to Acapulco, which traversed the area under study;[7] each passed by the tollbooth with an average of 12.4 mules. Eighteen years later the figure had increased to 6,850 muleteers, with an average of 13 mules each. The totals were 56,895 mules for the earlier year and 88,923 mules for the latter, high figures that nevertheless pale before the nearly double figures reported along the camino real to Veracruz.[8]

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merchants interested in expanding their market coverage. It is important to distinguish between itinerancy (petty trade) and mule skinning (transport). For a detailed study of family networks and trade among peddlars in general, see Fontaine (1996:chap. 1).

6. See here, on the ethnographic reading of the past, Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:13ff).

7. The road actually bifurcated in Chilpancingo. One route proceeded east through Tixtla and Chilapa and then on toward Puebla and Mexico City. The other route headed northward through the Iguala Valley and then northeast past Cuernavaca and to Mexico City. It seems that the northern route was more heavily traveled, at least by those transporting cacao, a fact that is understandable if we consider that many of the muleteers were from Tepecuacuilco (see below).

8. Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 18, exps. 2 and 3. The total figures for each year were arrived at by multiplying the numbers in my sample of every fifth day by five. However, a more precise figure based on adding the monthly totals for 1802 yields 91,673 mules, which represents mules heading both south to Acapulco and north to the altiplano. Dividing this by half would yield 45,837 mules leaving Acapulco that year (note that this refers to individual trips, many mules obviously made repeated journeys). A monthly summary for toll payments in 1783 (Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 18, exp. 1) reveals payments of 6,987 pesos 5 reales, or 55,901 pack animals, very close to the 1784 figures. The figures vary for Veracruz (see Serrera Contreras 1977:258), but seem to indicate somewhere between 50,000 to 100,000 for the first decade of the nineteenth century. The camino real to Acapulco is discussed in more detail below; for a general discussion

The lack of alternatives in colonial Mexico to overland trade, a aspect of commerce that has often been interpreted as a negative influence on economic development and the prime factor in the regionalization (or spatial limitation) of exchange, can thus be viewed from another perspective: it necessitated labor-intensive transport for those goods that were traded over long distances, goods that were probably more (in both bulk and value) than commonly considered. Again, in light of the low standard of living in rural colonial Mexico and the virtually null opportunity cost of dry-season labor, activity in the transport sector (either as mule skinner or peddler) might well have made the difference between survival and starvation to a large sector of the agrarian population. This situation, which led to the self-exploitation of Indian labor, was recognized by some contemporaries, such as the alcalde mayor of Temascaltepec, who remarked that the Indians of his jurisdiction "do not value their personal work, nor that of their mules, when they are engaged in their own commerce."[9] Indeed, it is possible that a situation of highly disarticulated regional markets and excessive transport costs might well have favored the lower levels of rural society, where individuals had few alternatives and little to lose. Likewise, the greater the effective barriers to the capitalization of transport (due to high entry costs, low returns, high risk, among other factors), the greater the space left open to petty rural entrepreneurs whose intensive, poorly remunerated labor in effect compensated for the undercapitalized and weak infrastructure of transport and communication links. Whatever the econometric evidence for extraregional market integration (covariation in prices, specialization in regional production, capital transfers and social or trade networks that crossed "regional barriers"), the sheer scope of transport activity was bound to have an impact on peasant society, an impact that is largely ignored in macroeconomic studies that focus on the colonial economy as a whole or some portion

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of growth in commerce and domestic exchange during the late colonial period, see Garner (1993:chap. 6).

9. AGN-Sub 35/7 (1752).

dominated by a large urban or mining center.[10] And whatever the cost of transport might have been, a significant percentage of expenditures undoubtedly made its way back into the rural economy.[11] Vassberg's observation that for Castile "historians have tended to exaggerate the shortcomings of the market system" might well be applied to New Spain.[12] And to the degree that medium- and long-distance exchange permeated rural society, along with an increasing participation of rural society in transport and trade, the personal experience of place underwent a dramatic change: individual development (that is, the life-cycle activities of members of rural society) acquired a dynamic spatial as well as a natural temporal dimension.

Although there is no way to adequately recapture the textured patterns of contemporary description, it is possible to thicken the plot of economic development in late colonial central Guerrero. This goal is advanced by focusing on the implications of economic change for rural society, by asking of the historical economic record questions that relate to the impact of economic change on social relations in the countryside. An ethnographically informed history, in this sense, has little to do with the persistence of the past in the present, nor, at least not directly, with the relevance of present practices for interpreting those of yesteryear. Rather, it serves primarily to sensitize us to the nuances of rural life and to ask ethnographically informed questions of the past.[13] If, then, "space matters," it matters in different ways to different peoples

10. It should be remembered that contemporary complaints against the inefficiency of the transport sector were articulated from a liberal perspective that gradually began to define economic well-being in terms of the collective state of the body politic.

11. This process is little studied; Stein (1997), in examining the almost endless chain of commerce from the rich Consulado capitalists to the poorest peddler, notes that "at the end of the chain of distribution were hundreds of itinerant tradesmen pursuing the carrera de la viandancia, the tradesman's profession, throughout the countryside of New Spain" (p. 379).

12. Vassberg (1996:25); see n. 10 supra.

13. The role of theory in informing questions is noted by Pred (1984:282), who states of his theory of place that "it is not a theory that lends itself to formal testing, but a theory that is meant to inform the questions posed by researchers inquiring into real situations in actual places or regions." Theory, in this perspective, is meant not to explain, but to raise and focus questions.

at different times. The differentiated landscape of colonial New Spain molded the interpenetration of productive and commercial relations as they shaped social relations across the countryside, in cities and towns, and over the shifting networks that joined these two contrastive poles throughout the colonial period. An exploration of this process of socioeconomic spatialization as it took place in central Guerrero and the Iguala Valley is the basic theme of this and the following chapter.

These two chapters, then, take both an ethnographic and a processual approach to space; they look at how patterns of social interaction in the countryside were guided along and shaped by powerful "structuring" forces that permeated a region as profound changes occurred at the macrolevel of capital development. The ethnographic approach focuses on the ways in which changing economic relations were played out in the countryside, particularly in peasant communities but also, more generally, in rural, as opposed to urban, society. The processual approach conceptualizes region "as a process by which institutions and individuals interact within space and time."[14] In this sense region consists of a series of spatial relations that do not necessarily reflect any enduring, bounded, cognitively recognized, or culturally salient unit. These relations are the product of human action, particularly those that occur within systems of production and exchange. And the late colonial period is of primary interest precisely because of the rapidly changing nature of these relations and the extensive documentation that exists.[15] By focusing on the spatial concomitants to social interaction, this chapter and the next complete an

14. Gilbert (1988):212.

15. It was also interesting because of the emergence of competing doctrines and interests that led to a particularly volatile political economy. Liberal philosophies challenged such stalwart structures of medieval and early modern systems as regionally controlled markets, internal tariffs and taxes, and, particularly, the moral economy of grain production and distribution. The colonial system itself was in essence a house divided, in which mining enterprises continued to enjoy legal and fiscal considerations of a metropolitan state swayed by visions of colonial wealth. These tensions, and how they affected regional society in central Guerrero, are the focus of the third part of this thesis.

exploration of increasingly salient regional processes in central Guerrero that began with a consideration of territorialization and property relations (chapters 4 and 5), followed by an exploration of the production of place and struggles over space (chapters 6 and 7). These previous developments—which culminated in the extreme concentration of landownership in the Iguala Valley, dominated in the eighteenth century by two (de la Borda and Viedma) and then one (the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento) hacendados, and the strong tidal flow of migrants to cuadrillas in the central valley—had a profound impact on the development of productive and commercial relations in the valley, which was a fertile terrain for investment in intensified agricultural and livestock enterprises (particularly sugarcane haciendas and pig-fattening farms) and a magnet for commercial capital, as the valley's population boomed and rural demand increased. Whereas many theories of regional economic development take rural to urban migration as a foundational axiom, the situation described here runs counter to this assumption: migration *to* the rural hinterland was extremely high. As a result merchant and investment capital flowed to the hinterland as much as (or more than) to the urban mining center. The ramifications of this development were an increased mercantile dynamic to the "hinterland," as well as a high degree of monopolization and primacy of hinterland markets, centralized control of trade and transport in rural towns, some degree of political control of the rural elite over the urban authorities (as rural entrepreneurs posted the bonds necessary to office-holding), and, in general, an extremely problematic process of regional rural-urban market integration.[16]

Together, then, these ethnographic and processual concerns highlighted in the previous pages focus on two aspects of late colonial economic developments: their impact on the "lower levels" (peasant and indigenous) of rural society, and the fluidity of geographical patterns of

16. As Massey (1984:7) notes, "the geography of industry is an object of struggle." Yet, clearly, this struggle over the spatial organization of production and commercialization is an old process, and the documentation and exploration of this struggle in colonial societies is still in need of much research.

socioeconomic action. Struggles for control of production and exchange were not simply played out over space (particularly rural versus urban); they were the manifestation of underlying social tensions over the very definition and control of space. Thus many of the tensions of late colonial society can be interpreted, or even characterized, as related to spatial dynamics. In taking this tack, the sight line of this present study has been shifted toward geographical issues that have generally not been targeted in socioeconomic histories of production and exchange in New Spain. There is a reason for the relative absence of these issues in previous studies. On the one hand, it relates to how questions of region and exchange have entered into the historiographic literature; on the other, it reflects the theoretical underpinnings that have guided interpretations of the spatial dynamics of the late colonial economy. The former has been influenced by studies of the agricultural (hacienda) and mining sectors; the latter has shown the vestiges of liberal political economic critiques of bounded markets (and the fiscal mechanisms, such as the alcabala, that were alleged to hinder internal exchange) and, from the perspective of regional science, has embraced an urban-based analytic perspective focusing on market integration (the creation and incorporation of a hinterland) rather than on tension and dispute (between competing urban centers and within emerging hinterlands that were not altogether happy with a "cities first" policy and perspective). It is to these points—first the impact of historiographical and then theoretical trends and perspectives on how spatial aspects of the colonial economy have been studied—that the final pages of this introduction will turn.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THEORETICAL BASIS OF REGIONAL STUDIES IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

Over twenty years ago, William Taylor published his "Landed Society in New Spain: A View

from the South."[17] As the title implies, the "view from the south" was different from the view from the north (Chevalier), which was different than the view from the center (Gibson). So began a fracturing of the colonial landscape that eschewed broad strokes of sectoral generalizations—"the hacienda in New Spain"—in favor of a regional approach that nevertheless still shielded historians from an unchecked descent into descriptive particularity. A couple of years later, an edited volume by Ida Altman and James Lockhart consolidated this approach in a broad-ranging comparative volume on contrasting regions.[18] The analytical factors that were therein proposed to characterize and explain regional development of agrarian and land tenure systems were both very general (the relative proportion of the Spanish and Indian population, the emergence of primary urban markets, the timing of indigenous consolidation and titling of landholdings) and essentially bipolar (usually a mining or urban center and its hinterland). Their broad approach is exemplified by their "rough" classification of the regions in New Spain as "South, Center, and North."[19] With some variation, this paradigmatic approach has continued. The regional approach to colonial society in New Spain has tended to explore spatial processes not as a topic of theoretical inquiry, an approach that would place such studies in a comparative framework and would engage geographical debates as they have developed elsewhere, but as a specific response to issues within Latin American historiography: the nature of the hacienda (capitalist of feudal), the extent of Indian land retention, the specificity of regional manifestations of general processes

17. Taylor (1974).

18. Altman and Lockhart (1976).

19. Ibid., 4. In general the perspective on region offered by these two authors is more a heuristic than analytic device: "The region, in other words, is for us primarily a mens of emphasizing diversity and studying the pattern therein. . . . Every unit from the huge quasi-continental viceroyalties to the tiniest submunicipality—anything with a nucleus and a periphery, or merely some degree of cohesiveness and interaction—constitutes a region and acts like it" (p. 9). This negation of the importance of scale in defining a region provides a perspective that somewhat counters the suggestions of authors such as Carol Smith, who studies regions precisely because of their intermediate size, between community and nation.

of socioeconomic change, and, most importantly, the role of urban and mining centers in "promoting," or stimulating, regional integration.

The historiography of regional spaces in colonial America has also been marked by another key debate, one that was bifurcated at birth and has continued to whirl about in two entangled threads. The first spun out of an alternative explanation to a virtually uncontestable fact: the general, though temporary, decline of silver remissions from New Spain to Spain beginning in the late 1630s. An initial explanation linked this decline to a crisis in the colonial mining industry during a short "century of depression." Subsequently a counterproposal emerged, one that suggested that the decrease in silver remissions reflected not a decline in production but rather the increased retention of silver in the colonies, as a small internal market began to emerge. A research agenda soon developed: to document a nascent, and increasingly independent, internal economy either by examining processes of protoindustrialization in the manufacturing sector or by exploring the emergence of a class of merchant capitalists.[20] The second thread began with Andean scholars, who focused more on a direct relationship between a mining center and a mercantile economy, with the former perceived as an "engine of economic growth for colonial Latin America in general."[21] Eventually the search for internal markets was to stimulate a debate (which has woven through much of the discussion on colonial markets) as to whether the primary independent variable in such internal development was silver production or demographic

20. Protoindustrialization has generally been studied in the textile manufacturing sector, particularly for the late colonial period. See the works of Miño Grijalva, Salvucci, and Thomson cited in the bibliography. For entrepreneurship, the basic studies are Hoberman (1991), who specifically addresses the question of the seventeenth-century depression, and Kicza (1983), for the Bourbon period. See also Garavaglia (1983). Stern (1988) discusses the implications of colonial production and growing autonomy for world-systems theory.

21. The classic works in this regard are Assadourian (1979, 1982), and Assadourian et al. (1980). Although not so directly, or theoretically, stated, West (1949) pioneered the approach that examined the role of mining in integrating a regional economy oriented to supplying the mines. See also Larson (1988). The quote is from Pérez Herrero (1992:121).

expansion (the latter as part of a general process of urbanization).[22] In tandem, these two approaches produced a historiography that has focused on regional systems as a naturally evolving process revolving around the flow of manufactures and agricultural products to satisfy growing urban (or mining) demand. The overriding theme has been one of integration.

The interesting question, however, is not which foundation of a demand structure (demographic or mining) was more significant to economic and market development in the colony, but how they differed and how they conflicted. In this regard the Taxco-Iguala region provides a particularly propitious case study, for while mining was centered in Taxco, the demographic dynamics lay in the hinterland economy of the Iguala Valley. The ample evidence of significant migration into the agricultural hinterland has already been cited and discussed; in this and the next chapter evidence will be adduced to show that merchant capital soon followed migrants into the valley, stimulated by three factors: 1) the intermediate position of the Iguala Valley hinterland between the port of Acapulco and Mexico City, a location that attracted investment in transport; 2) demographic growth and increasing demand for various manufactured and non–locally produced agricultural products that led to a concentration of merchant capital in hinterland towns; and 3) general market growth that encouraged intensification of rural production and exchange among all sectors of the peasant economy. And although specific details of production are lacking, the extent of mining activity in Taxco, one of the major sources of silver in central Mexico, is well documented, particularly for the eighteenth century.[23] Yet as one draws closer and closer to the internal dynamics of the Taxco-Iguala regional economy, the growth marks and stress lines become more striking and disturbing. If regional economies are born as a result of urban-rural integration, it is an extremely painful delivery; and the nuclear

22. See, for example, Pérez Herrero (1992:121–24) and Ibarra (1995:101).

23. See López Miramontes (1975), López Miramontes and Urrutia de Stebelski (1980), Gamboa (1761),

family that ensues is constantly bickering and threatening divorce. There are clear structural reasons for this.

The classic model of rural-urban integration posits a type of symbiotic relationship: urban manufactures for agrarian produce.[24] Although certainly money transactions mediate each exchange (grain↔money↔manufactures), the basic premise of "grains for goods" is not an unwarranted assumption, as long as the exchange is not mediated by an entrepreneurial merchant class. When this occurs, mining centers would seem to be at a distinct disadvantage, a disadvantage that can only be mitigated when they offer economic incentives (i.e., higher prices) or assert administrative control (i.e., structured and bounded markets, tax-free zones, etc.).[25] It would appear that much merchant-controlled commerce in colonial Mexico was essentially bidirectional: traders would take one type of good into a zone and emerge with another.[26] This seems to have been particularly true of areas that offered highly specialized products. For example, much of the trade into the cotton producing coastal jurisdictions of Igualapa, Acapulco, and Zacatula involved such exchanges; and it is not unlikely that in general the most productive routes of exchange, particularly for undercapitalized and petty merchants, were those that enabled traders to profit on both, or all, legs of a journey.[27] With this in mind, silver-producing markets

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and Howe (1949), as well as numerous primary sources.

24. Chapters 6 and 7 explored how rural to urban migration has been perceived in the literature on economic development and compared this to the situation in colonial central Guerrero, which resulted in a very different dynamic to rural-urban relations.

25. See part 3. The drive to lower taxes for mining (in this case the alcabala) was spearheaded by Taxco miners, who petitioned for exemptions for a wide range of goods. Yet in fact many urban areas tried to insure relatively unaggressive alcabala tax collection in an effort to attract merchants; numerous cases of litigation were initiated against what urban authorities felt were overzealous tax collectors (see Amith, n.d. b).

26. This aspect of exchange, and its effect in effectively lowering transport costs, is discussed by Suárez Argüello (1997:passim).

27. See, for example, many of the entries in Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 2, exp. 4 (1780). Thus, in an entry for 23 April, don Juan Joseph Herrera, *vecino* of Guajuapa, paid 34 pesos 4½ reales for 576 arrobas of

were at a distinct disadvantage in competing for the attention of traders, who would often be unable to return with any type of merchandise that would generate a profit. Probably part of the inflationary effect noted in mining centers was not the result of a greater money supply, nor even the boom and recession cycle that made it periodically necessary to stimulate the rapid infusion of agricultural and manufactured goods, but of the particular nature of interregional trade in New Spain. As in the ethnographic cases introduced at the beginning of this chapter, it is important to delve beneath the surface to the structure of exchange itself and hypothesize as to its basic characteristics.

It is here that we enter into the final points, which relate to the analytical assumptions and theoretical underpinnings that have guided the interpretations of the spatial dynamics of the late colonial economy. Perhaps the most pervasive and basic assumption is that market *development* and market *integration* go hand in hand. For the colonial period, there are many concomitants to this perspective: that a poor transportation infrastructure hindered interregional trade and the integration of a national market; that a sales tax (alcabala) on most transactions was the principal institutional barrier to interregional exchange; and that the dominant exchange patterns were dendritic systems (oriented toward the extraction of wealth to a metropolitan center) and solar systems (oriented to the regional integration of a hinterland to an urban core). In chapters 10 and 11I explore, in regard to the supply of grain, a contrary perspective: that market closure is not a vestige that tends to disappear with the emergence of integrating economic forces at a national (or colonywide) level, but rather that such closure may often emerge in tandem to integrating forces as a protective measure to defend regional prerogatives. Essentially, this is an argument of spatial politics: that regional political forces protect regional market privileges against extraregional

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cotton, "which he carried out in exchange for goods and cash." Similar entries abound: sugar and cloth from the Chilapa area that was exchanged for cotton, rice, and salt from the coast; and cheese from Michoacán that was brought to the Costa Grande of the province of Zacatula, where it was also used to

economic forces. But at the same time, against the liberal neoclassical viewpoint, which holds that lack of integration is the result of imperfections (effectively barriers) in the marketing system, there is also a strictly economic argument: that regional imbalance is an essential aspect of, not a barrier to, capitalist development.[28]

Yet it has been the neoclassical perspective, that integration and balance will naturally occur in a free market, and that imbalance and lack of integration is a direct result of imperfections, has, at least implicitly, dominated much of the literature on the colonial economy. One of the major factors often adduced to explain a fractured economy was a poor system of transportation, a "problem" that has already been discussed. The case of the Totolcintla trader illustrates, in an ethnographic context, the danger of equating distance with cost without taking into consideration the myriad possibilities of market exchange. Yet more direct evidence is at hand that warns of any simple portrayal of internal markets in the colonies. The vast number of muleteers who trekked daily along the camino real reveals just how robust the transport sector really was, particularly if one considers the profits to be gained through bidirectional trade and the potential for a positive articulation of peasant farming (rainy season) and transport activity (dry season). Like many aspects of the colonial economy, transport was a multifaceted and essentially "two-tiered" sector, embracing both highly capitalized ventures and petty peasant traders; while topographical challenges may have discouraged and harmed the former, they may well have encouraged and benefited the latter.[29]

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acquire tropical products.

28. See Holland (1976). This same perspective is offered by Soja (1989:162ff), who likewise asserts that "regionalism . . . is a possible response to regionalization, a 'reaction formation' to borrow a term used to describe ethnicity and other communal identities" (p. 164). Perhaps the most complete expression of "unevenness" or "imbalance" as an essential feature of capitalist development is found in Smith (1984).

29. In this regard note Garner's (1993:176) comment that "although a considerable amount of interregional or interurban trade existed by the end of the eighteenth century, the cost of transport certainly placed a limitation on how far products could be shipped or how much markets could be exploited."

The other whipping boy of "enlightened" economists has been what Adam Smith referred to as "the famous Alcavala of Spain," a tax that was levied on each successive sale of an item.[30] Taking his analysis from Uztáriz, whom he cites, Smith noted that "if the profits of the merchant importer or merchant manufacturer were taxed, equality seemed to require that those of all the middle buyers, who intervened between either of them and the consumer, should likewise be taxed."[31] Uztáriz claimed that this tax was the ruin of manufacturing in Spain; Smith added that "he might have imputed to it likewise the declension of agriculture, it being imposed not only upon manufactures, but upon the rude produce of the land."[32] This unfavorable view of the alcabala, which alongside a poorly developed infrastructure had been considered the principal barrier to interregional commerce, has become a sort of commonplace in literature on the Hispanic economy. There have been few critical examinations of the functioning and impact of this highly unpopular (and unusual) tax system. For Spain, the alcabala was considered a particularly onerous tax, both in regard to individual welfare and commercial and industrial development. Priestley called the sales tax "the most detested of all the long list of taxes" and Jovellanos, in his *Informe de ley agraria*, condemned the tax as follows: "[It] surprises its prey, the product of the soil, at its birth and pursues and nips it as it circulates, never losing sight of it or letting it escape, until the moment of its consumption."[33] Protests against the tax were not

30. A. Smith (1937:850–51).

31. Ibid., 850. For a discussion of Uztáriz, see Castillo (1980), Grice-Hutchinson (1993), Hamilton (1935), Márquez (1944), and R. Smith (1971). The most complete work on alcabalas in New Spain is Litle (1985), and an excellent introduction is found in Grosso and Garavaglia (1996a). Primary sources can be found in Fonseca and Urrutia (1849:II:1–118) and Mexico, Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público (1945). For the alcabala in Spain, see Artola (1982).

32. Smith (1937:851). R. Smith (1971) has noted, nevertheless, that Uztáriz was strongly in favor of tariffs.

33. Priestly (1916:353); cited in R. Smith (1948:34). For Jovellanos, see Herr (1958:128). Note that only after 1777 was a clear-cut distinction made whereby resales within a single jurisdiction were not taxed while resales across jurisdictions were; see Grosso and Garavalgia 1996b:28). When this occurred interregional trade was placed at a distinct disadvantage to province-internal commerce.

uncommon, and changes in tariffs and custom were often hotly contested. For both mother country and colony, it has usually been perceived as another ill-fitting piece in a disarticulated jigsaw of an economy. Yet without much difficulty; it is possible to turn our understanding of the alcabala almost completely on its head.

As a sales tax, the alcabala had one inexorable effect: to penalize merchants and multiple sales of a single good; it was thus particularly harmful to industrialization and the development of a commercial infrastructure to distribute manufactured products.[34] It was much less onerous for the distribution of provisions and, indeed, items of basic necessity were often exempted from this tax. When Jovellanos spoke of the tax as "pursuing its prey," it must be remembered that the prey was only caught when, as one middleman sold it to another, it was waylaid on its path to the final consumer. Concomitantly, then, the alcabala benefited, and perhaps encouraged, direct marketing by producers, who in competition with traders and resellers (i.e., those who were targeted by the tax) enjoyed a distinct commercial advantage, directly proportional to the number of resales. In other words, producers would naturally enjoy a higher profit margin than resellers, who would be "penalized" by the alcabala.[35] This is clear in the case of cotton exports from the Pacific coastal region. Producers who transported their harvest directly were issued permits without payment of any sales taxes, "for being of their own harvest" (*por ser de su propia cosecha*). This automatically gave them a 6 to 8 percent margin of profit (depending on the period) over resellers.[36] For example, assuming a 50-peso sale of a given product, a reseller would wind up

34. To the degree that the alcabala increased the cost of manufactures, it certainly had a dampening effect on industrialization, given that one factor that expanded demand (particularly in items such as cloth) was the willingness of families to forego household production for manufactures. If the latter increased in price, for whatever reason, the possibility of industrial production replacing home production would decrease. For a classic study of the New English textile industry, which discusses substitution of home cloth production, see Zevin (1971).

35. See, in this regard, the complaint by Mexico City resellers noted in Stein (1997:401).

36. As Grosso and Garavaglia note (1996b:42), the alcabala charge was 6% from 1778 to 1780, 8% from

paying 12 percent in taxes (6 pesos for two sales) whereas a producer who sold directly would pay only 6 percent (3 pesos in the one tax payment on the direct sale). The producer who marketed directly would therefore enjoy a higher profit margin that might effectively translate into greater remuneration for transport costs. Or it could allow producers to reduce their selling price, thus undercutting merchant middlemen in market access. If we again consider that producers were often from the lower peasant classes, with a low opportunity cost for their labor and a low standard of living, it is possible to see how they were favored by both the defective transport infrastructure and the nature of the alcabala tax.

Another aspect of the alcabala that has not been properly explored is one that directly relates to the articulation of colonial markets and the tension between local and centralized command of the market economy. The alcabala, originally in fact a fourteenth-century concession to the crown by regional lords, provided a mechanism for control at both these levels. It was therefore often at the center of political struggles that affected relations among regions and between any specific region and the center. Key to this interpretation is a structural analysis that assumes that the impact of taxation at any point in the colonial system is directly related to, and directly effects, the overall structure of commerce and exchange, and that the implementation of taxes such as the alcabala represented regionalized political struggles over the spatial aspects of state fiscal policy.

To the degree that alcabala policy and taxation rates were established by national edict, the institution provided a mechanism whereby the centralized government could establish policies that affected the direction of commerce among the provinces. In this regard it bore a clear

1781 to 1790, and 6% from 1791 to 1810. After 1810 numerous war levies raised the alcabala to approximately 16–18%.

resemblance to the initiatives of Colbertian mercantilism.[37] A particularly striking instance of this function is the lowered tax rate (2 percent, or even complete exemption, instead of the standard 6 or 8 percent) for outlying areas and "nuevos poblaciones."[38] By lowering taxes in peripheral or undeveloped locales, the viceregal government hoped to encourage commerce into these frontier zones. Another aspect of centralized administration was the application of set tariffs to certain goods, usually those that tended to greatly fluctuate in price and that were highly traded and necessary items. Thus many items were charged according to a set, and over time very stable, scale (*tarifa* or *arancel*). Part of the reason for this system was undoubtedly administrative; a constant revision of tariffs in accord with seasonal and short-term price fluctuations would, in the words of the *fiscal* of the Real Audiencia, become "a very grave inconvenience." But besides the logistical problem of constant revision, the *fiscal* added that "there is no doubt that a persuasive argument is that of equity, that there be no change [in the alcabala] in order to benefit the poor, given that they are the ones who are bound to suffer the most harm . . . during the period in which they [pigs, in this case] might become expensive."[39] Essentially this is an argument for an effective tax reduction (by maintaining a tariff charge that had been fixed at a given percentage of a lower price) that would be most beneficial to the poor in times of high prices for food staples. Though here quite clearly manifested, this "moral economy" aspect of the alcabala was, in fact, much more pervasive than has been recognized.[40] Tax exemptions for unprocessed grain were

37. See the classic studies by Cole (1939, 1943). Particularly important is the Colbertian stress on centralized policy adjustment in accord with specific regional necessities.

38. Chihuahua was taxed at a rate of 2%, see AGN-GP 43/4 (1760). More dramamtically, although paying only 4%, the Villa de Gigedo petitioned for a complete exemption "a título de nuevos pobladores," based on ley 2, tít. 4, libro VI of the *Recopilación de Castilla*. See also Grosso and Garavaglia (1996b:43–44). Equally important was the establishment of tax-free ferias in order to promote commerce and trade in particular backwater regions.

39. Both citations are from AGN-GP 59/fols. 7f–10f (1776) in regard to Puebla. The particular case is in reference to an attempt to increase the tariff on pigs during a period of price inflation.

40. Grosso and Garavaglia mention another aspect of the alcabala tax that benefited the lower classes: the

gradually extended from public and *alhóndiga* sales to most any transaction of these subsistence goods, particularly those that were related to the goal of provisioning the poor; as the fiscal, in one instance, noted, it was the "spirit"—and here he seemed to be referring to the moral spirit—of the tax law that should be followed.[41] Likewise, grain that was commercialized when exported outside of a region was more susceptible to taxation than that consumed locally.[42] Clearly, then, the alcabala was often structured by centralized authorities in an attempt to affect both the social and the spatial aspects of exchange patterns—encouraging commerce in frontier societies and favoring a grain market that would both benefit the poor as well as local consumption.

There were other aspects of the sales tax that affected the spatial aspect of trade: the propensity for viceregal authorities to respect local custom in regard to alcabala charges; local disputes between different sectors of society for control over policies of tax administration and assessment; and struggles between individuals who occasionally rented a sales tax farm (and who were interested in strict assessments and high tax income) and local commercial and other interests (who were interested in flexible assessments and tax reductions).[43] Local custom could

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total exemption of all sales of under one peso in value (1996b:33).

41. AGN-GP 43/fols. 222f–223v (1762), in reference to grain charges in San Luis Potosí. In arguing that the "spirit" of the law should be followed (as in the present case of San Luis Potosí in 1762), a moral argument was being put forth.The actual laws exempted grain sold in *alhóndigas* and public markets from the alcabala. Gradually many cities and towns in New Spain obtained an exemption for all grains sold for provisioning, arguing that only the large cities had public granaries or grain markets. Again, this can be viewed as a moral economy argument: the effect was to add a fiscal penalty to exporting maize out of a jurisdiction.

42. Litigation over taxes on grain sales was common; a particularly enlightening discussion of exemptions is found in AGN-GP 46/fols. 351v–362v (1762); see also AGN-GP 42/fols. 251f–253f (1760) for tax exemptions on grain sold to the poor, and AGN-GP 43/fols. 222f–223v (1762). Grosso and Garavaglia (1996b:28ff) offer a brief discussion of this point.

43. When the new *alcabalero* changed custom in Guadalcazar, regional customs were defended and prevailed; AGN-GP 43/fols. 93f–93v (1761). The force of custom was a particularly significant factor in decreasing the power of a centralizing polity.

An examination of 177 bids over the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century reveal that 103 of the bids went to individuals, 52 went to local corporate groups, and 12 provide no data on the identity of the tax farmer; see Amith (n.d. b).

be a sufficient argument to avoid charges initiated by a new tax farmer.[44] Custom, to the extent that it was spatially restricted (as it invariably was), created an uneven "playing field" for long-distance exchange and, like the "ethnographic factors" mentioned earlier, warped the impact of measured distance conceived in a purely physical framework. Along with this defense of (and respect for) custom, what also comes through in the documentary record is the extreme sensitivity of provincial officials to any local fiscal burden that might induce merchants to search for markets with less onerous conditions. Regional efforts to lower tax assessments were more often than not oriented to attracting commerce rather than reducing taxes (and, as a result, consumer prices).

The alcabala then, was a card to be played in interregional competition for the influx of goods and market advantages. Moreover, when administered by the municipality or a local association of merchants, the alcabala could indeed be structured and molded to promote particular social and economic goals.[45] And small shifts in the tax burden were perceived to have a significant impact on the spatial aspects of markets. Thus, for instance, in the area under study, Taxco authorities charged a 1 real tax on market stalls until don José de la Borda, "of his noted piety and good-will," began to pay this charge himself "so that the Indians and other poor sellers would not suffer from this charge."[46] The major concern of the mining deputies seems to have been that by assessing a fixed fee, petty merchants were disproportionately charged and would be

44. AGN-GP 43/fols. 93f–v.

45. Thus for Spain, Vassberg (1996:34) notes how "to encourage [traveling vendors, remote mountain villages] often renounced the right to charge the normal sales tax (*alcabala*)." Miño Grijalva (1984:32) notes how cloth manufacturers would be located in regions that provided the greatest tax incentives. Thomson (1986:176) notes how in Puebla during the 1740s, "merchants and shopkeepers were leaving the city 'to where the *alcabala* is more benign.'"

46. AGN-GP 53/73f–75f and AGN-GP 54/s.n., s. fols. (9 June 1773).

inclined to take their merchandise elsewhere.[47] Mining towns had another, more particular concern: that tax officials would compensate for revenue lost through exemptions on materials used in mining by shifting the tax burden onto other goods.[48] Miners were therefore caught in a double bind: the more they petitioned for, and were successful in obtaining, sales tax exemptions for materials used in mining, the more other goods were subjected to strict tax assessments, a development that threatened to decrease the willingness of merchants to bring their wares to the mines. Perhaps the most vicious disputes, however, were those between entrepreneurs, who hoped to make a profit by renting the sales tax farm, and local residents, who inevitably resented the strict application of the law by individuals (often outsiders) interested simply in obtaining the best return for their investment, regardless of its impact on local economy and society.[49]

This brief review of the alcabala suggests several new ways of looking at the social and political concomitants to this tax. The former seem quite clear: by taxing merchants at the same rate (and sometimes many more times) as producers, it indirectly favored the marketing position of the latter. Also, in the exemptions that it allowed, the alcabala was quite sensitive to the class structure of consumers and producers; in this way it was much more "progressive" than other taxes of the period. It also had a strong moral component, not only in the exemptions it afforded to subsistence goods and Indian commerce, but in how during times of rising prices the alcabala tax (which as a percentage tax such have also risen) was often maintained at a fixed absolute level (thus it would be charged at a lower percentage of the now higher prices). At the same time, the

47. A more direct complaint that high and unjust charges in Taxco were inducing petty merchants, particularly Indians, to take their goods elsewhere is found in AGN-GP 30/262 (1735).

48. See the case of Pachuca, AGN-GP 31/94 (1736).

49. A particularly striking case of this conflict between tax farmer and local interests occurred in Guadalcazar, where the *alcabalero* argued that the rental of mines should be considered a sale of metal and be subject to the alcabala charge; AGN-GP 40/230 (1756). See also a situation in Pachuca where local interests petitioned for collective administration of the tax farm (*encabezonamiento*) in order to make alcabala collection more in line with mining interests; AGN-GP 30/141 (1735).

alcabala was at the center of several conspicuous political struggles. First, it represented a point of contention between regional and central interests that went well beyond the obvious dispute over fiscal resources. For viceregal authorities the sales tax represented a means by which they could direct patterns of commercial exchange and by which they could operationalize a paternalistic concern with subsistence and public welfare. For local authorities it represented a source of relatively autonomous control, particularly during those periods when local taxes were administered by *encabezonamiento*, i.e., when local collective institutions bid for and were granted the right to charge the alcabala tax, which they assessed in the way they best saw fit. Second, at the regional level, authority over the alcabala provided local authorities with a means to attract merchants at the expense of neighboring jurisdictions. The alcabala began as a temporary concession by regional authorities to King Alfonso XI in 1342; four centuries later it retained many of the accouterments of a fragmented system of decentralized power.[50] Finally, at a local level (i.e., within a particular region), the alcabala proved to be a bone of contention among the various sectors of the commercial, productive, and political elite. Likewise, to the degree that the alcabala was farmed out at lower and lower levels, it contained the seeds of geographically based disputes between major and minor centers (as well as a greater potential for personal or patron-client ties to affect the application of the tax, since it created a local vertical power structure). The degree to which a disproportional burden of the tax was shifted from higher to lower centers within a given tax district (*alcabalatoria*) is a topic that has not been studied, but the structure that would permit such an extractive enterprise was certainly in place. These three levels of analysis (region/nation; interregional; intraregional) suggest that alcabala records may be useful not simply as documentation of trade, but as evidence for political struggle over the spatial and social aspects of market society.

50. For the early history of the alcabala, see Artola (1982:37 ff.).

In sum, to a certain degree the alcabala favored lower-class producers and consumers, stimulated direct marketing in a medieval (town-country) pattern, empowered regional elites (however much they may have fought among themselves) in their efforts to create favorable imbalances in mercantile activity, and provided central authorities with an institutional means to structure patterns of commercial exchange. Yet during the eighteenth century a liberal political economy and a centralized political regime were developing new perspectives on the preceding issues: paternalism was no longer considered the proper solution to social ills, competitive and long-distance trade were promoted over closed markets, regional prerogatives were less and less tolerated by an absolutist state, and (particularly after the physiocrats) the "invisible hand" of free market forces was considered far superior to centralized (albeit enlightened) administration as a means of regulating exchange. There were certainly failings of the alcabala system (as when goods were taxed, illegally, as they passed through a jurisdiction on their way to a more distant market) as well as abuses (the literature is replete with disputes between aggressive tax collectors and assertive local elites). But it is worth considering that the present "prejudice" against the alcabala (a tax that in New Spain, in fact, was particularly moderate in comparison to the metropolis) might in no small measure stem from a more or less uncritical acceptance of the condemnations of liberal political economists and the strident claims of early modern apologists who, convinced that private vice could become public virtue, lauded entrepreneurial, self-interested merchants and championed unrestricted markets. Much as Molina Enríquez's 1909 liberal attack on unproductive large landholdings was to set the stage for decades of debate over the liability of the Mexican hacienda for "los grandes problemas nacionales,"[51] the liberal tendencies of late eighteenth-century political economy and the centralizing ideology of the contemporary nation-state seem to have had an disproportionate impact on the terms by which

51. Molina Enríquez (1909).

subsequent generations of historians, up to the present, have analyzed the spatial integration of the late colonial economy and negative impact of barriers posed by inefficient transportation and a complicated system of internal tariffs and taxes.

From one perspective, then, one that dates at least to the late eighteenth century, the crystallization of economic space into so many isolated spheres of exchange was a consequence of rugged terrain (a legacy of nature) and cumbrous taxes (a legacy of man). The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of states that pursued a solution to both these problems with a vengeance: the physical and economic terrains were leveled as canals and roads were built and taxes rationalized (in the best Weberian sense) or abolished. But from another perspective—an urban-centered analytic focus on market integration and regional formations—self-contained commercial spheres are not the lamentable effect of geographic and social barriers that hinder exchange, but the result of an emerging and dynamic force that stimulates exchange, though one that tends to center on a single point only: the city.

From this perspective the city stands both at the magnetic center of integrated regional economies and at the cutting edge of academic discourse on regions and the spatial aspects of socioeconomic change. For this reason it is not surprising that prototypical works in this genre resurrect the isolated state of Von Thünen and revolve around solar system models of market integration.[52] Perhaps the quintessential example of this type of urban-rural history is the work of Cronon, who in his humbling and inspiring study of Chicago offers an eloquent appeal for a shift in focus away from the frontier that, in the history of the American West, Turner had made famous: "As village became metropolis, so frontier became hinterland. The history of the Great West is a long dialogue between the place we call city and the place we call country. So perhaps the best vantage point from which to view that history is not with Turner, in the outermost of von

52. Most noteworthy in this regard are Cronon (1991), discussed below, and Van Young (1981).

Thünen's zones, but in the place where Turner himself said, 'all the forces of the nation intersect.'"[53] However, this Hegelian geography, like the master-slave dialectic that the philosopher made famous, contains an inherent bias toward the upper level: the city is the master. In a rhetorical query that could well have been uttered by Jane Jacobs, Cronon asks whether the Wisconsin farms he saw as a child "would ... be here without the city in which to sell their crops?"[54] Perhaps indeed Chicago was able to dominate, relatively unimpeded, the consolidation of exchange in the emerging Middle West, just as Potosí went virtually unchallenged as the dominant force of much of Andean market development.[55] Certainly again, as Cronon states, "a rural landscape which omits the city and an urban landscape which omits the country are radically incomplete as portraits of their shared world."[56] But there are some shortcomings to this approach, shortcomings that make the application of this model to the general study of rural-urban relations problematic.

The first is that such a model works best, if not only, on a grand scale. One could try to scale things down for other urban areas. Yet scale is not the only problem, and anyone attempting to write a book entitled, say, *Nature's Middling Ground: Toledo and Western Ohio* would find that Toledo was not just a Chicago in miniature with a smaller hinterland. The entire dynamic and

53. Cronon (1991:54). In the opening lines of *Nature's Metropolis*, the symbiotic definition of his object of study is clearly stated: "As someone who believes that truth in advertising should apply no less to books than to automobiles or toothpaste, I must warn the reader at the outset that *Nature's Metropolis* may appear to be something that it is not. Despite what its subtitle may seem to suggest, it is a comprehensive history neither of Chicago nor of the Great West. It is rather a history of the relationship between those places" (p. xv).

54. Ibid., 8.

55. Much of the early work on regional integration in the New World was done in the Andean region, which, at least in terms of mining, is characterized by a much higher degree of primacy and centralization (around Potosí) than New Spain, where several silver-producing areas competed among themselves. See part 3, chapters 10 and 11, below; also, see particularly the works by Assadourian listed in the bibliography.

56. Cronon (1991:51).

flow around a less grandiose urban center with its hinterland is very different than that of a megalopolis. The smaller cities might often do battle among themselves, caught in eddies where the currents of history and geography, of time and space, are a perplexing mix. And in a very real sense their loss is the metropolis's gain, as the high degree of primacy in Latin American cities should make clear. Thus when Cronon asserts that "a landscape which omits the city and an urban landscape which omits the country are radically incomplete as portraits of their shared world," he is offering a vision of a spatial system of the West as a single tandem that simplifies by omission the very complex structures of economics and politics in the middle range.

A second limitation of an urban-based approach is that it tends to focus on market integration (the creation and incorporation of a hinterland to a natural metropolis) rather than on tension and dispute. The classic approach of Cronon is again apparent in this regard for, as he states, "the farmers chose Chicago as their destination because they received more cash for their crops there, and because they could buy more and better supplies at lower prices." And again: "In Chicago, the exchange of merchandise became an exercise in regional transmutation. Whether one turned dried apples into nails, or salted hams into lumber, or bushels of wheat into bolts of printed cotton, the net effect was to link West with East, rural with urban, farm with factor."[57] One difficulty of applying this "grain for goods" model in relation to a mining economy has briefly been mentioned: mining towns were not noted for their manufacturing base and goods that were sold in mining-town stores and markets might well have fetched prices somewhat higher than in the surrounding countryside and nearby rural towns. In the Taxco-Iguala region, the area under study, this pattern of rural-urban exchange was even more problematic, for as I show at the end of the following chapter, the major merchant and largest stores were located in Tepecuacuilco, the primary city of the erstwhile hinterland, and not in the mining camp at Taxco.

57. Ibid.; the citations are on pp. 60 and 61, respectively.

Moreover, if the existence of lower prices for manufactures is not an unvarying characteristic of an urban center (particularly those that are not among the largest, most industrialized centers), neither are higher prices for grain. Although competition for grain between provincial centers and the national capital has been a primary focus of much of the literature on France, there has been little attention to similar problems in colonial New Spain.[58] Chicago, like Paris (and in New Spain perhaps Mexico City, Puebla, and Guadalajara), was probably able to offer the best prices for grain. If so, however, a valid topic for historical research becomes the defensive reactions of other, middle-sized urban centers that were unable to match the prices of each nation's major metropoli and could not simply rely on space and the "crude friction of distance" to preserve the integrity of their markets.[59]

The problem with a focus on symbiotic integration, then, is that it also tends to ignore the almost endemic competition that characterizes markets, as consumers try to lower prices and producers to raise them. Again, in a mining economy in which grain was a significant factor of production (for feeding mules and mineworkers), and in a rural economy in which monopolistic enterprises were prevalent, tension was perhaps more predominant than accord. What if, to paraphrase Cronon, farmers *avoided* Chicago as their destination because they received *less* cash for their crops, or thought they could receive more elsewhere? And, were transport costs and margin of profit the only factors that limited the extent of Chicago's hinterland? The answers to these types of questions—about tensions in rural-urban relations and the factors (besides transport inefficiency) that might keep markets from integrating—might not be that interesting (although they probably are) in the American West; but in an early modern colonial society these are precisely the ones that *are* the most interesting. The late colonial period in New Spain was a

58. For France, see particularly the works of Kaplan cited in the bibliography, as well as the pioneering study of Usher (1913). These points are treated in detail in chapter 11 below.

period of profound transformations in political economic thought, in property rights, regional prerogatives, state authority, the concentration of capital, and the dynamics of mining, manufacturing, and agrarian economies; all these factors (and not simply, nor even principally, problems with transportation and taxes) were to play a profound role in the spatial concomitants to socioeconomic processes. The solar system model of integration is particularly inappropriate to deal with these questions. As one critic of locational geography has noted, it suggests a kind of space "that is interplanetary rather than interregional." And even, Lösch, one of the major proponents of such a view, offered a comment that should serve as a caveat to any urban-centered analysis of a city and its hinterland: "the location system, like the solar system, hangs free in space, so to speak, nowhere suspended and held together only by itself."[60] This is a poor model for a colonial economy, and worse for one in the eighteenth century.

In this introduction I have suggested both different ways in which we may approach the spatial aspects of the late colonial economy and various factors that have inhibited a more critical stance to the dynamics of regional economies and social formations. A concern with questions posed by an ethnographic perspective brings into focus both a microlevel of analysis (asking questions of how socioeconomic change affected rural, peasant, and indigenous society) and queries the ways in which "universal" factors of time and space are molded by particular systems and circumstances. In general, the significance of this approach is that it encourages a closer look at the impact of late colonial economic change on the countryside. At the same time, both the historiographic debates and the analytic assumptions that have characterized studies of the economics of regional formations in late colonial New World society have tended to channel research in particular directions. In the historiography of Latin America, the relative impact of

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59. Soja (1989:126).

60. The first quote is from Holland (1976) and the second, by Lösch, is cited in Holland, both on p. 11.

market demand on hacienda development (i.e., the extent to which the hacienda represented a "feudal" or "capitalist" system) has been (at least until recently) a major concern of regional studies; and the role of mining centers in stimulating internal markets has been taken almost as a given (without, I think, paying proper attention to the particularities of mining economies). The present case study of the relations between Taxco and the Iguala Valley offers an opportunity to explore these issues from a slightly distinct perspective. Finally, certain classical and neoclassical assumptions (the problems that terrain and internal tariffs and taxes pose to the integration of a national market; the tendency for urban centers to integrate hinterlands in a solar system type of arrangement) have become converted into a sort of ebb tide of analysis, sweeping those who enter the pool of researchers concerned with questions of the spatial implications of late colonial economic development slowly but inexorably out to sea. In this regard the present study goes slightly against the current.

In an effort to break out of the mold, or at least chip its surface, this chapter and the one that follows, both on the rural-urban economy of late-colonial central Guerrero, explore three basic aspects of the spatial organization of socioeconomic relations in this region. The first, treated in the remainder of this chapter, is the impact of extraregional trade and long-distance transport networks on the political economy of central Guerrero, particularly its implications for rural society. Perhaps the most significant facet of this economy was the development of a trade and transport sector that revolved around intercolonial trade that entered New Spain through the port of Acapulco, particularly in bringing cacao from South America. During the final three or four decades of the colonial period, there was a dramatic increase in extraregional trade throughout central Guerrero. The effects of rapid growth in the long-distance transport sector dovetailed with other processes affecting socioeconomic processes in the northern Iguala Valley that served to consolidate the position of a dominant commercial elite. In the transport of cacao,

late colonial developments tended to promote and sustain ties between central Guerrero and highly capitalized merchants in Mexico City, mostly as a result of backward linkages formed parallel to rapidly rising levels of cacao imports from Guayaquil (in present-day Ecuador), as its cheaper cacao conquered the market in New Spain to the detriment of the competing cacao industry in Venezuela.[61] The change in the levels of intercolonial cacao trade, in turn, was a development that reflected shifts in the political economy of areas outside New Spain: the liberalization of commerce promoted by the Bourbon kings Carlos III and Carlos IV, and capital investments for increased cacao production in province of Guayaquil. Parallel to this highly capitalized cacao economy, in the sense that it too brought products into and through the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala, was trade in wheat, cotton, cloth, and salt. Wheat was produced north of Taxco in the temperate plains around Istapa, Tecualoya, and Tenancingo. Cotton and salt were produced in the tropical lowlands to the north and south of Acapulco. The vastly different patterns of production, commercialization, and consumption of each product (cacao, wheat, cotton, cloth, and salt) greatly influenced the manner in which the commercialization of these products affected the rural population (from poor peasants to elites) as they "passed through" central Guerrero. Each product, in essence, had its own "career."[62]

The next chapter examines late colonial shifts in rural productive and commercial relations within the Taxco-Iguala region, particularly the social and spatial distribution of merchant capital as there emerged an entrepreneurial commercial elite that dominated the political economy of the Iguala Valley. The chapter begins with a section that explores the ways in which increased local demand stimulated changes within the Taxco-Iguala region and its immediate environs, as the organization and transformation of productive relations, particularly

61. This rivalry is discussed in Arcila Farias (1950:chap. 9). In chap. 8 of this same book, crown fiscal policy for colonial exports is discussed.

sugar and meat, responded to growing markets both through a reallocation of resources (a shift of large-scale ranching out of the Iguala Valley) and the intensification of production (sugar and pork). The first two sections focus on two types of production that are particularly revealing of the impact of market changes on community and class relations in local rural society: the production of sugar in a few local haciendas and trapiches, and shifts in patterns of animal husbandry. Sugar production required capital investment and access to the best irrigated lands in the area. It was particularly sensitive to market demand, although any attempt to expand production created patterns of conflict or accommodation with indigenous communities.[63] Perhaps the clearest indication of the transformation of this sector is the fact that despite the high level of sugar production in the nearby Cuernavaca valley, the Taxco and Iguala regions were basically self-sufficient in this product. Animal husbandry involved a more diverse range of patterns, each associated with a particular "good." Trade in horses and mules was dominated by a system of *repartimiento de mercancías*. By the mid–eighteenth century cattle ranching had moved, or been forcibly shifted, out of the Iguala Valley and west to the Tierra Caliente, where the social and economic structures of indigenous villages were transformed by the industry: these villages rented community lands to ranchers and developed their own "capitalized" system of *cofradía* ranching, with set scales of remuneration to community members who cared for the herds.[64] Finally, pig-fattening enterprises developed in the Iguala Valley. As the owners of these enterprises tried to ensure a steady supply of maize to their porcine ranches, they created another arena of struggle between merchant entrepreneurs and both a peasant sector that was being moved

62. An observation, made in regards to coffee, henequen, and oil, by Topik and Wells (1998).

63. The best study of this process remains Martin (1985).

64. A particularly clear account of how community service for communal ranching was transformed into wage labor is found in AGN-I 80/2 dated 1793, which gives a detailed account of remuneration to *vaqueros* (ranch hands) in Ajuchitlán who cared for *cofradía* and other corporately owned cattle; see also AGN-I 85/19 (1785).

closer and closer to the margins of subsistence and a proletarian sector living in a food-deficient urban mining zone. The struggle for control over the commercialization of grain is one of the dominant features of late colonial society in the Taxco-Iguala region and led to some of the earliest manifestations of class tensions (see chapter 11)

At the same time, late colonial intensification of production, transport, and trade in central Guerrero did nothing to assuage—and probably exacerbated—a dichotomization of the commercial economy: a dominant elite of local commercial entrepreneurs alongside a marginalized peasant sector relegated to petty commerce and trade as a complement to maize agriculture. The final section of the following chapter takes a closer look at the internal spatial and social dimensions of trade in the Taxco-Iguala region, i.e., the relative importance of what can be referred to as location and class in regard to the distribution of merchant capital. The data reveal that trade activity in both urban Taxco and its increasingly contentious Iguala Valley hinterland was highly concentrated, both spatially (with a high degree of primacy in the urban centers of Taxco and Tepecuacuilco) and socially (with a few wealthy entrepreneurs monopolizing commerce); during the late colonial period the imbalance that affected social (and spatial) divisions of commercial wealth apparently became more pronounced as a few merchants began to dominate exchange relations in the provinces.

One of the most dramatic examples of this process is revealed in a case study of the commercial and agrarian empire of don Manuel Sañudo, a Spaniard who married into a local elite family and in a very short period of time came to control the majority of economic activities in the Iguala Valley: he rented a vast hacienda of over 150,000 hectares from the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, parcels of which he then subrented out to cuadrillas and their tenant inhabitants; he built up an immense transport network capable of meeting the needs of Mexico City merchants who monopolized trade from Asia and South America; he acquired the major

sugar hacienda in the valley, which he expanded to meet demand, apparently mostly local; and he dominated commerce through various stores, the largest of which had an inventory valued at 100,000 pesos, almost without precedent for a rural operation. This case study demonstrates the quintessential tension of rural-urban relations in a mining region: as urban demand stimulates a rural economy that could attract thousands of immigrants, a sort of tail-wagging-the-dog scenario is played out. The hinterland population, despite being more dispersed that its urban counterpart, stimulated a local market for extraregional goods, provided labor for highly capitalized transport enterprises, and was willing to rent land and ox teams for farming in a fertile valley close to a food-deficient and occasionally booming urban center. That one man was able to exert so much control over all these aspects of the rural economy and to build up such a financial empire is both striking and unusual,[65] and reflects the combined effect of three locational factors: the position of the Iguala Valley near an urban mining center with a continuous demand for grain; the position of this same valley midway between the port of Acapulco to the south and the viceregal capital to the north; and the climatological and topographical characteristics of the valley that made it one of the most fertile and productive zones in central New Spain. Other more historically contingent factors were also important, two of which occurred during the second half of the eighteenth century: the consolidation of one immense landholding under church ownership; and the liberal political economy of the Bourbon period, which included the freeing up of intercolonial trade between Guayaquil and New Spain.

The sections that follow, in this and the next chapter, therefore, deal with a key and specific aspect of commercial and productive relations in central Guerrero: transport, petty trade, and the incorporation of marginal peasants into commercial exchange; the restructuring of

65. Sañudo's estate, worth about 500,000 pesos at his death (including all outstanding loans), compared favorably to that of virtually any individual outside of Mexico City. For example, Kicza suggests that only two families in Guadalajara were among the uppermost colonial elite (over 1 million pesos in worth), and

productive relations in items of high demand, sugar and animals; and the social and spatial distribution of commercial capital and activity. These aspects of local economic relations complement those that characterized land tenure (chapters 4 and 5) and demography (chapters 6 and 7) to provide a holistic vision of the political economy of a provincial regional society.

ROYAL AND NOT-SO-ROYAL HIGHWAYS: EXTRACOLONIAL TRADE AND THE STRUCTURE OF TRANSPORT IN LATE COLONIAL GUERRERO

In the late spring of 1650, Miguel Mansano, who had moved from Guatemala to Tixtla, where he was then a minor police official (*teniente de alguacil mayor*), appeared there before a commissioned judge of the Inquisition, Bachiller Francisco Bravo de Lagunas.[66] In order to "clear his conscience," as he characterized his motives, he revealed to the authorities that a certain "old widowed Indian woman" (*india vieja viuda*) named María Magdalena, from the Mexico City barrio of Santiago Tlalelulco, had come to live in Tixtla where she was considered a *zahorí* (soothsayer). For example, Mansano claimed, she was able tell, simply by looking at the stars, whether the Manila Galleon would arrive safely in port. This year she had predicted that two ships would arrive, one of which, according to the same woman, during the past January was "in danger of being lost off the coast of Zacatula."[67] There was also an Indian blacksmith named Pedro who was believed to "rightly say (predict) things" (*bien decía algunas cosas*). Mansano had recently asked him if the Manila Galleon was going to make it to port and Pedro had said that

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that other members of this city's elite had estates worth at best 300,000 pesos (Kicza, 1983:17).

66. This case is reported in AGN-In 435(1)/2 (1650).

67. Schurz (1939) provides a particularly gripping account of the dangers of the voyage from Manila to New Spain, a journey in which disease often claimed the lives of scores of seamen (including one tragic voyage is which the galleon was found adrift, with everyone on board having died). Besides disease, after Drake's passage through the Straits of Magellan there was a constant danger of the ships being lost to pirates; see Gerhard (1960).

it would, but that only one would arrive, and that this would occur during the first week of Lent. The day after Mansano testified, a Spanish woman named doña María de Solis appeared before the same commission, again without being actually called to testify. About three or four months ago, she said, "while waiting around for the ships from China," Miguel Mansano had sent for María Magdalena and asked her if the Manila Galleon would arrive. The Indian *zahorí* said that she would need to fast and look into the matter, and that she would ask God. Some days later she was called to report and responded that two ships would arrive later that year.[68]

Perhaps more than any statistics on transport along the *caminos del sur*, these anxious queries to Indian seers indicate a marginal rural population firmly focused on an explosive event—the arrival of trade ships in the Acapulco port—that transfixed and transformed rural society throughout what is now the state of Guerrero. The effects of port commerce rippled through the region, the geographical range of its impact deriving from both the sheer bulk and value of the material brought from the Far East, as well as South America, and from the inability of the local population in the sparsely settled coastal region of Guerrero to meet the port's needs for muleteers and laborers.[69] Thus poor and rich alike would flood the highway as they headed down to the port looking for a chance for profit in a society in which profit was a scarce commodity. Over the years the custom had emerged whereby petty merchants would go meet the galleon and try to snatch up some merchandise for lucrative provincial trade before agents of the Mexico City Consulado were able assert their monopoly over the shipments from Manila.[70] Muleteers would also flock to Acapulco, many taking with them flour and other types of agrarian

68. For historical information on Acapulco, see González Claverán (1989) and Alessio Robles (1948).

69. In 1616 Indians from the province of Tututepec complained that they were forced to travel 90 leagues and cross 9 dangerous rivers to give personal service in the port of Acapulco, a clear example of the inability of a local population to supply the labor and other needs of the port; see AGN-I 7/97.

70. See AGN-GP 10/211 (1652).

produce, hoping to contract for the transport of an outgoing shipment from the port at a rate that exceeded those they normally received in their home areas.[71] The following pages explores the impact of this trade on late colonial society and economy in central Guerrero

A great portion of the traders and muleteers were from the provinces of Tixtla and Chilapa, jurisdictions whose steady demographic and economic decline over the eighteenth century (see chapter 7) was only partially checked by the opportunities offered in the trade and transport sectors.[72] In the late 1760s, when the *castellano* of Acapulco was looking to stem the steady impoverishment of the region under his control, he recommended a measure that he conceived "capable of perfecting all the previously mentioned ills and [of] lead[ing] these jurisdictions [of Acapulco, Tixtla, and Chilapa] out of the deplorable state in which they are found": licensing the Indian villages of Tixtla and Chilapa to transport crown silver and the Manila Galleon's annual cargo, as well as oversee the transfer of prisoners and forced recruits for service in the Philippines. The Indian villages would guarantee the shipments with their own persons and property, they would charge half a peso less per cargo than the present conductor (don Pedro de Vértiz), and they would save the costs of troop accompaniment by providing their own armed convoy.[73] The granting of the transport concession to the Indian villages was presented as the foundational piece to the economic restructuring of south-central Guerrero. With the money obtained from these ventures, the Indian population of Tixtla and Chilapa would have

71. AGN-GP 35/239 (1747).

72. Thus the mention in AGN-H 578b/fols. 66f–80v (1789) that the principal "comercio" of Chilapa was that of mule skinning, with drivers buying cotton along the "two coasts" (i.e., the Costa Grande and the Costa Chica, the former above and the latter below Acapulco) and selling it in Mexico City, Puebla, and other highland destinations.

73. AGN-F 4/16. For a brief account of commercial silver firms in the late colonial period and of the service provided by the Vértiz family over three generations, see Kicza (1983:73–75). See also AGN-AHH, 107/4, an expediente not consulted, mentioned in Suárez Arguello (1997:223 n. 31), who also discusses the entrepreneurial activity of Pedro de Vértiz (pp. 211ff).

the resources necessary to rejuvenate and promote agriculture and, in a sort of domino effect of economic bliss,

> the mule trains will significantly increase, [and] as a result, provisions in the port and everywhere else, commerce in cotton from the coast, as well that of fish and salt, et cetera. With the cheapening of the latter, mining work and processing will surge and from the back and forth trade of all these goods will be born the requisitioning [*sic*, *requiza*] of the vecinos and the increase in every aspect of the royal Treasury. Contraband trade will completely disappear given that everyone will have the means to live by legal means and without risk, and sloth will be completely erradicated becomes those who do not find a place in farming, commerce, or other profitable ventures will hire themselves out in the mule trains as loaders or helpers (cargadores o mozos).[74]

The fiscal of the Real Audiencia began his response to the castellan's request with a Biblical quote—"Combiene que muera el hijo de Diós porque no parezca todo el Linage Humano" (it is better for the son of God to die than for the entire human race to perish[75])—in a rather rococo allusion to what he later called Vértiz's "detestable monopoly," one that benefited a particular individual in detriment to the well-being of three provinces (Chilapa, Tixtla, and Acapulco) faced with desolation and final ruin. It would not be fair, he added, for the inhabitants of these provinces to endure so many burdens (coastal defense, highway repair, the provisioning of travelers) without being granted this small concession in their benefit. Although the *asesor* agreed with the fiscal and suggested that the *naturales* come to Mexico City to process the appropriate "obligación" (guarantee), there is no evidence that such a radical change was ever instituted.

These efforts show just how pernicious and entrenched were the divisions of class and capital in certain facets of intercolonial and long-distance trade. Lucrative participation in this sector was mainly possible through economies of scale linked to the intensive demand of highly

74. AGN-F 4/16.

75. From John 11:50. The King James Bible, John 11:49–50, gives: "And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, [50] Nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not."

capitalized Mexico City merchants and crown concessions (reluctantly conceded it seems). The Vértiz family's "detestable monopoly," was safely ensconced at an elite level of activity that apparently could not be penetrated even by the liberal reforms of concerned and fiscally minded crown officials, many of whom were undoubtedly influenced by Campillo's "pragmatic New System."[76] Yet although the transport concession was never issued to the Indian villages, muleteering was the dominant activity of the Tixtla and Chilapa population (at least the non-indigenous population, and probably among Indians as well), for whom the marginal profits in petty trade and transport were attractive mainly in comparison to the bleak outlook in other venues. One midcentury description noted the complete lack of commercial agriculture or manufacturing in these two provinces, and added that "with the exception of mule skinning" inhabitants had no other way to make a living.[77] There are many indications of the pervasiveness of this activity in the lives of all sectors of colonial society in south-central Guerrero.

76. See Tiryakian (1978).

77. AGN-F 4/16 (1767). For the rather unfortunate fate and wayward life of a marginal muleteer (and bigamist), see Boyer (1981).

Table 8a
Occupations of non-Indian men eligible for military service in the Tixtla jurisdiction, 1791[78]

Number	Occupation	Percent of total
10	muleteer	4.67
95	muleteer's assistant	44.39
2	itinerant merchant	0.93
48	farmer (*labrador*)	22.43
20	fieldhand (*operario*)	9.35
7	cowboy	3.27
1	stoneworker	0.47
4	carpenter	1.87
2	mason	0.93
5	blacksmith	2.34
1	silversmith	0.47
3	cobbler	1.40
4	tailor	1.87
3	weaver	1.40
1	student	0.47
1	miner	0.47
7	not indicated	3.27
214		100.00

A census that focused on men eligible for military service in the late colonial Bourbon army confirms the impressionistic observation derived from primary source descriptions. A relatively high percentage of such men (between 40 and 50 percent), particularly those in the head towns of Tixtla and Chilapa, reported their occupation as that of muleteer (see tables 8a and 8b). These figures are obviously "biased" in that they include only men of a certain economic class. Nevertheless, these numbers, as well as the impressionistic observations of colonial officials, suggest the importance of mule skinning in the economy of central Guerrero; the proportion of

78. From AGN-P, 17/fols. 1403 (1791). The information is only for non-Indian and non-pardo men eligible for military service (i.e., men of *primera, segunda,* and *tercera* clase, a classification based on marital status and number of children). Men who were exempt from military service are not included in this and the following table. The figures, therefore, give the occupations of middle- to lower-class men classified as mestizos, castizos, or Spaniards. Many wealthy storeowners and hacendados were among these exempt individuals. As opposed to 214 non-indigenous (my count; the actual census table gives 216) men eligible for service, there were 581 who were exempt.

muleteers in other areas of New Spain was significantly less.[79] The names of many muleteers in the Tixtla and Chilapa censuses are also glossed with a concise indication of the number of animals owned (e.g., "muleteer with three mules," "with ten mules," etc.). The annotation of such detail suggests not only the importance attached to this activity in these jurisdictions, but the relatively few numbers of pack animals needed to motivate such annotation in a military census.

Table 8b
Occupations of non-Indian men eligible for military service in the Chilapa jurisdiction, 1791[80]

Number	Occupation	Percent of total
118	muleteer	35.98
12	servants (muleteer's assistants?)	3.66
2	itinerant merchant	0.61
65	farmer (*labrador*)	19.82
58	fieldhand (*operario*)	17.68
1	sugar maker (*azucarrero*)	0.30
21	cowboy	6.40
2	carpenter	0.61
5	blacksmith	1.52
1	silversmith	0.30
4	cobbler	1.22
2	featherworker (*plumero*)	0.61
1	tilemaker (*locero*)	0.30
6	baker	1.83
8	tailor	2.44
7	weaver	2.13
5	spinner (*ylandero*)	1.52
2	painter	0.61
1	sculptor	0.30
7	not indicated	2.14
328		100.00

Another indication of the importance of trade in the social and spatial reconfiguration of central Guerrero is the phenomenal growth and changing ethnic identity of Chilpancingo, located

79. Thus Suárez Argüello (1997:26) gives figures of 4.8 percent of Guanajuato's population working as muleteers, 8.7% in Puebla, but only .28% in Oaxaca.

80. From AGN-P 16/fols. 107–221 (1791). See comments in preceding note.

at the juncture of three major roads: to Mexico City (via Iguala to the north or Tixtla to the east), to Acapulco, and to the wild and crime infested sierra of Ceutla. In 1688 a certain Alonso Guerra appealed a decision that expelled him from the "Indian town" of Chilpancingo because he was a Spaniard and, as such, was prohibited from establishing permanent residence in indigenous communities. He defended himself by saying that he had lived in Chilpancingo for 18 years, selling maize and fodder to mule skinners. Moreover, he added, "in the said pueblo . . . there is a great number of Spaniars and truly it should be called a *pueblo de españoles* (Spanish pueblo), [and] which this or everyone should [be forced to] leave, or I shouldn't."[81] Probably Guerra was being singled out for exile because his economic activities, particularly ranching, clashed with the agricultural base of indigenous society in Chilpancingo.[82] But although the dispute might have had as much a class as an ethnic dimension (reflecting the shift from an agrarian to a trade and ranching economy), the public articulation of protest was framed in the increasingly anachronistic language of the two republic system. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, it was clear that Chilpancingo had become one of the most dynamic colonial settlements in south-central Guerrero. This is reflected in several demographic statistics, mostly notably the number of non-Indian residents (see table 8c) and the rapidly growing Indian population, which increased from about 350 tributaries at mid–eighteenth century to about 675 at the end of the century, when Chilpancingo had surpassed the corresponding figures for Tixtla (see tables in appendix 2c).

81. AGN-T 2904/1, fol. 1f.

82. At this same time, however, there were undoubtedly some entrepreneurial indigenous merchants; see AGN-I 18/98 and 100 (1655).

Table 8c
Ethnic identity of men in the major villages of south-central Guerrero, 1792[83]

Village	Spanish men	Castizo men	Mestizo men	Pardo men	Total non-Indian men
Chilpancingo	216	19	67	144	446
Tixtla	169	23	169	62	423
Zumpango	18	0	5	110	133
Chilapa		Total=684		89	773

Therefore, as a result of its location at the intersection of various trade routes, along with its hospitable climate and relatively flat terrain, by the end of the eighteenth century the erstwhile indigenous sujeto of Chilpancingo had redefined itself socially, economically, and politically. Its non-indigenous population had swelled to 302 Spanish, castizo, and mestizo men, and 144 pardos, representing a total non-indigenous population of 1,178 and 688, for non-pardos and pardos, respectively. Of the 46 men eligible for military service, 27 (59%) were muleteers, well above the jurisdiction's average of 44%; another 9 (20%) were listed as farmers. The key role of highly capitalized muleteers from Chilpancingo in the transport sector is also evident in the dominant role they played in transporting goods brought by the Manila Galleon to Mexico City, although there is strong evidence that with the emergence of the boom in the cacao trade, the dominance of Chilpancingo in the transport sector declined drastically.[84] Moreover, over the final

83. The sources for non-Indian population are AGN-P 17/fols. 26f–27f for Chilpancingo, Tixtla, and Zumpango, and AGN-P 16/fols. 107–221 for Chilapa.

84. This is apparent in Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 23, exp. 1 (1772). This ledger records all the remissions from Acapulco, divided into two sections. The first are those sent to all points other than Mexico City, given that the *avería* tax for these shipments was paid in Acapulco. The second section comprises all remissions to Mexico City, where the *avería* tax was collected. All activity took place between 15 February and 16 April 1772. Of 119 remissions to Mexico City, 48 (40.3%) were taken by mule owners from Chilpancingo (particularly don Alejo and don Josef Velez). Another 25 remissions (21%) were carried out by don Juan José de Otayza, the mayordomo of don Pedro Vértiz, who held the crown commission for convoys to Acapulco (discussed elsewhere in this chapter). There were 17 remissions with muleteers from Mexico City, Texcoco, and Coyoacán (14.3%), and only 7 (5.9%) from Tepecuacuilco and Huitzuco. This document is dated 1772, before the cacao trade began in earnest, at which point the domination of the transport sector seemed to shift dramatically to the north, where it came under the control of don Manuel

two decades of the seventeenth century Chilpancingo had plied its dynamic demographic growth into a major argument for being granted political independence from its cabecera, Zumpango.[85]

The transformation of Chilpancingo was also manifest in the nature and activities of its religious sodalities. By 1777 there were four *cofradías* and two *hermandades* in the town, but only one, the *cofradía* of Nuestra Señora de la Asumpción, had been set up by *naturales*. The others had all been founded by *gente de razón*. The funds of these religious associations were extremely limited, and several had no capital at all, surviving only on the yearly contributions of their members. However, the *cofradía* dedicated to the Santísimo Sacramento (which had been founded by Captain don Francisco de la Barrera, a former alcalde mayor of Tixtla) had increased its original capital of 2,000 pesos by 50 percent by investing in inns (*ventas*) along the camino real to Acapulco as well as in the nearby hacienda of Tepango.[86] But Chilpancingo's ties to the inns strung along the royal highway to the south, as it approached the port of Acapulco, were not limited to financial investment. By the late colonial period Chilpancingo had also become a source of non-pardo migrants to these small towns.[87] Of a total of 29 male head of household

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Sañudo. Note that for shipments outside of Mexico City, the value of remissions was 413,194 pesos 2 reales. The major destinations were Puebla (16.5%), Guatemala (15.7%), Oaxaca (13.9%), Guadalajara (12.8%), and Valladolid (3.1%). Taxco received 1.5% and Tepecuacuilco 1.6% of the cacao not sent to Mexico City; Guanajuato only 0.9%. Another 4.9% were remitted with no fixed destination (*por donde convenga*). Clearly Mexico City, along with Puebla, Guatemala, Oaxaca, and Guadalajara, served as major redistribution centers, even for goods sent to a mining center as important and heavily capitalized as Guanajuato.

85. See AGN-I 26(1)/71 (1680), AGN-I 26(2)/21 (1681), AGN-I 27/328 (1683), AGN-I 31/167 (1693), and AGN-I 31/189 (1693). For earlier tension between Zumpango and Chilpancingo, see AGN-I 11/fols. 107v–108f (1639; reprinted in ZyC VII:154–55). It seems clear that non-Indians, including the *justicia mayor* of Chilpancingo as well as that of Tixtla, were very active in promoting, if not provoking, the separation. The role of demography in justifying the separation is clear throughout; and the *beneficiado* of Zumpango specifically refers to this argument when he states that even if Chilpancingo had more tributaries than Zumpango, this would not justify separation.

86. For *cofradías* in Chilpancingo, see AGN-BN 585/5 and 7 (1777).

87. This view of migration is taken from AGN-P 16, the section entitled "Benta y Ranchos que están en el Camino de México Habitados por Españoles, Castizos y Mestizos." Acapulco was itself heavily dominated by pardos. Thus the Spanish, mestizo, and castizo population of the port was 21 families, 42

migrants to these inns and ranches, 18 (62%) were from Chilpancingo; another 5 (17%) were from Chilapa.[88] Chilpancingo was, in effect, a commercial boom town, as reflected in its pattern of demographic growth, in the economic activities of its population and sodalities, and in the destination of emigrants who left the village.

The effects of increased commercialization during the late colonial economy is also reflected in statistics regarding mule skinning along a transport corridor that ran between the central highlands and Acapulco, which provided access to cotton- and salt-producing coastal regions near the port.[89] Data on tolls paid near Tixtla in 1784 and 1802 reveal an estimated increase from 56,895 to 88,923 reales, an average annual growth of 2.51 percent.[90] A more

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men, 40 women, and 108 total population; the pardo population was 271 families, 226 men, 451 women and 1,100 total population. Of the non-pardo (and non-Indian) population of Acapulco there is information on the provenance of 45 men (a few of them recently deceased by the time of the census). Of these, a total of 14 (31%) were European (mostly merchants), 5 were from Chilpancingo (11%), 4 from Mexico City (9%), and 3 each from Tixtla and Cuernavaca (7% each). The other 16 were from scattered locations, including 2 from Peru, 2 from Manila, and one from Guatemala. Thus of the 26 from within New Spain, 42% were from Chilpancingo. Of pardo migrants to Acapulco, the majority were at least second generation, reporting their origin as "of this port"; another small portion was from the nearby hamlets and villages, with only a few from outside the coastal region.

88. Ibid. The other six were from a varied number of places: Spain, Oaxaca, Tlaxcala, Tepecuacuilco, Tixtla, and Petatlán. Most of the migrants gave their ethnic identity as Spanish.

89. The following discussion is based on the tollbooth tariffs collected along the Acapulco–Mexico City highway near Tixtla in 1784 (Indif-Alc, Acapulco, caja 18, exp. 2) and 1802 (Indif-Alc, Acapulco, caja 18, exp. 3). Tariffs were charged at the rate of 1 real for each mule or horse, and 6 granos (½ real) per burro or head of cattle. For simplicity I consider 1 real to represent 1 mule, given the percentages for each type of animal. In 1784 a full 98.84% of the tariffs were for mules (with .64% and .52% for burros and cattle, respectively). In 1802 the figures were 98.61% for mules, and 1.04 and .35% for burros and cattle, respectively. My notes record the number of each animal that passed through the tollbooth (*caseta*) at 5-day intervals. For each year, therefore, I have a total of 73 records. Thus the figures I present represent a 20% sample of the total. The numbers represent travel both north and south along the highway. Undoubtedly most muleteers passed through twice on a "round-trip" journey.

90. The percentage takes into account compounding. The monetary figures for each year were obtained by multiplying my figures (11,379 and 17,784.5 reales) for a 73-day sample by five (73x5=365). The actual figure for 1802 can be determined by adding the precisely recorded monthly figures, which total 91,673 pack animals. That is, my estimate arrived at by sample and multiplication (sample of 73 days x 5) is 3% lower than the accurate figure obtained from the monthly totals. Note that the tollbooth was located at Dos Caminos, where the road forked, one branch going south to Acapulco, 29 leagues distant, and the other to San Marcos, 23 leagues to the south-southeast.

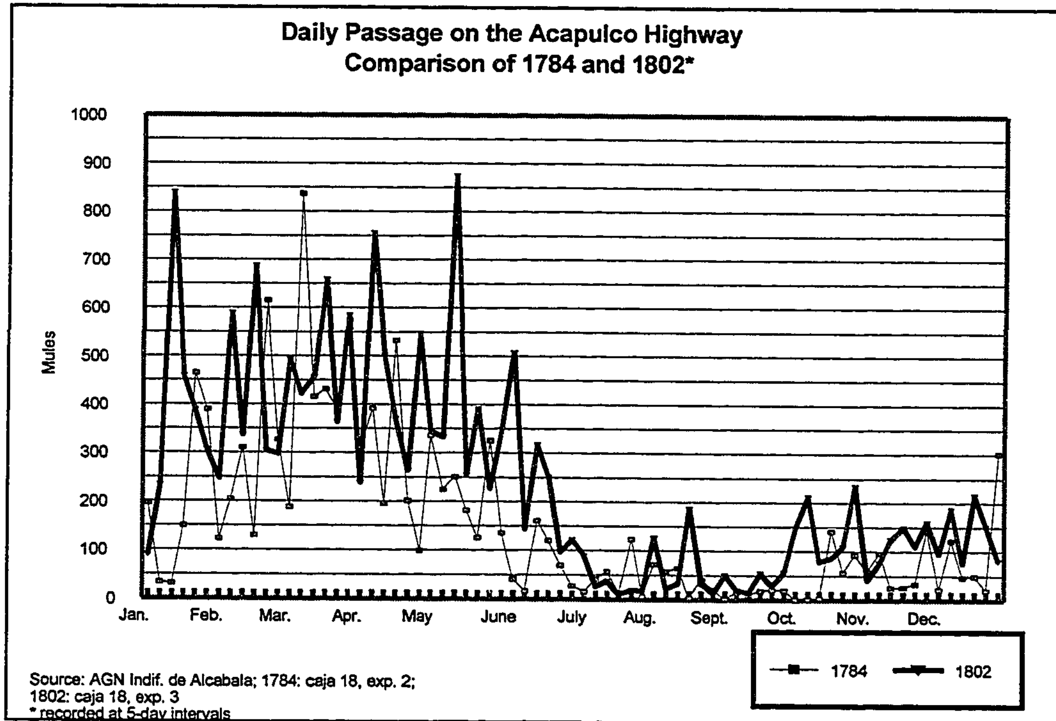
precise figure for 1802 is 91,673 pack animals, obtained from the monthly summaries (see table 8d). Assuming that half of this represented travel north to the central highlands (the other half going south) and that 90% of the mules carried a cargo of 12 arrobas (the other 10% being ridden by the mule pack leaders), the total yearly transport potential in one direction was 495,034 arrobas (equal to 12,375,850 lbs., or 6,188 tons), a figure that is not in disaccord with the figures on cacao cited below and which is comparable to activity in and out of Veracruz during the same late colonial period.[91]

The level of transport activity was certainly impressive. On 28 of the 146 days in the two-year sample (or approximately 20 percent of the total number of days) over 360 mules passed through the tollbooth (i.e., one mule every 2 minutes based on a 12-hour travel day). Three days reported figures of over 800 mules, with the recorded peak in the two years studied being 874 mules on 11 May 1802 (over a mule a minute continuously during a 12-hour day!). The panorama on these days must have been remarkable, with virtually an unbroken string of pack animals stretching from horizon to horizon during all the daylight hours. In the narrowest of mountain passes, such as the Cuesta del Peregrino, the heavy traffic meant that travelers and muleteers had to devise systems to send signals from one entryway to another so that two travelers would not find themselves face to face in the middle, with no way of passing.[92]

91. See Lerdo de Tejada (1853). See also Kicza (1983), tables 9, 13, and 16. Garner (1993:169) mentions the average tonnage per fleet into Veracruz as 7,300.

92. AGN-P 16/fol. 221f–221v. For an account of the high level of transport activity (and seasonality) in Spain, see Vassberg (1996:37 ff.).

Chart 8.a



The 1802 monthly summary reports indicate that a total of 7,044 *boletos* (tickets or receipts) were issued to individuals (whose names were recorded in the ledger), along with the amount paid (in effect the number of animals being conducted by that individual, at 1 real per mule). On any given trip an individual would be registered twice (once going south, once going north). Moreover, many mule skinners undoubtedly made repeated trips. Taking these two factors into consideration, the number of discrete individuals recorded on the 7,044 *boletos* would probably have been around 2,000 to 2,500, perhaps even less. Nevertheless, another factor to be considered is the number of hands (or *asistentes de arriero*) who would accompany any given mule train, though their names would not have been recorded on the *boletos*. Assuming an average of 1 mule skinner or assistant for 7 pack animals, the total number of men accompanying

the mule trains would have been approximately 6,500.[93] Again, taking into account repeated trips, the number of discrete individuals engaged in transport during the year might have been between 1,500 and 3,000.

Traffic was seasonal, with about 83 percent of the transport taking place during the first six months of the year (see chart 8a).[94] The timing of trade was influenced by the arrival of ships in port (particularly the Manila Galleon, which would usually arrive in late December or January and depart in early March), dry-season salt production, and the cotton harvest (concentrated in the first four months of the year).[95] There is little information on the lives of muleteers in New Spain, but many were probably also maize farmers, their dual identity corresponding to the temporal and climatic division that split these two occupations and made it quite easy for poor individuals to participate in both subsistence agriculture and petty trade and transport. However, the situation in New Spain, at least in southern Guerrero, was very different in one respect from that which characterized Spain. In the latter, most rural residents would identity themselves as peasants. Although participation in transport might well have been impressive in absolute terms, in relative terms it was modest: perhaps some 10 percent of peasants would leave their village to become carters or muleteers.[96] In southern Guerrero a much greater number of rural dwellers (as least

93. This figure was obtained by dividing the total number of pack animals (91,673) by 2 (for the round trip) and then this figure by 5, which would represent the number of men at a ratio of 5 animals: 1 man; see Stein (1997:380).

94. In 1784, 83.9% of the total toll income (11,379 reales) was collected from January to June; in 1802 the corresponding figure was 82.3% (of a total of 17,784.5 reales), showing little change in season balance. The individuals who obtained the commission to transport silver, infantry, and prisoners to the ports of Veracruz and Acapulco were given an increase of 50% (from 12 to 18 pesos) for travel during the rainy season (June to October); the travel time increased from 20 days during the dry season to 26 days during the rainy season; see AGN-GP 19/164 (1709). The *asentista* at this time was don Ygnacio García de Iglesias, of Puebla. The alcabala income for the province of Acapulco reveals the importance of trade during March. For example, in March 1779 alcabala payments totaled 1,971 pesos 2 reales, approximately 44% of the yearly total of 4,513 pesos 2½ reales; Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 33, exp. 2.

95. On the Manila Galleon, see Schurz (1939).

96. See Vassberg (1996:38).

among non-Indians) identified themselves as muleteers and their participation in this sector seems to have been very heavy during the dry-season months.

Table 8d
Characteristics of transport activity along the Acapulco highway: 1802[97]

Month	Number of muleteers issued *boletos*	Total toll paid*	Average mule train size	Total number of pack animals	Pack animals per day
January	783	1,274-3-0	13.02	10,193	328.80
February	969	1,454-0-6	12.00	11,633	415.45
March	1,298	2,184-0-0	13.46	17,472	563.61
April	839	1,551-3-6	14.79	12,412	413.72
May	946	1,826-0-0	15.44	14,608	471.23
June	410	810-0-4	15.81	6,484	216.13
July	242	299-6-6	9.91	2,398	77.37
August	247	258-6-0	8.38	2,070	66.77
September	216	206-5-0	7.65	1,653	55.10
October	365	492-6-6	10.80	3,942	127.18
November	402	598-2-6	11.91	4,787	159.55
December	327	502-3-0	12.29	4,019	1 29.65
Totals	7,044	11,459-0-6	13.01	91,673	251.16

*pesos-reales-granos

Like other aspects of the colonial economy in which a temporal division had social implications (in the grain market, for example, small-scale marginal producers, strapped for cash, tended to sell soon after harvest, while richer speculators withheld their produce for higher prices[98]), there is some evidence that temporal variation in regard to participation in transport activity varied along with socioeconomic status. Thus not only did the number of muleteers passing through the tollbooth decrease dramatically during the rainy-season months, but the average size of a mule train decreased as well (from a peak of 15.81 mules in June to a low of

97. The average mule train size (i.e., animals per *boleto*) follows a similar pattern in 1783, with figures of 14–15 mules from Jan.–Mar. and 7–9 mules from Aug.–Oct.; see Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 18, exp. 1.

98. Nevertheless, cf. the accusation that Indians from Tetela del Río were speculating by withholding maize from the market; AGN-I Com 8/15 (1803).

7.65 in September; see table 8d). This decrease suggests a decline in the relative size of individual transport and trade enterprises over the summer months, i.e., the withdrawal from this sector of the larger, capitalized enterprises that specialized in the transport of goods imported or exported overseas.

Further exploration of the size of mule trains (based on the 1784 data) demonstrates that close to one-third of all muleteers had only one or two pack animals, but that this petty sector accounted for only about 3.5 percent of the total number of animals along the trail. At the other extreme, about 1 percent of the mule trains accounted for just over 12 percent of total transport (see table 8e). Other statistics are equally revealing of the characteristics of trade and transport along this corridor. For example, there were 445 *boletos* issued to individuals who had five or less mules. This represents approximately half of the total number of *boletos* issued during 1784, although it represents only about 9 percent of the total number of beasts of burden. However, about one-third of the total number of mule trains (317 *boletos*, or 34.5%) comprised six to twenty animals; this corresponded to approximately one-third of the total number of mules that passed through the tollbooth (*caseta*) (3,595 animals, or 31.6%). Just over 50 percent of the total number of pack animals were part of trains of more than 20 animals (6,757 animals, or 55.3%), although the number of trains of this size was only 17 percent of the total (156 of 918); and 36 mule trains of over 50 mules (3.9% of the total) accounted for 3,162 mules (27.8% of the total). The data offers a glimpse on the social composition of the trade and transport sector: a highly disjointed system that nevertheless had a relatively balanced middle, in which about one-third of the mule trains accounted for about one-third of the mules. At one extreme were thousands of small-scale drivers taking a couple of mules on labor-intensive speculative ventures, probably trading in locally produced items (salt, cotton, and rice, in particular); at the other extreme were huge mule trains that most likely had been contracted to move highly valued imports across the

greater part of the colony.[99]

Table 8e
Mule Train Size on the Camino Real in 1784
(based on sample taken every fifth day)

Mules covered by a single *boleto*[100]	Number of *boletos*	Percent of total *boletos*	Number of mules	Percent of total animals
1-5	445	48.47	1028	9.03
6-10	153	16.67	1162.5	10.22
11-15	98	10.68	1236	10.86
16-20	66	7.19	1196	10.51
21-25	39	4.25	891	7.83
26-30	36	3.92	1012.5	8.90
31-35	20	2.18	650	5.71
36-40	14	1.53	529	4.65
41-50	11	1.20	512	4.50
51-60	8	0.87	438.5	3.85
61-70	5	0.54	323.5	2.84
71-80	11	1.20	832	7.31
81-90	2	0.22	179	1.57
91-100	4	0.44	383	3.37
>101	6	0.65	1,006	8.84
Totals	918	100.00	11,379	100.00

Despite the data on transport activity, and the hypothesis of a two-tiered system, the socioeconomic aspects of muleteering are still rather obscure—who owned the animals, who drove them, and who profited. Thus, even though close to half of the muleteers who were issued *boletos* had five or less mules with them at the time they passed through the *caseta,* there is no indication whether they actually owned these animals. They might well not have; or have owned only some. Oral history accounts from the Balsas River basin reveal that in the late nineteenth

99. Vassberg (1996:38–39) considers mule trains of 10 to 20 animals as "relatively large"; these figures pale before the accounts of trains of well over 100 animals that would take goods from Acapulco to Mexico City. In transport between Acapulco and the highlands, 83% of mule trains were of 20 or fewer pack animals, although these trains accounted for only 40.6% of all mules. For an account of mule train size in the distribution of tobacco in New Spain, see Suárez Argüello (1997:passim).

100. The figures below are based on the number of reales paid at the toolbooth, in general equivalent to the number of mules. Note that the row for 6–10 includes payments of 5.5 reales, that of 11–15 of 10.5 reales, etc., i.e., half reales have been rounded up.

century, individual peasants would "sharecrop" mules (*ir a medias*), an arrangement that probably dates to the colonial period: a muleteer would borrow a pack animal and he and the owner would each have rights to half the total load, and thus half the profit. Even the petty traders, therefore, might well have been poorer than a superficial glance at the data suggests. But poverty also would have accompanied the larger trains, which were probably owned by a single individual. The name appearing on the *boleto* and the tariff ledger would be either the owner of the mules or, more probably, a hired mayordomo. On 35 of the 146 days (24%) from the combined sample of 1784 and 1802, at least one single train of 75 or more pack animals passed through the *caseta*. There is no indication, however, of the point of origin of these animals, nor of the hands that accompanied them. The censuses of the jurisdictions of Tixtla and Chilapa record several individuals with one or two packs of mules (*atajos*; probably about 20–45 pack animals and 6 riding animals *(de silla)* per *atajo*[101]); and a Spanish entrepreneur based in Tepecuacuilco, don Miguel Sañudo, had hundreds of pack animals (at least 7 *atajos* of 45 pack animals each) as part of the financial empire he built up during the final decades of the eighteenth century (see following chapter). Perhaps other mule trains were based in the areas around Mexico City, the final destination for much of the imported merchandise. The *asistentes* probably came from areas near to where the mule trains were based, although they might have been picked up along the way or contracted in advance from the many small *ventas* and hamlets along the highway. However, as will become clear, the spatial relationship of a transport infrastructure (backward linkages) to other aspects of colonial society and economy (demographics, climate and terrain, market demand, productive specialization, and capital) was complicated.

The yearly rate of increase between 1784 and 1802 (2.51 percent) is far greater than can

101. And, as already indicated, some census entries mention muleteers with only three or four mules, in which case transport was probably exclusively a family business. The size of an *atajo* as 45 mules is given in AGN-T 3576/1; see also Suárez Argüello (1997:57). Serrera Contreras (1977:255) gives an *atajo* as

be accounted for by demographics alone. In part this boom in transport reflects a general tendency for increased commercial activity during the late eighteenth century.[102] But most likely the upward shift was a direct reflection of a dramatic increase in the amount of cacao shipped from Guayaquil to New Spain via Acapulco (see below).[103] In regard to the regional political economy of central Guerrero, however, an important question is how this increase, and the backward linkages it stimulated in the transport sector, affected rural society: Where did the resources for increased transport activity come from and how did this affect intraelite and class tensions in the region? The impact of the trade corridor on the jurisdictions of Chilapa and Tixtla was clearly enormous, at least in terms of the proportion of the population that engaged in transport, if not in trade as well, and in the amount provisions necessary to maintain the mule trains that passed through the region. The demographic expansion of Chilpancingo and the human and financial resources from this village that found their way to the inns along the camino real to Acapulco suggests a two-stage process in which the centralization of human and financial resources in one village was followed by dispersion into a nearby hinterland. A similar pattern seems to hold for the *pardo* settlement in the coastal settlements around Acapulco.[104] Yet despite this growth, there are also clear indications of "contraction" or, perhaps better put, fissure and disjunction in the transport sector. The crown concession to Vértiz, the great variation in the size of mule trains, and the indication that muleteers with fewer animals were more prone to engage in transport activity during the summer, rainy-season months, all suggest a very uneven division of

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between 20 and 40 mules.

102. For an excellent general study, see Garner (1993). For an analysis of the alcabala tax farms from 1700 to 1775, see Amith (n.d. b). On the demography of the late colonial period see Ouweneel (1991).

103. For information on cacao from Guayaquil, which was the type of cacao that was traded through the port of Acapulco, see Hamerly (1973, 1976) as well as León Broja de Szászdi and Szászdi (1964). Incomplete figures on shipments of cacao from Guayaquil to Acapulco are also given in Arcila Farias (1950:310–11).

profits from trade and transport. The "destestable monopoly" of Vértiz was apparently repeated, though in a less institutionalized form (given that there was no single crown contract or concession) in the cacao trade, which tended to be concentrated among highly capitalized Mexico City wholesalers. Therefore, although locational factors may well have favored the formation in south-central Guerrero of backward linkages in the transport sector, economic factors, particularly the concentration of capital among powerful Mexico City merchants and the huge demand for transport that the cacao trade generated, seems to have worked in a contrary way, stimulating the development of transport empires closer to the central highlands, or at least among regionally based entrepreneurs closely tied to concentrated merchant capital.[105] And just as the state attempted and failed to break up the control that Vértiz exercised over transport for the colonial government, so too did they fail to control the cacao trade. As Hoberman remarks in regard to the late-seventeenth-century trade in this good, "private interests were too strong . . . for the State to gain control over these lucrative businesses."[106]

Trade in Guayaquil cacao through Acapulco reached enormous proportions, despite government regulatory efforts.[107] This cacao was primarily consumed by the lower classes; it was of a lower quality, and hence lower price, than cacao imported from the Atlantic coast of Venezuela, a moral argument that could be used by wealthy merchants in their petitions for open

104. See the various "relaciones de pardos" in AGN-P 16/fols. 245ff.

105. Political factors were also important in the structuring of the transport sector in south-central Guerrero, as demonstrated by the efforts of authorities from south-central Guerrero to end the monopoly of Vértiz and promote indigenous and peasant participation in the transport sector. Likewise, in arguing for the reincorporation of Tixtla and Chilapa under his jurisdiction, the castellan of Acapulco suggested that when they were administered from Acapulco he could secure for the inhabitants of these jurisdictions loads of cacao to take to Mexico City. Separation, he claimed, had ended this possibility and diminished the commercial vitality of these provinces; see AGN-Cv 241/12 (1797).

106. Hoberman (1991:127); her study of bills of sales from the early seventeenth century indicates the accuracy of contemporary descriptions of the monopolistic tendency of trade in specialty crops (see p. 126).

107. For early regulation of this trade, see Borah (1954). For late colonial regulation on cacao, see AGN-Cv 247/7 (1789).

trade.[108] A document from the 1630s suggests that 240,000 arrobas of this cacao was imported annually; one merchant alone was accused of smuggling 42,000 arrobas.[109] Another document from the late 1750s reveals that of 38,592 arrobas of Guayaquil cacao registered in Acapulco in 1759, a total of 35,915 arrobas (92 percent) were brought to Mexico City by one merchant alone: Francisco Xavier de Llano y Urrestí.[110] In 1789 one of the major Mexico City merchants involved in the cacao trade (and the representative of the merchant guild from Guayaquil), don Ysidro Antonio de Ycaza, estimated that between 12,000 to 14,000 *fanegas* of this cacao (52,800 to 61,600 arrobas) were shipped through Acapulco every year.[111] An average of 57,200 arrobas would require 4,767 trips by pack animal (assuming a not modest load of 12 arrobas/mule). Over a period of 200 days each mule would be able to make a maximum of 5 round trips; a fleet of 1,000 mules would therefore be required, in continuous circulation, just for the transport of cacao from Acapulco to Mexico City.[112]

Yet for most years during the last decades of the colonial period, trade in Guayaquil cacao was far greater than Ycaza's estimates. In 1792, for example, six of seven ships registered in Acapulco came from Guayaquil, and for five of these data exists on their cargo. The total is

108. In 1789 Guayaquil cacao sold for 12 pesos/*fanega* (approx. 2 pesos 6 reales/arroba) in Acapulco, while cacao from Caracas sold at 24 pesos in Veracruz; see AGN-Cv 247/7. In Chilapa the former sold for about half the price of that from Maracaibo; see AGN-Con 195/1, fol. 6v (1791). For a general comparison of Mexico City prices in the early nineteenth century, see Kicza (1983:69, table 14). Hamerly (1973:125) notes that between 13 Aug. 1779 and 15 Jan. 1783, a total of 69,751 fanegas of Guayaquil cacao was sold in Mexico City, as compared to only 12,267 fanegas from Caracas.

109. Hamerly (1973:126).

110. AGN-IyC 8/3 (1759); also cited in Kicza (1983:68).

111. AGN-Cv 247/7 (1789). Note that these figures are comparable to the total of 46,205 arrobas of cacao registered in Acapulco between March 1786 and March 1787; Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 25, exp. 2 (see below).

112, The estimate of 20 days from Mexico City to Acapulco is given in AGN-GP 19/164 (1709). A royal order of 18 Nov. 1778 limited the importation of Guayaquil cacao to between 8,000 and 10,000 fanegas per year.

31,007 cargas of cacao (at 81 lbs. per carga), or 100,463 arrobas.[113] Hamerly estimates annual exports of between 30,000 and 55,000 fanegas of cacao (132,000 to 242,000 arrobas) from Guayaquil to Acapulco during the final years of the century.[114] The predominance, though not exclusivity, of cacao in the cargo of these ships is indicated by the registry of the ship San Angel de la Guarda, which reached Acapulco in 1799:[115]

1,320 cargas of cacao
107 arrobas 11 lbs. copper
6 botijas of whale oil
100 arrobas of *cascarilla* (Peruvian bark)
728 wool hats from Peru
9 hats *(sombreros)* from Jipilapa

The most complete documentation on the Guayaquil cacao trade through Acapulco is found in tax ledgers for the *avería*, an import/export tax, for 1786–87 and for 1803.[116] These documents offer a detailed register of all shipments of overseas goods brought through Acapulco and then sent on to any "city, town, or place" in New Spain. The ledgers are divided into one section that documents all remissions to points other than Mexico City (given that for these the tax was paid in Acapulco) and another section detailing shipments to Mexico City (where the *avería* tax would be paid). The breakdown by value of merchandize type for shipments to all points other than Mexico City in 1803 is given in table 8f; the monthly quantities of imported cacao is indicated in table 8g; the final destination of the cacao is listed in table 8h; and the place of origin of the muleteer transporting the cacao is given in table 8i.

113. In 1793, however, only 3 ships are registered, all from Guayaquil. Two brought cacao (12,216 cargas or 39,580 arrobas) and one brought wood, *palo de brasil* (*Haematoxylon brasiletto*); see Indif-Alc, Acapulco, caja 1, exp. 3, for both the 1792 and 1793 data.

114. Hamerly (1973:125). The conversion to arrobas is based on 110 lbs. per fanega. Hamerly estimates that during these years, 50–90% of all cacao sent to New Spain was from Guayaquil.

115. Indif-Alc Acapulco caja 1, exp. 5.

116. The documents are found in Indif-Alcxx Acapulco caja 25, exp. 2 (1786–87) and Acapulco caja 2,

Table 8f
Value of merchandise that paid *avería* tax in Acapulco, 1803

Goods	Value	Percent of total
Cacao	495,003.058	81.37
Copper	88,198.753	14.50
Efectos de china	24,570.698	4.04
Cloth	583.900	0.10
Total	608,356.409	100.00

Table 8g
Size of monthly remissions of Guayaquil cacao from Acapulco to various destinations in New Spain
(excluding Mexico City)

Month	Arrobas	Percent of total
Jan.	21,127.80	13.39
Feb.	22,976.56	14.56
Mar.	19,974.64	12.66
Apr.	21,931.80	13.90
May	40,391.82	25.59
June	0.00	0.00
July	1,996.36	1.27
Aug.	309.92	0.20
Sept.	1,785.56	1.13
Oct.	6,042.20	3.83
Nov.	11,109.72	7.04
Dec.	10,178.52	6.45
Total	157,824.90	100.00

Table 8h
Final destinations of Guayaquil cacao shipped from Acapulco in 1803
(excluding Mexico City)

Final destination	Arrobas	Percent	Final destination	Arrobas	Percent
Spain	27,336.36	17.32	Aguascalientes	165.00	0.11
Escala and to Spain	7,252.24	4.60	Celaya	679.80	0.43
Veracruz	31,447.76	19.93	Chilapa	910.96	0.58
Cordoba	3,659.84	2.32	Coyuca; prov. Zacatula	401.92	0.26
Jalapa	3,278.68	2.08	Hda. de San Vicente	307.00	0.20
Orizaba	3,686.12	2.34	Huajuapa	134.48	0.09

exp. 1 (1803). The data and analysis that follows is based on these documents.

Puebla	7,342.12	4.65	Huichiapa	289.60	0.18
Oaxaca	30,556.90	19.36	Mexico	413.00	0.26
Oax Mixteca	1,487.80	0.94	San Angel	573.20	0.36
Mixteca	406.28	0.26	Silao	146.72	0.09
Querétaro	4,906.68	3.11	Sombrerete	626.20	0.40
Valladolid	3,555.12	2.25	Tehuantepec	173.72	0.11
Guadalajara	5,278.08	3.34	Tepecuacuilco	280.00	0.18
R. de Huautla and Cuautla Amilpas	2,930.12	1.86	Teposcolula	204.56	0.13
Cuernavaca	775.52	0.49	Tixtla	255.60	0.16
Zacatecas	1,699.08	1.08	Tlapa	292.64	0.19
Taxco	1,283.88	0.81	Tlaxiaco	230.16	0.15
Patzcuaro	1,077.84	0.68	Xamiltepec	357.36	0.23
Two internal destinations	4,641.48	2.94	Yanhuitlan	203.16	0.13
not indicated	897.00	0.57	Less than 100 arrobas	404.84	0.26
San Blas (port of)	7,276.08	4.61			

Table 8i
Registered origin of muleteers transporting Guayaquil cacao shipped from Acapulco in 1803
(excluding that with a final destination of Mexico City)

Origin of muleteer	Arrobas	Percent	Origin of muleteer	Arrobas	Percent
Acapulco	168.76	0.11	Chalchapa	290.44	0.18
Coyuca	11.00	0.01	Teloloapa	270.56	0.17
Zumpango	3,828.32	2.43	Taxco	2,465.84	1.56
Xochipala	109.08	0.07	Pilcaya	127.20	0.08
Chilpancingo	8,693.72	5.51	Tenancingo	2,067.00	1.31
Quechultenango	1,622.24	1.03	Tecualoya	2,543.80	1.61
Tixtla	8,277.60	5.25	Malinalco	701.48	0.44
Chilapa	10,576.28	6.70	Sultepec	237.40	0.15
Ameyaltepec	240.36	0.15	Toluca	310.08	0.20
Palula	210.76	0.13	Hda. Treinta Pesos	295.28	0.19
Sasamulco	425.20	0.27	Cuernavaca	1,482.88	0.94
Sabana	133.36	0.08	Cuautla	20.00	0.01
Zapotlan	165.00	0.11	Guatepeque	121.44	0.08
Sta. Teresa	98.84	0.06	Ocuituco	99.88	0.06
Huitzuco	10,898.24	6.91	Tlayacapa	160.56	0.10
Atenango	1,310.32	0.83	Mexico	160.96	0.10
Tepecuacuilco	65,460.76	41.48	Uruapa	22.00	0.01
Tuxpa	53.12	0.03	Celaya	118.60	0.08
Iguala	13,745.04	8.71	Santa Rosa	86.96	0.06
Cocula	2,659.40	1.69	n.i.	11,111.54	7.04
Atlixtac	967.52	0.61	a San Blas	5,476.08	3.47

The information presented in table 8i can be organized into two major groups: muleteers from the Zumpango-Chilapa corridor in south-central Guerrero, and those from the Iguala Valley

(entries Ameyaltepec to Atlixtac). The dominance of the latter region is demonstrated in a summary table in which participation in the transport of cacao is grouped by general area (table 8j).

Table 8j
Origin of muleteers transporting Guayaquil cacao shipped from Acapulco in 1803
(excluding cacao with a destination of Mexico City)

Region of muleteer origin	Arrobas	Percent of total
Chilapa-Zumpango	33,107.24	20.98
Iguala Valley	97,335.44	61.67
Jur. Malinalco	5,549.68	3.52
not indicated	11,111.54	7.04
direct to San Blas	5,476.08	3.47
other	5,2144.92	3.33
Total	157,824.90	100.00

Of the 96,367.92 arrobas (approximately 1,205 tons) of cacao that departed from Acapulco in 1803 under the name of muleteers who gave their place of origin as somewhere within the Iguala Valley, just over two-thirds was transported by residents of Tepecuacuilco.[117] While this data indicates that transport of cacao was centered in Tepecuacuilco, the locus of control over trade was Mexico City, as indicated by the fact that of the 157,924.9 arrobas remitted from Acapulco, 118,007.24 arrobas (74.77 percent) departed with an announced intermediate destination (*escala*) of Mexico City.[118] Of the remaining cacao, a total of 30,995.94 arrobas (19.64 percent) had no listed *escala*. Besides Mexico City, only two other places are worthy of mention as intermediate stop-over points for cacao shipments: Puebla (4,469 arrobas, or 2.83

117. Sixteen years later the percentages remained roughly the same; see Indif-Alc Acapulco, caja 31, exp. 4 (1819). This document gives data on 53,116 arrobas 17 lbs. of cacao, although the origin of the muleteers who transported 31,750 arrobas is not given. Of the remaining 31,366 arrobas 17 lbs., muleteers from the Iguala Valley (Tepecuacuilco, 45.8%; Huitzuco, 10.6%; and Iguala, 6.0%) transported 62.4% of the total. Another 15% was taken by muleteers from southern Guerrero (principally Tixtla and Chilapa), and 11.3% by those from the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca (principally Cuernavaca and Tetecala).

118. Included in the calculations for Mexico City is San Angel. The dominance of Mexico City would be even greater if the *avería* register had included that cacao whose final destination was Mexico City itself.

percent of total shipments) and, interestingly, Tepeacaucuilco (3,060.52 arrobas, or 1.94 percent). The remaining 1,292.2 arrobas (0.82 percent) was taken out of Acapulco with other points given as the *escala* on the way to a final destination.

The data on trade and transport in cacao, therefore, indicate that in 1803 the transport sector was centered in Tepecuacuilco and distribution was centered in Mexico City. Even most cacao with a final destination of Oaxaca, located south of Acapulco, was first sent north to Mexico City, which suggests that the trade routes established for this good were more influenced by the concentration of capital in the hands of Mexico City merchants than by transport efficiency. Moreover, despite the transport costs, a significant amount of cacao from Guayaquil (66,036.36 arrobas, or about 42 percent of the cacao registered in the Acapulco ledger) made it from Guayaquil to Acapulco and then across New Spain before being shipped off to Spain.[119] The cost of transport was 45 pesos per ton from Acapulco to Tepecuacuilco; this represented 18 percent of the value of the cacao at port in Acapulco. The cost of transport from Acapulco to Tepecuacuilco was about 1.2 reales per ton kilometer, a cost that is similar to figures estimated for other areas of New Spain.[120] The total expense of transporting an arroba from Acapulco to Veracruz was probably about 2 pesos, over 60 percent of the cacao's original value. Even so, Guayaquil cacao was still cheaper in Veracruz than Venezuelan cacao, which in New Spain was at least twice as expensive as that from Guayaquil.[121]

119. The total is derived from adding the cacao marked as destined for either Spain or for Veracruz, with the assumption that the cacao sent from Acapulco to Veracruz was for final shipment to Spain (see table 8h).

120. See Garner (1993:181), who gives a cost of 1.6 reales per ton kilometer. The figure of 1.2 reales per ton kilometer that I arrive at is based on 4.5 reales/arroba from Acapulco to Tepecuacuilco. The distance from Acapulco to Tepecuacuilco was between 67 and 72.5 leagues (Alvarez and Durán, 1856:91, 104), about 281 to 304 km, calculating a league at 4,190 meters. Suárez Argüello (1997:177ff) gives a average transport cost of 1 real per ton kilometer, although she notes the great variation in cost, from ½ to 2 reales per ton kilometer, depending mostly on the terrain and, perhaps, location within the colony.

121. See the discussion in Arcila Farias (1950:esp. chap 10).

An understanding of shifts in the cacao economy can illuminate the nature of the late colonial transformation of rural society—processes of economic regionalization and emergent social tensions—in central Guerrero. Evidence has already been presented that traffic on the camino real running from Acapulco to the central highlands increased from approximately 56,000 mules in 1784 to 91,500 in 1802.[122] Assuming that half the pack animals traveled north and half south, this yields an effective increase of 17,250 mules taking goods north out of Acapulco. If 90 percent carried a load of 12 arrobas, the increase in transport capacity would have been 186,300 arrobas (2,328.75 tons). Much of this increased capacity was undoubtedly dedicated to (or absorbed by) the transport of cacao. In 1803 the total remission of cacao to destinations other than Mexico City was 157,824.9 arrobas; the comparable figure for a 12-month period from March 1786 to March 1787 was 20,331.5 arrobas (an increase of 137,493.4 arrobas, or close to 75% of the estimated increase in transport capacity). Undoubtedly the amount of cacao sent *to* Mexico City in 1803 (a figure not available in the extant documentation) also increased significantly from the 25,874.5 arrobas of 1786–87, although not as dramatically as the amount of cacao sent to other points in New Spain (given that at least 42% of this this latter increase was due to re-export of Guayaquil cacao to Spain.

One of the most significant consequences of the surge in cacao imports from Guayaquil was the transfiguration of the spatial organization of the transport sector. The majority of activity in this sector shifted north from the Zumpango-Chilapa region to the Iguala Valley, which by 1803 transported approximately 62 percent of the cacao carried to destinations in New Spain outside of Mexico City (see table 8j). This extent of this geographical shift is demonstrated by a comparison of tables 8j and 8k, which reveal the point of origin of muleteers active in the cacao trade.

122. See n. 7 supra.

Table 8k
Origin of muleteers transporting Guayaquil cacao taken from Acapulco: March 1786–March 1787
(all destinations, including Mexico City)

Region of muleteer origin[123]	Number of remissions	Arrobas	Percent of total	Average size per remission
Chilapa-Zumpango	65	17,963.84	38.88	276.37
Iguala Valley	43	19,274.72	41.71	448.25
Jur. Malinalco	7	2,122.08	4.59	303.15
Cuernavaca	5	2,734.56	5.92	546.91
other	11	4,110.76	8.90	373.71
Total	131	46,205.96	100	352.72

Whereas in 1786 muleteers from the Chilapa-Zumpango and the Iguala Valley regions accounted for approximately 39 percent and 42 percent of total cacao shipments, respectively, by 1803 the proportion had changed to 21 and 62 percent. Activity in both regions also dramatically increased in absolute numbers: muleskinners from the Chilapa-Zumpango region moved 17,963.84 arrobas in 1786 and 33,107.24 in 1803, an increase of 184 percent; their peers from the Iguala Valley transported 19,274.72 arrobas in 1786 and 97,335.44 in 1802, an increase of 405 percent. (Note that since table 8j, for 1803, refers only to remissions outside of Mexico City, and table 8k includes cacao sent to all points in New Spain, the increase would in fact have been greater than the available statistics indicate.) The evidence suggests that the late colonial boom in the Guayaquil cacao trade between Ecuador and New Spain created a need for a concentrated and highly capitalized transport enterprise able to meet the demands for services articulated by Mexico City merchants. To transport the 97,335.44 arrobas remitted with muleteers from the Iguala Valley, a population of at least 2,000 pack mules, working constantly over 5 months,

123. For Chilapa-Zumpango (65 remissions) the breakdown according to muleteer origin was Chilapa (16), Chilpancingo (8), Colotlipan (1), Tixtla (35), and Zumpango (4). For the Iguala Valley (43) the breakdown was Huitzuco (2), Iguala (10), and Tepecuacuilco (31). For the jurisdiction of Malinalco (7) the breakdown was Malinalco (3), Tenancingo (3), and Zacualpa (1). All data from Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 25, exp. 2.

would have been needed.[124] The emergence of this sector in the Iguala Valley is probably related to other patterns of economic growth that affected this area during this period: the growth of a agricultural sector that was promoted by, though not subservient to, Taxco miners; and the massive migration of poor Indian peasants from the Tixtla and Chilapa jurisdictions to the sharecropping cuadrillas of the northern Iguala Valley. Opportunities for profit-making activities were thus available in three sectors: agrarian (grain, and pork, for expanding markets), commercial (manufactures for the increased migrant rural population), and transport (pack mules to move a surging trade in cacao). The three sectors were interrelated, dominated by a single entrepreneur; indeed it was perhaps the attractiveness of the agrarian and commercial markets that established a foundation for the construction of a transport empire.

The same northward shift in the locus of the transport section, from the Chilapa-Chilpancingo region to Tepecuacuilco and the Iguala Valley, is evident in changing patterns of the origin of muleteers who traded salt in the Taxco mines (tables 8l and 8m). In 1778 and 1779 only about 10% of salt traded in Taxco was brought by muleteers from the Iguala Valley; a decade later muleteers from the valley brought in about one-third of the salt (table 8m), with the increase mostly to the detriment of traders from the Chilapa-Chilpancingo corridor, whose participation dropped from about 65% in the late 1770s to about 19 and 36 percent in 1788 and 1791, respectively.

124. This figure is arrived at by dividing the number of arrobas (97,335.44) by 12 to yield the number of cargas carried by one mule. The result is 8,111 cargas. Assuming a round trip of 40 days and 160 days of continuous activity, each mule would be able to make 4 trips. Sañudo, then, would probably have been simply the most prominent (or most documented) individual in an entrepreneurial transport sector.

Table 81
Percent of total salt sales in Taxco according to origin of muleteer[125]

Origin of muleteer	1778 (565.2 cgas)	1779 (731.12 cgas)	1788 (886.28 cgas)	1791 (438.36 cgas)
Chiautla de la Sal	10.35	16.62	12.07	18.92
Ocotlán		1.23		
Piastla		1.37		
San Marcos		4.38		
Chilapa	18.88	36.10	1.92	2.95
Chilpancingo	40.52	20.97	10.00	30.20
Tixtla	5.40	4.85	0.56	
Quechultenango			1.22	
Zumpango		3.90	4.51	2.74
Xochipala			0.64	
Totolcintla		0.68		
Ameyaltepec				2.74
San Juan Tetelcingo				4.22
Tepecuacuilco	12.92	7.08	11.87	32.42[126]
Pololcingo			4.96	
Santa Teresa			0.45	
Palula			2.54	
Sasamulco			3.72	
Coacoyula			0.56	
Tepantlan			1.47	
Cocula			0.90	
Iguala		1.91	5.20	
El Puente			1.02	
Huistac			0.11	
Taxco		0.91	1.69	
Ixcatepec			1.18	
Teloloapan			10.26	2.85
Tenancingo				2.96
Xochimilco*			9.26	
other or not indicated	11.94		13.87	
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

* all sales by Xochimilco traders was of the lower-grade *saltierra* (the origin of this salt is not given); all other sales are of regular salt. With the exception perhaps of the salt from Xochimilco, the table does not include salt used in refining.

125. Sources: 1778: AGN-Real Hacienda, caja 134; 1779: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 13, exp. 2; 1788: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 14, exp. 4; and 1791: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 15, exp. 4.

126. It is possible that this figure of 32.42% represents not only muleteers from Tepecuacuilco proper, but from nearby cuadrillas in the valley.

Table 8m
Percent of total salt sales in Taxco according to area of muleteer origin

Region of muleteer origin	1778 (565.2 cgas)	1779 (731.12 cgas)	1788 (886.28 cgas)	1791 (438.36 cgas)
Chiautla de la Sal	10.35	19.22	12.07	18.92
San Marcos	0.00	4.38	0.00	0.00
Chilapa-Chilpancingo	64.80	66.50	18.85	35.81
Iguala Valley	12.92	8.99	31.67	39.38
Jur. Taxco	0.00	0.91	2.82	0.00
Jur. Ixcateopan	0.00	0.00	11.44	2.85
Tenancingo	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.96
Xochimilco*	0.00	0.00	9.26	0.00
other or not indicated	11.94	0.00	13.87	0.00
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The available evidence, therefore, strongly suggests that the organization of the trade in salt paralleled that of cacao trade: the origins of muleteers who transported both goods show a rapid shift northward to the Iguala Valley and both goods involved increasingly dispersed participation in muleteering throughout the Iguala Valley, probably related to increasing demand for muleteers as commerce boomed. Tables 8i (cacao trade in 1803) and 8l (salt trade, particular in 1788 and 1791) suggest, moreover, that as transport activity shifted to the north, more and more indigenous peasants from the sharecropping cuadrillas of the valley and the Indian communities along the Balsas are found working as muleskinners. It is likely that in many cases contacts and knowledge acquired while working for hire in the transport of cacao were used by poor peasants in the Iguala Valley to facilitate their entry into a salt-trade sector. If this were true, it suggests that participation in the cacao trade served as a catalyst for participation in the salt trade. However poorly remunerated a muleteer might have been, petty itinerant trade in salt undoubtedly would have provided some relief for households otherwise totally dependent on agricultural activities.

The predominance of Tepecuacuilco as a center of transport activity was not, however, the cumulative result of small- and middle-range individual enterprises (as seems to have

occurred in the other major region of transport activity, the Zumpango-Chilapa region), but represented the efforts of one man, Manuel Sañudo, to consolidate a highly capitalized transport enterprise and forge links with Mexico City merchants who bought the bulk of cacao shipped into Acapulco.[127] The list of merchants to whom cacao was consigned as it was sent out of Acapulco reads like who's who of the wealthiest and most powerful men of the viceregal capital: Tomás Domingo de Acha, Diego de Agreda, Juan Lorenzo de Antepara, and Ysidro Antonio de Ycasa.[128] Among outstanding debts owed by Sañudo at the time of his death were two that indicate his connection to Mexico City merchants involved in the cacao trade: 1,407 pesos to the estate of don Ysidro Antonio de Ycasa and 5,000 pesos owed to don Diego de Agreda; Sañudo also owed 6,472 pesos to don Juan Antonio del Castillo y Llata of Querétaro.[129]

There is direct evidence of Sañudo's control of a transport empire. In an 1808 inventory of his estate carried out following his death were eight outstanding debts for having moved cacao from Acapulco to Tepecuacuilco in the spring of that year (see table 8n):

Table 8n
Transport of cacao contracted to Manuel Sañudo, Spring 1808

Date of Departure (Atlixtac/Tepecuacuilco)	Atlixtac		Tepecuacuilco	
	Arrobas	Bill for Transport	Arrobas	Bill for Transport
12 March/4 March	1,445.20	812-7-05	3,153.00	1,773-4-00
11 April/8 April	1,393.12	783-5-00	3,108.48	1,748-5-00
11 May/*12 May	1,370.16	813-4-03	3,151.00	1,870-7-03
*13 June/*14 June	1,331.52	790-4-09	2,622.52	1,558-0-00
Totals	5,540.00	3,200-5-05	12,035.00	6,952-0-03

127. There were exceptions, as petty traders would buy cacao for peddling throughout the provinces. For a brief mention of a minor cacao merchant from Tepecuacuilco, see the discussion of José Ramón Tapia below.

128. Many of these are mentioned by Kicza (1983). Also, active in the cacao trade outside of Mexico City were the following: Blas Conto (Córdoba and Orizaba); Dionicio Fernández Pérez (Córdoba, Orizaba, and Puebla); Juan de Aguisasola (Veracruz); Emeterio Pastor (Veracruz); Pedro and Santiago Echeverría (Veracruz and Spain); Manuel del Solar Campero (Oaxaca); Antonio Sánchez (Oaxaca); José Alvarez (Querétaro); and Francisco Bernal (Guanajuato).

129. AGN-T 3576/1.

*4.75 reales/arroba transport costs, Acapulco-Tepecuacuilco; other shipments at 4.5 reales.

This same inventory records two packs of mules at Sañudo's hacienda of Atlixtac (valued at 5,878 pesos 6 reales), and five (valued at 13,420 pesos) at his estate in Tepecuacuilco. Each pack comprised between 45 and 50 mules used as beasts of burden (valued at 50 or 55 pesos each) and 6 or 7 that the mayordomo and their assistants (*caporales*) used for their mounts (worth between 25 and 27.5 pesos each). The transport figures in table 8n coincide with the logistical possibilities of an estate with 100 mules at Atlixtac and 250 in Tepecuacuilco; at 12 arrobas/carga, the former would be able to transport approximately 1,200 arrobas per trip, the latter approximately 3,000 (cf. the second and fourth columns of the preceding table). The data suggests that all mules were employed in repeated trips to the coast, each of which covered approximately 560 to 600 kilometers round trip and lasted about one month.[130] Each mule would have brought in 6 pesos 6 reales per trip, assuming that transport charges were collected only on the leg from Acapulco to Tepecuacuilco.

Costs (and hence potential profit) are more difficult to calculate. During a period of heavy work, maize consumption per mule was probably about 3 kilograms per day; a month of heavy packing would consume approximately ¾ carga of grain.[131] Prices would vary greatly by season and year, although a rough estimate of 2–3 pesos/carga would seem appropriate for the period, the place (an agricultural hinterland), and the fact that the owner of the mule was an

130. The distance is taken from Alvarez and Durán (1856:91, 104); see n. 120 supra.

131. The consumption rate is based on observations during fieldwork; Hassig (1985:281–83) gives U.S. Army rations of 9 lbs (4 kilos)/day. The man who married Sañudo's widow later estimated that a mule consumed 6 cargas per year (AGN-Alh 8/10; the estimate was for 1,500 cargas to maintain 5 atajos); this low figure might reflect the decreased consumption of maize during the rainy season when they might be pastured. Maize prices are hard to determine because the data is undoubtedly biased in one direct or another. Community accounts for this period (see AGN-AHH 405/4) give prices between 6 and 18 reales per carga, with an average of 10 to 12. Nevertheless, this data probably underreported income from maize sales. Other reports of higher prices were either for years of poor harvest or as part of litigation against speculators, and thus would tend to emphasize abuses and high prices.

agrarian entrepreneur who received much of his rental payment in kind. Wages for a muleteer were probably at the low end of the scale, 3 to 4 pesos per month, although most likely they were given some rations as well. To these costs must be added the salary of the mayordomo and his assistant, and the cost and maintenance of mules used for riding; apparently 6–7 of these were included with each *atajo* of 45–50 pack animals. A pack of 50 pack mules, therefore, would bring in 337 pesos 4 reales (assuming earnings only on the transport of cacao from Acapulco and not on the southward journey to the port). The cost would be approximately 43 cargas of maize (50 pack mules and 7 for riding) and wages of 28 pesos (7 men for 1 month each); estimating a carga at 3 pesos, the total cost would be about 157 pesos. However, if maize consumption was ½ carga per month, if a carga is calculated at 2 pesos, and if wages were 3 pesos/month, then the expenses would drop to 78 pesos. Taking the higher expenses, each *atajo* would yield a profit of 180 pesos (337 minus 157) per trip, or approximately 3 pesos 1 reales per animal (both pack and riding); calculating with the lower expenses would yield 4 pesos 4 reales profit per animal.[132] Under the former calculation, approximately 17 trips would be required to pay off an investment, under the latter conditions, approximately 12. Nevertheless, the risk was probably great, as animals could easily be lost to disease or accidents. Investment in transport (such as Sañudo's approximately 20,000 pesos in just over 350 mules) would seem to have been viable as a capitalist venture mostly in conditions of high and constant demand, or when locational factors relating to production, trade, and consumption permitted profit on both legs of a journey. Sañudo might have been able to profit in both directions of the Tepecuacuilco–Acapulco route if on the southward-bound trip to the sparsely populated port of Acapulco he was able to take merchandise for export. Nevertheless, his profit margin in transport was mostly protected by the high demand and

132. Serrera Contreras (1977:266) estimates an annual profit per mule of 15 pesos; this figure is not incompatible with the estimates just given.

continual, though seasonally based, employment of his mules, as indicated by activity in the Spring of 1808, and the possibility of expanding or contracting his workforce in accordance with demand (or shifting muleteers to other productive activities when the demand for packing decreased).

Perhaps the most significant implication of Sañudo's activity in the transport sector is the manner in which it redefined rural-urban relations between the grain-producing Iguala Valley and the urban mining center in Taxco. Generally, starting from the path-breaking work of West in the late 1940s and continuing through and past the studies of Andean markets pioneered by Assadourian in the 1970s, a significant portion of agricultural production and market system integration has been perceived to revolve around systems organized to provision the mines.[133] Much less common, but with a somewhat parallel focus, have been urban market–based approaches, such as Van Young's study of Guadalajara. Such accounts of demand-driven market integration, like Cronon's study of Chicago mentioned in the introduction, assume that production is market oriented (for Latin America this perspective provided a needed antidote to the literature on the "feudal" hacienda, though it clearly needs to be refined) and that various factors influence the integration of solar-system patterns of exchange (internally differentiated according to a model first proposed by Von Thünen): 1) the high cost of transportation that precludes facile access to distant markets, even if they were potentially more lucrative; 2) the effect of transportation costs on profit that creates a tendency for intensification to occur closest to market centers; 3) the somewhat neoclassical and perhaps optimistic assumption that regional urban centers (and particularly mines) would offer the economic incentives to make integration a relatively painless process, with the biggest challenge coming from regraters (who interrupted the paths of direct marketing) and speculators (who interrupted the temporal flow of marketing); 4)

133. See the works of these authors cited in the bibliography.

the relative lack of competition among urban centers for grain, except perhaps the perturbations caused by the coincidence of consumer demand and political power in Mexico City; and 5) and the relative lack of focus on competition for grain between human (urban based) and pack animal (rural based) consumers.

Several of these points have already been addressed in the introduction to this chapter: the suggestion that midsized urban centers often competed both among themselves and against higher-level centers; that economic incentives represented only one mechanism to integrate markets and among other such devices were political control and administrative policies that structured markets and geographically limited the extent of exchange; and that miners, for whom maize was a factor or cost of production, were particularly interested in reducing grain costs and had the political means to attempt do so. These tensions are structural and endemic to market formation and rural-urban relations, although perhaps they are more marked as one moves away from primary urban centers in which decentralized manufacturing is the key occupation and provides a basis for symbiotic rural-urban exchange. What should be clear now, however, is the drain on provisioning, as well as labor, that an inefficient transport system could produce and the way in which investment in a highly capitalized transportation system could effect regional agricultural development and rural-urban integration.

The net effect on maize supply of labor intensive mule transport would depend on many factors (monthly consumption by mules, duration and intensity of transport activity, etc.). However, perhaps a minimum estimate can be arrived at by assuming that each mule that passed through the Tixtla tollbooth was involved in a one-month round-trip journey requiring one fanega of maize. This would consume 22,918 *cargas*, enough to feed approximately half the Indian families of the jurisdiction of Tixtla and perhaps two-thirds of those in the Taxco and Iguala

jurisdictions combined.[134] Or, if one assumes that each of the mules that paid a toll made eight journeys per year and consumed four cargas of grain (assumptions that assume a heavy workload and low maize consumption), one would arrive at the same total of 22,918 cargas. Grain consumption by the transport sector might well have been higher than this estimate, particularly if mules were fed maize during short periods when they were not being worked or if the average were less than eight journeys and yearly consumption more than four cargas, which was probably the case. At any rate, sudden increases in transport activity certainly would have strained the colonial system of provisioning. The export of a yearly average of 432,400 arrobas of sugar from Veracruz from 1802 to 1804 would have consumed approximately 36,000 cargas per year in costs related to transport, a figure that supercedes the quantity of maize sold in the Guadalajara *alhóndiga* during most years of this same period.[135] The greatest impact of an inefficient transport system, therefore, might well have been its inefficient use of grain. One of the effects of the commercialization of the colonial economy, particularly in regard to overseas trade, was therefore the transfer of maize from human to animal consumption.[136] Even a conservative estimate

134. The consumption figure for the mules was arrived at by dividing the total number of tariffs paid (91,673) by half, based on two tolls paid per mule. This figure was then divided by one-half again, for the fanega of maize (one-half carga) consumed in a month. The 22,918 cargas would be sufficient to feed 2,292 families, based on a consumption rate of 10 cargas/year (note that Ouweneel (1996:9) gives a figure of 12½ cargas/year for a family of 4–5). Gerhard (1972:317) gives the 1797 population of the jurisdiction of Tixtla as 4,589 Indian tributaries. Note that according to the 1792 census there were 1,471 Spanish individuals, 1,475 mestizos, and 1,701 mulattoes. At 4.5 members per family, this would yield the equivalent of approximately 1,033 families. Gerhard also estimates (p. 254) a total of 3,200 Indian tributaries in the combined jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala at the end of the eighteenth century. Thus maize consumption in late colonial transport to the coast would have consumed half as much as the Indian sector itself, and twice as much as the non-Indian population in the Tixtla jurisdiction.

135. For the Guadalajara figures, see Van Young (1981:78–79, table 8). The figure of 36,000 *cargas* was arrived at by dividing the yearly average export in arrobas by 12, equivalent to a mule load, and assuming that this weight would require one month of activity by a mule (the mule trip from Mexico City to Veracruz required 20–22 days one way, so a one-month estimate is under calculated).

136. To this effect, Lee (1947:654 n. 45) mentions that in the sixteenth century all maize in the area around Tequaque (near Tlaxcala) was reserved for muleteers who traveled along the highway to Veracruz. The law is dated 10 Nov. 1579 and found in AGN-RCD, vol. 46.

suggests that for each hundredweight of exports, 20 pounds of grain were consumed within the colony.[137]

The competition between animal and human consumption is more directly evidenced by Sañudo's strategic use of the haciendas of San Miguel, Xochicuetla, and Carrizal in the Iguala Valley (which he rented from the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento) to protect his investment in the transport sector. By subrenting hacienda land to mostly migrant peasants who established themselves as tenants in the cuadrillas, the 4,000 pesos that Sañudo paid in rent generated a constant supply of relatively cheap maize that would ensure fodder for his mule trains. An account (probably underestimated) of rents due to Sañudo's estate in 1809 gives a total of 1,497 cargas from 11 cuadrillas; the same account mentions that 1,500 cargas are needed to provision the five *atajos* based in Tepecuacuilco (approximately 4¼ cargas per mule per year, very close to the estimates suggested in the preceding pages) .[138] By renting and subrenting the vast part of the Iguala Valley, therefore, Sañudo provided a firm foundation for his transport enterprise, the size of which, either by design or by chance, reflected the number of animals he could maintain by the maize he perceived in rent. He was thus free from competing in the grain market for fodder. Rather, he could use his earnings to speculate in grain, while possessing the transport capability to access more lucrative markets when they offered the possibility for quick profit.

Significantly, then, despite the close proximity of a food-deficient mining center to a fertile agricultural hinterland that he rented, Sañudo's strategy was not to produce grain for the

137. This very rough figure is arrived at by calculating that each mule carried an average of 12 arrobas (300 pounds) of cargo, that each load spent 15 days in transport (a very conservative figure, given that the average time from Mexico City to either Acapulco or Veracruz was 20 days one way), and that a mule consumed ½ carga per month engaged in transport, again a low estimate of consumption. Thus 300 pounds transported would consume ¼ carga of maize, approximately 25 kilos or 62.5 pounds.

138. The account was prepared by don Pedro Antonio Quijano y Cordero, who acquired rights to Sañudo's property by marrying his widow; see AGN-Alh 8/10 (1809).

guaranteed local market but to establish a vertically integrated commercial enterprise based on trade and transport in which land resources were used to assure fodder for his mules. He thus enjoyed the flexibility of speculative grain commerce without the burden of investment in agriculture. Unlike many other fertile areas close to food-deficient mines and urban centers, the Iguala Valley was unusual in that it never developed any significant agrarian enterprises with desmesne production oriented to regional markets. Part of the reason might have been the early dominance of ranching and, subsequently, the immense size of the landholdings, which inhibited investment by complicating administration.[139] Also problematic was the relative absence of a stable labor pool: late-eighteenth-century migrants might well have been unable to compensate for the relatively depopulated environment through the first two and a half centuries of colonial rule. But clearly a very significant factor affecting rural development in the Iguala Valley was its positioning in an intermediate (semiperipheral, if one wishes) position in regard to the entrepôt port of Acapulco. This pattern of land use and rural investment in the Iguala Valley clearly challenges the conventional wisdom that urban mining centers were the prime factor in stimulating hinterland grain production. In the present case, the stimulus came from backward linkages in the transport sector, themselves stimulated by changes in metropolitan policies as, under the influence of liberal political economic theory, it freed intercolonial trade.

In essence, then, there were three major spatial economies penetrating and transfiguring patterns of investment, commerce, and production in the Iguala Valley: 1) the urban mining center in Taxco, which constituted a deficient consumption center where grain was both a means of subsistence and a factor of production; 2) a heavily populated and rapidly developing rural hinterland, in which the level of commercial activity challenged, and eventually surpassed, that of

139. That is, what might have been an optimal size for large-scale ranching (150 to 200,000 has) was inefficient for demesne maize farming.

the regional urban core (see following chapter); and 3) a transport corridor linking a booming intercolonial trade, particularly in cacao, to highland markets and eventual export to Europe. Although spatial dynamics affected the development of regional political economies in north-central Guerrero, by the late colonial period the pattern that had been dominant up to this time—a rural-urban symbiosis marked by the acquisition of land in the Iguala Valley by miners (from about 1700 to 1750) and the conversion of pasture to farmland—had been superceded by two other developments that had their roots in extraregional links. The first was migration to the agrarian hinterland (principally from the Tixtla and Chilapa jurisdictions, but also from the southern Taxco jurisdiction and the outlying indigenous villages of the Balsas River basin), which stimulated a dispersed yet significant market for manufactures (particularly cloth) in the Iguala Valley.[140] The second was the opening up of the cacao trade with Guayaquil, and the subsequent demand for a capital-intensive transport sector. These forces effectively countered the tendency toward vertical integration and solar-system type provisioning centered on Taxco. Instead, a recently established entrepreneur was able to enormously expand his commercial ventures based on an expanding *rural* market, while orienting his agrarian activities to supporting capital-intensive long-distance trade (probably dominated by cacao) between an entrepôt port in Acapulco and wealthy merchants in the highlands.

Although trade in imported goods from the Philippines, Asia, and South America affected the development of transport sector in central Guerrero, the impact on occupational structure was mostly felt in the urban and largely colonized town centers of this region. For example, in 1803 three-quarters of all cacao shipments from Acapulco were transported by muleteers from the by then mostly non-indigenous towns of Chilpancingo (5.5%), Tixtla (5.2%), Chilapa (6.7%),

140. Indeed, as I point out below, one way to promote commercial success in a sparsely populated region is to concentrate goods in a single center (in this case it was Tepecuacuilco) and thus attract peasants to market, rather than stimulating itinerant commerce. Thus demographic dispersal to a certain degree

Huitzuco (6.9%), Tepecuacuilco (41.5%), and Iguala (8.7%).[141] And even outside of this region, the major impact of the transport sector associated with cacao imports seems to have been concentrated in relatively urban centers, although the level of activity was quite minor.[142] It was only in the Iguala Valley that participation seems to have extended to a modest number of small Indian rural settlements: the cuadrillas of Palula, Sasamulco, Sabana, Zapotlán, and Santa Teresa, and the indigenous community of Ameyaltepec, which bordered on the Sañudo estate (see table 8i).[143] This "overflow" beyond the major central Guerrero towns of mixed ethnicity suggests one mechanism by which indigenous villages were pulled into the commercial colonial economy.

Yet the mostly urban provenience of muleteers suggests that town dwellers, even if they did not have the economic means necessary to acquire trade goods or the animals required to transport them, were more likely to have the social and economic contacts with commercial entrepreneurs (most prominently Sañudo in Tepecuacuilco) who would facilitate entry into this sector. The concentration of capital in Mexico City and Tepecuacuilco had an impact on the spatial distribution of the "service sector" associated with the cacao economy, a distribution that

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promotes market primacy.

141. Note that the transport of 65,460¾ arrobas by Tepecuacuilco muleteers represents 5,455 mule trips (at 12 arrobas/mule). Assuming one-month round-trips to Acapulco for 6 months of the year and a ratio of 7 mules per worker on each trip, this would provide employment for 130 men. At this time, the Indian population of Tepecuacuilco was 103½ tributaries, although at this same time the majority of residents were not indigenous.

142. For example (see table 8h), Taxco, Pilcaya, Tenancingo, Tecualoya, Malinalco, Sultepec, Toluca, Cuernavaca, Cuautla, Oaxtepec, Uruapan, and Celaya. The greatest participation of muleteers from outside of the major areas of north- and south-central Guerrero was from Malinalco, although the level of activity, 701.48 arrobas, was insignificant, some 60 mule loads over the course of a year, and less than 0.5 % of the total cacao transported.

143. It is interesting that Ameyaltepec became the village most involved in the late-nineteenth-century salt trade (buying salt on the coast and selling it itinerantly among the villages and haciendas of the region). Much later, in the mid–twentieth century, Ameyaltepec traders spearheaded the sale of local artisanry in the urban centers of Acapulco, Taxco, Cuernavaca, and Mexico City. It is possible that some of the contacts and knowledge necessary for the salt trade was acquired on trips to buy and sell cacao. (Information on salt and artisanry trade was obtained from oral histories obtained during fieldwork.)

excluded the outlying indigenous communities of central Guerrero. It was only around the hub of this sector, in Tepecuacuilco, that some scattering from the center took place—seven mostly indigenous settlements transported the equivalent of 110 mule loads of cacao (a sorry 0.8% of the year's total) along the trade corridor to the highlands.

PETTY TRADE: SPATIAL ASPECTS OF PRODUCTION AND COMMERCE IN BASIC PROVISIONS

The commerce described in the previous section involved goods that for the most part simply passed through central Guerrero; the transport sector involved in this exchange was dominated by trade barons in the highlands and a few capitalist entrepreneurs in the hinterlands. Although this exchange network was a dominant factor in regional development, extraregional economic links were much more wide-ranging. The vast majority of these involved commerce in manufactured (or processed) goods produced in Spain (*efectos de Castilla*) as well as those produced in New Spain (*efectos de la tierra*). Nevertheless, whereas the former represented a category essentially based on where the good was produced (the metropolis), the latter was essentially an administrative category (how it was registered). Much petty merchandise and agricultural produce produced in New Spain entered the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala as *efectos de viento* (lit., "goods of wind"). In that these goods were elaborated in New Spain, they were, in a nominal sense, *efectos de la tierra* (lit., "goods of the land"), but unlike those colonial products registered as *efectos de la tierra*, *viento* goods were brought into jurisdictions without official remission papers (outside of the elaborate system of *guías* or *pases* that controlled most of the higher levels of commerce).[144] Usually the amounts traded were small and of low value (small-scale trade of mostly agricultural products: flour, salt, cotton, cloth, soap, cheese, sugar, and animals) but the

144. For a good description of the system of *guías* and how it worked, see Müller (1987:278–82).

essential characteristic of *viento* goods was their administrative status.[145] In the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala-Tepecuacuilco, trade in *efectos de Castilla* and *efectos de la tierra* was dominated by merchants with relatively capitalized and fixed-location enterprises; remissions were mostly from primary urban redistribution or manufacturing centers such as Mexico City, Puebla, and Querétaro. The tax ledgers (*libros de alcabalas*) for these *efectos* usually simply record the bulk and value (sometimes original price as well as local value) of the shipment, its point of origin (the place where the *guía* or *pase* was issued), and the final consumer (usually either a local storeowner or, less often, unnamed individuals, e.g., *por menor*).[146]

Viento products tended to be items of primary consumption: flour, salt, soap, cotton, cloth (particularly *paños* or regular cloth, *rebozos* or shawls, and *manta* or common cotton cloth), sugar and panocha, and animals (particularly pigs and cattle; chart 8b shows a fairly typically distribution of *viento* goods by value).[147] The transaction and tax records of these goods are useful

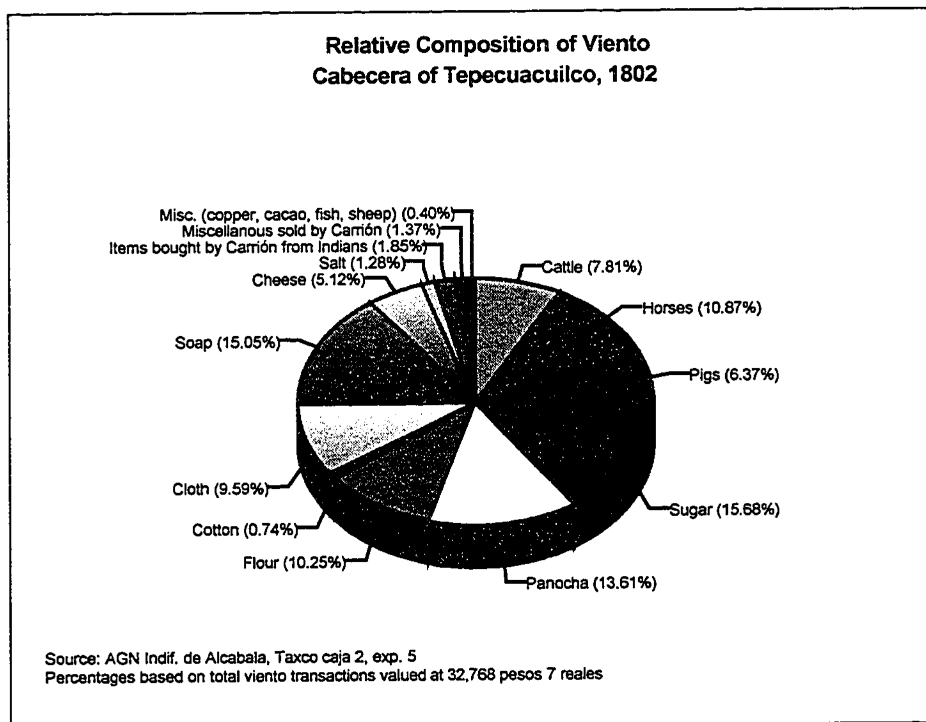
145. Interestingly, in the original publication of *Las alcabalas novohispanas (1776–1821)*, Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Juan Carlos Grosso mention that *viento* sales were those with a value under 10 pesos (1987: 39). In the subsequent edition they continue to refer to this value limit although in a footnote they cite Lucas Alamán, who states that "[*efectos de viento* are] those which circulate (*caminan*) without a *guía* and pay their rights according to arbitrary regulation" (1996b:96 n. 101). Alamán's account is the correct one.

146. If the buyer was a storeowner or local merchant, he or she is named; if sales were small and itinerant, they are recorded as "por menor" or "[que vendió] a varios individuos." Almost all *efectos de castilla* or *de la tierra* were brought in for a major regional merchant, who is named in the ledger. As to the local price, it is often simply an estimate, or *aforado*, which is often expressed as a percentage of the original price. In order to determine the precise types of goods that were brought in as either *efectos de Castilla* or *efectos de la tierra*, it would be necessary to study the items listed on the actual *guías*. However, *guías* are often difficult to locate and extremely time-consuming to examine, process, and analyze.

147. In *viento* registers for the Taxco-Iguala region there are also occasional entries for garbanzos, rice, wax, lard, fish, aguardiente, wine, and coconuts, among various products. Mules (and horses) are often considered *efectos de la tierra* given that they were commerced with remission papers (*guías*) and in large quantities; they were often sold on credit, in *repartimiento*. Other animals (pigs, cattle, and sheep, in particular) invariably appear as *viento* products. In 1802 (chart 8b) the *viento* transactions worth 32,769 pesos constituted only 17.6% of the total value of taxable commercial transactions in the jurisdiction (186,061¾ pesos). The weekly market (*tianguis*) in Tepecuacuilco had total yearly sales of 9,696 pesos (5.2% of total commerce); registered goods from Spain, the Orient, and New Spain sold in Tepecuacuilco accounted for another 106,966½ pesos (57.5%). Of the remaining merchandize, 26,412½ pesos were sold in Iguala (14.2% of the yearly total) and 7,499 pesos were sold in Huitzuco (4.0%). Transactions in El Limón (1,250 pesos; 0.7%); Tepantlan (1,327 pesos; 0.7%) and Sta. Teresa (141¾ pesos; 0.1%) account for the remaining taxable commerce; see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 5 (1802).

in that they often reveal the point of origin of the trader who transported the merchandise into the jurisdiction of sale. T3hus although these commodities constituted only a small share of the total value of market exchange, records of their marketing provide the clearest indication of the spatial organization of production, and the way in which points of production were articulated to points of consumption, as related to these items of basic necessity.

Chart 8b



An examination of patterns of production and exchange of basic consumption items is particularly useful to understanding the spatial manifestations of economic change and how this affected rural and urban society in colonial New Spain. With certain products, particularly manufactures that can either be produced in the household or acquired commercially, a key facet of economic development relates to changes in the relative portion of the consumer market

satisfied by imports, national manufactures, or household production. Textiles, more than most other manufactures, have often served as a particularly sensitive indicator of such market shifts; many studies of protoindustrialization, of capitalization of manufacturing, and of international trade focus on this sector.[148] An economic study of central Guerrero provides some interesting information on this topic, given the large amounts of cotton produced on the Pacific coast and government promotion of a home spinning and weaving industry in the Tixtla and Chilapa areas. Another important concomitant to economic change and development are shifts in land use patterns and the processing of agricultural products. One of the assumed effects of market integration, as exchange patterns envelop larger and larger areas, is the conversion of land to agricultural items that provide for the most efficient production and distribution. The patterns that evolve might be akin to Von Thünen–like circles (in which the cost of transportation is considered a key variable and intensification occurs near consumption centers, while extensive land use is pushed to the fringes) or they might to a greater extent reflect specialization (adaptation of resource exploitation to relatively immutable climatological and topographical factors). Production shifts in the Iguala Valley do indicate a response to market developments; they also reveal increasing tensions as investments in rural enterprises, in response to greater regional and extraregional market demand, sought returns to capital over simple local provisioning. At the same time, by examining competition between two market areas (Taxco and Tepecuacuilco), a more dynamic vision of the spatial concomitants to late colonial shifts in production and exchange in midsized regions can be advanced.

This section examines market exchange for two basic products produced outside of central Guerrero for which ample data is available: flour and cloth. The patterns that emerge—

148. For New Spain (including the early independence period) see the works of Miño Grijalva, Salvucci, and Thomson cited in the bibliography. For a now classic study of the growth of the cotton textile industry in nineteent-century New England, see Zevin (1971).

intricate webs that were spun, at times more turbulently than systematically, through the region of study—demonstrate the spatial and social effects of specialization in production and of competition among midlevel markets: how production and consumption were articulated through space, and the effects that these relationships and systems had on local peasant society. The question that forms the hub of analysis, therefore, is not so much one of whether there was or was not an internal colonial market (there obviously was) nor the possible extent of its integration (data on prices and fluidity of exchange are too sketchy to allow a useful approximation of the ways in which long-distance commerce responded to market "imperfections"). Rather, the concern is the spatial and social implications of exchange—the interplay of market and society in a colonial context. Basic consumption goods provide a particularly significant point of departure for such a study because, unlike overseas or colonial manufactures, they were both produced and consumed by most sectors of society, and because the records of their exchange, as *viento*, are so easy to access.

MARKET EXCHANGE IN FLOUR FROM THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS AND THE CORRIDOR OF EXCHANGE TO THE PACIFIC COAST: AN ANALYSIS OF ITINERACY AND REGIONAL SPECIALIZATION IN INTERREGIONAL TRADE

Wheat, virtually impossible to cultivate in the hot climate of Guerrero, had to be brought in from surrounding regions—at their foundation, then, the patterns of exchange responded to climatological limitations.[149] Total demand was clearly modest: an 1809 report from the

149. There are few mentions of wheat being cultivated in Guerrero. One mention occurs beginning in the mid–seventeenth century, when the Augustinian convent in Chilapa cultivated this crop on a parcel appropriately named Trigomila (lit. 'Wheat Field') located about 5 km east of town. Trigomila still exists today; for historical references, see AGN-T 3395/22 (1616–61); and AGN-T 3427/1 (1708–10). The "Relación de Tistla y Muchitlan" (p. 269) mentions that irrigated wheat is planted near Tixtla. I have not located any other mention of wheat cultivation in central Guerrero (provinces of Acapulco, Tixtla, Chilapa, Iguala, and Taxco) although there was a failed experiment to cultivate wheat in the jurisdiction of Tixtla; see AGN-Alh 12/1 (1786). For a mention of the lack of wheat in the Taxco-Iguala jurisdiction and the need

subdelegado of Taxco estimated the needs of the cabecera and surrounding villages at 5,248 tercios (2,714 cargas); the formerly independent *partido* of Iguala required just 3,000 (1,500 cargas).[150] The less heavily populated (and more indigenous) south-central region (the jurisdictions of Chilapa, Tixtla, and Acapulco) undoubtedly had much more modest needs. These figures pale in comparison to the late colonial annual demands of Guanajuato (50,000 cargas in 1779), Guadalajara (5,000 to 10,000 cargas from 1779 to 1800), Mexico City (90,000 to 122,000 cargas from 1775 to 1809), Puebla (67,000 to 92,000 cargas from 1800 to 1810), Querétaro (just over 13,500 cargas in 1793), San Miguel (7,000 cargas ca. 1787), and Valladolid (10,000 to 12,000 cargas in 1787).[151] Yet despite this demand from the major urban centers, there is little evidence of shortage across the colony. Mexico City, the market that had the potential to most drain supplies away from Guerrero, generally seems to have been able to meet its needs (often with the help of judicial action) both from the nearby wheat-producing areas of Puebla, Chalco, Texcoco, Cuauhtitlan, and Toluca, as well as with significant remissions of the more coveted grain from Michoacán.[152]

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to import, see AGN-Alh 8/11 (1810). In a chart of modern wheat production by state, Guerrero is one of two entities outside of the Yucatán peninsula (the other is Colima) that shows no wheat production from 1975 to 1982; Suárez Argüello (1985:76).

150. For the report, see AGN-Alh 8/11. A tercio probably refers to half a carga, although usage of this term seems to have varied. In some documents from the coast a tercio of wheat seems to have been equivalent to half a carga, a determination that has been based on the fact that the alcabala paid on a tercio was half that paid on a carga; see Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 28, exp. 1 (1798) and caja 30, exp. 2 (1807). For the Taxco report the tercio also probably refers to a half carga. The equivalence of 2 tercios to 1 carga is given by Super (1982:160). The Bourbon reforms introduced wheat measures whereby 1 carga was also equivalent to 4 fanegas (see Ouweneel, 1996:371). Suárez Argüello has an extended discussion of the size of a tercio (1985:97 n. 59).

151. For Guanajuato, San Miguel, and Valladolid, see Morin (1979b:142); for Guadalajara, see Van Young (1981:60, table 5); for Mexico City, see Suárez Argüello (1985:129ff); for Puebla see Liehr, cited in Suárez Argüello (1985:123), for Querétaro, see Super (1980:251). The totals are approximate and have been rounded off to the nearest thousand. For Guadalajara, figures from 1804 to 1814 are significantly higher, averaging about 15,000 cargas per year; see Van Young (1981:60–63).

152. See the synthesis of the situation by Garner (1993:97–107), who agrees with Super (1982) in this regard. For Michoacán's wheat accessing capital city markets, see Morin (1979:142).

There seems to be a general consensus among present scholars that wheat production, at least during the late colonial period, "was in a state of overproduction."[153] Over the course of the eighteenth century, wheat prices rose gradually and relatively steadily, but in a way that suggests the effects of colonywide inflation, not scarcity. Isolated periods of abrupt and short-lived price increases reflected the temporary effects of poor wheat harvests or sudden pressures on wheat to compensate for periodic scarcities of maize. Price differentials between the capital city and fertile wheat-producing zones motivated marketing patterns that covered hundreds of kilometers, in which the cost of transport might well raise the original price paid at point of production by one-third to one-half at the destination. Other instances of long-distance trade, including the supply of foreign markets (Venezuela and the Caribbean in particular) through the port of Veracruz, often occurred as the result of large provisioning contracts that attracted producers interested in abundant and secure sales, or represented somewhat unpropitious sales driven by a need to sell off supplies that outstripped demand.[154] The inefficiency of transport within the colony probably did affect the wheat economy, not so much in terms of internal markets, but in the ability of growers and grain merchants to export surplus overseas. During the late colonial period, United States wheat, transported mostly by ship, was cheaper in the Caribbean markets than that from New Spain, and partly because of the inefficiency of the export economy, the Bourbon effort to promote wheat production in its mainland colony failed to realize its goals, as noted by both Viceroy Revillagigedo and by Humboldt. Yet, as one researcher has pointed out, the most significant point is not the degree to which an export economy penetrated the wheat fields of New

153. The citation is from Ouweneel (1996:122). The most complete study is found in Suárez Argüello (1985:esp. chap. 3); see also Super (1982; also 1980) and Garner (1993:97ff). For a discussion of wheat cultivation and markets in regard to Puebla, see Thomson (1989:17ff.).

154. For long-distance (over 300 kilometers) transport of wheat from Michoacán to Mexico City, see Morin (1979:142). He mentions that "it was said" that of the 115,000 cargas of flour consumed in the capital, 87,000 (76.5%) came from Michoacán. Michoacán flour, probably because of its higher quality, was being transported to Veracruz, Jalapa, and Havana, apparently displacing flour from the Puebla region.

Spain, but the fact that whatever the level of export was, internal demand was always satisfied.[155] In sum, the wheat economy was in general more a buyer's than a seller's market; government regulation and controls did occur often, but most viceregal attention was focused on bakers and retailers. In many ways (and much more so than maize) commercialized wheat and flour was left to flow through the colonial countryside, at times following the path of least resistance (the closest market), at times that of greatest attraction (the most lucrative, often distant, market).[156]

The manner in which the wheat market played itself out in the rural and small-scale urban markets of central Guerrero can be gleamed from the *viento* tax ledgers that record information on buyers and sellers. Unlike maize (see chapters 10 and 11), there is little evidence of administrative control and litigation over the commercialization of wheat in rural markets. Rather, urban and minor town centers were left to their own economic (and political or social) devices to structure exchange. In both the provinces of Taxco and that of Iguala, acquisition of flour (in general milling took place before export out of the producing region) was dominated by a small number of merchants, though with different characteristics in each region. Distribution down the "food-chain" is harder to trace. Undoubtedly some of those who acquired flour from outside traders would resell in small quantities at their stores, sell to other petty shopkeepers, or perhaps even "contract" itinerant peddlers to distribute in the hinterlands.[157] And peasants from outlying areas would also probably travel occasionally to town centers for bread, while peasant bakers from these same villages would travel the same route to buy flour that they baked in small

155. Suárez Argüello (1985:110). For a general discussion of external markets for wheat from New Spain, see ibid., pp. 92ff.

156. For the late colonial period, see Artis Espriu (1986), Suárez Argüello (1985), and Super (1980, 1982). The literature on the politics of bread in Europe is particularly vast; see Miller (1992) and the works by Kaplan cited in the bibliography. Further discussion is found in chapter 10.

157. On the relationships of store owners to lower levels of commercialization, see Stein (1997) and Kinsbruner (1987).

domestic enterprises of part-time production. Nevertheless, there was undoubtedly a marked division in grain consumption patterns, with wheaten bread a more urban product and maize tortillas dominating in the countryside.

Tables 8o and 8p document acquisition of flour in the major regional centers of Taxco and Tepecuacuilco, which is located approximately twice the distance as the former from the wheat-producing province of Malinalco (the breadbasket for central Guerrero).[158] The patterns for the years chosen are typical of these two jurisdictions for the late colonial period, with the exception of flour sales to individual consumers in the Taxco area. The yearly average for such sales to individuals in Taxco was probably closer to 10–15 percent, somewhat under the 22.5 percent listed for 1795 (table 8o). These figures can be compared to those for the Iguala-Tepecuacuilco tax district, where there is a complete absence of (recorded) direct retailing by flour merchants.

Table 8o
Acquisition of flour by Taxco buyers, 1795

Buyer	Cargas	Percent of flour market	Flour as percent of buyer's total mercantile activity
Francisco Betanzos*	123.75	12.8	5.4
Juana Castro	118.00	12.2	100.0
Eusebio Domínguez*	89.16	9.2	64.4
Juan García	51.00	5.3	100.0
Nicolás Hernández	139.42	14.4	100.0
Ignacio Higuera*	187.08	19.3	62.0
Micaela Montúfar	31.00	3.2	100.0
Joaquín Patiño	11.67	1.2	100.0
to individual consumers	218.25	22.5	—
Total	969.39	100.0	

Source: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 16, exp. 1
* storeowner listed in 1788 report; Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 14, exp. 4

158. According to Alvarez and Durán (1856), the distance from Tenancingo to Taxco was 16 leagues (pp. 82–83, #68); it was an additional 11 leagues to Tepecuacuilco (p. 98, #23).

Table 8p
Acquisition of flour by Iguala Valley buyers, 1797

Buyer	Cargas	Percent of flour market	Flour as percent of buyer's total mercantile activity[159]
Manuel Carrión*	36.50	6.0	0.2
José María Guadarrama	32.00	5.3	7.5
José María Palacios	211.75	35.3	62.8
Manuel Sañudo*	276.25	46.0	5.8
Antonio Torre*	43.12	7.1	12.6
Total	599.62	100.0	

Source: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 6
* storeowner of *tienda mestiza* listed in 1788 report; Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 1; for an inventory of Sañudo's bakery, see AGN-T 3576/fols. 37f–37v.

The tables reveal that the pattern of flour acquisitions in Taxco was significantly less concentrated than in Tepecuacuilco. Buyers in the mining center were a more sundry lot (including two women, Juana Castro and Micaela Montúfar), which suggests a more competitive and diverse urban commercial economy, perhaps reflecting the immense pull that the mines exerted over capital and the consequent "opening up" of business opportunities in the midlevel commercial sector. Only one major storeowner, Francisco Betanzos, seems to have been acquiring flour, which constituted a relatively minor portion (5.4%) of his total commercial enterprise. Five of the nine individuals who bought flour do not appear elsewhere in the tax records, suggesting that their commercial ventures were dominated by flour and that they were probably bakers (*panaderos*). The other two individuals were storeowners, yet flour constituted the bulk of their acquisitions (64.4 and 62.0 percent); their stores, then, had little else of value and were probably *pulperías*, small retail grocery stores with inventories of under 1,000 pesos. The

159. For tables 8m and 8n, the value of wheat acquisitions is based on calculations from the alcabala tax paid. The alcabala was a tariff set at 3 reales/carga, which at the 6% rate then charged yields a taxable value of wheat of 6 pesos 2 reales/carga. The actual market selling price at this time was probably between 8 and 12 pesos, thus the final column in the two tables probably underestimates the relative importance of wheat as a percent of the individual's total economic activity.

diversity of the market is also illustrated by the fact that in 1795 almost one-quarter of the flour (218¼ cargas) entering the Taxco jurisdiction was sold retail directly to small-scale consumers (these sales are listed in the tax ledgers as "to various individuals"). The average size of the flour shipments that upon arrival in Taxco the traders broke up and sold "piecemeal" (and perhaps itinerantly) to these small-scale consumers was, however, in fact greater (8.73 cargas per entry into the jurisdiction) than shipments sold as a single unit to the major buyers (7.59 cargas).[160] In other words, there was no correspondence between the size of a flour shipment brought into Taxco and the nature of the final sale (bulk or piecemeal). Nor was their any direct link between small-scale producers and traders (size of remission) on the one hand and minor retail sales (size of final sale) on the other.

Acquisition patterns in Tepecuacuilco were markedly different from those in Taxco: in the former two individuals (Manuel Sañudo and José María Guadarrama) bought 80 percent of the imported flour, and there were no small-scale retail sales. Although Sañudo dominated the flour market, however, his acquisitions of this product accounted for only 5.8% of his total commercial expenditures for 1797. Palacios, however, was a "specialist" in flour and bought little else.[161] Unlike Sañudo, who had a diversified transport, agrarian, and commercial empire, Palacios is virtually invisible in the colonial record, except for his relative brief appearance as the focal point of flour imports into Tepecuacuilco.[162] Like many other aspects of market structure in

160. The figures of 8.73 and 7.59 refer to the number of cargas that each individual trader brought into the jurisdiction and either sold to a single individual (who paid the alcabala tax on the entire shipment) or sold "to various individuals," in which case the trader paid the sales tax, under the assumption that the sale was to a final consumer and not for resale. Obviously in these sales to individuals the trader would in fact make repeated sales to different persons; the 8.73 cargas, however, refers to the size of the original amount of flour brought into the Taxco jurisdiction.

161. Sañudo spent 33,169 pesos on merchandize in 1797; Palacios spent 2,357 pesos. Besides flour worth 1,481 pesos, the latter bought 358 pesos of cloth, 302 pesos of *efectos de castilla*, 184 pesos of panela, 25 pesos of salt, and 8 pesos of cheese (figures have been rounded to nearest peso).

162. Thus in 1795 Palacios bought 18.5% of all *viento* flour imported into the jurisdiction, in 1798 he

Tepecuacuilco (and the jurisdiction of Iguala in general), the pattern of wheat acquisitions manifests a strong tendency to monopolization and a very concentrated control of commercial ventures.

The variation in trade patterns into these two jurisdictions is further illustrated by documentation on the village of origin of flour merchants and the size of their sales (see tables 8q and 8r). The marketing pattern from Taxco reveals a very high concentration of traders from Istapa, in the jurisdiction of Zacualpan. A small number of these Istapa traders administered to a relatively high percentage of the market demand: in 1791, for example, 9 individuals from Istapa introduced half of the flour brought to Taxco. The patterns of their activity indicate a fairly fixed number of mules (8 to 20) used repeatedly (though not intensively) throughout the year. Juan de Leguisamo, for example, made 11 trips spaced out through the year, never bringing less than 17 nor more than 20 cargas.[163] Other than Leguisano's repeated sales to Nicolás Hernández, there is little indication that these traders had any type of permanent agreements with the six storeowners who bought virtually all the flour that came into Taxco.[164] Another aspect of the marketing of flour concerns the average size of shipments. There are two noticeable patterns. The first is that the size of remissions seems to vary with the strength of the market. Years of low demand (1782, 1795, and 1798) show a marked decrease in the size of shipments, which was limited to between 7 and 8 cargas per trader. The second pattern is that, in general, the size of shipments into Taxco

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bought 48.3%, and in 1802 he bought 50.4% (Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4; caja 5, exp. 7; and caja 2 exp. 5, respectively). In 1782 (caja 5, exp. 3) and 1809 (caja 2, exp. 8) he does not appear in the ledgers. These two years, then, might be outside the limits of his active commercial life.

163. These trips were spaced out as follows: March (1), April (2), June (2), July (1), Aug. (2), Sept. (1), Oct. (1), and Nov. (1).

164. The figures are as follows: Francisco Betanzos (28.5%), Nicolás Hernández (23%), Eusebio Domínguez (22%), Juan García (12.1%), Sebastián Castro (4.4%), and Micaela Montúfar (3.3%); the numbers in parentheses represent the share of the total flour market. Only 6.5% of the flour was sold to individual buyers (*por menor*); Indif-Alc, Taxco 15, exp. 3 (1791). Besides Juan de Leguisamo, who sold approximately 90% of the 207 cargas that he brought to Taxco to Nicolás Hernández, there seems to be no

was markedly less than that into Tepecuacuilco (see final row, table 8r). The decreases in 1782, 1795, and 1798 might indicate that large-scale traders pulled out of Taxco in years of decreased demand, or that these traders simply reduced the size of their remissions in order to avoid the danger of oversupply.

Table 8q
Origin of traders selling wheat in the jurisdiction of Taxco[165]
(percent of total sales)

Place of origin	1778	1779	1782	1791	1793	1795	1798	1805
Istapa	56.0	41.0	85.6	95.1	91.2	81.1	63.5	98.8
Tecualoya	23.7	44.7	6.7	0.7	0.1	9.1	23.2	1.2
Tenancingo	9.7	6.2	—	2.2	8.5	9.2	7.3	—
Coatepec (Harinas)	2.8	5.8	0.7	1.8	0.1	—	3.0	—
Tenango del Valle	—		5.6	—	—	—	—	—
Teloloapan	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.4	—
Uruapan	2.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Zacualpa	2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teticpac	—	1.9	1.4	0.2	—	—	—	—
Other	3.7	0.5	—	—	—	0.5	0.5	—
Total cargas	3,344¾	1,945½	1,074	2,351	1,937¾	969¼	778½	1,261
Avg. cargas per entry	14.5	10.8	7.1	10.9	9.9	7.8	7.9	13.4

* other years for which only the totals are available: 1809: 892¼ cargas (avg. entry= 8.83 cgas.)

other trader who consistently sold to any of the four major buyers.

165. Sources (all except one, as indicated, are from Indif-Alc):AGN-Real Hacienda, caja 134 (1778); Taxco caja 13, exp. 2 (1779); Taxco caja 13, exp. 13 (1782); Taxco caja 15, exp. 3 (1791); Taxco caja 15, exp. 9 (1793); Taxco caja 16, exp. 1 (1795); Taxco caja 8, exp. 1 (1797; only *viento* in Tehuilotepec, total of 286¾ cargas of flour); Taxco caja 16, exp. 3 (1798); Taxco caja 17, exp. 5 (1805); and Taxco caja 17, exp. 9 (1809).

Table 8r
Origin of traders selling wheat in the jurisdiction of Iguala[166]
(percent of total sales)

Place of origin	1797	1798	1802	1809
Istapa	24.16	28.5	50.7	24.2
Tecualoya	10.2	1.8	5.8	53.3
Tenancingo	45.2	62.4	37.2	15.7
Tepecuacuilco	18.3	7.3	—	—
Buenavista	—	—	3.5	—
Malinalco	—	—	1.7	—
Tixtla	—	—	—	2.6
Other	2.2	—	1.1	4.2
Total cargas	599½	489.5	403¼	384½
Avg. cargas per entry	14.3	12.2	13.0	13.3

* other years for which only the totals are available: 1779: 191 cargas (avg.=15.9 cgas.); 1782: 646½ cargas (avg.=17.5 cgas); 1795: 453½ cargas (avg.=13.0 cgas).

The pattern in the much weaker market of Tepecuacuilco shows some similarities to that of Taxco, though the impact of increased distance is noticeable. In 1797, for example, three merchants alone were responsible for bringing in 42 percent (252 cargas) of the total amount of flour traded. As to be expected with a more distant market, the size of their sales was greater (24, 27, and 34 cargas) than the average for the Tepecuacuilco jurisdiction as a whole (14.3 cargas/entry for 1797), and far greater than the Taxco average. Indeed, as the final lines of tables 8q and 8r indicate, the average size of entries in the Tepecuacuilco ledger was consistently higher than those that were recorded as having entered the Taxco market. Also noteworthy is the fact that parallel to a higher average size in Tepecuacuilco, individual flour merchants made far fewer trips to this market. Thus the three major traders of 1797 made only 3 trips during the entire year, well below the number of trips made by their counterparts who sold in Taxco. Moreover, other than these three merchants, no others made more than 2 trips into Tepecuacuilco, a statistic that suggests the fragile structure of exchange in this rural town. The origin of the three major flour

166. Sources (all from Indif-Alc):Taxco caja 5, exp. 2 (1779); Taxco caja 5, exp. 3 (1782); Taxco caja 5, exp. 4 (1795); Taxco caja 5, exp. 6 (1797); Taxco caja 5, exp. 7 (1798); Taxco caja 2, exp. 5 (1802); and Taxco caja 2, exp. 8 (1809).

merchants was also diverse; one was from Tenancingo, another from Istapa, and a third from Tepecuacuilco itself. This diversity of origin is confirmed by the fact that the relative participation of Istapa merchants in the Tepecuacuilco market was much lower than that in Taxco. As a result, traders from the more distant Tenancingo and Tecualoya, some four leagues to the north of Istapa, had to be induced to take flour past the Taxco market and into the Iguala Valley. In at least two years (1797 and 1798), this supply was insufficient and local merchants from Tepecuacuilco actually traveled to the wheat producing region in the jurisdiction of Malinalco to acquire grain.

The data on the late colonial provisioning of flour to the minor urban and rural markets in the Taxco and Iguala-Tepecuacuilco jurisdictions suggests some consistent patterning to the commercialization of this basic subsistence good. They also reveal the ways in which minor markets competed among themselves for goods and how they established spheres of influence. Taxco was able to carve out a niche for itself by inducing nearby Istapa merchants to make repeated trips to the mines, bringing in flour and perhaps returning to Istapa with simple cash for their efforts. Whether these merchants were producers themselves, or intermediaries who bought flour elsewhere, is not clear. Istapa is located at the southern extreme of a vast fertile plain, located at an altitude (over 2,000 meters) highly propitious for wheat farming and traversed by numerous streams and small rivers necessary for the irrigated agriculture so important to high productivity. This village is close to Coatepec Harinas (13 km to the northwest), Tenancingo (15 km to the northeast), and Malinalco (23 km to the northeast), all major wheat-producing zones. But whether the Taxco market stimulated the development of a minor transport sector in the centrally located village of Istapa, or whether marketing was of flour grown in the environs of Istapa itself, apparently the Taxco market provided sufficient incentive to pull together a rather closed circle of provisioners (whether merchants or producers) residing at the most propitious

location for the minimization of transport costs. Yet at the same time, the Taxco market was significantly close to the productive zone to attract occasional petty commerce involving one or two cargas of flour, which were sold to either the major buyers or to individuals, either for their own domestic consumption or for petty commercial baking to feed an urban bread-consuming population. It was the occasional participation of these small-scale merchants that brought down the average size of flour transactions as recorded in the Taxco tax ledgers.

It seems fairly clear, also, that the rural hinterland market in Tepecuacuilco was satisfied directly by producers (or by traders from the zones of production) who had, or had access to, a relatively capitalized transport infrastructure in the form of middle- to large-sized packs of mules. How exactly Tepecuacuilco structured exchange so as to satisfy demand is not clear, although one mechanism might well have been simply to offer higher prices that would attract traders the extra distance from the zones of production. However, another factor that was a key element in the structure of exchange in small markets were trade routes and the geographic discontinuities in production that developed through specialization, a characteristic of exchange in colonial New Spain. There is good evidence that the Tepecuacuilco flour market was structured somewhat differently from that of Taxco and that whereas the latter suggests a prototypical solar-system pattern, the former depended to a much greater extent on long-distance trade that had its final destination well beyond Tepecuacuilco, which was simply a stop on an extensive commercial journey to the Pacific coast. This would help explain the greater size of the average remission of flour to Tepecuacuilco as compared to Taxco. It is often difficult to document itinerancy, particularly because in many instances the entries in the tax ledgers for flour sales give no indication of patterns of movement. For example, on 10 January 1798 the Tepecuacuilco *viento* ledger records that "José Antonio Fernández, vecino de Tenancingo, entered with 10 cargas of flour that he sold to D. Antonio de la Torre, and paid the established fee (*lo arancelado*) of 5

pesos."[167] The language of this entry is that of most entries for Taxco and Tepecuacuilco. Yet Fernández shows up 16 days later in Acapulco, where he paid 12 pesos 4 reales "for the alcabala of 25 cargas of flour that he has introduced of those remaining from the 38 recorded on the pass from the customs house of his aforementioned pueblo [Tenancingo], dated the fourth of the present month."[168] In the same year, a certain Basilio Gómez, a trader from Tenancingo, left his town on 29 November with 18 cargas of flour. On 22 December he showed up in Acapulco and sold the 12 cargas that remained in his possession, having sold 6 in Tepecuacuilco on 6 December on his way to the port.[169] It is only by looking in several tax ledgers (a time-consuming and painstaking task) that one can document the fact that many flour sales in Tepecuacuilco were intermediate transactions along a route that went beyond this town. No similar patterns have been found for flour sold in Taxco.

There is more indirect evidence that the supply of wheat in Tepecuacuilco was heavily dependent on articulation of trade from northern Guerrero through to a southern corridor that went to the coast. Flour sales in Acapulco during 1798, for example, manifest a pattern that is probably representative of trade routes and product specialization during the late colonial period.[170] One line of exchange was of the higher quality *harina flor*, measured in tercios (rather than cargas) that were taxed at a fixed rate of 4 reales/tercio (as compared to 3 reales/carga, or 2 tercios, for common flour).[171] A total of 296 tercios of this flour was brought into Acapulco, all

167. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 7 (1798).

168. Indif-Alc, Acapulco, caja 28, exp. 1 (1798).

169. Ibid. There is some discrepancy in the records concerning the number of cargas that Gómez originally took out of Tenancingo and the number he sold in Tepecuacuilco. In Acapulco, Gómez arrived to sell 12 cargas of an original shipment of 15; yet he claims to have sold 6 in Tepecuacuilco and that is the amount recorded in the Tepecuacuilco ledger (Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 7). It may be that he smuggled some flour out of Tenancingo in the hope of avoiding tax payments.

170. The following information on the flour market in 1798 is from Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 28, exp. 1.

171. The fact that a set tariff was charged makes it virtually impossible to determine prices from the tax

from Mexico City and all remitted to doña Gregoria Echeverría, who paid the alcabala tax, which suggests that it was not the final sale. An additional 370 cargas of common flour entered Acapulco. Of these, 174 cargas were remitted with documents from Tenancingo (another 15 cargas had documents from nearby Istapa). Of a total of ten entries (including the shipment from Istapa), five specifically mention that only a portion of the flour originally extracted from these villages in the jurisdiction of Malinalco was being sold in Acapulco. The merchants for these five transactions originally departed with a combined total of 141 cargas; they sold 43 en route and the remainder (98 cargas) in Acapulco. There are also an additional seven entries (159 cargas) of flour sales in Acapulco, all of which have documents of remission from the customs house of Tixtla. Given that there was no wheat grown in this region, the grain remitted with papers from Tixtla was obviously in transit, probably from Tenancingo. For example, one muleteer had two sets of documents with him when he arrived in Acapulco, one from Tixtla and the other from Tenancingo. It is probable that he departed from Tenancingo and sold a portion of his flour in Tixtla, there obtaining an additional *pase* to continue on to Acapulco. There is, finally, the exception that proves the rule. One merchant came from Panindícuro (in Michoacán), through Tecpan on the Pacific coast north of Acapulco, and wound up selling 15 cargas of flour in latter port.

The data on wheat cultivation (in the jurisdiction of Malinalco and nothern Zacualpa) and flour distribution (in the markets of Taxco, Tepecuacuilco, Tixtla, and Acapulco) reveal the nature of the market for this grain in central Guerrero. A good argument can be made that the

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records alone. Apparently the tariff was fairly fixed throughout Guerrero and, perhaps, throughout New Spain as a whole. There are two implications of this situation, both concerned with the relative weight of the tax burden, ostensibly a percentage of value, to sales price. The first is that price increases due to scarcity or other periodic fluctuations did not result in higher taxes; the second is that price increases due to transport and the distance of a market outlet to source were also not reflected in the tax level. In other words, in periods of rising prices or in outlying zones of higher prices, the tax burden considered as a percentage of price was lower. In a sense, therefore, the fixed tariff provided some relief to consumers in times of inflation and in distant locations.

divergent structure of the flour market in Taxco and Tepecuacuilco (the former more of a solar system, the latter more itinerant) enabled each to carve out a niche for the supply of this item of basic consumption. There was definitely a flow of goods between Tepecuacuilco and the coast. Not only cacao, but rice, cotton, and salt would make it up from the tropics to the highlands. As has been shown, some items, such as Guayaquil cacao imported through Acapulco, would be sent north to Tepecuacuilco and then on to Mexico City, bypassing Taxco to the south (at Los Amates) and east (Tepetlapa).[172] Other goods, such as flour, would pass through (or very near) Taxco on their way to Tepecuacuilco and, occasionally at least, beyond. Moreover, the nature of the partial sales of flour in Tepecuacuilco suggest that trade there was dominated by fairly large-scale merchants. On the basis of the data from 1798, it is clear that in many cases a significant portion of the flour shipments to Acapulco (the figures from 1798 suggest one-third) was sold in transit, mostly in Tepecuacuilco and, veering slightly off-route at Chilpancingo, in Tixtla. Viewed from the perspective of Tepecuacuilco, it becomes apparent that the average sale size of 14.3, 12.2, 13.0, and 13.3 cargas (in 1797, 1798, 1802, and 1809; see table 8r) represents only a part of the total flour that passed through this village. In other words, it is highly likely that the gaps between the figures in the final lines of tables 8q and 8r (the average size of flour shipments that arrived in Taxco and Tepecuacuilco, respectively) were even larger than indicated. Concomitantly, it would appear that there is a direct relationship between the capitalization of transport and the distances involved: major traders in flour from the Tenancingo/ Tecualoya/Istapa region would set their sights on long-distance trade to the coast where prices were probably high enough to justify the trip, and where specialized tropical products and overseas imports would provide an opportunity for profit on the return trip, an element of

172. A list and detailed description of mule paths and routes through Mexico, with precise documentation on distances in leagues, can be found in Alvarez and Durán (1856).

commerce not so easily accessed in the mining center of Taxco. Few of the traders would have been faced, like the Totolcintla peasant mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, with the structural conditions that would motivate sales at unfavorable prices: if faced with low prices in Tepecuacuilco they would have the means, and indeed the plans, to forge ahead to more distant markets in southern Guerrero.

If Tepecuacuilco's acquisition of flour was dependent on its location within a trade corridor running south to Acapulco and north to Mexico City, there is also evidence that specialized regional production, particularly soap, constituted an additional factor that helped integrate a supply system for this town. Soap production (linked to the pig-fattening industry that emerged in Cocula and its environs in the late colonial period) was a major industry in the Iguala Valley.[173] Apparently it took root in the late eighteenth century, first saturating the regional markets of Tepecuacuilco-Iguala and Taxco. It seems that soon production rose high enough for export out of the region: many sales of soap from Iguala and its environs are documented for markets scattered along the Pacific coast, both north and south of Acapulco, particularly during the early nineteenth century.[174] The Taxco market might well have been originally supplied by Puebla and Mexico City. Thus in 1779, of 911 pesos of soap sold, 400 were imported in one

173. For a discussion of a similar linkages in Puebla between a porcine and soap industry, see Thomson (1989:passim).

174. For example, 20 pesos of soap with remission papers from Tepecuacilco were sold in Zacatula in March 1796, even though soap was also produced locally (Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 10, exp. 8); 18 cargas of soap from Cocula was sold in Zacatula in 1795 (Acapulco caja 7, exp. 14); and 714 pesos of soap and cheese from Iguala was sold in Zacatula in June 1820 (Acapulco caja 14, exp. 1). South of Acapulco, 3 cargas of soap from Iguala (as well as 4 cargas from Puebla) was sold in Ayutla in 1817 (Igualapa, caja 1, exp. 3), again, even though soap was being produced in the jurisdiction of Igualapa, and most manufactures sold in this jurisdiction were remitted from Oaxaca. Very high levels of soap from Iguala entered Acapulco in 1819: among various entries there is one for 128 arrobas of soap worth 896 pesos, another is for 37 huacales of soap worth 996 pesos (both from Iguala), and 200 arrobas of soap from Tepecuacuilco. It is likely that some of this was exported to Pacific coast ports such as Guaymas and, perhaps even to Guayaquil (Acapulco caja 31, exp. 7).

shipment from Puebla; in 1782 two entries of soap from Puebla totaled 652 pesos.[175] In 1793, however, of 53 recorded soap sales in Taxco, 50 transactions were conducted by merchants from Iguala and 1 other by a trader from the nearby village of Tuxpan (in pesos, of 2,017 pesos 4 reales of soap sold in Taxco during this year, 1,927 pesos 4 reales originated in the jurisdiction of Iguala, i.e., 96 percent of the soap sold in Taxco was produced in the Iguala Valley). For the rest of the colonial period there is little further mention of soap imported from Puebla.[176] In the Iguala Valley the two major storeowners and merchants, don Manuel Sañudo and don Manuel Carrión, individuals who controlled the major part of trade in *efectos de castilla* and *efectos de la tierra* (see next chapter), produced soap (the factories were called *paylas*). Carrión is reported as selling both in his store and "to individual merchants" (*a individuos comerciantes*), who undoubtedly peddled the good. Sañudo was the major buyer of flour and it might well have been the case that some of his soap production replaced the cargas of flour born by the mules of traders heading south. The emergence of regional specialized production—in soap and in sugar, among other goods—seems to be a characteristic of the late colonial economy in central Guerrero, particularly along what may be described as a "southern corridor." Although in part a response to growing regional markets and spiraling demand, a reflection of demographic increase and, at least in some cases, urbanization, specialization can I think also be tied to a sort of "thickening" of exchange in which the production of items that could be traded was a means of accessing a vast network of exchange relationships that penetrated the smallest villages in the colony.[177] The remainder of this subsection explores the nature of market structure, areal specialization, and itinerant trade in

175. For the importance of the soap industry in Puebla, see Thomson (1989.:237).

176. The relevant documents consulted are Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 13, exp. 2 (1779); Taxco caja 13, exp. 3 (1782); Taxco caja 15, exp. 3 (1791); Taxco caja 15, exp. 9 (1793); Taxco caja 16, exp. 1 (1795); Taxco caja 16, exp. 3 (1798); Taxco caja 17, exp. 5 (1805); and Taxco caja 17, exp. 9 (1809).

177. Morin (1979a) refers in similar terms to the thickening (*espesamiento*) of exchange during the late colonial period.

promoting the articulation of exchange (for example, of flour) over long distances.

For the most part, specialization has been understood from two general perspectives. According to one (which has been suggested by archaeologists for Mesoamerica and by those who, following Murra, have looked at differentiation in the Andes), ecological microniches are often a characteristic of the natural environment; when they are, the production specialization that they promote stimulates interregional exchange.[178] Another perspective sees specialization as a positive consequence of market integration: as improvements in transport lower the prices of goods acquired over greater and greater distances, production can be "rationalized" both in terms of ecological and organizational efficiency. However, patterns of colonial exchange suggest another perspective, that specialization may, at least in part, be a response to disarticulated markets. According to this hypothesis, zones of specialized production would emerge to promote and facilitate long-distance trade by providing a "stepping-stone" system of linked markets in which intermediate zones of production and consumption provide alternatives to single-point exchange over long distances. In essence, specialization does for space what periodicity does for time.

Although it is often difficult to determine the paths that any one trader or bundle of goods traveled through colonial Mexico, it seems clear that Guerrero was crossed by three major routes of exchange. One route traversed the diocese of Michoacán, and then passed through Zacatula before continuing south past Atoyac through the cotton-growing region of what was later to become known as the Costa Grande. Traders from Michoacán (and the adjoining Tierra Caliente of Guerrero) would occasionally make it down to the port of Acapulco, though their main interest seems to have been the cotton grown in dispersed *rancherías* located mostly between Zacatula and Atoyac. The second major route connected Mexico City to Acapulco, either through

178. On Mesoamerica, see Coe and Flannery (1964); for the Andes, see Murra (1975, 1985a, 1985b).

Cuernavaca, Taxco, Iguala/Tepecuacuilco, and Chilpancingo, or (taking a path more directly south from the capital) passing through Chilapa before heading to the coast, again through Chilpancingo. A third route connected Puebla and its surrounding valley to what became known as the Costa Chica, another major cotton-producing zone to the south of Acapulco. The corridor between Puebla and the coast apparently passed through Chiautla de la Sal and Tlapa.[179] There were other minor routes that criss-crossed the countryside: there is evidence of trade between the Tierra Caliente around Ajuchitlán and both the Taxco-Iguala and the Tixtla-Chilapa areas; and much merchandise from the Mixteca Alta and Antequera would make it up into the Tlapa region and the Costa Chica.[180] And finally, there was the minuscule weave of itinerant peddlers who would take their bundle of goods (sometimes what they produced, sometimes what they bought, and sometimes what they were given on credit) into the countryside in a labor intensive effort to convert time (the time they spent looking for buyers) into money (the few extra reales they could earn by taking goods where they otherwise would not be found).

Specialization along a trade corridor can be exemplified by a brief discussion of trade in the Chiautla-Tlapa region and its articulation to commerce in the coastal district of Igualapa; indeed the rich pattern of exchange in this area serves as a scintillating backdrop to the somewhat more one-dimensional trade that characterized commerce between Tepeacuacuilco-Iguala and the coast. Nevertheless, both patterns illustrate the importance of involvement in complex long-distance exchange for local provisioning and market dynamics. Alcabala charges in the Chiautla-Tlapa jurisdiction tended to be levied on commercial enterprises through a fixed yearly tax

179. For a brief description of this area, see Dehouve (1988). Not yet consulted, but of great importance for this region, is Dehouve (1985).

180. These summary descriptions of trade routes are based on an examination of numerous alcabala ledgers, particularly records of *viento* and *efectos de la tierra* sales.

(*iguala*) on estimated sales *within* the jurisdiction.[181] A list of individuals who paid this tax in the major villages of the region reveals a clear pattern of specialization. For example, in Chiautla, located at the northern extremes of the jurisdiction, and closest to the major urban market of Puebla, there were 86 "businesses" that paid an *iguala*. Of these 59 (68%) were cattle ranches; another 12 enterprises (14%) acquired and perhaps fattened pigs for the Puebla market.[182] There were also 6 poor individuals (7%) taxed as petty itinerant merchants (*mercaderes viandantes*; paying between 3 and 9 pesos yearly) who would take goods south through the corridor to the coast and into the countryside. Finally, although one of the smallest groups of individuals (6) in Chiautla, there were those who combined a ranch and a store; this last group paid 60 percent of the taxes (960 pesos in alcabala of 1,585 collected) and clearly, in terms of the value of their commercial transactions, dominated the jurisdiction.[183] Moving south, the economy changed markedly. Of 61 individuals charged an *iguala* in Olinalá, 43 (70%) paid for their petty commerce in gourds (*xícaras*); in nearby Cuálac the proportion of traders in gourds was 5 of 9 (56%). Slightly to the south, in Huamuxtitlan, 21 of 36 taxed individuals (58%) were involved in cane production or processing.[184] Finally, in Tlapa 15 of 37 individuals (41%) were taxed for their

181. Note that since much of the commerce involved sales *outside of* the jurisdiction, in the highland markets around Izúcar and Puebla and the coastal markets of Ometepec, Igualapa, and Azoyú, the *iguala* tax severely underestimates the size of any particular commercial venture in its entirety (since extrajurisdictional sales do not influence the size of the *iguala*), although it does provide a good account of the number of individuals involved in any given activity; cf. nn. 182 and 186.

182. For the pig fattening and slaughtering industry in Puebla, see Thomson (1989:140–46 and passim).

183. Cf. nn. 180 and 186. That is, the high amount of taxes paid by storeowners reflects in part the size of their businesses, but it also reflects the fact that they sold merchandise *within* the tax jurisdiction under discussion, as opposed to the itinerant merchants involved in ranching, pig selling, itinerant commerce, gourd selling, and commerce in other items, whose sales outside the jurisdiction were not reflected in the *iguala* tax estimate. For the period under discussion, 1797 for Chiautla and 1800 for the other localities, total *iguala* payments were as follows: Chiauatla (1,584 pesos 6 reales); Olinalá (377 pesos 4 reales); Huamuxtitlan (560 pesos 2 reales); and Tlapa, (337 pesos 7 reales). In addition, individuals from Cualac paid 20 pesos 6 reales, and those from Xochihuehuetlan paid 15 pesos. See citations in n. 184.

184. There are other indications of the importance of sugarcane cultivation and processing in Huamuxtitlan. For example, tax records for 1818 from Igualapa, on the Costa Chica, show that 4,443 pesos

production and sale of cloth.[185]

Certainly one factor in specialization was ecology. For example, Huamuxtitlan was located at the northeastern extreme of a low-lying irrigated valley. At about 900 meters above sea level it provided a propitious environment for the cultivation of sugarcane. Other specializations are less easy to explain, such as the gourd trade of Olinalá and the cloth production in Tlapa. For the latter, however, capital and credit (needed to advance cotton to spinners and weavers) might well have been important. The significance of credit relations and market accessibility is clearest in the case of Chiautla.[186] There, for example, the cattle ranchers had virtually no local market for their products (cheese, beef jerky, and hides), but were able to sell these items in Izúcar and Atlixtac. More directly linked to highland capital and credit were the pigsellers and petty merchants. As the tax collector noted, "everyone, or almost everyone, is a pigseller (*marranero*), as long as they find some credit (*havilitación*); he who obtains it takes into his company another two or three as servants (he who today is servant tomorrow is master) and they go through the mountains of Tlapa and all through the scorching sierra in search of pigs that they take to sell in Puebla; upon returning to their homes they liquidate accounts, and after deducting costs, half of the gain is for the *marranero*, and the other half for the *havilitador*."[187] Whereas the credit for the

of panocha or panela entered the coastal jurisdiction. For 3,285 pesos of this good (74%) there is no indication of provenance. However, of the remaining 1,158 pesos of goods, 725 (or 63%) was identified as coming from Huamuxtitlan; another 170 pesos of panela or panocha (14.5%) was remitted from Chilapa; see Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 6, exp. 3.

185. The relevant documents are Indif-Alc Chiautla caja 5, exp. 11 (Chiautla, 1796–97); Chiautla caja 1, exp. 7 (Huamuxtitlan, 1802); Chiautla caja 1, exp. 22 (Olinalá, 1806); and Chiautla caja 5, exp. 2 (Tlapa, Huamuxtitlan, Olinalá, Cualac, and Xochihuehuetla, 1800). Accounts of markets held during religious festivities in Tlapa during 1797 are found in Chiautla, caja 4, exp. 9. Note that the percentages in the main text refer to the number of individuals paying for each activity, not the value of the activity itself.

186. The information that follows is taken from descriptions in Indif-Alc Chiautla caja 5, exp. 11 (1796–97).

187. The tax collector notes that the fixed tax they pay is very little because they seldom sell any pigs in the jurisdiction of Chiautla, but rather in Puebla, where the tax is paid. This factor shows the difficulty of relying solely on local tax records to determine local productive and commercial activity; market structure

pigselling was apparently local (from Chiautla), the petty itinerant merchants were in essence commissioned agents of Puebla storeowners. They would be given merchandise on credit, which they would take to sell in Tlapa or on the coast (paying the alcabala at the point of sale). On their return they would often either pass through Oaxaca, or time their arrival in Tlapa to coincide with one of the ferias, where they would spend their money acquiring goods to be sold upon their return to Puebla. Clearly, then, social advancement, from servant to *marranero,* from petty trader to relatively capitalized rural peddler, was to a great degree dependent on access to credit and, concomitantly, on social networks that linked petty entrepreneurs with more powerful agents of economic development. Mobility, in this sense, was more a question of life-cycle (the forging of the social links to secure credit) than class (the accumulation of capital and investment in the means to manage trade).[188]

A key link in this imbricated commercial network was the uneven periodicity of the Tlapa ferias, a somewhat iconoclastic admixture of religion and economy. Besides the Christmas market of 24 December (1,588 pesos of merchandise sold in 1796), there were markets on *Purificación* (286 pesos sold on 31 January 1797), Palm Sunday (788 pesos), Corpus Christi (in mid-June; 666 pesos), and San Agustín (28 August; 495 pesos). The ferias provided an opportunity to acquire goods that were probably not available at other times, difficult to come by, or that differed slightly from those commonly sold throughout the year—a hat with a different look, a cloth with a different weave, a sugar with a different taste; indeed, one of the least appreciated aspects of peasant economy is, precisely, this sensitivity to difference. Thus Oaxaca

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and buying and selling patterns must be taken into account.

188. Smith (1984) offers a similar argument in regard to petty commodity producers in Guatemala, noting that low entry costs and high wages constitute easily surpassable barriers to the transformation of workers into employers. In the region under study here, the development from servant to *marranero* is a reflection of the accumulation of "social capital" (in terms of network relations with *havilitadores*) that constitutes effective credit to sponsor commercial activity. That is, the key was to accumulate social, not liquid or fixed, capital.

merchants would travel north with hats and cloth, selling almost everything they brought to the fairs. From the Mixteca Alta would come merchants from Tlaxiaco, with dozens of hats; again, they would seldom leave with items unsold. Merchants from Calihualan in the Mixteca Baja brought in suede (*gamuzita*) while others from the nearby town of Guaxuapa would bring a sundry collection of cloth, aguardiente, and cacao.[189] Sugar would be brought in from Chilapa and Xonacatepec

(near Cuernavaca), an unusual good to market given the local production in Huamuxtitlan. Some of the merchants clearly saw the Tlapa ferias as way stations on long, circuitous circumambulations through the provincial hinterlands and minor markets of south-central New Spain. Thus on 29 November 1796 don Agustín Fernández left Mexico City with goods worth 3,244 pesos ½ real. In mid-April of the following year he showed up at the Tlapa feria of Palm Sunday, having already sold some of his merchandise in small-scale markets throughout central Mexico. He sold an additional 110 pesos of merchandise during the feria and then planned to head to Cuautla Amilpas, where he would give what remained to a certain don Pablo de la Maza, another itinerant merchant, in an apparent tag-team approach to rural commerce.[190] Another itinerant merchant was José Ramón de Tapia, a Tepecuacuilco trader who brought 8 and 9 arrobas of cacao from Acapulco to Tlapa for the ferias of Corpus (15 June) and San Agustín (28 Aug.). The summer months were extremely slack in regard to the trade in Guayaquil cacao (see table 8g)

189. For example, in the Palm Sunday market Leandro Antonio González of Guaxuapa sold 1 piece of common colored *manta*; 20 varas of narrow *manta*; a roll of blue ribbon; 5 cotton shawls, another blue one with tassles, and 4 more for children; 3 scarves, 8 small pieces of ribbon; 2½ ounces of silk; 2 sections of lace; 2 rolls of cloth bordering; 1 barril of aguardiente from Spain; and 1 arroba of colored cacao.

190. Although Fernández had a relatively large amount of capital invested in his merchandise, other long-distance and long-term merchants were at the low end of the scale. Cf. the comments in Stein (1997) and the description of a poor peddler's life in Boyer (1981). An example of the travels of an itinerant peddler is found in a 1789 dispensation for vagrancy (*dispensa de vaguedad*) granted to don Francisco Rodríguez, a Spanish merchant then residing in Tepecuacuilco. In the deposition he mentioned that he had lived in the following places: Taxco (9 years), Zacualpa, Tlaquiltenango, Huautla, Chilapa, Tixtla, Acapulco, Tepantitlan, and El Limón. As an itinerant merchant he resided in some of these places for six months,

and it might be that Tapia, who would normally be able to find employment transporting cacao to Tepecuacuilco, took this time to make a few pesos along another route. In each visit to Tlapa he sold 8 arrobas at 2¼ real per pound, about double the price he paid in Acapulco, earning about 28 pesos on his investment. It is likely that he sold cacao elsewhere before arriving in Tlapa, for on one trip he left Acapulco on 27 July and didn't arrive in Tlapa (perhaps a 10–14 day journey) until the feria of San Agustín, at the end of August.

This type of trading pattern, a continuous weave of production and consumption centers, was not solely the domain of petty itinerant merchants, but rather seems to have been a facet of the marketing system in the southern corridor that was also utilized by hacienda owners who sought the additional profit or edge that might make their agrarian businesses economically viable. An example is provided by the accounts of a trapiche that was part of the Chilapa cacicazgo of don Josef Gregorio Guerrero Moctezuma.[191] Among the animals that formed part of the estate was an *atajo* of mules for transport that included 49 pack animals and 20 riding mules for the mule skinners and mayordomo. The production figures from 1769 to 1775 show an average yearly production of 467 pesos of panela or panocha and 62 arrobas of sugar, sold for between 9 and 11 reales.[192] Whereas the sugar seems to have been sold locally, the panela was often used to trade for coastal products. Thus in November 1769 the hacienda sent 35 mules to the coast with 250 pesos of panela, which was used to buy 57 quintals of rice and 60 arrobas of cotton. The cotton was left behind and the rice brought to Chilapa. There a mule owner was hired

others for eight; he had been in Chilpancingo for one year and El Limón for two; AGN-BN 93/378.

191. The information is from AGN-V 74/10.

192. Note that for 3 of the 7 years no or virtually no sugar was produced. For the other years production was 62, 115, 123, and 115 arrobas. Small quanities of maize were also planted, though yields seem rather low, averaging about 30:1 in good years, with occasional complete losses or low yields of 10:1; AGN-V 74/10. For an account of maize yields in late colonial central New Spain, see Ouweneel (1996:chap. 3).

with his 19 mules to take the rice to Mexico City, where it was sold for 6 pesos/quintal.[193] In all, the hacienda lost 38 pesos 6 reales in cash and 5 cargas of maize in this series of transactions. The following June, after the cotton harvest, another 240 pesos of panela was sent to the coast with 30 mules, the money obtained from its sale was used to buy 262 arrobas of cotton, which was brought back to Chilapa along with the 60 arrobas from the previous trip. The total of 322 arrobas was then taken and sold in Mexico City for 684 pesos 2 reales. After deducting expenses, this time there was a net profit of 281 pesos 3 reales.

It is unclear why exactly panela from Chilapa was being marketed on the coast. Though not exactly taking coal to Newcastle, it is unlikely that price alone was enough of an inducement to motivate the long-distance trade in this product, which was also locally produced in the Costa Chica. Indeed, it seems that such marketing only increased the hacienda's operating costs and debt. At the time that the accounts of the exiting mayordomo were drawn up, the hacienda was owed 53 pesos 6½ reales by seven workers (an average of 7 pesos 5½ reales each) and 149 pesos by ten muleteers (an average of 14 pesos 7¼ reales each). As has often been pointed out, debt for the debtor is credit for the creditor; the indebtedness of a hacienda to its workers can just as easily be considered credit that the workers were able to extract, rather than debt peonage that the

193. The cost of transport from Chilapa to Mexico City was 3 pesos 6 reales per mule. This seems quite inexpensive. The distance from Chilapa to Mexico City was 64¼ leagues, approximately 270 km. The cost per mule/kilomemter was therefore 0.111 reales. Assuming 12 arrobas per mule, 6.67 mules would be able to carry a ton; therefore, the cost of transport per ton/kilometer would have been 0.74 reales. This is well under the 1.18 reales per ton/kilometer that Sañudo charged for transporting cacao from Acapulco to Tepecuacuilco, and confirms the hypothesis that transport costs were related to various factors, including the social and economic situation of the transporter, and the dependency of the contractor on rapid response. The rate charged by Sañudo, therefore, might represent figures for capitalized transport capable of moving large bulks of merchandise on demand, whereas the Chilapa data suggests the dependency and overexploitation of petty transport systems. A document from 1792 (AGN-H 498/8) reports the cost of transporting 100 arrobas (9 cargas) of cotton from Atoyac to Tixtla as 51 pesos 6 reales. Assuming a distance of 50 leagues or 210 km (the figure given in Alvarez and Durán, 1856), the cost per ton/km was 1.58 reales or .219 reales mule/km. Certainly much work needs to be done on transport costs and structure in New Spain, but a cursory examination suggests a wide range of costs and the likelihood that a two-tiered system existed with highly capitalized transport enterprises charging higher prices, and petty muleteers and itinerant merchants charging less, based on their lower opportunity costs.

hacienda was able to enforce).[194] The fact that muleteers were able to obtain such loans (one muleteer owed 38 pesos 3 reales and another 38 pesos 4 reales to the hacienda), and that their debt averaged almost twice that of hacienda workers, suggests both some degree of hacienda dependency on those who controlled transport as well as a permanent work relationship and social bonds of trust between producer and trader.[195] Indeed, one way to look at the entire economic structure of the cacicazgo's trapiche was that it functioned to generate what was functionally cash in a cash-deficient society and in which the extension of credit had reached alarming proportions. To a certain degree the panela produced seems to have served in lieu of cash to obtain coastal products that could then be sold in the highland markets; it functioned as creole "cacao" and a rich man's *tlaco*—a medium of exchange in a rural society in which sugar was in constant demand.[196]

Indeed, shortage of credit and cash, rather that difficulties of transport, seems to have been the most significant feature of the colonial economy and the one that had the most consequences for the structure of exchange. Moctezuma's production of panela and borrowing on credit (since by owing money to servants and muleteers he was effectively negotiating a loan from them), then, can be analyzed not simply as specialized production for sale, but as a means to

194. This argument, reversing the common conception of debt, was, I believe, first made by Gibson (1964).

195. Barrett (1976:165) notes that the sugar hacienda of Atlacomulco depended on 3 to 4 muleteers to transport its sugar production to Mexico City. The relationship was so advantageous to the hacienda that it was willing to lend money to carriers so that they could purchase more mules, the hacienda being uninterested in entering into the freighting business itself.

196. The suggestion I am making is that sugar functioned as a mechanism to facilitate exchange in a credit- and cash-deficient society, much as cacao (used as cash) and *tlacos* (credit tokens issued by individual stores) did in other parts of the colonial economy. Nevertheless, even highly capitalized merchants, such as Sañudo in Tepecuacuilco, were producing sugar for exchange in the coast. Thus in the 1808 inventory of Sañudo's estate was credit for 192 arrobas of sugar (2.4 tons) produced in the Atlixtac hacienda that was being sold in Acapulco by don Simón Adrián, a major cacao merchant (see, for example, the repeated mention of him as remitting cacao to the highlands in Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 2, exp. 1 (1803)); AGN-T 3576/1, inventory of Atlixtac, fols. 50f.–66v. See chapter 9, n. 19.

articulate disjoined markets (tropical and highland) by taking advantage of the spatially (and economically) intermediate position of Chilapa, which not only mediated between markets and manufacturing centers in the highlands and coastal zones that produced cotton, salt, and rice, but served as a point of entry into the dispersed rural markets that lined the trade corridor of southern Guerrero. The way in which southern Guerrero merchants acted to link spheres of exchange is exemplified in the activities of don Antonio Lopes de la Mora, who received a continual supply of goods from don Juan de Bulnes Villar (a wealthy Mexico City merchant and permanent *regidor* of the city), coordinated the distribution of this merchandise, and arranged for the remission of cotton and other local products to the highlands; in the process he negotiated transactions with many of the major actors in this intermediate economy that swirled around Chilapa.[197] His web of relations included 257 individuals who owed a total of 10,849 pesos 4 reales (an average of 42 pesos 1½ reales each); two other individuals owed Lopes de la Mora 8,819 pesos 1 real and 1,162 pesos each, for a total outstanding debt of 20,830 pesos 4 reales.[198] What is surprising is that outside of this credit, Lopes de Mora had little else. His house and furniture were worth 2,135 pesos, the improvements he had made on his wife's hacienda of Tlapeualapa were valued at 2,000 pesos, and his small store (which sold such items cloth, hats, spurs, lassos, aguardiente, cacao, iron, tin, tinder, salt, chocolate, bread, glasses, scales, and soap) had an inventory of only 1,432 pesos 2 reales. Thus of an "estate" worth 26,397 pesos 7 reales,

197. For Mora, and his accounts, see AGN-Con 195/1 and 2; in a list of 70 major merchants of Mexico City, Kicza (1983:174) mentions Bulnes Villar as *regidor perpetuo*. In Chilapa, Mora had extensive commercial relations with don Pedro Uría, who had married into the powerful Meza family; with don Juan María Mauricio, probably the most dominant store and hacienda owner in the jurisdiction; and with don Benito Jacobo de Andrade, the subdelegado, who was heavily involved in commerce, often as a representative or agent of Mexico City merchants.

198. These two major debtors (with about 48% of the debt owed to Lopes de la Mora) were the estate of don Pedro Uria and another individual named Juan Vicente Escovar. Many of the smaller debtors were Indians and some were listed collectively, e.g., "varios vecinos de Tlacotepec," and "varios sujetos de Tepantitlan." Had these been individualized, the total number would have been well above 259.

over 92 percent was simply on paper, and probably most of this were payments still outstanding for goods that Bulnes Villar had sent for distribution. At any rate, the creditors of Lopes de Mora, who had won the litigation that led to the inventory of his estate, stood only to gain the exchange of one debtor for another. There was no cash and little of value.

In such an economic system, the calling in of debts could be a sharp though two-edged sword. A particularly dramatic case involved Captain don Juan Navarro, an official in the Bourbon army in Chilapa; *fiador* (guarantor) of the subdelegado Benito Jacobo de Andrade; owner of two sugarcane haciendas, two cattle ranches, and one maize hacienda; and a business partner of the Mexico City entrepreneur don Vicente Francisco Vidal.[199] When it was rumored that Vidal would call in Navarro's debts, the brothers of the *cofradia* of Tixtla took back the cattle they had been renting him. Soon afterward Vidal did indeed demand payment and in 1785 Navarro signed a document recognizing a debt of 6,743 pesos. Eight years later the debt was still outstanding. Then, when Vidal tried to embargo Navarro's estates, Navarro denied the debt and alleged that he had signed the documents in 1785 without reading them, and his own records of the commercial transactions had been lost. Indeed, he claimed, it was Vidal who owed him 900 pesos for cotton that had been remitted to the capital city. The suit dragged on and it was not until 1796 that Navarro admitted his subterfuges (which he had undertaken "to avoid the embarrassment of an embargo"), recanted the sharp words he had directed at Vidal, and obligated himself to pay the 6,000 pesos owed over the next six years. There is no record as to whether the debt was ever repaid.

The southern trade corridor, running in a swath from the highlands of Mexico City and

199. Of the many documents that mention Navarro, most noteworthy are AGN-T 1313/2, AGN-T 2747/8, AGN-T 3691/3, AGN-Tr 4/9, and AGN-Cv 502(2)/1; the final source documents the litigation between Vidal and Navarro between 1785 and 1796. Vidal is mentioned in Kicza (1983:89) as having mining interests in Bolaños. His holdings in the Chilapa region are listed in AGN-P 16/fols. 108–9; he was also a *fiador* (bondsman) of the subdelegado Andrade who, in turn, administered Vidal's properties in Chilapa; see AGN-Tr 4/9 and Indif-Alc, Chilapa caja 3, exp. 12 (1787).

Puebla south to the Pacific coast, therefore, was characterized by specialized production, the prominent role played by intermediaries (who in villages such as Chilapa, Tixtla, and Chilpancingo, were located both in the physical center of trade routes and at the fulcrum between producers and consumers), and extensive networks of credit. Key to this system, of course, was the tropical coast, which was able to attract trade by means of its particularly unique products (cotton, rice, and salt) and overseas imports (the Far Eastern and South American trade already mentioned). In a sense each of these products had its own patterns of production, bulking, and distribution; each also produced its own type of forward and backward linkages. In some cases, nonspecialized coastal products, such as the cattle that abounded in the lush mountains of the Sierra Madres del Sur, failed to find a market outlet, even though other regions (such as the *tierra adentro* to the far north) did transport cattle vast distances to the central highland markets.[200] The castellan of Acapulco tried remedy the sorry state of ranching in his jurisdiction by petitioning for a monthly tax-free cattle feria that would stimulate the market. Nothing apparently came of his suggestion and there is little indication in the late colonial alcabala records of any movement of cattle up from the coast. Other products, however, were widely distributed, particularly cacao, cotton, rice, and salt.

Yet the argument presented here is not only that this corridor constituted a rather unique system of exchange—with no dominant market center but rather a series of loosely articulated small markets strung together by petty trade in specialized production and endless webs of credit and debt—but that market relations throughout central Guerrero were affected by their structural position vis-à-vis this corridor. The first section of this chapter examined the repercussions of a swiftly emerging long-distance trade in cacao on rural society, particularly the consolidation of a

200. For an account of a uniquely huge cattle ranching enterprise that supplied distant markets, see Harris (1975).

transport empire in Tepecuacuilco and the transfer of vast human and material resources (capital and grain) to the maintenance of this system. In this second section an attempt has been made to explore a different aspect of interregional commerce: the manner in which two midlevel centers of demand (Taxco and Tepecuacuilco) each integrated a supply system of a basic necessity (wheat flour) that needed to be imported from the north. The implicit empirical question to be resolved was whether the more distant market—Tepecuacuilco—could integrate its supply only through higher prices (there is no evidence of this) or through active buying by Tepecuacuilco consumers or resellers in the zones of wheat production (there is some evidence of this occurring, unlike for Taxco). At a more theoretical level, the question broached in this section concerns the ways in which minor or midlevel markets integrated supplies of basic necessities over large distances, and whether economic incentives or active importation were the only solutions available.

In the case of neither Taxco nor Tepecuacuilco does a simple "goods-for-grain" model hold, a model that has often been used to explain rural-urban market integration. Taxco seems to have been supplied by relatively small-scale commerce in flour from the closest provisioning center: Istapa. While some manufactures might have flowed back from Taxco to its wheat hinterland, there is no evidence of such trade. Rather, a simple economic transaction, grain for money, seems to have characterized the sale of flour. Tepecuacuilco, on the other hand, seems to have been able to attract larger-scale traders in flour, many of whom, at least on the basis of available evidence, seem to have continued south to Tixtla and then along the southern corridor to Acapulco. One can surmise that it was the possibility of a lucrative trade further south that attracted some of the flour merchants to Tepecuacuilco and, at the same time, provided them with an option to continue should Tepecuacuilco prices not meet their expectations or needs. In addition, the model of exchange exemplified by the Chilapa hacendados who sent sugar products

to the coast for tropical goods that could be marketed in the highlands seems to be one that is at least partially applicable to Tepecuacuilco and its environs. The rapid emergence of a soap industry whose production surpassed regional demand can, from this perspective, perhaps be considered part of a strategy to restructure the spatial aspects of exchange in the northern Iguala Valley (where there were few villages and a dearth of specialized products), linking it to an itinerant pattern of trade that articulated the minor markets of the southern corridor. It again suggests that regionally specialized production often served to provide access to market exchange in a cash-deficient economy.

The preceding pages have looked at interregional commerce not in an effort to determine whether or not it existed, bu1t to explore the social and economic implications of patterns of exchange that transcended what at first glance might be perceived as regional systems. Unlike metropoli, which in a sense may curve space around them (the result of the sheer weight and lucrative incentives of their markets), the market interaction and commercial competition among midlevel urban centers and rural towns and villages is much more susceptible to a multiplicity of forces. To study such an environment from an urban and regionally bound perspective, therefore, would not simply lead to an erroneous simplification of social and economic interaction, but it would fail to identify key elements in the dynamics of rural and town society. The contrasting patterns of flour acquisition between Taxco and Tepecuacuilco have been used to suggest a model of interregional exchange based on long-distance trade through interlinked zones of specialization. The nature of this corridor has been suggested by an analysis of patterns of exchange between Tlapa, Chilapa, Tixtla, and the Pacific coast. And the essential features of these patterns of exchange have been contrasted to those which characterized the importation and transport of cacao, which was dominated by capitalized merchants and traders. The final section of this chapter explores the third major product of interregional exchange in central Guerrero—

cotton—and the types of market interaction and backward linkages that this good produced.

INTERREGIONAL TRADE IN COTTON AND CLOTH: THE SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE COTTON ECONOMY AND SPINNING FOR CENTRAL GUERRERO

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, the city of Puebla de los Angeles, an urban center that was second only to Mexico City in the central highlands, was marked by two conflicting tendencies. The first was demographic growth; and the second economic decline, in large part due to competition for the colonial wheat market from a new agrarian class in the Bajío and the irregularity of crown orders for wheat flour to provision the Caribbean fleet and garrisons.[201] One response of Puebla residents to this situation was emigration to Mexico City as well as to the more distant northern cites of Guanajuato and Guadalajara. Another response was

> the growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors, particularly in cotton textiles and mule transport. Here the Spanish and mestizo population succeeded in gaining a substantial advantage in terms of ownership, employment and income over the Indian population. This was a result of Indian demographic vulnerability from the 1730's onwards, the penetration of non-Indians from agriculture and foreign trade into domestic manufactures, transport and inter-regional exchange, the introduction of European technology, particularly the Castilian loom and the spinning wheel, and the occasional use of discriminatory guild legislation.[202]

Save the discriminatory use of guild legislation, the preceding responses to an economic crisis were reproduced in miniature in the major towns of the southern corridor of Guerrero: Tixtla and Chilapa (and, to a much lesser extent, Tlapa). Like Puebla, the towns of Tixtla,

201. This presentation of Puebla de los Angeles is taken from the works of Thomson. Additional information on the textile industry in this city is found in Bazant (1962, 1964); Miño Grijalva (see works cited in the bibliography) provides a wider (both theoretically and geographically) discussion and analysis of this industry. Wheat farmers in the Puebla area were overly dependent on occasional crown orders for flour to provision the Caribbean fleet and garrisons; see Thomson (1986:175).

202. Ibid., 176.

Chilapa, and Tlapa were located between a highly productive cotton-yielding zone (for them, the Pacific coast that flanked Acapulco; for Puebla, the low-lying Gulf coast tropics of southern Veracruz) and Mexico City, a major market outlet for textiles that were both consumed in the metropolis and redistributed throughout the colony. And, as demonstrated in the previous subsection, these Guerrero towns were the major points of articulation for webs of credit and itinerant commerce (many of which had Puebla as its end point) that were principal factors in propitiating a flow of goods from hinterlands to urban centers.[203]

Moreover, the responses that took place are not unexpected. Migration—though often resulting in complex flights of fancy from penury to indigence—is a ubiquitous response to localized crises. From Puebla the movement was to other urban centers; from southern Guerrero there was instead a massive exodus to a nearby rural society, the fertile Iguala Valley and its booming agricultural and transport sectors. And in addition to a guileless, almost foregiven relation between peddlers and peasants—a Janus-faced economy that rainfall divides into mutually dependent seasons of agriculture and seasons of trade—in New Spain there was a labor-intensive transport sector that, precisely for its inefficiency, spawned a veritable horde of muleteers who could eek out a living, poor as it was. Yet if these two responses in Puebla and Guerrero—migration and muleteering—represent a pair of corresponding outcrops from a common economic bedrock in the colonies, the other response, an inchoate industry in textiles, is a development that had more to do (like the late-blooming cacao trade already discussed) with international politics and trade in the early liberal period.

203. Again, Thomson (1986:177) is elegant in this regard. After mentioning the growth of artisans, muleteers, and petty merchants in the areas around Puebla, he notes: "The cotton textile industry therefore proved to be particularly well suited to the peculiarities of the region, merchant capital and enterprise linking an independent and culturally distinct creole artisante to a dependent Indian labour force, providing a solution to the problem of subsistence of this growing Spanish and mestizo population and of the demographically fertile yet disease-ravaged Indian population." Again, similar factors intervened in southern Guerrero.

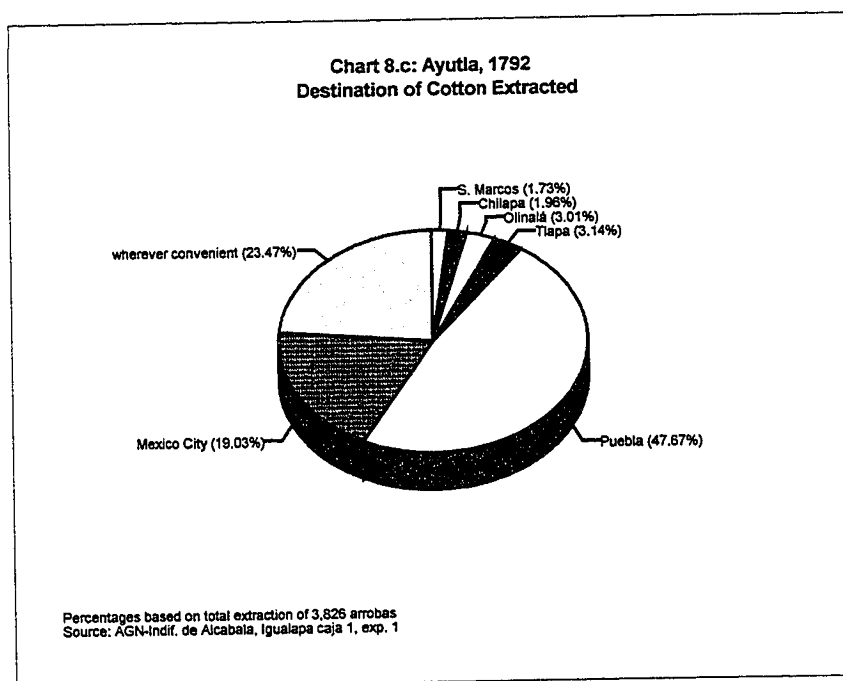
The commercial cultivation of cotton in New Spain developed as the result of two successive developments in the international arena. The first was the interruption of foreign trade (and with it the supply of European cloth) that accompanied the War of Austrian Succession (1739–48). The second was the demand for primary materials generated by the Catalan textile industry, accompanied by the liberalization of fiscal impositions on the cotton trade, whose vigor was now seen as necessary to the supply of raw materials for a developing industry in the metropolis.[204] The midcentury boom in colonial cotton production, therefore, followed the mandates of a long-standing economic policy regarding commercial relations between mother country and colony: remission of raw materials to Spain and the return of manufactures to a colonial market that would be closed to competitors. These liberal mercantilist policies, a characteristic of the Bourbon period, enjoyed an initial success, contributing to the development of cloth production centered in the Spanish provinces of Catalonia and Valencia.[205] In their efforts to favor this metropolitan industry, even the most "enlightened" of the political economists in the peninsula continued to advocate restrictions on the development of the colonial textile industry, while pressing for a lowering of tariffs on Spanish exports in order to hinder the contraband trade that undercut the American market for textiles produced in Spain.[206] Yet it was this surreptitious trade, combined with the inability of the Catalan industry to meet the demands of the New World

204. See Thomson (1986:179ff) and Miño Grijalva (1984:60 and passim). The account that follows is based Miño Grijalva (1984). Charles III freed cotton from the colonies from import duties on 17 Oct. and 6 Nov. 1766, after having set taxes on cotton imports on 15 May 1760; see La Force (1965:135 and chap. 8) in general on Spanish policy in regard to international commercial exchange of fibers and textiles. In a specific effort designed to stimulate the cultivation of cotton in the Americas, Charles III freed American cotton from import taxes five years after he had done the same for Levantine and Maltese cotton.

205. In this respect La Force (1965:183) notes that the industrialization of cloth production in Catalonia and Valencia was indebted to the freeing of transatlantic commerce after 1778; Miño Grijalva (1984:25) suggests that this same growth responded more to the impact of a colonial market than to the internal market in Spain.

206. For a general account of the Enlightenment in Spain, see Herr (1958); for economic thought in particular, see Carrera Pujal (1943–47, 3:458–669; 4:397–484), and Grice-Hutchinson (1978).

market, that doomed a mercantile textile policy that sought to direct American cotton to Spain while maintaining the colonial industry at bay. By the end of the colonial period the already extensive production of raw cotton that had been meant to supply peninsular industry was being consumed by a new and dyntamic textile sector of home spinning and weaving (dominated by a putting-out system) in New Spain.



Unlike Gulf Coast production, which was at first oriented to satisfy peninsular demand for raw materials, the emergence of cotton agriculture along the Pacific coast probably was a secondary response to the demands of a colonial textile industry that grew immensely during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, most information on cotton production can only be gleamed from alcabala tax ledgers, many of which, for districts along the Pacific coast, had a separate section for "extracción de algodón." Few of these exist for the period before the administrative reorganization of 1777, so it is impossible to determine the precise point at which cotton production "took off," briefly becoming the backbone of a monocultural coastal economy

that attracted hundreds of migrants, but which seems to have disappeared over the course of the nineteenth century.

One of the earliest records of cotton extraction from the Costa Chica south of Acapulco is in a 1780 tax ledger from Ometepec, which documents 27 transactions involving the extraction of 6,678 arrobas of cotton, taken out of this town by peddlars, most of whom came from other villages and brought in goods to trade (or possibly sell in *repartimiento*, on credit) in exchange for cotton.[207] (Given that all ledgers are in fact accounts of tax payments, actual production and export of cotton was probably higher than recorded.) Another early ledger is from Ayutla (also located south of Acapulco) in 1792. Recorded cotton exports from this village amounted to 3,826 arrobas, with an average outgoing consignment of 174 arrobas.[208] Not surprisingly, the major destinations of the muleteers were Puebla (just under 50%) and Mexico City, although a significant portion of the traders were given papers allowing them to sell their cotton wherever they found convenient (*donde convenga*). A small portion of cotton was taken to villages in southern Guerrero (see chart 8c).

Ayutla is a one of five major villages in the tax district (*alcabalatorio*) of Igualapa, which also included Ometepec, Cuaxinecuilapan, and Azoyú (as well as other smaller settlements). In 1816, records that are apparently quite complete show the extraction of 19,643 arrobas from Igualapa; 6,979 from Cuaxinecuilapan; and 2,416 from Ayutla (for a total of 28,038 arrobas, probably representing cotton production of the jurisdiction as a whole, although figures from Azoyú are not given).[209] At the same ratio (with Ayutla producing 8.6% of the jurisdiction's

207. Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 2, exp. 4.

208. In 1817 Ayutla exported 3,033 arrobas of cotton; Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 1, exp. 2. In 1818 Ayutla exported 4,814 arrobas of cotton; Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 1, exp. 4. Thus the figure of 3,826 arrobas appears to represent a typical annual yield.

209. See Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 5, exp. 11. Whereas the precise quantity of cotton extracted from Igualapa is given in arrobas, for Cuaxinecuilapan and Ayutla only the total alcabala tax figure is given. In

cotton), the figure of 3,826 arrobas from Ayutla in 1792 would represent total cotton exports of 44,488 arrobas, a calculation that probably errs on the high side. In 1803 the customs house at Ometepec taxed 26,927 arrobas of cotton, a figure that apparently represents the total of taxed cotton for the jurisdiction as a whole.[210] In 1809 Igualapa reported a total of 14,188 arrobas exported, a number that probably reflects cotton production in that town only.[211] It would appear, in sum, that an average yearly production of 30 to 40,000 arrobas is a reasonable, and probably greatly underestimated, approximation for the Igualapa tax district as a whole (a region today referred to as the Costa Chica). This is equal to the reported yield in 1752 of the Gulf Coast jurisdiction of Tuxtla, a major zone of production along the Atlantic coast.[212]

There is less documentation on production data for the Costa Grande (from Acapulco north to Zacatula). In 1808 Coyuca reported 11,073 arrobas, almost all of which was carried out of the jurisdiction between February and June.[213] In the same year, the value of the harvest in Zacatula was 16,245 pesos. Quantities are not recorded, but two entries mention the value per arroba: one gives 146 arrobas sold at 18 reales, another 119 arrobas at 16 reales. Assuming a price of 17 reales, the 1808 harvest at Zacatula would have weighed 7,645 arrobas. An 1803 document from La Sabana (near Acapulco) reports the extraction of 4,802 arrobas. Similarly, an 1807 list of individuals who paid *igualas* (set yearly fees based on estimated harvests) in Zanjón

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Igualapa, 24 arrobas paid 1 peso of tax. Apparently this represents 8% of the value (6% permanent tax and 2% "de aumento"), which would be approximately 4 reales/arroba. Note that although the destination of the cotton exports is given in the ledger, most often several towns or cities are listed together, making it impossible to precisely determine the final destination.

210. Indif-Alc, Igualapa, caja 3, exp. 2.

211. Indif-Alc, Igualapa cajas 4, exps. 7 and 9. Note that in 1808, a total of 12,177 arrobas of cotton was taxed for 507 pesos 3 reales in Igualapa (Igualapa caja 4, exp. 4), a tax that represents 1 peso per 24 arrobas; cf. n. 208 supra.

212. AGN-Sub 34/7.

213. Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 13, exp. 8.

(near Zacatula) lists 184 individuals paying a total of 686 pesos 3 reales. At 6 percent, this represents an estimated value of the cotton harvest of 11,440 pesos. Again assuming a value of 17 reales per arroba, the calculated harvest would have been 5,384 arrobas. Finally, in 1796 Tecpan produced taxes on cotton totaling 203 pesos 4 reales; at a tax rate of 6 percent, the estimated value would be 3,842 pesos. If arrobas were valued for tax purposes at 17 reales it would take 1,808 arrobas to yield 203½ pesos in taxes. Although the estimate can only be very approximate, a total of Coyuca (11,073 in 1808), Zacatula (7,645 in 1808), La Sabana (4,802 in 1803), Zanjón (5,384 in 1807) and Tecpan (1,808 in 1796) yields 30,712 arrobas. Considering that no data is available for other villages such as Coaguayutla, it is not unreasonable to suppose a total yearly production in the Costa Grande of over 50,000 arrobas. Indeed, in 1799 the subdelegado in Tecpan reported that over 100,000 arrobas had been harvested, all of which was sold to muleteers and merchants.[214] Production would undoubtedly have been much greater if illegal planting of tobacco had not taken over much of the sierra. In 1799 an expedition destroyed 348,688 tabacco plants (*matas de tabaco*) in an area bounded by Chichihualco to the east, Zanjón to the north, and Coyuca to the south. In Coyuca alone 151,737 plants were uprooted, in Zanjón another 113,477. Much of this land would otherwise have been devoted to cotton, a crop that provided a cover for the illegal tobacco.[215]

Thus although not nearly on the scale of the late colonial cacao trade between Acapulco and Mexico City, a rather vigorous late-colonial cotton export economy developed along the Pacific coast, where total production would seem to have been at least 100,000 arrobas, though probably much greater. An idea of the significance of this production in the colonial economy can be gleamed from the fact that in 1809 a total of 88,298 arrobas of raw cotton were consumed in

214. AGN-H 122/2 fols. 101f-101v.; cited in Miño Grijalva (1990:204 n. 22).

215. AGN-Tab 410/exp. s.n.

Mexico City, and another 8,351 arrobas passed through the Mexico City customs house on its way to other markets.[216] Undoubtedly much of this cotton came from the Gulf coast, where in 1817 one report estimated production as 487,500 arrobas from both north and south of Veracruz; this can be compared to the estimated 896,000 arrobas produced in 1797.[217] Nevertheless, overall the Pacific coast harvest seems to have been a significant factor in the development of late-colonial cloth production. Yet the sheer weight of the participation of Pacific coast cotton in the colonial textile economy is only but one aspect of the socioeconomic implications of this system of production and distribution for colonial society. Of particular interest is the manner in which the specifities of the production, bulking, transport, and processing of cotton (cleaning, spinning, and weaving) interplayed with the social dynamics and other economic developments of late-colonial society in southern and south-central Guerrero.

216. The figures are presented in Thomson (1986:185, table 2). Again, to offer a comparison. According to La Force (1965:15), Spanish textile production in 1771 had 741 active looms that consumed 741,000 pounds of spun cotton, about 30,000 arrobas. By 1784 there were 2,102 legal looms consuming 85,650 arrobas of spun cotton; another 350 looms operated beyond the rules and wove 6,640 arrobas of spun cotton. This tripling of production between 1771 and 1784 was matched again by a doubling of production again between 1784 and 1804. If the consumption of spun cotton would have matched this increase, the industry would have utilized some 180,000 arrobas of spun cotton. There is little data on the bulk relationship between raw cotton and thread. One document from Temascaltepec (AGN-Sub 34/7 (1752)) mentions that merchants would advance a pound of raw cotton to spinners who would be forced to pay 1 ounce of thread of the 3 they produced. This suggests that the ratio of cotton to thread is 16:3, and thus 85,650 arrobas of spun cotton would require 456,800 arrobas of raw cotton; 180,000 arrobas of estimated use of spun cotton in 1784 would require 960,000 arrobas of raw cotton.

217. See Quirós (1817, in Florescano and Gil 1973:237–38) for the 1817 estimate. Hamnett (1971:100, n. 1) cites a document in the Archivo General de Indios (Mexico 2508) as approximating Gulf Coast production at 896,000 arrobas, with the following division by productive zone (note that the weights are for raw cotton, which yielded only 33% in weight of thread):

Place	Arrobas
Acayucan and Paso de San Juan	252,000
San Andrés and Santiago Tuxtla	210,000
Cosamaluapan	140,000
Tlalixcoyan, Antigua, Río de Cotasta and Medellín	140,000
Teutila (Oaxaca)	84,000
Tesechuacan and Huaspala	70,000

The trade in cacao, which arrived in port in packaged units ready for transport to the central highlands and beyond, was dominated by highly capitalized Mexico City merchants. Evidence has been presented that as this trade developed during the last years of the colonial period, a transport sector capable of mobilizing the resources necessary for rapid and large-scale movement of cacao from Acapulco to the capital emerged in Tepecuacuilco and the Iguala Valley, replacing an infrastructure that had previously been centered to the south, in Chilpancingo, Tixtla, and Chilapa. The cotton economy manifested a similar tendency to centralization, not in regards to production, but in the bulking and export of regional harvests. This centralization of produce, which seems to have existed alongside petty trade by minor producers who wished to directly market their own cotton, involved the activities both of local elites and of outside merchants who would brings to the coast goods that they would use to acquire cotton. These merchants could use the income from their sales to buy cotton, they could trade manufactures directly for cotton, or they could advance goods on credit (*repartimiento*) against a guaranteed payment in kind at harvest. The exchange of merchandise for cotton is evident in a 1780 document of *viento* sales in Ometepec.[218] The ledger records a total of 106 transactions with a total value of 3,436 pesos 4 reales of merchandise; 27 of these transactions involved the exchange of goods for cotton, which totaled 6,678 arrobas. The dispersed places of origin of these outside merchants reveals the extensive network of petty commerce that penetrated into Ometepec. Some traders came from as far away as Mexico City (with 104 pesos of goods traded) and one had traveled from Xantetelco, near Cuernavaca, (with 100 pesos of merchandise). However, the Tlapa region (Olinalá, Cualac, Chiepetlan, Chiautla, Metlatonoc) and Guaxuapa accounted for the most significant amount of trade, made even more impressive considering the rather restricted nature of the local market. Many of those from villages along the

218. Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 2, exp. 4.

southern corridor (as well as some from the Puebla and Oaxaca region) brought in goods that they directly exchanged for cotton. The major merchants involved in such exchanges were two from Teposcolula, in the Mixteca Alta, who took out close to 3,000 arrobas between them (about 45 percent of the cotton extracted from Ometepec during 1780).

Another document, from 1803, records all cotton extracted from the jurisdiction of Igualapa and, unlike the 1780 viento ledger, reveals the role of the local elite in bulking cotton for export. Of 107 transactions, 59 involved small- and medium-scale extraction of cotton by 52 individuals (an average of 173.5 arrobas/person); 48 transactions involved the activities of 9 major traders, who were responsible for 66.5 percent of the cotton extracted (an average of 1,989 arrobas/person; table 8s).

Table 8s
Percentages of cotton extracted from the jurisdiction of Ometepec by merchant (1803)[219]

Merchant	Arrobas extracted	Percent of total extraction
Francisco Guizarrotegui	4,696	17.44
Marta Carrasco	3,048	11.32
José Antonio Ibarra	1,958	7.27
José Antonio Ibarra (from diezmos)	2,088	7.75
José Alemán	1,668	6.19
Miguel Morales	1,158	4.30
Ignacio González	1,020	3.79
C. Estrada	780	2.90
Ignacio Vega	768	2.85
Antonio Valentín	720	2.67
Individuals with trade that, per person, represented less than 2% of total cotton extracted (52 individuals in 59 transactions)	9,023	33.51
Totals	26,927	100.00

Each Ometepec ledger, then, yields the quantity of cotton that a visiting merchant or local entrepreneur extracted from the jurisdiction and the taxes paid. The accumulation of large

219. Source: Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 3, exp. 2.

amounts of cotton with a single individual was the result of bulking activity in the countryside, whereby merchants and entrepreneurs were acquiring cotton in the countryside—buying it gradually in their circambulations through the jurisdiction, collecting it in payment for goods advanced on credit, or taking it in from renters and sharecroppers. Itinerant bulking by merchants is evidenced in a series of sworn statements (*relaciones juradas*) collected in the customs house of Tecpan, north of Acapulco, in 1803.[220] Almost all of the merchants whose activities are recorded in these documents were from Michoacán, and their actions of bringing in goods to exchange for cotton clearly paralleled that of their counterparts from the southern corridor who operated around Igualapa and Ometepec. The detailed entries of acquisition in these *relaciones* reveals something of how cotton was consolidated for transport out of the region. The following is a typical *relación*:

> Note of the cotton that I have bought, I Joachin Herrera, *vecino* of Tanganziquaro, in the harvests of this year from the following individuals. To wit:

	de razón	
Antonio Murga	30@ at 12 reales	45 pesos
Esteban Fonseca	52@ at 12 reales	78 pesos
Sisto Olibares	40@ at 12 reales	60 pesos
Jose Antonio Rmero	8@ at 12 reales	12 pesos
Francisco Esteban	6@ at 12 reales	9 pesos
Bisente Solis	11@ 5 lbs. at 12 reales	16 pesos 6½ reales
José María el Negrito	10@ 20 lbs. at 12 reales	16 pesos 2½ reales
	198@ 1 lbs.	237 pesos 1 real
	Yndios	
Juan Bautista	10@ at 12 reales	
	61@ that I bought piecemeal	
	229@ 1 lb.	

The documentation of actual sales shows that Indians usually received the same price (though occasionally they were paid half a real lower) as non-Indians. Given that cotton acquired from

220. The relaciones are unbound in Indif-Alc, Acapulco, caja 11, exp. 2 (1803).

Indians was not subject to the alcabala, merchants had an incentive to buy from them as opposed to *gente de razón*.

As already mentioned, the tax structure (which charged alcabala on cotton sold within the production zone) was such that producers had a distinct market advantage (if not direct incentive) to sell outside of the jurisdiction. Many petty producers seemed to have taken advantage of this to directly market their cotton. The 1803 ledger from Ometepec already mentioned (see table 8s) shows this division between 9 major merchants, accounting for 66.5 percent of the cotton extracted, and 52 minor ones. An 1803 ledger from La Sabana also quite dramatically reveals the division between small-time producer and entrepreneurial merchant. Through February and March, 36 individuals extracted cotton; the average size of their load was 21 arrobas 16 pounds. Immediately after the last entry are 7 others averaging 574 arrobas 18 pounds. One of these records the tax paid on a shipment of 1,533 arrobas by don Francisco Tellechea, a local merchant active in the cacao trade.[221] Whether there was actually a temporal division in marketing of cotton, with small producers being the first to access the market, followed by bulkers, is not clear; such a temporal distribution was common with maize and wheat, as hacendados and resellers waited for grain prices to rise and peak just before harvest.[222] But in the La Sabana case, the division might well represent a bookkeeping artifice in which the transactions of major agents were consolidated in one entry listed at the end. No other ledger reveals such a striking temporal division between small- and large-scale exports.

221. The Sabana data is from Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 14, exp. 6. For Tellechea's participation in the cacao trade, see Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 2, exp. 1 (1803). In 1803 he remitted a total of 3,618 arrobas 16 pounds to Icaza in Mexico City and to Francisco Bernal in Guanajuato. Tellechea was also the administrator of the camino real tollbooth at Dos Caminos; AGN-CC 22/2 (1803).

222. In this case, the practice recording the total shipments of the major exporters at the end of the ledger might simply have been an administrative and scribal mechanism to facilitate accounting by adding a series of remissions that had already occurred into one sum. Thus it might not represent the fact that the cotton was sent out of the region in one shipment.

Besides the bulking activity of outside merchants and the petty remissions of small-scale local farmers, there was also a considerable tendency for the coastal political and economic elite to bulk raw cotton. This is again obvious from the 1803 document from Ometepec in which several individuals (such José Antonio Ibarra and Marta Carrasco) can be identified as wealthy traders from the region of production. A similar situation is found north of Acapulco. A notable example is that of Juan José Galeana, a member of perhaps the most dominant family of the Costa Grande, who would lease out land and in return demand that renters sell him their cotton at 8 reales/per arroba, apparently at least 4 reales less than the going market price in the area.[223] In 1807 a document of *igualas* (a fixed yearly payment in anticipation of a given agricultural yield from ones property) from Zanjón lists Juan José Galeana as having paid 36 pesos and don Antonio Galeana, undoubtedly a close relative, having been assessed 25 pesos (equivalent to at least 400 and 277 arrobas of cotton, respectively). But besides their own harvests and payment in kind by renters, both Galeanas were active in bulking cotton along the coast. In 1799 both sold considerable amounts of cotton in Atoyac (considerably south of Zanjón) to a man who exported from the zone, don José Villavicencia, while don Antonio Galeana was also buying up cotton from various small sharecroppers.[224] In 1808 a certain José Antonio Galeana, probably another member of the family, extracted over 1,000 arrobas from Coyuca in January and February alone.[225]

Whereas the documentation on Pacific coast production, bulking, and export of cotton provides only indirect evidence of the nature of this extractive economy, a midcentury document

223. There is also evidence that indigenous villages rented land to non-Indian migrants, who would plant cotton in slash-and-burn agriculture; AGN-I 78/6 (1808). In 1808, Tecpan perceived 90 arrobas of cotton from such rental, which the village sold for a total of 101 pesos 2 reales; AGN-I 79/11.

224. Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 3, exp. 8.

225. Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 13, exp. 8.

from southern Veracruz gives a detailed picture of what its structure must have been. At that time, 1752, cotton cost 4 reales in the production zone; for each arroba bought at this price, between 6 and 7 reales would be expended in transport to Puebla.[226] The southern Veracruz cotton sector seems to have been heavily dependent on credit. Cash was advanced at 5 percent interest and rights to yields from the next harvest. Yet most advances were not in cash but in manufactured goods, the so-callled *repartimiento de mercancías*, a system whereby merchandise would be advanced against an assured quantity of produce at harvest time. The author of the report (either the *alcalde mayor* or the priest, and an individual clearly antagonistic to the Indians and sympathetic to the merchants) mentions that Indians would often solicit goods on credit right after a harvest, and some four months in advance of the next planting (though many, he claimed, would not even plant). When it came time to collect, the merchant would go from field to field in a zone that extended more than 18 leagues in circumference; he would often hire two or three collectors who were given 25 pesos and food for the duration of the harvest. Almost all the *repartimiento* goods were brought from Puebla (soap, scarves, baize, hats, machetes, Brabant linen, *huipiles*, various types of petticoats, as well as many more minor products). In general, about 2½–3 reales of merchandise (according to its value in Puebla) would be advanced in the zone of production against an arroba of cotton at harvest time.[227] In this case the *repartimiento de*

226. AGN-Sub 34/36, report from Tecostlan and Tuxtla. For each carga of 14 arrobas, 8½ reales would be spent on petate and twine, 8–10 reales to transport the cotton by river to the ocean port, and another 1½ reales in the port. Then 8–10 pesos would be required for transport directly to Puebla (and an additional 4 reales, if taken through Orizaba). Finally, there were expenses of 11 reales for the alcabala in Puebla and a 4% additional charge. Note that this itemized account yields a result very close to the estimate of 4 pesos/quintal (a quintal is 4 arrobas) for transport from (southern?) Veracruz to Puebla; see Miño Grijalva (1990:205–6).

227. The list of goods exchanged is as follows: 16 bars of soap, from boxes of 1,000 bars worth from 16 to 12 pesos, for 1 arroba of cotton; *paño* that costs from 11 to 13 reales/vara in Puebla is exchanged for 3–4 arrobas of cotton; baize that costs 7 reales in Puebla is given in credit for 2 to 2½ arrobas; hats that sell for 7 reales in Puebla receive betweeb 2 and 2½ arrobas; machetes that cost 1 peso in Puebla receive 2½ to 3 arrobas; the vara of manta that sells for 2½ to 3 reales is exchanged for 1 arroba; Brabant linen, which oscillates both from one period of time to another, as well as according to quality, if worth 4 reales/vara in

mercancías seems to have been oriented not to providing a market outlet for highland manufactures, but for assuring control over indigenous and peasant production of a highly marketable good: cotton. In this way it paralleled the use of *repartimiento* in Oaxaca, where advanced credit in the form of material goods was apparently oriented to the acquisition of highly valued cochineal.[228]

The development of cotton production along the Pacific coast was rapid, and its effects dramatic though perhaps short-lived. No plantation economy emerged and soon after independence competition from cheaper cotton from the United States doomed domestic production in the newly formed nation. Nevertheless, in the half-century before independence a vigorous trade economy emerged, one that had a marked effect not only on the social organization of the coast, but on the patterns of exchange and economic activity in an area stretching from Michoacán, through the central highlands of Mexico City and Puebla, and down to Oaxaca. Cultivation occurred in both the low-lying coastal plains and the most recondite niches of a broken sierra. When Juan José Galeana was asked to explain the proliferation of illegal tobacco plantings on his land he responded, undoubtedly with some truth, that neither he nor his brothers were familiar with all the nooks and crannies of their property, given its expanse and rugged topography.[229] In lieu of rent, the Galeanas required that their tenants sell them their harvest to them at a price well below that of the local market. Other major producers also bulked

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Puebla fetches 1½ arrobas of cotton; *huipiles* (indigenous women's blouses) that sell in Puebla for 6½–7 reales bring in 2½ arrobas; damask petticoats that sell for 24 to 30 reales in Puebla bring in 9–10 arrobas; and petticoats *de león* that sell for 20 to 24 reales bring in 7–8 arrobas of cotton. Note that according to the report, the base price of the *repartimiento* goods was its price in Puebla, that is, the value that this merchandise commanded in exchange for cotton did not reflect the higher cost of these goods in the outlying provinces. Yet an advantage was secured in that the price of cotton that served as a basis for calculating the exchange rate was lower than the normal price in the region of production. For a brief discussion of the *repartimiento de mercancías* in zones of cotton production, see Miño Grijalva (1990:197–207) and Hamnett (1971:passim).

228. See Hamnett (1971).

cotton they acquired, either from renters or on the open market. The first three individuals in table 8t, a list of all those responsible for exporting cotton from Igualapa in 1809, produced significant amounts of cotton on their own land and, in addition, bulked cotton acquired from others. Together Francisco Zavala, José Berroncal, and José Antonio Ibarra exported 67 percent of the cotton from Igualapa in 1809. In general, a rapid development of monopolistic bulking and export enterprises seemed to have developed both north and south of Acapulco.

Table 8t
Relationship between own harvest of cotton and bought cotton: Igualapa 1809[230]

Exporter of cotton	Cotton from own harvest	Cotton bought from others	Total cotton exported	Percent of total represented by own harvest
Francisco Zavala	1,964	1,001	2,965	66.24
José Berroncal	1,675	3,063	4,738	35.35
José Antonio Ibarra	420	1,368	1,788	23.49
Francisco Oliva	158	30	188	84.04
José Domingo Martínez	0	1,878	1,878	0.00
José María Añorve	0	1,867	1,867	0.00
Juan Rafael Mortero	0	348	348	0.00
Tomás Esperón	0	228	228	0.00
Manuel Soriano	0	120	120	0.00
Manuel Ibarra	0	60	60	0.00
José Rivera	0	8	8	0.00
Totals	4,217	9,971	14,188	29.72

Yet despite an apparent trend to monopolistic control in the coastal economy, the lure of cotton attracted merchants from Michoacán, from the southern corridor of Guerrero, and from Oaxaca. Many traders, as the *relaciones juradas* suggest, traveled through the coast and sierra searching for cotton that they could take out of the region. Some of these merchants were probably fairly wealthy. The *relaciones* indicate that several extracted more than 1,000 arrobas of

229. AGN-Tab 410/exp. s.n.

cotton, though most often only about 400 to 600 arrobas were bulked, a quantity that was still significant enough to require the services of 30-to 60 mules. The precise nature of the exchange relations that occurred is not documented, though undoubtedly money transactions, direct exchange, and *repartimiento* all occurred.

Table 8u
Destination of cotton exports from the jurisdiction of Igualapa/Ometepec, 1818[231]

Destination	Arrobas[232]	Percent
Puebla	6,587.00	52.28
Cholula	787.00	6.25
Huejotzinco	307.00	2.44
Tlaxcala	2,022.00	16.05
Querétaro	483.00	3.83
Celaya	260.00	2.06
Mexico	556.00	4.41
Texcoco	146.00	1.16
Toluca	241.00	1.91
Huajuapa	300.00	2.38
Less than 1% (19 destinations)	911.00	7.23
Total	12,600.00	7.23

Note: not included are 4,073.67 arrobas from Ayutla, 4,337.65 from Azoyú, and 5,644.08 from Quaxiniquilapa, a total of 14,055.54 arrobas for which no destination is given.

Finally, there is the question of market outlet and the spatial relationship between the destination of exported cotton and the origin of imported manufactures. The *relaciones juradas* from Tecpan in 1803 suggest that most outside merchants active in this area were from Michoacán. Most likely the cotton extracted from Tecpan, Atoyac, Zacatula, and Zanjón was destined for Valladolid (597) and the north-central textile centers of Querétaro (283), Celaya and Santa Cruz (521), Acámbaro (339) and San Miguel el Grande (366) (numbers in parenthesis

230. Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 4, exps. 7 and 9.

231. Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 6, exp. 3.

232. In cases in which two destinations were named, an estimated figure for individual destinations was obtained by dividing the total weight among each city or town.

indicate the number of looms in each town in 1801).[233] More precise data on the origin or manufactures imported and the destination of cotton exported is available for the Costa Chica, centered on the towns of Igualapa, Ayutla, and Ometepec. The close links of this region to the manufacturing center of Puebla (1,200) and surrounding cities such as Huejotzinco (200) and Tlaxcala (750) is apparent in data derived from an 1818 tax ledger (see table 8u; cf. chart 8c).

In terms of manufactures, one particularly complete record for the Costa Chica (south of Acapulco) is from 1803, a year during which 27,000 arrobas of cotton were taken out of the area, most of it (about 17,000 arrobas, or 53% of the total) during the months of April and May.[234] Although the destination of the cotton is not given, in this year most importation of *efectos* (manufactures) into this coastal zone was from the region of Oaxaca (33% of the total), with Puebla (20%), and Mexico City (15%) following. In 1818, another year for which ample data are available, the corresponding figures were Oaxaca (49%), Puebla (18%), and Mexico City (20%).[235] The source of manufactured goods brought into the jurisdiction of Igualapa does not, therefore, reflect a direct exchange relationship with the destination of cotton exports, which are recorded in a document from 1818 (table 8u; see also chart 8c above).

The cities and towns of Puebla, Cholula, Huejotzinco, and Tlaxcala (located within some 40 km of each other) formed a single economic region that dominated cloth production and provided the principal market outlet for cotton produced in the Igualapa jurisdiction, absorbing

233. The numbers of looms is taken from Miño Grijalva (1984:appendix 5). For a brief account of the textile industry in Michoacán, see Morin (1979:121ff). Miño Grijalva (1990:206–7) briefly mentions the sources of cotton processed in Querétaro.

234. Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 3, exp. 2 (1803). Data for another year show extraction peaking in June, with May, July, and October as other months with active exports; see Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 4, exp. 4 (1808).

235. For 1803, the percentages given are based on a total value of *efecto* imports of 14,120 pesos. The 1818 data (which might be skewed by the War of Independence and the greater bellicose activity to the north of the Costa Chica) represent total trade in *efectos* of 14,102 pesos; see Indif-Alc, Igualapa caja 6, exp. 3.

over 77% of total production in 1818. Yet most of the manufactures sold in the cotton zone came from Oaxaca, not Puebla, a statistic that suggests that the dendritic-type lines of the export economy were not the same ones through which supplies came into the region.[236] It is likely, then, that many of the approximately 1,750 mules trips that were needed to take the cotton to the Puebla region do not represent simply one leg of a round-trip venture. Rather, it seems that the southern economic region had developed a triangulated pattern of exchange involving Oaxaca, the Costa Chica, and Puebla. The fact that more manufactured goods came in from Oaxaca than from Puebla, but that the Puebla market for cotton was much more active, suggests the possibility that at least in some cases Oaxaca merchants and traders were taking cotton to Puebla before heading back south.

What is common to both patterns of exchange is the virtual absence of traders from the coast who would travel inland to sell tropical produce. This pattern of outside merchants coming to the coast to acquire a specialized product was previously documented in the salt trade. In only one of the four years studied, 1779, is there any evidence of producers, or of muleskinners from the zone of production, selling salt in the Taxco market (see table 81). The situation was much the same in regards to cotton sold in north-central Guerrero. Coastal traders rarely appeared in the Iguala Valley; those that do show up in the documentary record sold extremely small amounts of cotton (never more than one mule load), a fact that suggests itinerant trade or the extreme poverty of the merchants.[237] In general the market for cotton in the Iguala Valley was very limited; the highest level of sales occurred suddenly in 1809, when 373 arrobas were sold throughout the year, spaced fairly evenly through all 12 months. Traders from the Iguala Valley accounted for 56.5 percent of the cotton sold, those from the Chilapa-Chilpancingo zone accounted for 38

236. For a description of dendritic systems, see Kelley (1976).

237. For example, in 1802 three coastal traders, one from Ometepec, one from Coyuca, and one from

percent.[238] Yet although the average transaction of the southern merchants was over twice the size of that from Iguala Valley traders (14.2 arrobas per transaction as opposed to 6.2 arrobas, about half what a mule could carry) the implication for both groups is of poverty or itinerant trade. Perhaps these merchants transported small amounts of cotton with other goods, though there is no evidence for this: their names do not appear elsewhere in the records.

For most years the Taxco market also shows relatively limited sales of cotton, around 300 arrobas. One relatively active year (close to 900 arrobas sold) with good data on muleteer origin is 1805. Most of this cotton (about 575 arrobas) was brought into Taxco by traders from the Iguala Valley; yet this statistic is misleading. In 1805 two major Taxco miners and merchants, don Antonio del Corral y Velasco and don Adrián Abarrotegui, bought 520 and 72 arrobas of cotton, respectively (the reasons for this are unknown: there was little cloth production in Taxco[239]). Corral contracted the services of three Tepecuacuilco traders to bring in the cotton, in shipments of 125, 260, and 135 arrobas. Abarrotegui obtained his cotton from don José María Campuzano, the owner of the hacienda El Puente in the southern Taxco jurisdiction. Apart from these four transactions, only 305 arrobas were sold in Taxco, and the average sale among these

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Zanjón sold cotton in Tepecuacuilco (10, 11, and 10 arrobas, respectively); Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 5.

238. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 8. A total of 4.3 percent of the cotton (16 arrobas) was sold by a trader from the province of Zacatula.

239. The most complete account of cotton textile production in Taxco is a report of the subdelegado Manuel Pacheco Solis, dated 23 Nov. 1799. He mentions that most cloth came form Puebla or China. Local weaving was started by a few migrants from Puebla and Querétaro; production was insufficient to meet demand and the cloth was of poor quality. He then gives an account of 10 *fábricas* with a total of 11 weavers. The smallest had simply the *maestro* who carded and wove the cloth, and one woman who spun thread. The largest had, besides the *maestro*, 2 male weavers, 1 man who carded the raw cotton, and 15 spinners (9 women and 6 men). The protoindustry in Taxco employed a total of 75 workers. Of these, 45 were women, and all but 5 women spun cotton (there were 2 women weavers and 3 carders); see AGN-H 122/2 (1799). For an account of the poverty of weavers in Taxco, see AGN-Al 281/17fols. s.n. (1791). This five weavers whose testimony is recorded in this document are immigrants (from Villa de León, San Juan Citácuaro (2), San Miguel el Grande, and Toluca). Both documents, therefore, suggest that textile production in Taxco was both very limited and dominated by late colonial migrants to the mining town. See also AGN-Alc 37/s.n. (1793) for a brief report on weaving in Taxco.

was for just under 22 arrobas, again a fairly small amount (less than 2 mule loads). In addition, several sales were retail, piecemeal sales to final consumers. Corral was the legal representative of Sañudo, so his contracting of Tepecuacuilco muleteers is not surprising. Nevertheless, the fact remains that when a significant quantity of cotton was needed by a Taxco miner, muleteers from Tepecuacuilco were contracted.

The previous pages have explored the emergence of a highly productive cotton coastal economy that was divided into two major spheres of exchange. To the north, the zone from Zacatula to Atoyac was penetrated by Michoacán merchants who extracted extracted cotton, apparently destined for the textile industry in the area around Querétaro, San Miguel el Grande, and Celaya. Cotton produced to the south of Acapulco (in the Costa Chica, particularly the jurisdiction of Igualapa), on the other hand, was mostly sent to the looms in Puebla and Tlaxcala, though it seems that many of the merchants who came to acquire cotton were from Oaxaca. In both the Costa Grande and the Costa Chica a similar pattern developed: outsiders would bring merchandise to the coastal tropics. Whether these goods were sold, exchanged, or advanced on credit, a principal feature of this coastal economy is that it attracted trade from inland regions that was oriented to acquiring cotton for shipment to the major textile centers of the highlands. While merchants from Oaxaca and Michoacán mostly brought in manufactured goods, traders from the south-central mountains of Guerrero around Chilpancingo, Tixtla, and Chilapa brought in both manufactured items (much of which was probably obtained in consignment from Mexico City and Puebla merchants) and products elaborated in and arround their villages. Panocha and, to a lesser extent, sugar from the small-scale trapiches in this area (including the haciendas of Acahuizotla and Mazatlán near Tixtla) constantly showed up both north and south of Acapulco.[240]

240. In 1795 sugar from Chilapa was sold in Zacatula along with much panela from Dos Caminos, Tixtla, Chilapa, the hacienda of Mazatlán, and Chilpancingo (Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 7, exp. 14). Sugar from Chilapa was sold the following year, though most sugar sold in the Costa Grande was brought in from

Petates (straw mats) from Tixtla are another item that was traded up and down the coast.[241] The previously mentioned trade activties of Josef Gregorio Guerrero Moctezuma, who sent sugar and panocha to the coast, where his muleteers acquired cotton and rice to sell in Mexico City, is perhaps a prototypical example of the nature of exchange between south-central Guerrero and the cotton-producing coast. It has been suggested that rather than simply to satisfy local demand, sugar production in south-central Guerrero might well have developed to provide capital- and credit-poor entrepreneurs initial access to an network of exchange. The lack of cash and credit was not simply a factor in encouraging the *repartimiento de mercancías* (goods advanced on credit to poor peasant farmers to be repaid with interest later, often with the yields of a harvest in a marketable good); it held together a system of exchange among petty producers and merchants. Apparently one result of a sugar-for-cotton economy was to exacerbate conflict over irrigated land around Chilapa and Tixtla.[242] Another was to orient most trade out of south-central Guerrero to the coast. This, perhaps, partially explains the absence of sugar products from the Chilapa-Chilpancingo region in Taxco and the Iguala Valley.

Like the trade in cacao, the cotton and textile sector developed in part due to changing crown controls on intercolonial and international trade. In both cases the responses were rapid

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Michoacán; Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 10, exp. 8. In 1805, all the panocha sold in Atoyac and Zanjón came from the Chilapa and Tixtla area; Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 4, exp. 5. To the south, around Acapulco, sugar products from the Chilapa-Tixtla region dominated even more; e.g., Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 24, exp. 6, and Acapulco caja 14, exp. 1.

241. For this item see, for example, the trade in Zacatula (Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 10, exp. 2; 1792; and caja 7, exp. 14; 1795); in Atoyac and Zanjón (Acapulco caja 4, exp. 5; 1805); in Acapulco (Acapulco caja 24, exp. 6; 1785); and in La Sabana (Acapulco caja 14, exp. 1).

242. The greatest strife involved the villages of Atzacualoya, Ayahualulco, Ayahualtempan, Palantla, and Chilapa against various members of the Mesa family. Although the land conflict dates to the early to mid-eighteenth century, tensions increased over the struggle for irrigated sugar-producing lands. See AGN-T 1156/1 (1787), AGN-T 3050/1 (1808), AGN-T 3691/3 (1712–1795), AGN-GP 31/279 (1739), AGN-GP 35/194 (1746), and AGN-M 76/fols. 99–101f (1746). Mochitlán, near Tixtla, was also involved in a late colonial struggle over water rights; see AGN-T 1225/1 (1792), AGN-I 67/330 (1792), AGN-I 76/2 (1808), and AGN-I 76/3 (1794, 1808).

and dramatic, creating new patterns of trade and investment and new networks of social and economic exchange—testimony to the fluidity of the colonial economy. Cotton yields along the Pacific coast boomed, probably reaching well over 150,000 arrobas during the final decades of the colonial period. Yet unlike cacao, which entered at a single port and then was mostly sent to Mexico City, either its final destination or stage in trade beyond the capital, both cotton production and processing were dispersed: fields were scattered in rugged terrain from Zacatula to Ometepec (about 400 km as the crow flies) and processing (carding, spinning, and weaving) occurred in dozens of villages, towns, and cities throughout New Spain, much of it decentralized in an elaborate putting-out system of spinning and weaving. In a system as disperse as this, those who were able to articulate the scattered points where cotton was grown, carded and spun, woven, and then sold stood to gain the most. Recognizing this, toward the end of the colonial period authorities in south-central Guerrero tried to more fully integrate their regions into the cotton and textile economy.

Faced with outmigration and the depopulation of his jurisdiction, while at the same time probably influenced by the enlightened political economic theory then guiding Spain and its imperial policies, in 1791 the subdelegado of Tixtla (and also a hacendado), Juan Antonio de Rivas, offered Viceroy Revillagigedo a detailed plan to promote spinning and weaving in his jurisdiction, a plan already outlined in the previous chapter, where it was linked to efforts to discourage emigration from the increasingly impoverished jurisdiction. Spinning schools had been formed and promoted in Spain during this period: the model for the proposal, thefore, was already extant. Rivas ascribed the lack of productive activity in the province of Tixtla to the twin evils of custom and obsolute technology.[243] "Old traditions," Rivas claimed in "enlightened"

243. Rivas owned the hacienda of Santa Bárbara; AGN-Tab 410/s.n. (1797); Indif-Alc, Chilapa caja 4, exp. 6 (1797). He was also the brother-in-law and executor of don José Larumbe, owner of the hacienda Chapolapa. Nevertheless, when Rivas was involved in a dispute over water rights with the community of

reference to indigenous devotion to the spinning whorl, "are tyrants that subjugate spirits of slight will"; innovation must be encouraged and fomented (through advantageous investment) by state authority. Thus on a more pragmatic level, he requested authorization to borrow 729 pesos from the community chests of villages under his jurisdiction to buy spinning wheels, hire teachers, and import cotton.[244] The plan was presented with meticulous detail—the cabalistic precision of the cacluations no doubt was intended to inspire confidence in the results. The subdelegado noted that there were 21,928 individuals in his jurisdiction, 8,000 of whom were either too young or too old for productive labor. Of the remaining 13,928, a total of 3,482 were dedicated to agriculture—precisely the one-quarter of the work force that is deemed sufficient to provide for a province's needs. Another 446 were muleteers and artisans, leaving exactly 10,000 (divided equally between men and women) who were without occupation, spending most of the year "in drunkenness and sloth." Rivas's goal was to train these men and women in the textile industry. Deducting Sundays and holidays, they would have nine months of productive labor. With men earning 2 reales per day and women 1, together they would earn 513,750 pesos per year "a quantity of significant proportions that would circulate throughout the jurisdiction."[245] By mid-1792 the project had been put into effect; spinning implements had been acquired from Mexico and 100 arrobas of cotton brought up from the coast. A year later the subdelegado reported that 240 women had been trained in the use of the spinning wheel and that they had used their earnings to repay the cost of the equipment, which they now had in their homes.

The plan soon fell apart, whether for lack of funds or the departure, in 1796, of the

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Mochitlán, the indigenous officials requested that Larumbe adjudicate the conflict; AGN-I 67/333 (1792).

244. For the original formulation of this plan, see AGN-H 498/9; the citation is from fol. 214f. Other related documents are AGN-ICom 2/7 (1792), AGN-H 122/2 fols. 43f-43v (1799), and AGN-ICom 8/18 (1808).

245. AGN-H 498/9, fol. 213v.

subdelegado who had so carefully overseen its implementation. A 1799 report from Tixtla mentions that there were only 6 looms in the jurisdiction and that thread made in Tixtla was not elaborated on the spinning wheel, as it was in Chilapa, "which is where they have made and continue to make significant progress in this industry, and even the few individual weavers [who live in the jurisdiction of Tixtla] go to buy thread in the aforementioned Chilapa."[246] The rivalry, or perhaps antagonism, between these two jurisdictions is clearly expressed in an 1808 petition by Bernardo Tadeo de la Guerra, then subdelegado of Tixtla, who petitioned for the restablishment of a school of spinning and weaving, requesting the same 729 pesos (and perhaps even repeating the same perfect figures) that had been given to his predecessor, while comparing the relationship of Chilapa to Tixtla with that of Rome to Greece (see citation, chapter 7, pp. 396, 402).[247]

Despite Tadeo de la Guerra's allegation, a significant level of textile production in Chilapa seems to have predated Rivas's project, although this protoindustry did grow tremendously during the latter part of the decade. In 1793 Chilapa had 50 looms, on which the poor produced coarse cotton cloth (*manta*) one-half *vara* in width that sold for between 5 and 6 pesos. As was common in this sector, production was controlled by storeowners. They would advance thread to and then receive cloth from weavers, who would only earn a peso in over four days of work. Much of the time, however, the looms remained idle: the weavers were often unable to secure cotton on credit and lacked the cash to make the purchases themselves. The situation, in sum, was one of "an abundance of weavers and a shortage of credit (*havilitación*)."[248]

By 1800 the situation had drastically changed, with 142 individuals working an equal

246. AGN-H 122/2, fols. 43f–v.

247. AGN-ICom 8/18 fol. 397f. The request for 729 pesos was approved in late 1808, though there is no evidence of a restablished school. For Tadeo de la Guerra's involvement in commerce, see AGN-Con 38/8 (1808). Despite the colonial plan, Chilapa did not become the head of a diocese until the mid–nineteenth century.

248. See AGN-Alc 37/s.n. (1793); citation is on fol. 75.

number of looms. And of 983 non-Indian and 968 Indian families (1,951 in total), approximately 1,740 (about 90 percent) worked in producing thread on spinning wheels, a tool that by then had become a ubiquitous element of household inventories.[249] Both spinning and weaving had also spread to the major indigenous villages in the area.[250] The major shortcoming of this nascent industry was the poor quality of the cloth (the finer quality textiles were imported from Puebla and Oaxaca), for there were only 2 or 3 experienced weavers (*maestros examinados*), all of whom were immigrants. In an observation that went against the current of contemporary antiguild sentiment, the subdelegado observed that the weavers did not "obtain those advantages that they would enjoy if supervised by appropriate experts in the trade and if able to establish a guild."[251]

The rapid expansion of *manta* (common cotton cloth) production in Chilapa made a minor impact on the consumption patterns in the neighboring jurisdiction of Iguala. Generally, interregional transactions in cloth are hard to document because cloth was usually remitted in bundles that in the ledgers appear simply as *efectos* (goods), accompanied by their weight (in tercios) and value.[252] In such cases only an exhaustive and time-consuming examination of the actual *guías* (remission papers) would reveal the type and origin of the merchandise. A Tepecuacuilco ledger from 1782 does, however, specifically identity *efectos de la tierra* transactions that involved *manta*. The four entries are for a total of 18 tercios (a tercio is

249. These figures can be compared to Oaxaca, which at the end of the colonial period had a reported 9,000 spinners and 500–600 weavers (Hamnett 1971:140).

250. Thus Quechultenango had 12 spinning wheels and 3 looms, Ayahualulco had 18 spinning wheels and 3 looms, Quamecatitlan had 23 spinning wheels and no looms, Azaqualoyan had 8 spinning wheels and no looms, Ayahualtempan had 5 spinning wheels and no looms, and Acatlán had 6 spinning wheels and no looms. The last 4 villages were composed entirely of Indians. In the other 28 villages of the jurisdiction, cotton was spun on spindle whorls and woven for household and local consumption only; AGN-H 122/2, fols. 40f-42f (1800).

251. Ibid., fol. 40f.

252. Most often only the local sale (or estimated sale) price is given. Occasionally, however, both the original price and the final resale price are given, or the original price is given along with a percentage (the *aforado*) of the estimated price increase at sale.

approximately 175 pounds): 14 tercios are from Tlaxcala and 4 are from Puebla.[253] Direct statements of *manta* imports from the Puebla-Tlaxcala area do not reappear, although such transactions undoubtedly continued to occur, hidden within the documentation of larger remissions of merchandise from the highlands. Yet in the following decades it seems that *manta* from Chilapa started to make inroads into the local Tepecuacuilco market.

This process is evidenced in the *viento* ledgers, which are much more specific in recording the type of merchandise and, often, the point of origin of the muleteer. For example, in 1797 all of the *manta* sold as *viento* in the Iguala-Tepecuacuilco *alcabalatorio* came from Chilapa: 1,099 pesos of this cloth, the majority brought in by two Chilapa traders (Juan de Vique with 681 pesos of sales and Miguel de Cueavas with 266½ pesos); this pattern repeated itself the following year, when Vique brought in 878 pesos of the 1,111 pesos of *manta* sold.[254] During this same year a significant amount of chambray and *chapaneco* was brought in from Oaxaca; shawls (as in every year) were brought in by merchants from Tenancingo; who in several cases are recorded as having sold flour at the time time.[255] In 1802 only 218 *piezas* of *manta* were sold, but less than half was brought in by Chilapa traders. By this time one Tepecuacuilco merchant, Juan Nájera, was becoming dominant in *manta* sales. Five entries under his name show that he sold

253. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 3. The local price per tercio varied from 160 to 222 pesos. The total value of the transactions was 3,425 pesos 6 reales.

254. For 1797, see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 6; for 1798 see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 7.

255. For flour and shawls sold together, see the case of Juan Velasco of Tenancingo who in 1798 sold 27 cargas of flour on one day and the the 228 shawls the following day; see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 7. In 1797 a total of 600 *rebozos* and *paños* were sold in Tepecuacuilco, in 1795 the figure was 558 and in 1798 the figure was 690. For 1795, see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4; for 1797, see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 6; for 1798, see Taxco caja 5, exp. 7. In 1802 a total of 1,024 *paños* and *rebozos* were sold, all but 15 *paños* were from Tenancingo. Slightly more than half were sold to storeowners for resale, the other half was sold retail to final consumers; Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 5. Finally, in 1809, the total value of sales of *paños* and *rebozos* was 2,024½ pesos; of this 1,950½ pesos were accounted for by merchandise from Tenancingo. The average price of these items was 2 pesos, suggesting a quantity in accord with that for previous years; see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 8. The other place from which *paños* and *rebozos* originated was Zacualpa (in 1802, 15 *paños* for 142 pesos; in 1809, 4 *paños* for 25 pesos) and Sultepec (in 1809, 48 pesos 6 reales of cloth).

607 pesos of this cloth; the average size of his transaction (121½ pesos) was much higher than that of the Chilapa traders (520½ pesos of cloth sold in 7 transactions, for an average of 74½ pesos). In 1809, eight transactions by a Tepecuacuilco merchants (probably Nájera) accounted for an even more dominant share of the *manta* market (see table 8v).

Table 8v
Viento trade in manta by muleteer origin: Tepecuacuilco 1809

Muleteer origin (number of transactions in parentheses)	Total value of trade	Average value per transaction	Percent of market
Acapulco (1)	104.00	104.00	2.37
Celaya (3)	462.50	154.17	10.55
Chilapa (19)	919.94	48.42	20.99
Chilpancingo (1)	25.00	25.00	0.57
Tepecuacuilco (8)	2,871.88	358.99	65.52
Totals (32)	4,383.32	136.98	100.00

Although only the place of origin of the muleteer (and not of the cloth) is given, it seems clear that Celaya traders were bringing cloth from Celaya, and Chilapa traders cloth from Chilapa. Although there is no direct indication of the origin of the *manta* that Nájera sold, it is quite likely that it came from Chilapa, since records under his name from previous years state that the *manta* originated in Chilapa. Moreover, cloth from any other source would probably have entered the jurisdiction as *efectos de tierra* (i.e., with remission papers) rather than as *viento*. As occurred with trade in cacao and cotton, an exploration of data on the commecialization of *manta* from Chilapa suggests a northward shift of control, a reflection of the concentration of capital and human resources around Tepecuacuilco in the northern Iguala Valley. In this case, as the late colonial textile industry in Chilapa increased production, Nájera, a Tepecuacuilco merchant, began to deal in this item, perhaps acquiring it, as was often the case, as part of longer itinerant trips through the southern trade corridor between Chilapa and the Pacific coast.

In sum, the cotton and textile industry of central and coastal Guerrero manifests a third

pattern of development for interregional commerce through central Guerrero, one that contrasts with the contours of exchange manifested by trade in cacao and in flour. As with cacao, changes in the political economy of the metropolis, particularly the efforts to develop the textile industry in Catalonia by stimulating the production of raw cotton in the colonies, had profound and unforeseen effects in New Spain. An agrarian sector dedicated to cotton quickly emerged in the tropics along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and soon thereafter there was a boom in the colonial textile industry, as cotton replaced wool as the material of preference. On the Pacific coast, backward linkages were formed not only in the transport sector, as occurred with cacao, but in a nascent protoindustrial spinning and weaving sector of petty household production, heavily dependent on *havilitadores*, merchants who would advance the raw materials—cotton to be spun, or thread to be woven—to poor peasant households. At the same time, cotton production along the coast complemented other tropical products—particularly rice and salt—in attracting highland merchants to the area. Myriad patterns developed: small-scale producers taking their cotton to the highlands, sharecroppers forced to sell their harvests to landlords at a below-market price, large-scale farmers and commercial entrepreneurs who would bulk cotton for export to the highlands, and highland merchants who would bring manufactured products to the coast and return with tropical products such as cotton.

To a great extent, commerce in cotton seems initially to have bypassed much of central Guerrero. One trade system articulated the Costa Grande (north of Acapulco) with Michoacán and nearby textile centers in Querétaro, Celaya and Santa Cruz, Acámbaro, and San Miguel el Grande. A second system developed as a triangulated pattern of exchange involving Oaxaca, Puebla, and the Costa Chica (the jurisdiction of Igualapa, south of Acapulco). Eventually, however, colonial authorities in Tixtla and Chilapa sought to integrate their jurisdictions into the cotton and cloth economy, and actively promoted the development of a protoindustrial cottage

industry in spinning and weaving. This effort, in which viceregal officials sought to stimulate a manufacturing and commercial sector in impoverished areas of the colonies had various manifestations. In an effort to insert south-central Guerrero into increasingly dynamic patterns of production and distribution, colonial authorities in this region suggested and devised several plans: a feria during which cattle would be exempt from the alcabala; the reunification of the Chilapa and Tixtla jurisdictions under the authority of the castellan of Acapulco; the commissioning of Indian villages to take over from Pedro Vértiz the remission of prisioners and precious metals Mexico City and Acapulco; and the creation of a cochineal industry in Tixtla and Chilapa.[256] From this perspective, the promotion of a textile sector was another facet of rural economic society that, if favored by state programs and initial sponsorship, would hopefully elevate the standard of living and, in the end, the fiscal solvency of the jurisdiction.

It was, however, only at the very end of the nineteenth century that burgeoning cloth production in the south-central jurisdiction of Chilapa had an impact on consumption and trade patterns in Iguala and Taxco, as *manta* from nearby Chilapa replaced the more distant production of Puebla-Tlaxcala. To a certain extent this reflected an expected "rationalization" of exchange, the replacement of goods traded over long distances by more locally produced material. Yet at the same time one might question whether the transportation factor was the major one affecting this shift in market structure, or whether the primary factor was the way in which commerce in cheap textiles articulated into a system of small-scale links between zones of specialized production in the southern trade corridor. Whatever the basis for this shift to a local pattern of exchange in *manta*, it should be clear that the major development in the textile sector was a boom in agriculture and cottage-industry spinning, the products of which (raw cotton and spun thread)

256. These projects have been discussed in previous pages. For mention of the cochineal project, undertaken by the castellan of Acapulco, see AGN-Cv 241/12.

were for the most part marketed in the highland centers of production, either to the north near Querétaro, or in the central area around Puebla.

CONCLUSION

If necessity is the mother of invention, then perhaps the intricacies of exchange through an "inventive" southern corridor reveal the breadth of "necessity" in this impoverished region. The corridor was a place for human action, and this action affected all facets of the economy: production, consumption, and exchange. The result was an organism (if one can return briefly to an out-of-favor yet not entirely outlandish metaphor) that was teeming with the life of a coral reef, and that has left a rather rich set of documentation that evidences the subtleties of society and economy in the complex *montaña*—myriad indigenous villages; hispanicized Indian caciques; dominant colonial families of large, sometimes entailed, estates; an entrenched and self-serving colonial administration; and small-scale enterprises run by colonial adventurers. This inventiveness is most apparent at the lowest levels of trade—the petty merchants and small-scale peddlars who linked village after village in a filigreed chain of exhange. Previously, mention has been made of economics and administration as the two major poles along which markets become integrated. Economic incentives (better prices or lower costs, including those of transport) are one merchanism to attract goods. Politico-administrative controls (fiscal manipulation such as lower taxes, road blockages and hinderances to exports out of a region) are another; they are a way of creating socially constructed barriers to or channels of trade, of changing the playing field to the benefit or detriment of one group or another. It was in this exploration of the dynamics of petty provincial trade that an ethnographic approach to economic history—one that pays particular attention to the characteristics of a peasant economy that is articulated with other levels in a sharply divided seasonality of high and low opportunity costs—is most useful. Yet it was

likewise suggested that the spatial specialization of the southern corridor was important not simply as a necessary feature of a self-contained exchange system that linked highland to lowland, but that it was also factor that stimulated the marketing of goods such as flour in the provincial town of Tepecuacuilco (although higher prices here and overproduction of wheat throughout the colony might have been factors as well), which thereby became a stopping-off place within a larger web of relations.

This *localized and specialized aspect of interregionality* was one aspect of exchange relations that was explored in this chapter. Another was the impact on market relations in the rural provinces of central Guerrero of the changing political economy that governed metropolitan and colonial commerce. One section of this chapter explored general shifts in the ideology of exchange and production (both manufactures and agrarian), which occurred under the progressive influence of Colbertism, physiocracy, and liberalism. As a case study, the argument presented offered a revisionist interpretation of the alcabala. It was suggested that this tax, at least in its functioning, not only had several characteristics of a "moral economy" but that it served to encourage the direct articulation of producer with consumer, thus promoting a medieval concept of market integration that was being challenged by the increasingly positive light in which merchants and traders were being viewed as agents of a national (and nationalized) economy. Parallel to this exploration of how the alcabala has been interpreted in the relevant literature was the suggestion that the manner in which space, political economy, and markets have been treated in historical studies is also significant for an understanding spatial processes in colonial New World society. Initially, a very diffuse, and basically unanalytic, approach to region was offered, one that sought to challenge generalizations about New Spain by showing variation across time and space along parameters that were only very broadly expressed. Subsequent studies focused on more analytic concerns, isolating either mining or urban population growth as the primary

impetus to market integration, which was presented both as a natural process of historical change and as an essentially frictionless structuration of space in which the major conflicts occurred in the productive sectors (e.g., among hacendados and communities for control of land) rather than in the spheres of consumption (e.g., between consumers in towns and cities, or between urban and rural elites). This chapter has continued to explore this latter question by documenting and analyzing the emergence of a rural entrepreneurial elite that was eventually able to challenge the urban center for the two most important resources of the colonial period: labor (as evident in the late colonial flow of migrants to the tenant settlements of the Iguala Valley) and grain (discussed below in the final chapter, on the struggle for control over the distribution and marketing of maize).

The final and basic point of inquiry in the present chapter has been what the title refers to as the "spaces of capital and commerce" that emerged from an interregional economy. It is an exploration of the ways in which cash and commodities penetrated and passed through central Guerrero, and the imprint of this activity on the social and economic composition of rural society. A primary focus here has been on what has occasionally been characterized as a "world system" economy, and on how changes in the patterns of international trade and commerce affected the internal socioeconomic structure of colonial societies. In the preceding pages two major policy shifts and economic developments were discussed. The first was the opening up of intercolonial commerce, which led to a massive increase in the production and trade of cacao from Guayaquil. Hundreds of tons were shipped to Acapulco, either to be distributed throughout New Spain or to be sent to Spain, after first being transported across the breadth of the colony. The second major policy shift involved state efforts to stimulate a textile industry in Catalonia by promoting the growing of cotton in the colonies. Along the Pacific coast cotton production for the highland markets boomed as both Indians and non-Indians bought or rented lands under a variety of

tenancy arrangements (including rental from indigenous communities, or contracts to sell below market price to landlords who would bulk cotton for remission north). Eventually cloth production in the colonies itself "took off," to cite Rostow's famous metaphor, and thus the original boom in tropical agriculture along the two coasts was matched by parallel developments in both the spinning and weaving industries. In central Guerrero these latter developments were manifested in the cottage industries in Tixtla and Chilapa, themselves the result of the combined impact of economic and politico-administrative factors.

However, the most dramatic effect of the changes in intercolonial and interregional commerce was the formation of backward linkages in the transport sector and important shifts in the structure and loci of this activity. These developments were to have a profound impact on rural society in central Guerrero, and on the patterns of social tensions and alliances that came to dominate the late colonial period. Migration patterns have already been discussed, as hundreds of peasants—from the Balsas River valley, from the southern jurisdictions of Tixtla and Chilapa, and from the northern jurisdiction of Taxco—moved to tenant settlements in the Iguala Valley. This movement was analyzed as the response of mostly indigenous peasants engaged in marginal subsistence agriculture to the attraction of more fertile lands and a commercial market. While there was undoubtedly a strong agrarian base to this demographic shift, this chapter has shown that there was a parallel movement: a northward shift of the transport sector, as an expanding peasant population in the Iguala Valley was contracted by commercial entrepreneurs, particularly don Manuel Sañudo, to move goods from the coast to the highlands. The high level of transport was documented through an analysis of the camino real toolbooth records, and the impact of this activity was felt in myriad ways. It was apparently a constant drain on subsistence, as vast amounts of grain were destined to feed the thousands of mules that traveled from the coast to the central plateau. There were also notable shifts in the power and ethnic structures of indigenous

villages, most notably illustrated by Chilpancingo, an ex-sujeto of Zumpango that grew immensely in size and importance, finally becoming, in the mid–nineteenth century, the capital of the newly formed state of Guerrero. Other communities seem to have survived in an uneasy balance between subsistence agriculture and petty trade and commerce, their marginal participation in transport a clear example of the division of this sector into two tiers: a peasant domain characterized by low opportunity cost, and a capitalized domain in which heavy investments had to be recuperated through higher prices and greater profits. Sañudo's transport empire was the quintessential example of the latter. He was an entrepreneur who sank large amounts of capital into pack mules and muleteer salaries and seemed to lease land (the haciendas of the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento) for the main purpose of assuring fodder for his mules. Sañudo's dominant control of land in the Iguala Valley and of transport between the coast and the highlands was complemented by one further set of enterprises: investment in both retail commerce and in sugar production within the Iguala Valley. This, the third facet of his economic empire, is explored in the following chapter, which examines the ways in which social relations in the Iguala Valley were directly transformed by capital investment and commercial enterprises during the late colonial period.

CHAPTER 9

THE TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL SOCIETY: COMMERCIAL CAPITAL AND THE MONOPOLIZATION OF RESOURCES

INTRODUCTION

The story of land, labor, and capital in central Guerrero draws to a close with an examination of investment in rural enterprises, particularly sugar production, in the Iguala Valley and the influx of goods and manufactures to the hinterland as merchant capitalists set up shop to provision the growing peasant population. As the eighteenth century drew to a close, the agrarian and commercial economies of central Guerrero were undergoing profound changes. Over the first half of the century rural society in the Iguala Valley had shifted gradually away from ranching. In the early eighteenth century, some dozen migrants sought to (re)establish a foothold in the valley by asserting their patrimonial rights to Palula as a *pueblo de indios*, a status they were never to obtain. Shortly thereafter two miners, don José de la Borda and don Joseph Martínez de Viedma, acquired property rights to the greater part of the valley, controlling land that extended south from the area around Cocula, Iguala, and Tepecuacuilco to the banks of the Balsas River, perhaps some 150 to 200 thousand hectares in all. Around 1760, de la Borda's litigious expulsion of the last major cattle rancher from the northern valley cleared the way for a dramatic influx of migrants, who over the following 75 years were to establish over three dozen cuadrillas of tenant farmers. Among miners, de la Borda was the most articulate and the one most overtly concerned with assuring that the Taxco mines enjoy a steady supply of maize. Yet this same preoccupation with a cheap and steady maize source is apparent in other actions of the Taxco elite: the political and mining authorities repeatedly tried to convince the viceroy to place the province of Iguala under their jurisdiction, so as to be able to control maize distribution; and the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, which in the final decades of the century acquired the lands of de la Borda

and Martínez de Viedma, elaborated a rental contract to don Manuel Sañudo that required he sell in Taxco the maize perceived in rent.

This sequence of events—land takeover by ranchers, expulsion of cattle, apparently generous land rental terms to Indian migrants (combined with apparently exorbitant fees for oxen and plows), incorporation of the province of Iguala under the political administration of the jurisdiction of Taxco, and the obligatory contractual obligations of agrarian entrepreneurs to sell maize in the regional urban market—indicate the development of increasingly overt mechanisms of control designed to integrate rural production to urban demand, mechanisms that attest to the failure of economic incentives to adequately integrate a grain market centered on the mining center of Taxco and to the pressure that miners exerted to lower their costs of production by cheapening the grain used for fodder and food. The following two chapters analyze this struggle over grain provisioning in depth, as contemporary perspectives on moral and political economy infused the clash between urban and rural elite, between miners and merchants, for control over the provisioning of grain. This chapter, in turn, continues (along with the previous chapter) to set the stage for this clash. It completes the story—a trilogy of land, labor, and capital—of the socioeconomic development of the Iguala Valley, which culminated in the emergence of a powerful rural elite capable of reversing the poles of power between town and country. There were many factors that contributed to this state of affairs. The immense concentration of agricultural land in the hands of a poorly administered sodality enabled a single entrepreneur (don Manuel Sañudo, who rented this land) to both dominate rural society and set many of the terms for the production and distribution of grain; and the immigration of hundreds of peasant families created a dispersed though dynamic market, attracting commercial capital that sought to profit from the distribution and sale of manufactured goods. Finally, as narrated in the previous chapter, late colonial developments in the international arena—particularly free trade, including that

between the colonies, and a metropolitan political economy that attempted to stimulate a domestic textile industry by encouraging cotton production in New Spain—had a profound effect on the late colonial social fabric of central Guerrero, catalyzing the development of a heavily capitalized trade and transport sector that revolved around imported cacao and cotton produced along the coast (both, apparently, manifested in ever-increasing amounts).

There were, then, a series of factors—most notably concentrated land tenure and a demographic boom in rural valley, and a liberalized political economy that affected large scale shifts in trade and transport—that created the environment for elite formation in the hinterland. And as hinterland merchants acquired the economic and political clout to contest the urban mining elite, rural-urban integration became increasingly problematic. This chapter further explores the distribution of economic resources in the hinterland, though not in the context of interregional exchange and the capitalization of transport (as was the case in the preceding chapter). Rather, the focus here is on internal, intraregional developments within the jurisdiction of Iguala itself. As will become clear, in addition to the extraregional links that were forged during the late colonial period and the impact these links had on rural society, the valley itself became a target for capital investment, a process that was to profoundly alter social relations in the region—agitating latent patterns of ethnic conflict, realigning the relations of power that ran through urban center and rural hinterland, and provoking incipient class tensions that at times were phrased in claims of rights that articulated and counterposed the contemporary discourses of liberal and antiliberal sentiments.

Two sectors, explored in the pages that follow, were to become particularly important in this transformation of social relations within the valley: they were quintessential poles of attraction for investment and the capitalization of productive and commercial relations. The first was the production of sugar and panocha (a cheaper, unclayed, hard brown sugar), an industry

that was concentrated in four haciendas that dominated regional production in the late colonial period: Atlixtac and Apango near Cocula; Acayahualco in the central valley; Ocuixtlahuacan (and its annexes of Ahuehuepan, Tonalapa, and Tuxtla) to the west of Iguala; and Zacapalco and Tepetlapa, along the camino real to Mexico City northeast of Iguala in the jurisdiction of Taxco (see map 5g). In the Iguala and Taxco jurisdictions, a few scattered trapiches are documented for the late seventeenth century, but significant investment and expansion seems not to have occurred until the second half of the eighteenth. At this time three factors apparently stimulated development in the sugar sector: an emerging regional market that accompanied demographic growth; the utility of sugar (a relatively high-value, low-bulk good) as a local product that could profitably be exchanged for other merchandise, particularly tropical coastal goods; and an influx into the rural society of the northern Iguala Valley of commercial ventures that disposed of the resources to invest in capital improvements in regional industries. In short, sugar production in the Iguala and Taxco jurisdictions clearly manifests two features of the late eighteenth-century economy in these regions: intensification of economic activity and the concentration of production and distribution in increasingly fewer hands.

The second sector of regional economic activity considered in this chapter involves the commercialization of manufactured goods, items (many of which were remitted from Mexico City and Puebla) that were mostly registered in the tax records as *efectos de la tierra* (produced in New Spain) and *efectos de castilla* (produced in Spain).[1] Of particular interest to an understanding of the late colonial economy in central Guerrero are the implications of the spatial and social distribution of mercantile activity: where it was centered and who was in control. The patterns that emerged suggest the exacerbation of social and spatial tensions—between urban society and rural hinterland on the one hand and between rich and poor on the other. One

1. See the discussion in chapter 8, p. 485 and n. 144.

revealing division is that between the level of trade in the urban mining jurisdiction of Taxco and that in the rural agrarian jurisdiction of Iguala. Late colonial tax records indicate a higher level of commerce in the latter (as reflected in global tax revenue), a spatial distribution that reveals the potential of hinterland economies to attract a significant amount of commercial capital and generate mercantile activity that might well surpass that of the major regional urban center. In the colonial situation as a whole, the political and social implications of this potential dynamic in rural-urban economic relations (and its effect on integration or dissension between regions) has not been adequately explored. In the region being studied, however, it seems clear that this influx of capital resources to the countryside had several repercussions that increased the tension in rural-urban relations. These included the development of an extensive infrastructure of transport enterprises that provided the means for agrarian entrepreneurs to access distant markets, and thus develop some degree of independence from regional outlets; and the shift of at least one facet of political power to the rural elite, in that a fair percentage of those wealthy individuals who bonded the administrative officials in Taxco were merchants and agrarian entrepreneurs whose base of operations was the northern Iguala Valley.[2] If we consider these two factors along with the extreme difficulty that Taxco officials and miners had in creating a vertically integrated grain market (see chapter 11), it seems highly plausible that during the greater part of the final half-century of colonial rule, regional economic and political predominance in north-central Guerrero lay as much in the hinterland as in the urban center (a shift that is all the more striking given the absence of large-scale hacienda production in the Iguala Valley).

Within each jurisdiction—Taxco and Iguala—another significant pattern that emerged

2. The limited data available, all from the late 1790s, suggest this development. See AGN-Tr 56/23 (1794) and AGN-Tr 16/3 (1798) for the *fiadores* (bondsmen) of the subdelegado of Taxco, don Fernando de Mendoza. In 1798, six of eight *fiadores* for Mendoza were merchants and hacendados from Tepecuacuilco and Huitzuco (including don Manuel Sañudo, don Nicolás Salgado, don Francisco Castaños, and don Manuel Eustaquio Gómez Madrid); the other two were landowners in the Taxco jurisdiction: don José María Campuzano and don Miguel Figueroa.

was the great degree of market primacy: in the hinterland the vast majority of commercial activity occurred in Tepecuacuilco.[3] The distribution of rural trade is explored in greater detail below, but *grosso modo* some 75 percent of registered exchange, by value, took place in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco. And mirroring the spatial imbalance in commercial activity, there was also a great disparity in the social division of trading—both the relative participation of different ethnic groups and, within the Spanish elite, a strong monopolistic tendency. One significant development seems to have been the inexorable decline of indigenous participation in the commercial sector. Even considering the fact that the tax ledgers are heavily biased against the documentation of indigenous trade activity, it would seem that one result of monopolization (considered as the spatial and social concentration of commercial activity in a few places and individuals) was the relegation of Indians to increasingly peripheral roles—muleteers, peddlers of goods issued on consignment, or the itinerant sale of petty household production. The perspective taken here is contrary to one that for a long time has dominated studies of colonial societies and commercial development, one that has examined the increasing penetration of capital into rural, indigenous society. Rather, it is suggested that late colonial developments in the commercial sector tended to increasingly isolate the poorer elements of society, particularly those, such as Indians, who were socially and spatially segregated. Marginalization, in this perspective, was not simply, or solely, an original condition of indigenous society (which during the early contact period had indeed participated extensively and enthusiastically in trade) but was the result of increasing socioeconomic divisions and effective barriers to upward social mobility that emerged

3. Primacy refers to the unequal distribution of capital resources and services through a given region. As Smith (1976c:30) notes: "Single or selected centers draw more than their share of suppliers and consumers, monopolizing the tributary area and leaving a relatively poorly serviced distant hinterland. What one has, in effect, is the Thünen arrangement, but this time with small market centers in the periphery dominated by a single large center. One would therefore expect the Thünen consequences: commercialization and intensification near the primate center, with increasing self-sufficiency and extensive production away from the center." This would probably be a reasonable description of the Iguala Valley during the late colonial period.

during the late colonial period.

This chapter, then, explores a final pattern to the dissolution and crystallization of social and economic relations in a rural society during the last half-century of colonial rule. Previous chapters adumbrated some of these processes, for first ranchers (chapter 5) and then peasant migrants (chapters 6 and 7) protagonized efforts to transform the valley; the former attempted to create vast enterprises of pastoral wealth, the latter, starting in the early eighteenth century, developed settlements and social networks that although simple cuadrillas during the colonial period were eventually to coalesce into the *ejidos* and "indigenous communities" of the present day. It was, however, the final wave of "immigrants"—entrepreneurial merchants and commercial capital—who (as illustrated in case studies of sugar production and patterns of trade in manufactured goods) reaped the opportunities created by the late colonial transformation of agrarian society and who helped transform the valley at the cusp of independence into an agitated crucible of factious elements lead by a recently formed rural elite.

SUGAR: THE CAPITALIZATION OF AGRARIAN SOCIETY

LAND CONFLICT AND SUGAR PRODUCTION UP TO THE MID–EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In 1658, Captain Diego Zorrilla de la Peña, owner of the haciendas of Mazatlán and Quacoyula in the jurisdiction of Tixtla, petitioned the viceroy for a license to plant and process sugarcane.[4] In his request he mentioned that he provided maize and fodder to travelers along the camino real to Acapulco but that given the lack of any production in the region, he was unable to meet the demand for sugars and molasses, which had to be brought in from Puebla and Mexico City, over 80 leagues distant. In the same year as his request, Zorrilla was granted a license to plant and process cane. Within a couple of decades there were, in addition to Mazatlán, several other small

4. The information is in AGN-M 49/fols. 160v–161f and fols. 163f–164f.

trapiches in the jurisdiction: Acahuizotla, San Juan Ayosinapan, Soyatepec, and Tepango, all of which continued to produce throughout the rest of the colonial period.[5] In the late eighteenth century several of these enterprises were sending sugar to the Pacific coast.

The 1658 petition suggests that regional sugar production in south-central Guerrero was slow in developing, a pattern quite distinct from that which characterized in the lowlands of Morelos, where the planting and processing of cane began shortly after conquest and continued, through contraction and final expansion, throughout the colonial period.[6] The rather limited local production in Guerrero during the first two centuries of conquest reflected low demand, which was the result of the drastic depopulation that affected the indigenous population, the rather modest Spanish presence the area, and the slow development of commerce through the Pacific coast port of Acapulco. Labor and capital were undoubtedly also scarce, constituting further barriers to the development of a sugar industry in this region.

The wording of the 1658 petition also carries a clear spatial implication. In petitioning for a license to produce sugar in a provincial area, Zorrilla de la Peña mentioned the great distance to the nearest production zones in the central highlands. The expense of transport and the difficulty in assuring adequate supply over long distances justified the enterprise for which he sought (and needed) official sanction. Thus despite the fact that sugar was a relatively high-value low-bulk item, and one of the few products that was exported outside of the colonies, transport considerations did influence, at least indirectly, the discourse of landowners seeking permission to construct trapiches and *ingenios*. And given the fact that cane required fertile, irrigated land,

5. AGN-T 3603/9 (1716).

6. The Morelos sugar industry has been widely studied. See Barrett (1970, 1976), García Martínez (1969), Martin (1982, 1985), and Riley (1971, 1973, 1975), and, particularly, von Wobeser (1988). For a general overview of sugar in Mexico, see Landázuri Benítez and Vázquez Mantecón (1988), Ruíz de Velasco (1937), and Sandoval (1951). For a more general work on Morelos, which contains some reference to the sugar industry, see von Mentz (1988). Martin (1985) in particular discusses the cycles of production and their impact on hacienda-village relations.

(even though the extension of the land was often relatively limited), local developments could have a dramatic impact on rural society, particularly in a negative way, by provoking agrarian conflict over water and land resources.

In certain respects, and particularly up to the end of the seventeenth century, the pattern of sugar production that emerged in the jurisdiction of Chilapa was similar to that of Tixtla, for in the former there were also few seventeenth-century trapiches.[7] Yet in Chilapa, which by the early eighteenth century was dominated by two major families—the Mesas and the Moctezumas—the pattern started to change at the turn of the century. At this time sugar production began to take root in a series of relatively small irrigated holdings south of Chilapa. The principal protagonists of this development were several generations of the Mesa family, who over the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century (and despite strong resistance from indigenous villages in the area) established trapiches at Xiloxochica, Nantzintla, Atenxoxola, Cochistlan, Tlaxinga, Maquiscoatlan, Tepetlaxingo, Xoquitipan, and Acapactla (and perhaps a few more locales), a string of small, irrigated sites scattered through the jagged terrain around Chilapa.[8] The production in many of these trapiches seems to have been extremely limited and their economic

7. There are a few mentions of trapiches in the seventeenth century. In 1652 don Joseph Moctezuma Tecifon, "cacique y encomendero" of Chilapa requests a license to found a trapiche on his lands of Almolonga and Huiztahuacan, lands 6 leagues south of Chilapa, 4 to the east of Quechultenango, and 2 east of Colotlipa. He was already planting cane on this land; AGN-T 2676/3 (1652). Another early trapiche was established at Atenxoxola and Cuautlapastla in 1693 by Capn. don Andrés de Contreras in the name of his sister, doña María de Contreras Villegas, widow of don Diego Motecsuma Tesifón, of the Moctezuma family; AGN-M 63/fols. 34f–35v (1693).

8. Besides those holdings mentioned in the text, the Mesa family is also said to own the haciendas of Contula, Patlaguauchiautipan, and Acalco; AGN-T 1156/1. Information on the Mesa family, and its conflicts with the indigenous villages of the area, particularly Atzacualoya, Ayahualtempan, Ayahualulco, and Palantla, can be found in AGN-GP 31/279 (1739); AGN-GP 35/194 (1746); AGN-GP 43/fols. 110v–111v (1771); AGN-M 67/fols. 185v–186v (1711); AGN-M 72/fols. 226f–226v (1736); AGN-M 76/fols. 99f–101f (1746); AGN-T 1313/2 (1799–1802); AGN-T 1156/1 (1787); AGN-T 2075/4 (1736); AGN-T 3427/1 (1708–10); AGN-T 3691/3 (1710–95); and AGN-P 16/fjs. 108–9 (1792). In their complaint against the Mesa and Moctezuma families (it was the Moctezumas who originally obtained the title to the communal land of Ayahualulco), the officials of Ayahualulco mention the "well-known opulence" of these families; AGN-T 1156/1.

viability precarious. An account of production at Juxtlahuacan, a trapiche belonging to the Moctezuma family, reveals that between 1769 and 1775 average yearly production was extremely low: 467 pesos of panela or panocha and 62 arrobas of sugar, priced between 9 and 11 reales.[9] A written description of the property was even more eloquent as to its sorry state: the house was "run-down and in an advanced state of destruction"; the mill was "useless." Nevertheless, despite the trapiche's decrepit condition, it still had lent out 54 pesos to seven of its workers and 149 pesos to ten muleteers.

By the very end of the colonial period, the organization of sugar production near Chilapa began to shift into the hands of the principal mercantile interests in the region (a pattern that repeated itself in the Iguala and Taxco jurisdictions). A particularly complete account from 1805 of fixed *alcabala* payments (*igualas*) based on the estimated value of transactions at particular property holdings, reflects this concentration (table 9a).

Table 9a
Igualas paid on commercial transactions at trapiches in the jurisdiction of Chilapa (1805)[10]

Name of trapiche	Owner	Alcabala (*iguala*) paid for sales in the trapiche
San Sebastián Buenavista	Co. de Mauricio y Leyva	100
Colotlipan	Co. de Mauricio y Leyva	100
Cocoxcamila	Co. de Mauricio y Leyva	40
Ahuehuetla	Co. de Mauricio y Leyva	60
Tlapehualapa	Co. de Mauricio y Leyva	50
Coyameyac	Don Manuel de Ortega	50
Tlalcomulco	Don Manuel de Ortega with Sevilla	44
Huiztlahuaca (Juxtlahuaca)[11]	Don Manuel Moctezuma	60

9. AGN-V 74/10. See also chapter 8, pp. 509–10.

10. Source Indif-Alc, Chilapa caja 5, exp. 18 (1805).

11. This was property of the Mayorazgo Guerrero Moctezuma; in 1792 it was rented to Andrade, who was extremely active in the area (AGN-T 3691/3) and when subdelegado in 1799 was bonded by many of the leading merchants and hacendados of the jurisdiction: don Manuel Castrejón, don Manuel Guerrero Moctezuma, don Juan Navarro, and don José de Leyva, as well as don Vicente Francisco Vidal, a Mexico City merchant with many interests in Chilapa and the Pacific coastal region; AGN-Tr 4/9 (1799). In the 1790s the Mayorazgo Guerrero Dávila Moctezuma was held by don Nicolás Guerrero Dávila Moctezuma

Atenxoxola	Don Benito Andrade	50
Tenanzintlan	Don Francisco Casarrubias	35
Tecoyutla	Don Nicolás Castrejón	30
Ozomazinco	Don Manuel de Castro	20
Tlaxinga	Don Nicolás Lovato	24
Tecomatlan	Don Juan de Nava	20
Total income		683

Slightly over 50 percent of the sales tax revenue generated by commercial activity at trapiches in the Chilapa jurisdiction (many of them rented) was paid by the joint mercantile enterprise of Juan María Mauricio and don José de Leyva (perhaps his brother-in-law, and definitely a relative by marriage). This same "compañía" also accounted for 35 percent of the total 1,951 pesos in tax revenue collected for sales in stores, and 28 percent of the 218 pesos in revenue produced by cattle ranches.[12] The data suggests, then, that merchant interests were investing in sugar production, which was concentrated in a few hands; part of the production would undoubtedly have been sold through stores, another portion would have been traded, and much of this seems to have gone to the Pacific coast. However, if we consider the high level of outmigration and the relative poverty of the jurisdiction, it seems even more likely that sugar was being produced by merchants in order to trade beyond the immediate area of production. Viewed from another perspective, merchant investment in trapiches (and the tension with indigenous communities that it generated) was in part the result of Chilapa's situation (both spatially and in

(AGN-Vin 40; AGN-T 3691/3); he was succeeded by don Manuel Guerrero Moctezuma, who earned 1,000 pesos per year from his entailed estate; AGN-Alc 281/s.n. Nevertheless, the *mayorazgo* seems to have fallen on bad times, and at the close of the colonial period was renting out much of its lands (e.g., AGN-T 3691/3). For the early history of Moctezuma holdings in the Chilapa area, see AGN-I 27/251 (1682); AGN-T 3380/3 (17th century); and AGN-T 3395/11 (1619). Don José de Leyva, the partner of Juan María Mauricio, was married to a member of the Moctezuma family, doña Rita Moctezuma.

12. Both Mauricio and Leyva had links to individuals who operated in the Iguala Valley. When don Pedro Quijano y Cordero (who was later to marry the widow of don Manuel Sañudo) was subdelegado of Tixtla, Leyva, who also owned 3 trapiches in the jurisdiction, was one of his fiadores; AGN-Tr 4/9 (1799). Mauricio owed 550 pesos to don Juan José Corral, the Veracruz merchant who invested in sugar production and pig fattening in the Iguala Valley; AGN-Con 33/2 (1807). For other documentation on Mauricio, see AGN-Cv 639/s.n.

terms of economic links) between highland and coastal markets, and the role of sugar in articulating them.

Another factor affecting patterns of production and commercialization of sugar in New Spain, particularly that from zones in which this sector had been relatively undeveloped up to the mid–eighteenth century, was the dramatic change in the international market for sugar beginning in the early 1790s. In addition to the rapid expansion of the importation of cacao and production of cotton, which was related to international developments that affected the Pacific coast and its environs during the late colonial period, the 1790s also saw a rapid shift in the international sugar market (with greater participation of New Spain) as a result of the destruction of sugar plantations in Santo Domingo. Statistics from 1796–1804 show an average yearly export of 225,743 arrobas of sugar (about 2,822 tons) through the port of Veracruz. In some years the figure more than doubled this average. From 1805–8 exports decreased dramatically, but at the same time sugar was being imported, suggesting the inability of production in New Spain to meet demand within the colony.[13] Yearly capacity in Morelos, the main sugar producing region, was estimated by one researcher at 435,040 arrobas (5,438 tons) in the late eighteenth century (1792–94).[14] Another scholar noted that tithe records reveal an increase in production for the diocese of Mexico (in which almost all sugar was produced in Morelos) from an average of 388,560 arrobas (4,857 tons) between 1785 and 1789, to 636,160 arrobas (7,952 tons) between 1800 and 1804.[15] The difference between the earlier and later figures, 247,600 arrobas, is close to the average yearly export between 1796 and 1804 (225,743).[16] The data suggest that an expanding world market had

13. The summary of statistical data taken from Humboldt and Lerdo de Tejada is found in Landázuri Benítez and Vázquez Mantecón (1988:117–18).

14. Barrett (1976:163).

15. Martin (1985:99).

16. Or, from another perspecitve, the difference between Martin's figure of 636,160 (1800–4) and

a profound impact on the Mexican sugar industry. The expansion of production in Morelos was undoubtedly in part fueled by these changes, although the fact that the recuperation of the colonial sugar industry might have predated the developments of the 1790s suggests that production and profitability had begun to increase several decades earlier.[17] While the documentation available does not identify the precise origin of the sugar exported through Veracruz, whatever its origin, the internal market must have had to make significant adjustments to the increased demand from overseas.

Shifts in the internal market, particularly patterns of ownership and exchange, are harder to document than either the characteristics of localized production at a specific well-documented hacienda or general trends in overseas import and export. Yet the late colonial pattern manifested in Chilapa—merchant investment in sugar production and extraregional commerce in this good—parallels certain developments already seen in other sectors (particularly cacao and cotton, as well as wheat) and is in accord with what is known about a boom in mercantile activity concomitant to measures that liberalized trade in various environments of exchange (metropole to colony, intercolonial, and intracolonial).[18] Moreover, similar developments seem to have occurred in the Iguala Valley. Overall, the tendency appears to have been for commercial capital to seek out investment in a booming sugar industry, producing material both for regional consumption and interregional trade.

Documentation of this process, of late colonial merchant investment in the production and commercialization of sugar and panocha, is more abundant for the Iguala and Taxco

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Barrett's figure of 435,040 (1792–94) is 201,120 arrobas, again very close to the average yearly increase of 225,743 arrobas due to the expanding world market.

17. Martin (1985) suggests that recuperation began in the 1760s, reflecting the positive impact of population growth and changing crown policies.

18. A key work in this regard is still Brading (1971).

jurisdictions than for the southern regions of Tixtla and Chilapa. In part this reflects the greater concentration of capital in the Iguala Valley, a factor that not only produced larger estates (such as the haciendas of Apango-Atlixtac and of Oculixtlahuacan) but that generated a greater amount of recorded data: inventories, wills, embargoes, and other legal documentation. Also, the day-by-day alcabala ledgers for the north-central jurisdictions provide better descriptions of trade patterns than do those for the south-central jurisdictions (which are dominated by *igualas*, fixed tax agreements based on estimated sales, that provide little information on exchange patterns). During the last half-century of colonial rule—both for merchants such as Manuel Sañudo, who married into one of the most elite valley families, and Juan José del Corral, a Veracruz trader who brought in merchandise from elsewhere and operated throughout the present state of Guerrero—the Iguala Valley offered some of the best investment opportunities in areas south of Mexico City. It had abundant and fertile farmland, two modest rivers (which nevertheless provided water sufficient for irrigation) that ran the length of the valley, and a booming population. Emerging opportunities in the trade and transport sector only added to this attractiveness. Sañudo's ties to the coastal economy (through the transport of cacao documented in the previous chapter) gave sugar some value to him as a useful trade item. As mentioned in the previous chapter, when an inventory of his estate was carried out in 1808, the records showed that Sañudo still was awaiting the liquidation of an account for 2.4 tons of sugar (192 arrobas) that he had sent to Acapulco to be sold by don Simón Adrián, the principal cacao merchant of the port.[19] Yet production from Sañudo's estates also dominated the local market. In 1809, of 3,293 arrobas of sugar sold in the jurisdiction of Iguala, 1,044 arrobas (13.05 tons, and about 32 percent of recorded sales) were

19. See chapter 8, n. 196. In 1803 there are records of 157,824 arrobas of Guayaquil cacao being transported inland from Acapulco. Of these, 70,117 arrobas (44.4%) were remitted by Adrián (and another 68,969 arrobas, or 43.7%, did not record the name of the person who remitted the cacao); see Indif-Alc, Acapulco caja 2, exp. 1 (1803).

registered as having been produced at Sañudo's Atlixtac hacienda.[20] Corral, on the other hand, took over and invested in a much more modest sugar enterprise on land that he rented (from Sañudo) at Acayahualco; he also began a pig-fattening business in Cocula, the principal indigenous village in the western valley. The wide geographical zone in which the Veracruzno merchant Corral operated suggests that the Iguala Valley, where he centered his operations, must have offered very attractive conditions for capital investment. One focus of the present chapter is to offer a case study of the activities of these two merchants as exemplifying the socioeconomic changes that affected north-central Guerrero in the late eighteenth century. Another focus, and one that has a more general target, is to discuss the history of productive and commercial relations in the valley, a history that involves the entrepreneurial activities (in sugar production and sales of manufactured items) of men epitomized by Sañudo and Corral and that brought about major changes in the social, political, and economic relations that characterized central Guerrero at the end of the colonial period. In the pages that follow I will briefly review the formation of the major sugar-producing enterprises in north-central Guerrero, discuss mercantile interest in this sector in the late colonial period, and briefly examine marketing patterns of this good. The overall picture is one of a relatively minor sector up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, at which time it began to attract greater investment, which led to increased concentration of resources and exacerbated tensions in the countryside.

The early history of sugar production in the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala is similar to that of southern Guerrero (the jurisdictions of Tixtla and Chilapa): there were few trapiches in operation, though two mercedes (dated 1542 and 1543) to Antonio de Almaguer, the

20. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 8 (1809). Note that there is no direct documentation that this sugar came from Atlixtac, but 1,044 arrobas of sugar was sold by a trader from Atlixtac, a very strong indication that this is where the sugar originated.

encomendero of Tepecuacuilco, were for land and water, apparently to found a trapiche.[21] Production may have been sufficient to meet local demand, but most likely sugar and panocha were brought in from western Morelos and the area around Cuernavaca. Seventeenth-century petitions to found trapiches in the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala were fairly uncommon; only eight have been identified for this period (table 9b; a few other trapiches, such as those at Oculixtlahuacan and Ahuehuepan, existed, but none of the relevant licenses have been located):

Table 9b
Licenses to produce sugar and panocha in central Guerrero
Jurisdictions of Iguala and Taxco

Date and Place	Characteristics	Source
Jurisdiction of Iguala		
25 Oct. 1638; 18 Sept. 1693 Tzinacantlan/Plantanar	Petition by Juan Bautista Beneciado for a license to build a trapiche on his lands at Tzinacantlan, also known as El Plantanar. Despite objections by the villages of Iguala and Tepecuacuilco, and by the Texcocan rancher Juan García Ponce, the license was granted on 25 Oct. 1638, although it was temporarily suspended on 2 Dec. 1639. On 18 Sept. 1693 another license for a trapiche at Plantanar is approved for Capn. don Andrés de Cervantes, a subsequent owner.	AGN-T 3518/6; AGN-M 41/fols 25f–28f; AGN-M 63/fols. 54f–55f.; see also AGN-BN 34/10 (various dates) and AGN-BN 1545/45 (1806)
24 Oct. 1658 and 29 May 1659 n.i. (Acayahualco?)	Request by doña Juliana Salazar y Monroy, vda. Tornamira, to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche in the jurisdiction of Iguala.	AGN-M 49/fols. 161f–161v; AGN-M 49/fols. 169f–169v.
7 May 1659 San Juan and Xonacatla, along the Cocula River	The *naturales* of Cocula state that they have been planting sugarcane on their lands of San Juan and Xonacatla, along the Cocula River. However, given that they lack animals for transport, they request a license to make panocha in their own trapiche. No resolution of this petition is given.	AGN-T 3518/2
2 Mar. 1660	License and merced to Blas de Toledo Grimaldo,	AGN-M 53/fols.

21. The encomendero was Antonio de Almaguer; see AGN-M 1/405. The first merced was for 1.5 caballerías of land and a "herido de agua" (small spring? of water) for a mill; the second merced was for 2 caballerías. Both were for land near Tzinacantlan.

Almolonga	vecino of Taxco, to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche on lands of his near the pueblo of Almolonga, in the jurisdiction of Iguala near the villages of Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán.[22]	1f–2v.
28 Apr. 1667 S. Miguel Yestla	Those of Huitzuco mention that they have been planting sugarcane and request a license, which is granted, to build a trapiche.	AGN-I 24/133
4 June 1670 San Miguel (south of Cocula?)	License and merced to doctor don Pedro de Soto to found a trapiche on his lands of San Miguel.[23]	AGN-M 55/fols. 97v–97f.
14 Oct. 1679 Tepozonalco	Order to the justice of Iguala to determine whether a license to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche should be granted to Matheo Vallejo (*vecino* of Mexico). He has lands (granted in merced in 1675) in the jurisdiction of 1 *sitio de ganado mayor* and 4 caballerías that he states are propitious for planting cane and making sugar and panocha.	AGN-M 58/fols. 46v–47v; AGN-M 59/fols. 285f–285v;

Jurisdiction of Taxco

22 Sept. 1663 Juchimilpa and Santiago	License to Miguel de Figueroa, *vecino* of the Real y Minas de Zacualpa, to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche on two *estancias de ganado mayor* of his near Noxtepec. License given for 80 pesos.	AGN-M 53/fols. 71f–80v.
18 Sept. 1665	Licence to found a trapiche or ingenio on his own	AGN-M 55/fols.

22. Almolonga was originally granted in merced to Antonio de Nava in 1610 (see AGN-T 3518/1) and then built up by Augustín de Aguero, *beneficiado* of Zumpango, who sold it to Blas de Toledo Grimaldo. The hacienda was in continual conflict with Tlaxmalac to the north and Mayanalán to the south; yet Almolonga, near the center of the hacienda's lands, was not the focus of dispute; see particularly AGN-T 3518. In the late colonial period, Almolongan was still producing very minor amounts of panocha for the local market (Indif-Alc, caja Taxco, various exps.).

23. This land has not been definitively located. There was a property in the north-central Iguala Valley continually referred to as San Miguel, but it appears that Soto's land was at another location. In 1711, when don Juan de Soto y Acuña composed his lands at Cocozingo, Tlaniquitlapan, Tlila (or Xila), and Xocotitlan, it was mentioned that his lands bordered to the south with the Rancho de Aila, belonging to licenciado don Pedro de Soto. Later it is mentioned that the *capellanía* of bachiller don Pedro de Soto y Acuña was founded in the trapiche of Tepozonalco (near the Balsas River, to the west of the Cocula River). Although there is some confusion regarding the identity of many individuals of the Soto (or Soto y Acuña) family, it appears that don Pedro de Soto is the same person as bachiller (or licenciado) don Pedro de Soto y Acuña. He held a *capellanía* for 4,000 pesos (yielding 200 pesos/year in interest) founded in the trapiche of Tepozonalco, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century he rented out to various individuals (e.g., Julian Ortis of Ostotitlan and Juan Melchor de Agüero of Zumpango). Don Pedro de Soto also held rented land southwest of Iguala at San Andrés Metlapa, although this might be a different Pedro de Soto; see, among other documents, AGN-BN 34/10 (1704 and others); AGN-BN 97/10 (1724); AGN-BN 596/29 (1689); AGN-BN 670/8 (1710–11); AGN-I 22/99 (1715); AGN-I 32/176 (1693); AGN-M 67/fols. 274v–275v (1716); AGN-T 3514/2 (1711); and AGN-T 3518/various exps. and cuads.

Zacapalco	lands given to Juan de Morales. Mention that the villages of Acamistla, Tlamacazapa, and Coscatlán border these lands but themselves have "muchas tierras y aguas."	53f–54f; AGN-M 58/fol. 95v.
1693 Huistac	License given to the village of Huistac (Teolistaca) to found a small horse-powered trapiche where they can process the cane that they plant.	AGN-I 31/164

Two of the early grants were to indigenous villages: Huitzuco in the jurisdiction of Iguala and Huistac in the jurisdiction of Taxco. However, shortly after they received a license to build a trapiche at Yestla, the Indian community of Huitzuco sold this land, asserting that it was abandoned and unproductive; at the end of the colonial period there was still a small trapiche here.[24] The indigenous residents of Cocula were also planting sugarcane by the mid–seventeenth century, the beginning of a long history of such activity by these villagers.[25] There is, however, no further information on the trapiche founded by the *naturales* of Huistac. In a few other cases, indigenous villages (at least according to the written documentation) supported colonists' efforts to plant sugar. This occurred with Miguel de Figueroa's request for a license that targeted lands 3 leagues from Pilcaya and Teticpac and 2 from Noxtepec; all three villages were said to support the petition, and there is little evidence of subsequent conflict. In addition, despite the later history of conflict, there is also no evidence of seventeenth-century disputes regarding Zacapalco, where sugar production began in 1665 when Juan de Morales was granted a license to establish a

24. This sale (see AGN-I 23/321 (1669)) is also mentioned in chapter 5. The hacienda or trapiche of Yetla belonged to don Juan Alvares in 1773 (AGN-T 3130/2) and to don Mariano Segura in 1784; AGN-BN 678/s.n.. The property is also briefly mentioned in AGN-T 3518/1 and AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2.

25. Late colonial involvement of indigenous residents of Cocula with the planting and processing of sugarcane is apparent from the 22 Nov. 1777 license given to the Nicolás Antonio, Indian tributary of Cocula, to build a trapiche to process the produce from 4 *suertes* of sugarcane he had planted. The *teniente general* of Iguala recommended that the license be granted for 25 pesos, although Antonio requested a reduction in the amount assessed. The trapiche was to be built on communal lands; AGN-I 66/82.

trapiche at "the pueblo of Zacapalco."[26] And finally, although the trapiche at Almolonga was part of the hacienda of Tlapala, which litigated for decades with Tlaxmalac (particularly over Palapa) and Mayanalán (particularly over Alseseca and Tetelilla), the trapiche itself was ensconced on land near the center of the property and was not mentioned in the disputes that characterized this hacienda through much of the colonial period.[27]

Yet conflict over land planted with sugarcane did occasionally occur before the end of the seventeenth century. This was the case with attempts to establish a trapiche at Tzinacantlan, which met with fairly constant resistance, both from the villages of Iguala and Tepecuacuilco and from the Texcocan rancher Juan García Ponce. Tepecuacuilco, in particular, contested both the property rights of Juan Bautista Beneciado over Tzinacantlan and his attempt to establish a trapiche. Both indigenous villages also cited the harm to their fields caused by the more than 1,000 horses and cattle that Bautista Beneciado kept on his property. Indeed, it is likely that Bautista Beneciado's attempt to found a trapiche was in part due to the compatibility of ranching and cane agriculture, for the latter crop, unlike maize, is not eaten by grazing animals. Other entrepreneurs were to cite this fact in petitioning for the right to plant sugarcane.[28] By the late

26. Zacapalco was a sujeto of Cuernavaca; in 1604 it had been congregated in Amacuzac; AGN-C, exp. 188. Although stated to be a pueblo in the license to Morales, there is no evidence of indigenous residents there at this time. As to its subsequent history, in 1654 Martín de Chavarrieta, a miner and landowner, requested an *amparo* (protection) for his holdings at Zacapalco, which at this time seems to have been planted with maize; AGN-M 49/fol. 58v. Ten years later his son lost the land to a resident of Mexico City, who received it in payment for a 1,000-peso debt. By 1712 the trapiche had again changed hands: it was now owned by a Taxco miner, Nicolás Mexía Lobo. See AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2 for the reference to Mexía Lobo; for references to Morales, see AGN-M 58/fol. 95v as well as the document cited in table 9b.

27. For Tlapala, see particularly AGN-T 1667/1; and AGN-T 3518/1 and 2.

28. In 1740, Bachiller Miguel Matheo Adán de los Ríos requested a license to plant cane at Tepantlan, citing its proximity to the camino real and the damage that animals passing through caused to fields planted with maize; AGN-T 3518/s.n. Note that at present indigenous peasants of the Balsas River valley often switch from maize to sesame in fields planted close to a village, not because of a greater pressure for cash cropping (although most of the sesame is indeed sold commercially) but because the rapid increase in the pig population (pigs are allowed to freely roam) threatens maize fields close to the villages (and pigs don't eat sesame plants).

seventeenth century (approximately 150 years after the first merced at Tzinacantlan, to Antonio de Almaguer) sugar production was firmly established here, although the trapiche (evaluated at 6,279 pesos 7 reales) was stated to be in need of repair.[29] Sugar production there never prospered and output remained extremely limited throughout the rest of the colonial period. The alcabala ledgers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries offer little evidence of the sale of sugar or panocha produced at Tzinacantlan (later known as Plantanar). At the end of the colonial period the land, water, and fruit trees for the 1 caballería of land at Platanar were valued at only 4,134 pesos, a clear sign of stagnated production on a limited land base.[30]

In general, then, early efforts to produce sugar were almost as much an indigenous as a Spanish (or criollo) venture. The latter occasionally met with resistance, but it appears that colonists had only a limited interest in sugar production until the early eighteenth century, when commercial expansion took hold and indigenous participation became increasingly marginalized (i.e., less significant in terms of overall production, although in absolute terms it might not have decreased). Indeed, Spanish initiatives to produce sugar in the Taxco and Iguala jurisdictions during the seventeenth century seems to have caused little conflict. Part of the reason was simply the general lack of interest among the colonists (up to this time mostly ranchers) to produce sugar. Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century the two jurisdictions of Iguala and Taxco had only a few relatively minor trapiches, peripherally located (with the exception of Tzinacantlan) and at significant distances from indigenous cabeceras. Sugar production was also often, as the case of Almolonga illustrates, part of much larger enterprises and thus any conflict that this industry might have generated would be overwhelmed by the vastly more serious conflicts over ranching activities that accompanied the general expansion of property ownership at the expense

29. AGN-BN 1545/45.

30. AGN-BN 1545/45 (1806–10); the property also had a *capellanía* established by don Antonio de

of indigenous villages. Probably for all these reasons, along with the fact that the few documented licenses were issued at the demographic nadir of indigenous society, conflicts over land and sugar production were somewhat mitigated, certainly less serious than they were to become in the last half-century before independence.

The varied nature of the indigenous response to the initial takeover of land in north-central Guerrero, including many areas where investment in sugar production sharply increased during the last half-century of the colonial period, provides a background to the early development of this sector. To a surprising extent these responses were shaped by two factors: 1) the pattern of preconquest settlement and political relations in the Iguala Valley; and 2) the way in which colonial law and authorities dealt with questions of indigenous territory (a question of *rights* to land) and "interethnic" space (a question of *justice*, the distance between indigenous and colonial settlements that was considered necessary to protect the livelihood of the former). For heuristic purposes, three general patterns of indigenous response to early encroachment on sugar-producing lands can be identified: conflict, acquiescence, and alliance.

The first pattern of interaction between indigenous villages and early colonial sugar enterprises, that of conflict, is exemplified in the difficulties encountered by Iguala, whose opposition to a trapiche at Tzinacantlan has already been mentioned. Shortly after the congregaciones ended in the early seventeenth century, Iguala lost the land that had belonged to three of its western, and most distant, sujetos: Oculixtlahuacan, Ahuehuetla (probably present-day Ahuehuepan), and Tuxtla, all three of which were located some 12 to 20 km west of the cabecera (see map 5g). Oculixtlahuacan and its annexes were included in the land that Juan García Ponce sold to the Jesuits in the mid–seventeenth century.[31] By 1665 the Jesuits, apparently in an effort to

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Ayala with a 3,000 peso loan from Capn. don Alonso Adán de los Rios, his brother-in-law, in 1712.

31. When owned by García Ponce, these lands were used to graze goats; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2. They

divest themselves of outlying property, had sold Oculixtlahuacan, along with Tonalapa, Ahuehuepan, and Tuxtla, to Sebastián Brito Salgado, who operated a trapiche at the first location (which he later rented out to Diego de Soto).[32] When don Jorge de Gama and his nephew, bachiller don Francisco de Gama, obtained a composición these properties for 50 pesos in the decade of 1710, it comprised 2 sitios de ganado mayor and 4 caballerías, now with trapiches at both Oculixtlahuacan and Ahuehuepan. The land then passed to Jorge de Gama's son-in-law, Bernardo Martínez, though sometime thereafter, probably in the early 1750s, the estate was acquired by don Eugenio López de Castro. In 1768, shortly after his death, López de Castro's widow and son-in-law sold the hacienda to the Taxco miner don Antonio Alvarez y Coria for 8,190 pesos 1 real. He was to pay 5,149 pesos 2 reales to the owners, and recognize the obligation to meet the interest payments of two *capellanias*, one of 2,000 pesos established by Brito Salgado and another of 1,040 pesos 7 reales (left from an original debt of 6,000 pesos) founded by Jorge de Gama.[33]

There is some indirect evidence that the authorities of Iguala litigated to regain control of the land of their western sujetos throughout the seventeenth century. In early 1697, and despite the fact that the Indians of Iguala had established a ranch at San Andrés and Metlapa (located some 8–10 km southwest of the cabecera), the *juez de composiciones* Ortiz de Herrera "sold" San Andrés and Metlapa (a former sujeto) to doña Micaela de Ojea y Miranda, owner of the hacienda

gradually shifted to sugar production over the course of the next century until becoming, at the end of the colonial period, one of the region's dominant sugar haciendas.

32. There is extensive documentation on Oculixtlahuacan in the following sources: AGN-BN 469/6 (major documentation for the 18th century), AGN-I 71/158 (1804); AGN-M 73/fol. 8v (1726); AGN-T 1538/1 (1776); AGN-T 1870/2 (1804); AGN-T 3130/2 (1773–74); AGN-T 3514/1, 2 (1719); and AGN-T 3518/2 (1716). In 1665 Brito Salgado rented only Oculixtlahuacan to Diego de Soto, keeping Tuxtla, Tonalapa, and Ahuehuepan for himself; AGN-BN 469/6.

33. See AGN-BN 469/6; of the 5,149 pesos 2 reales, a total of 3,911 pesos 5 reales was to go to López de Castro's son-in-law, don Joseph de la Loza, and 1,237 pesos 5 reales were to go to the widow, doña Gertrudis de Sosa.

of Palula. That same year Iguala was able to obtain a viceregal order that briefly repossessed them of both these sites; while they were formally being given possession of these lands, they also tried to regain Ahuehuepan (linked to Oculixtlahuacan) and Tepochica. But the judge for this occasion ruled that these latter two sites were part of a different and older conflict, a statement that suggests a long history of dispute on several fronts (from Tepochica to the south through Oculixtlahuacan to the northwest) promoted by the indigenous authorities of Iguala.[34]

The effect of actual physical distance on land litigation and indigenous resistance is exemplified by the case of Iguala, not so much in their ultimate success in defending their holdings (for they eventually failed to retain most of their lands) but in the sequential pattern of land loss. The temporal and spatial distribution of mercedes given to colonists for land in the immediate vicinity of Iguala represents an impressive onslaught against their holdings. The original titles to lands that came to form the hacienda of Tepantlan surrounded Iguala, with grants mentioned at Tepantlan, Tomatal, Tonalapa, Acamac, Ahuehuepan, and Zoquiapan, among other localities (again, see map 5g); there is also evidence that when they owned Tepantla, the Jesuits grazed herds of sheep at Tepochica and Xalapilla, just south of Iguala (though it is uncertain whether they paid rent, in goats, for grazing rights). The temporary success of Iguala in defending their nearest holdings is suggested by the fact that although in 1627 Diego de Minerón had requested a merced of 4 sitios de ganado menor at San Andrés and Yametlapa, Iguala (as noted above) still had a cattle ranch there in the late 1690s.[35] But the series of composiciones that began in 1697 resulted in the loss of San Andrés and Metlapa to the owners of the hacienda de Palula; other properties were also permanently alienated at this time, including Agua de Manteca to Juan

34. See particularly AGN-T 3518/2, fols. 96–142 (1697–1711), land titles of Iguala.

35. The order for the alcalde mayor to conduct the necessary investigations in regards to a land request by Minerón is dated 26 Jan. 1627. Minerón requested 4 sitios de ganado menor, 2 of these sitios were located near Ahuehuetlan and the other two near Yametlapa; AGN-M 36/fols. 44f–44v.

de Soto y Acuña (the same individual who established himself on land bordering to the south of Cocula; see below). The information available shows that Iguala did litigate to regain many of its holdings (the cases of Tzinacantlan, Ahuehuepan, and Tepochica have been mentioned). But they were most successful in regards to nearby land, which they were able to resettle (or use for ranching), retaining control until the dispossessions of 1697. Their rights to the more distant lands of Oculixtlahuacan, Ahuehuepan, and Tuxtla were defended only in court; in these cases it was the colonists who were able to defend their grants "on the ground," retaining physical control of these more outlying lands throughout the century.

A second pattern of indigenous response to colonization of sugar producing land is evidenced by the relative lack of resistance to productive enterprises at Tepozonalco and Cococingo (and Acayahualulco, if indeed there was an early trapiche at this location), all of which were sites at or near congregated ex-sujetos of Tepecuacuilco (see appendix 1b).[36] The absence of early opposition by this cabecera (or its congregated ex-inhabitants) to the colonization of the valley was probably the result of the dispersed nature of the subject population at contact, scattered among more than 50 settlements up to 17 leagues (approximately 70 km)

36. Acayahualco is listed in both the Ovando report and the *Relación geográfica* of Iguala as a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco, 1 league south of the cabecera according to Ovando. Tepozonalco is also listed in both, Ovando's report situates it 12 leagues to the west. Cococingo is not directly named in either document. However, in repeated mentions of this property, its owner, Juan de Soto y Acuña, states that he possesses land at the "parajes" of Cocozingo, Tlaniquipatlan, Tlila, and Xoxotitlan. The Ovando report mentions a Tlalnecpatla 8 leagues to the west and north of Tepecuacuilco; a Xocotitlan 6 leagues to the west, and a Tlitlan (here the *Relación* gives a Tlinlan) 9 leagues to the west. Cuahcoyula, easily identified as present-day Coacoyula is stated to be 6 leagues distant from Tepecuacuilco "between west and south." This and other comparisons (e.g., Maxela 7 leagues to the west and south; Mexcala 7 leagues south) strongly intimate that the congregated sujetos Tlanecpatla, Xocotitlan, and Tlitlan later became the 3 "parajes"—Tlaniquipatlan, Tlila, and Xoxotitlan—associated with Cococingo. Moreover, in the *vista de ojos* of the lands of Juan de Soto y Acuña carried out in 1710, Tlila was said to be located at the southwest corner of his property, where it bordered on lands of the trapiche of Tepozonalco. This would place it near present-day Acalmantlila. However, a much later border survey (1820) of Cococingo reports that the southwest corner of these lands was located at a place called Alcamini. From there the border turned to the north, proceeding along the edge of the sierra of Cuetzala to a place named Cuetzala el Viejo, near which was a sitio de ganado mayor named Tlila. Acalmini is clearly the Acatl mani (undoubtedly present-day Acalmantlila) that the Ovando report gave as a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco located 8.5 leagues west of the cabecera; Tlitlan was 9 leagues in the same direction.

distant from the cabecera. Indeed (see chapter 6), the greatest resistance to the colonial takeover of the southern and southwestern part of the valley was the effort by Indian migrants to contest rights to land at the ex-sujeto of Palula; but this resistance was promoted by migrants from the Nahuatl-speaking villages of the Balsas River basin (who nevertheless at first petitioned the colonial state through the Tepecuacuilco authorities), not by the original habitants of Palula. In fact, the expansion of the hacienda of Palula through the vast section of the valley situated between the Cocula and Tepecuacuilco Rivers (perhaps some 100,000 has, or 1,000 sq km) met with little indigenous opposition until it reached the rather reduced and besieged borders of the northern villages of Cocula, Iguala, and Tepecuacuilco.

The underlying basis for indigenous reaction to the late seventeenth-century acquisition of 2½ sitios de ganado mayor at Cococingo, Tlaniquipatlan, Tlila, and Xoxotitlan by Juan de Soto y Acuña illustrates the way in which features of prehispanic political landscape could shape the contours of indigenous response to colonization. Before contact, this area, located less than 2 leagues south of Cocula, fell within the *a:ltepe:tl* of Tepecuacuilco, a cabecera that was between 6 and 12 leagues distant from the lands in question. Authorities of neither Tepecuacuilco nor Cocula opposed the land takeover. From the perspective of the former, the land in question was geographically isolated, undoubtedly too distant to provoke a concerted defense of property.[37] From the perspective of the latter, the land in question was beyond the historical limits of village authority—its physical propinquity veiling its political detachment. At least in this instance, the

37. There is also the possibility that the *a:ltepe:tl* of Tepecuacuilco was internally differentiated, and that its superficial unitary structure was more a creature of Aztec hegemony in the region (the Aztecs had a garrison and tribute collecting center in Tepecuacuilco) than a reflection of internal cohesion among its units. If there had been a more fragmented structure to the province or *a:ltepe:tl* of Tepecuacuilco (as opposed to the more spatially reduced and cohesive nature of Cocula, Iguala, Mayanalán, and others), then this might explain certain aspects of the lack of response of Tepecuacuilco authorities to the colonial takeover of land at the southern extremes of their territorial jurisdiction. In general the internal differentiation (ethnic and political divisions, particularly) of indigenous *a:ltepe:tl* has not been adequately studied.

combination that brought into close proximity a colonial landowner (Juan de Soto y Acuña) who did not directly or immediately threaten territorial integrity and autochthonous authority (in regards to Cocula's historical land rights) established the basis for a potential alliance between an indigenous village and a local hacendado.

That Cocula did not oppose the colonization of Cococingo reflects more than the simple fact that it did not consider the land part of its patrimony. Often (as occurred when Iguala and Tepecuacuilco opposed a trapiche at Tzinacantlan) simply spatial considerations (the potential for harm posed by a nearby hacienda) did provoke indigenous opposition (and indeed state action), regardless of questions of ownership. In the early colonial period there was a constant tension between a spatial and a territorial approach to land disputes. Yet a spatial discourse in land litigation was only articulated when the distances involved were small: the colonial state was willing to accept indigenous opposition to Spanish landholdings when they were within 1 or 1½ leagues of the settlement; indeed, these distances were inscribed in law. However, longer distances were seldom evoked by indigenous litigants and seldom considered by colonial authorities; at greater distances patrimonial considerations became paramount. In the context of early colonial land disputes, Juan de Soto y Acuña's acquisition of Cococingo had both spatial (in regards to Cocula) as well as territorial (in regards to Tepecuacuilco) aspects. Yet although the lack of protest by Cocula to Soto y Acuña's acquisition of Cococingo might seem to reflect its distance from the cabecera (about 2 leagues) and the lack of a historical basis for Cocula's claim to this land, another element was primary: the close relationship between Soto y Acuña and the village of Cocula, a relationship that was all the more important considering the constant pressures that this community faced during the seventeenth century.

Thus a third pattern, in addition to opposition (Iguala, though strongest in the area immediately surrounding the cabecera) and relative acquiescence (Tepecuacuilco, particularly in

regards to its most distant sujetos), emerged in the interethnic alliance that marked the response of Cocula to the activities of Juan de Soto y Acuña, who first established himself at Cococingo and its associated sites in the early 1690s, when he was living in (or shortly before he started to live in) Cocula.[38] During the contentious composiciones carried out during 1697 in the jurisdiction of Iguala by the land judge Ortiz de Herrera, Soto y Acuña tried to "compose" his holdings at and around Cococingo but was unable to do so because of the objections of doña Micaela Ojeda y Miranda, then owner of the hacienda of Palula. She, on the other hand, was given title to lands of Cocula at Zoquiapan, Atlixtac, and Atetetla (which she then proceeded to rent out to Alonso Alvarez, of the jurisdiction of Teloloapan).[39] Soon afterward the gains of the hacienda of Palula were temporarily reversed. In the early 1700s Cocula was given back the lost lands, paying the crown 540 pesos for the restitution. In 1710 another series of composiciones were carried out, and Cocula petitioned for recognition of its title to Zoquiapan, Atlixtac, and Atetela. At the same time, Soto y Acuña again requested, and this time obtained, a composición of 2½ sitios de ganado mayor west of the Cocula River, at Cococingo, Tlaniquipatlan, Tlila, and Xoxotitlan (see map 5f). South of these lands was the trapiche of Tepozonalco (which belonged to bachiller Pedro de Soto y Acuña, apparently a close relative of Juan de Soto y Acuña) and to the north lay Cocula. Natural boundaries limited Soto y Acuña's holdings in the other directions, with the Cocula River to the east and the *serranía* of Cuetzala to the west. At the 1710 *vista de ojos* (perambulation of the property to be given in possesion) that preceded the official grant of title, neither the authorities of Cuetzala nor those of Cocula raised objections to Soto y Acuña's grant. Antonio

38. The history of Cococingo, Atlixtac, Apipilulco, and Apango, as well as the litigation for land east of Cocula, centered at Zoquiapan, has been developed from material in AGN-BN 670/8 (1717); AGN-I 40/158; AGN-M 73/fols. 42f–43f (1729); AGN-T 3130/2 (1773–74); AGN-T 3414/*cuad.* 2; AGN-T 3518/2; and AGN-T 3591/3 (1775).

39. In 1699, the alcalde mayor of Iguala formally gave don Antonio de Ayala, then owner of the hacienda of Palula, possession of Metlapa, Mitlan, Atlixtac, Apipilulco, and Zoquiapan; see AGN-T 3518/2, fols. 143–196.

Ayala, Ojeda y Miranda's son-in-law and by then owner of the hacienda of Palula, later contested Soto y Acuña's claims in writing. A judicial review of Ayala's titles, however, revealed no basis for his claim to the area in dispute.

The 20-year period from about 1695 to 1715, therefore, was one of intense dispute and litigation. Some of the conflicts over property had their origin in the loosely worded mercedes of the early seventeenth-century, mercedes that by only sketchily describing boundaries, provided grist for lawyers' mills in the centuries that followed. For example, a 1616 merced to Sebastián de Rivera for two *sitios de estancia para ganado mayor* between 1 and 1½ leagues east of Cocula, and a 1632 merced for 6 caballerías and a *potrero* (land for enclosed pasture for horses or mules) given to Thomás de Santa Fee, both mentioned the site of Zoquiapan. The former merced became part of the hacienda of Tepantlan (of the Jesuits and then Garay Villavicencio), while the latter was integrated into the hacienda of Palula. Zoquiapan, where at one point the Jesuits grazed 3,000 head of sheep, was located in the fertile plain east of Cocula, about half-way between Metlapa and Sasamulco, though its precise location and limits were argued back and forth for the greater part of 50 years.[40] By the end of the seventeenth century Lucas de Garay Villavicencia, Antonio de Ayala, and the village of Cocula were all laying claim to this land, and a judicial review of earlier titles did little to resolve the disagreements.

However, these types of disputes, those that followed a trail of imprecise and typically incomplete documents as they were dragged through an often perplexing trail of rulings and reversals, represented only a fraction of the difficulties. At the end of the seventeenth century, conflict seemingly worsened, exacerbated by the actions of a colonial land judge who was quick to alienate indigenous landholdings and a priest doggedly intent on recovering land long since

40. The two mercedes are found in AGN-M 31/fols. 95f–96f (1616) and AGN-M 38/fols. 65f–66v (1632).

seized by ranchers. Besides litigation over Cococingo and adjoining lands, mentioned in the previous paragraphs, competing claims proliferated to the east of Cocula, as bachiller Lucas de Garay Villavicencio attempted not only to maintain Jesuit holdings that had been abandoned for decades, but to expand into areas that the Jesuits had previously only rented, or perhaps never occupied at all. Besides Garay Villacencio, the other major source of tension was that issuing from the owners of the hacienda of Palula, who over three generations expanded northward, secure in the knowledge that they could rent out any land acquired to ranchers who coveted the valley's grasslands, streams, and rivers.[41] Doña Micaela de Ojeda y Rivera and don Antonio de Ayala were the most agressive in this respect. In one petition Ayala presented himself as the owner of Palula, Acayahualco, Sasamulco, Coacoyula, Zoquiapan, San Juan, Apipilulco, Atlixtac, Atetetla, San Andrés, and Metlapa, effectively claiming not only the entire valley up to Iguala and Ahuehuepan, but alluvial land to the west of the Cocula River, toward the sierra of Cuetzala.

The conflicting claims exerted heavy pressure on Cocula. Yet throughout these disputes the relationship between Juan de Soto y Acuña and Cocula remained, it seems, cordial. When the village litigated against Ayala and Garay Villavicencio, Soto y Acuña's brother, Licenciado Joseph de Soto y Acuña, was their legal representative. And when they needed money to repair their church, Juan de Soto y Acuña twice lent them significant amounts: 1,350 pesos in July 1713 and an additional 520 pesos in May 1717. During this period Soto y Acuña also rented village land at Atlixtac. Shortly after the final loan of 520 pesos, however, Cocula declared itself unable to return the amount owed and noted that the interest payments on the principal were greater than

41. Indeed, the attractiveness of the valley was such that in the 1590s, ranchers from the distant province of Pánuco, on the Gulf Coast, brought herds of mules that they left to freely graze on lands near Iguala, Tlaxmalac, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, and Cocula. These mules might have been sold in the Taxco mines, though this is not clear. The Indians claimed that the animals caused extensive damage to fields and fences, causing maize prices to escalate and inducing Indian peasants to plant less. The plaintiffs also accused Indian principals of receiving payments in mules in exchange for not carrying out orders that banned open grazing; see AGN-I 6(2)/912 (1594).

the rent they perceived from Atlixtac. Since the creditor had offered to cancel the debt in exchange for the lands, the village requested viceregal permission to carry out the transaction (debt for land), noting that this would be particularly beneficial given that Atlixtac was officially evaluated at only 1,200 pesos, 670 pesos less than the outstanding debt. The Cocula authorities also mentioned that they were unable to provide the capital resources necessary to productively cultivate cane on the land in question, something that Soto y Acuña would be able to do. The crown approved the sale, and made specific note of the benefit to the Indians, who in this way obtained cancellation of a debt that exceeded the "official" value (as determined by experts appointed by the alcalde mayor of Iguala) of the land in question.

The precise nature and motivation of the transaction remains open to speculation. It is possible that the official evaluation of Atlixtac underrepresented the worth of the land in an effort to facilitate viceregal approval; and Juan de Soto y Acuña might well have had covert interests in making the original loans, hoping to eventually obtain the leverage necessary to acquire property rights to the land he rented, and which was of far better quality than the shrub-covered rolling hills of Cococingo that extended west through a rolling plain to the foothills of the Cuetzalan sierra. But at the same time, the continual efforts of colonists (such as Garay Villavicencio and Ayala) to appropriate flat and alluvial lands near Cocula created a hostile environment that might have made it less onerous for Cocula to alienate property that, in the end, might have proven difficult for the village to defend. This same conflictive context probably also influenced how contemporary adversaries viewed the relationship between Soto y Acuña and Cocula. Shortly before his death, Garay Villavicencio referred to the association between the hacendado and village in terms that suggested that it was through the construction of a trapiche that Soto y Acuña managed to gain entrance into the community.[42] According to this interpretation, the original

42. The language Garay Villavicencio used is slightly ambiguous: "se introdujo con los indios de Cocula

association between Soto y Acuña and Cocula might have been more of business partnership, with the Indians producing the cane and the Spaniard processing it. Gradually this relationship (Indian land and Spanish capital) would have shifted, with Soto y Acuña renting Atlixtac, then lending money to the community, and finally acquiring rights to Atlixtac, where a few decades later, in 1729, his family obtained a license to build a trapiche.[43] In 1775 the family still held the property.[44] Whatever the original relationship between Juan de Soto y Acuña and Cocula might have been, there is no evidence of further disputes over Atlixtac or over other land on the river's western bank.

Up to the mid-eighteenth century, then, sugar production in the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala was limited to a few small, undercapitalized enterprises—up to this time there had been little development of this sector. In the jurisdiction of Iguala, small trapiches were located at Almolonga, Pantla, Tepantla, Tepozonalco, and Yestla, while at Acayahualco cane planting did not seem to commence until the final quarter of the century.[45] Larger haciendas were just

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con un trapiche" (he introduced himself into the village of Cocula with a trapiche); AGN-T 3518/s.n. letter dated 10 Feb. 1730. Note that in 1659 (see table 9b) the Indians of Cocula had requested a license to construct a trapiche, a petition that indicates their interest in sugar production. In this document they also stated that they wanted to build a trapiche because they lacked the animals to transport the cane, a statement that implies that they took the cane somewhere else to grind and process. This would have been before Soto y Acuña came into the area, but it does suggest a relationship between Indians who produced cane and colonists who processed it.

43. AGN-M 73/fols. 42f–43f, the license was given to bachiller don Thomás de Soto y Acuña, his father don Juan de Sto y Acuña, and several aunts and uncles: bachiller don Joseph, doña María, doña Francisca, and doña Teresa de Soto y Acuña.

44. AGN-T 3130/2 (1773–74) and AGN-T 3591/3. This latter document involves a dispute between bachiller don Juan del Pilar Soto y Acuña (in 1775), owner of Atlixtac and Cococingo and son of don Juan de Soto y Acuña, and don Isidro Román, owner of the rancho of Apetlanca in the jurisdiction of Teloloapan.

45. A 1780 report on landholdings in the jurisdiction of Iguala states that in the parish of Tepecuacuilco there were 2 trapiches that were part of the property of de la Borda, and which produced 300 pesos of panocha per year; 2 other trapiches had an annual production of 2,000 pesos. The names of these are not given, but the first two might be Pantla and Acayahualco (both of which were on de la Borda's property), and the second two Almolonga and Tepantla. In the parish of Iguala there is another trapiche (perhaps Platanar) and two haciendas (Atlixtac and perhaps Apango or Tepozonalco); AGN-T 3601/8. In a 1794 list, the trapiches are not distinguished from other "ranchos y rancherías" (e.g., Pantla, Teposonalco, and

beginning to be developed at Atlixtac and, again toward the century's end, at Apango. Although in 1794 Tepantla is listed as a hacienda, it was much smaller than either Atlixtac or Apango. The former Jesuit hacienda, after being reduced to holdings in the immediate vicinity of Tepantla, had a history of failure and accumulating debts, which were estimated at 16,170 pesos in 1773.[46] From about 1771 to 1793 it was rented by Francisco Merino y Salinas, who died with little more than clothes and debts to his name and with Tepantla pawned to a man, probably a merchant, living in Mexico City.[47] It 1793 it was embargoed and placed in deposit with Miguel Orduña, who bought it for 5,000 pesos 6 years later (at the same time Tepetlapa, also rented by Merino y Salinas, was also embargoed; it was placed in deposit with Nicolás Salgado, owner of Zacapalco and renter of Oculixtlahuacan). When embargoed, Tepantla had a material value of only 556 pesos 2 reales in addition to a small amount of land: one-fourth of a caballería of irrigated land, 6

Almolonga are all listed under "ranchos y rancherías"). Three haciendas are listed: Tepantitlan (i.e., Tepantla in the parish of Tepecuacuilco), and Apango and Atlixtac (in the parish of Iguala); AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v.

46. AGN-T 3535/1. Garay Villavicencio continued to rent the hacienda of Tepantla from the Jesuits through the early 1730s; the terms of his acquisition was that he would pay interest on 5,000 pesos of a redeemable *censo*, with the obligation of paying off the principal at 300 to 400 pesos every year. He made only one payment of 80 pesos (in 1708) before his death. After Garay Villavicencio the hacienda was rented by bachiller don Miguel Matheo Adán de los Ríos, starting in 1733. In 1740 he mentioned that in the years before 1737, he had paid 100 pesos yearly toward the rent. In 1773, the Jesuit Noriberto García Menocal noted that besides these documents there are no others regarding interest payments. He calculated that from 1708 to 1773, a total of 16,170 pesos were due (250 pesos per year interest on 5,000 pesos of principal, minus the one fully documented payment of 80 pesos in 1708; he did not take into account the possible 400 pesos paid by Adán de los Ríos); AGN-T 3518/s.n. By 1771, however, Tepantla was rented by don Francisco Merino y Salinas, who was involved in a border dispute with the owner of Yancuicapan, Andrés Gerónimo Savaleta (AGN-GP 44/264) and, within two years, with the Indians of Tuxpan (AGN-M 82/fols. 52v–54v). The early history of Tepantla is extensively discussed in AGN-T 3514/various exps. and AGN-T 3518/various exps.

47. For Merino y Salinas's assets at death, see AGN-T 3535/1, which also documents the history of Tepantla up to 1800. At his death the titles to Tepantla were held by don Antonio Cabello of Mexico City, to whom they had been pawned. The hacienda of Tepetlapa, near Zacapalco in the jurisdiction of Taxco, was embargoed at the same time as Tepantla and placed in deposit with Nicolás Salgado.

In 1798, after Tepantla had been embargoed for about 6 years, Orduña, who held it in deposit, stated that the hacienda needed from six to eight thousand pesos of repairs. Merino y Salinas had bonded the alcalde mayor of Cholula, and was responsible for a 2,000-peso debt owed to the viceregal government. Orduña agreed to pay this debt and take over interest payments on a 3,000-peso *capellanía* that had been founded in 1741 by bachiller don Miguel Matheo Adán de los Ríos.

caballerías of farmland (*de pan llevar*), and 5.5 caballerías of grazing land, worth a total of 3,098 pesos. In the jurisdiction of Taxco a few small trapiches existed in the northern part of the jurisdiction, near Noxtepec and Teticpac at Señor San José and El Bosque. Another small trapiche was located at Santa Rosa, near the Taxco mines.[48] In the southern part of the jurisdiction were the larger haciendas (in order, moving from west to east) at Oculixtlahuacan and its annexes, El Puente (later El Puente de Campuzano), and Zacapalco and Tepetlapa, the latter two haciendas located close together along the camino real as it approached the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca.

The discussion up to now has focused on indigenous responses to land incursions up to the early eighteenth century, particularly in those areas that produced small amounts of sugar until near the end of the colonial period, when they began to attract capital investment and expand greatly to meet the demands of a growing colonial market. Potentially one of the most conflictive aspects of a rural economy, sugar processing involved fairly high levels of capital investment, utilized the best irrigated lands, and was able to take advantage of fairly constant domestic markets that expanded along with population and the late colonial transformation of New Spain's sugar into an export commodity. Even at relatively minor levels (when considering colonial production as a whole), local developments in this intensive industry could have a dramatic impact on rural society, particularly in a negative way, by stimulating agrarian conflict over water and land resources. In the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala these conflicts emerged late in the colonial period. The most noteworthy developments began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and involved the haciendas of Oculixtlahuacan (and its annexes), of Atlixtac and Apango, of Acayahualco, and of Zacapalco and Tepetlapa. A brief account of Zacapalco and Tepetlapa

48. San José was owned by an Indian of Teticpac and produced only 150 pesos of panocha per year; El Bosque was owned by don Miguel de Figueroa, and sold its produce mostly in Zacualpa. Santa Rosa belonged to bachiller don Felipe Alemán and produced only 300 to 400 pesos per year; see the 1780 list of landholdings in the jurisdiction of Taxco in AGN-T 3601/9. For a 1794 list, see AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v.

was previously offered (chapter 7); here the focus will be on the first three areas: the southwestern jurisdiction of Taxco (Oculixtlahuacan), the banks of the Cocula River (Atlxitac and Apango), and the central Iguala Valley (Acayahualco). The cases examined illustrate the processes of capitalization and concentration of resources that occurred toward the end of the colonial period and that affected patterns of sugar production in the jurisdictions of both Taxco and Iguala.

THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD: SUGAR PRODUCTION FROM THE MID–EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO INDEPENDENCE

Up to 1768, when the widow of Eugenio López de Castro sold Oculixtlahuacan to the Taxco miner don Antonio Alvarez y Corio for 8,190 pesos 1 real, there had been little conflict surrounding this hacienda. The land had originally belonged to three sujetos of Iguala that had been forcefully relocated at the beginning of the seventeenth century; despite litigation by the cabecera, none of the land seems to have been restituted to the indigenous population. And with the composiciones of the early eighteenth century, land boundaries were established and the hacienda was officially estimated to comprise 2 sitios de ganado mayor and 4 caballerías (in size, 4 caballerías cover one-tenth of a sitio de ganado mayor, though the quality of the former, arable land, is much higher). Eugenio López de Castro, a *vecino* of Tepecuacuilco, later bought the land (apparently in the early 1750s, though the specific date is never mentioned in the documentation) in a public auction, a transfer that suggests financial difficulties and an embargo of the previous owner.[49] In the half-century between the composiciones and the sale in 1768 there were no reported conflicts. Indeed, when acrimonious disputes later evolved between the hacienda and the

49. Documentation of this sale is found in AGN-BN 469/6, #2 (fols. 59ff). This *expediente* contains the bulk of information on the hacienda during the late colonial period.

bordering villages of Huistac and Pachivia, the Indian authorities specifically dated the commencement of their troubles to the acquisition of the hacienda by the Taxco miner don Antonio Alvares y Coria.

When Alvarez y Coria bought the land it had a lien against it for 3,040 pesos 7 reales, the total owed on two *capellanías* (and which represented 37 percent of the hacienda's sale price[50]). The first was for 2,000 pesos and had been established in the mid–seventeenth century by Sebastián Brito Salgado; the second, for 1,040 pesos 7 reales, represented the outstanding principal on a *capellanía* of 6,000 pesos founded in the early eighteenth century by Jorge de Gama. Thus between the early 1700s and 1768, close to 5,000 pesos had been paid back on the original loan, a development that indicates an effort to reduce debt, perhaps in lieu of capital investment in improvements and expansion.

In 1780, twelve years after acquiring Oculixtlahuaca, Alvarez y Coria died. At this time he owned 7 houses in Taxco, a silver hacienda at Chorillo (which he made profitable after having bought it in a state of ruin for 966 pesos and 3 reales), another silver hacienda named San Sebastián, a store in Taxco, the sugarcane hacienda El Puente (valued at 14,805 pesos 5 reales), the sugarcane hacienda and ranch at Oculixtlahuacan and Ahuehuepan (the borders of which were then being litigated with the villages of Pachivia and Huistac), and five slaves. His widow obtained many of these properties as her half (valued at 76,790 pesos 1 real) of the estate. In addition to dividing his legacy among his heirs, Alvarez y Coria left one of his houses and 10,000 pesos to establish a hospital for "poor and sick mine workers (*operarios*)," many of whom undoubtedly had become ill working in his own enterprises. The executors of his estate were his wife, doña María Francisca Guadalupe Ayala, and his son, don Ygnacio Francisco Alvarez y

50. See Taylor (1972) for an exploration, in the area of Oaxaca, of hacienda indebtedness and liens.

Ayala.[51]

From all accounts Alvarez y Coria was a well-connected entrepreneur who invested in run-down or undercapitalized enterprises (such as Chorrillo and Oculixtlahuacan) that he proceeded to rehabilitate and expand. He owned a small store in Taxco, but the major targets of his investments were two sugar haciendas (El Puente, which he described in his will as having been the target of "many improvements" since he had acquired it, and Oculixtlahuacan) and two silver haciendas (Chorrillo and San Sebastián). After his death, many of his properties passed on to his wife. Their son don Ygnacio Alvarez y Ayala managed the estate for the next 20 years, although another son, don José Siriaco, was entrusted with the haciendas of El Puente and Chorrillo. He ran both to the ground; as his mother would state in her will "he didn't act as an administrator but as an absolute owner, using up all the materials and equipment, so that when he left them, they were in ruins."[52] Doña Guadalupe de Ayala then rented El Puente out for a couple of years before selling it in March 1793 to the miner don José de Campuzano for only 3,050 pesos, a notable decline from its value of 14,805 pesos 5 reales a scant 13 years previously.[53]

Decline into ruin did not affect the hacienda of Oculixtlahuacan, which by the turn of the century was valued at just over 31,000 pesos (see table 9c), approximately 23,000 pesos above its 1768 price. Although much of the material expansion might well have been undertaken during the life of Alvarez y Coria, it was principally after his death, in 1780, that first his son, Ygnacio

51. The will is found in AGN-BN 469/6, #4. The value of Alvarez y Coria's estate at death is reported in the accounts of his widow, in 1802. For other documentation on Alvarez y Coria, see AGN-BN 435/3 (1816; and which documents his donation of 3 houses to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento), AGN-T 3130/2 (1773–74), and AGN-T 3601/9 (1780). For an account of his role in litigation over a joint mining venture in 1750, see AGN-GP 36/124.

52. The will is found in AGN-BN 469/6, #4.

53. The sale is documented in Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 15, exp. 9. Campuzano was the fiador of at least two late colonial subdelegados of Taxco: don Fernando Mendoza (AGN-Tr 16/3, dated 1798) and Capn. don Miguel Pacheco Solis (AGN-Sub 47/5, fols. 105–200).

Alvarez y Ayala, and then a renter, Nicolás Salgado, attempted to expand the hacienda's territorial limits. They clearly succeeded, for in 1801 Oculixtlahuacan was said to comprise 8 sitios de ganado mayor, four times its size during the early 1700s.

Table 9c
Evaluation of the hacienda of Oculixtlahuacan, 1801[54]

Ocuilixtlahuacan (10 Dec. 1801)[55]

Item	Value
Residence	1,613-3-10
Trapiche and boiling house (*casa de calderas*)	2,275-0-00
Purgeries (*casas de purgar*)	474-0-00
Stable (*casa de jato*)	43-3-00
Chapel	280-1-00
Ornaments	150-0-00
Maize storage bins (*trojes*)	43-5-06
Tools (metal)	288-1-00
Tanks and irrigation ditches (*apancles*)	751-4-00
Wooden and stone fences	543-6-00
Sugarcane fields	996-4-00
Fruit trees (oranges, avocado, *mamey*, *sidra*, plums, bananas)	393-4-00
Trapiche and constructions in Totoapa	1,578-2-00
Sugarcane in Totoapa	1,336-2-00
Fruit trees in Totoapa (bananas, black zapote, avocado) plus 1 league of wooden fencing	321-4-00
Copper in both trapiches	2,360-1-00
Mules, oxen, and equipment	2,071-7-00
Estancia at San Antonio Agueguepa (house and various items)	505-4-00
Cattle and horses (principally 513 oxen, 40 broken-in horses, and 97 mares and colts)	5,132-4-00
Land[a]	9,000-0-00
Sugar extant in the hacienda	1,007-2-00
Total	31,166-2-06

[a] Officially 7½ sitios de ganado mayor, estimated at 8 in actuality. For one irrigated *sitio* "de pan llevar" the evaluation was 5,000 pesos. Of the remaining, the evaluator noted that 4 could hold 500 head of cattle in each. Considering this, the remaining land was judged to be worth 4,000 pesos.

54. The figures presented here and in table 9d, as well as the corresponding tables for the other central Guerrero sugar haciendas, may be compared to the breakdown in value of several haciendas in the Cuernavaca valley offered by von Wobeser (1988:cuadros 28 and 29, pp. 214–17).

55. Source: AGN-BN 469/6, fols. 16f–25f.

The 1801 inventory also provides a complete list of the cane fields, the state of their growth, and their estimated value (table 9d). Most noteworthy is the high value of fields at Totoapa, where ratoons were evaluated at 7 pesos per tarea (1.1 acres), well above the value for first plantings at any other location (cf. the values given for Atlixtac, Apango, Oculixtlahuacan, and Acayahualco, where first plantings over 1 vara in height were valued at 6 pesos/tarea). The value of cane at Totoapa suggests relatively high yields, an interpretation confirmed by the fact that even third ratoons (*retoño de 4a soca*) are included in the inventory (at 30 pesos total value, although the per tarea worth is not given). The hacienda land actually planted with cane was relatively reduced, only 5 caballerías; in comparison to the total extent of the hacienda, only about 1.5 percent of the total 8 *sitios de ganado mayor* was dedicated to the cultivation of cane.

Table 9d
Cane fields of the hacienda of Oculixtlahuacan and annexes in 1801

Oculixtlahuacan (1801)

Type of cane	Size in tareas	Value per tarea (pesos-reales)	Total value of cane (pesos-reales)
10-month plants	30	5-0	225-0
11-month plants	40	5-0	200-0
young plants (*plantilla del senicero pequeña*)	11	3-4	38-4
ratoon (*soca moledera*)	30	4-0	120-0
ratoon	37½	4-0	148-0
ratoon (*troncos de planta soca*)	25	2-4	62-4
ratoon (*planta soca en troncos*)	39	2-4	97-4
pelillo	42	2-4	105-0
Total	284½ (2.96 cabs.)		996-4

Potential production:	71	tareas in production any given year
	2,082	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 733 lbs per tarea (26 tons)
	3,908	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 1,376 lbs per tarea (48.8 tons)

Cane Fields at Totoapa

Type of cane	Size in tareas	Value per tarea (pesos-reales)	Total value of cane (pesos-reales)
hillside area planted with a digging stick (*por la planta que llaman tlacolol de*	60	8-0	480-0

siembra a coa)			
9-month ratoon (*planta soca de 9 meses*)	40	7-0	280-0
ratoon planted with a digging stick (*la otra siembra a coa*)	20	6-4	130-0
for milling (*planta moledera*)	20	6-4	130-0
ready for processing ? (*planta fuera de beneficio*)	40	6-4	260-0
Ratoon *en pelillo*	10½	2-4	26-2
Third ratoon (*retoño del 4a soca*)	n.i.	n.i.	30-0
	190½ (1.98 cabs.)		1,336-2

Potential production:	48	tareas in production any given year
	1,407	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 733 lbs per tarea (17.6 tons)
	2,642	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 1,376 lbs per tarea (33.0 tons)

Finally, there is the question of productive capacity. Unfortunately no accounts of sugar output exist for any hacienda in central Guerrero, so this can only be estimated on the basis of land size, fallowing procedures, and potential yields. The land size is given in tareas (a tarea is approximately 1.1 acres). The other factors used in the calculations here have been taken from Barrett's excellent study of production in the sugar haciendas of the Marquesdado del Valle in Cuernavaca. He suggests that only one-fourth of the cane land was in production at any one time, and that cane was harvested at 18 months. He also concludes that yields increased through the course of the colonial period. The production figures utilized here are derived from his calculated lower and upper limits: Barrett's 733 lbs. of sugar (mostly *entreverada blanca* and *prieta*) per tarea/year in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and 1,376 lbs. per tarea/year in the eighteenth.[56] Thus in Oculixtlahuacan estimated production would have been between 2,082 and 3,908 arrobas per year and at Totoapa between 1,407 and 2,642 arrobas. The total potential for this estate, therefore, would have been between 3,489 and 6,550 arrobas (43.6 and 81.9 tons). At

56. The first figure is given in Barrett (1970:49). Barrett suggests that 1,333 lbs. of both sugar and molasses were produced per acre and year, or 1,466 lbs. per tarea. The figure of 733 lbs. is arrived at by taking into consideration Barrett's observation that sugar represented half the total output. For the late eighteenth century, I have averaged the lbs./acre figures of table 14 (p. 130) after excluding the unusually high figure of 5,009 lbs. for 1769. This has been converted to an average of 1,376 lbs./tarea using the same factors: 1 tarea=1.1 acres; harvest at 18 months, and yield divided evenly between molasses and sugar.

an average price of 2 pesos/arroba, the value of yearly output would have fallen between 6,978 and 13,100 pesos. Unfortunately, no information on operating costs is available.[57] When compared to consumption patterns that emerge from the tax ledgers, the potential production figures strongly suggest distribution beyond the regional markets of Taxco and Iguala.[58]

One of the defining characteristics of sugar production in the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala was the concentration of ownership and the late capitalization of production. The latter is indicated by the rapid increase in value of Oculixtlahuacan over the last half-century of colonial rule. Concentration of resources and ownership also occurred: by the turn of the century a single individual, don Nicolás Salgado, an agriculturalist from Tepecuacuilco, owned or rented the major sugar producing enterprises (haciendas and trapiches) in the jurisdiction of Taxco.[59] By the early 1790s he had bought Zacapalco, a trapiche that in 1777 had a resident population of 335 individuals, and that had apparently passed through the hands of three owners between 1773 and 1793.[60] In 1793 he also acquired the trapiche Tepetlapa, which along with Tepantla in the northern Iguala Valley had been embargoed from don Francisco Merino y Salinas. At about this time Salgado began to rent Oculixtlahuacan from the heirs of don Antonio Alvarez y Coria.

57. Operating expenses are unfortunately neither presented nor analyzed in the major books on the subject. Barrett (1976) gives estimates of workers needed per ton produced (cf. Martin 1985:table 6.14, p. 153), which are about .88 worker/ton. For Oculixtlahuacan that would yield 72 workers; at 12 reales/week average, the total labor cost would be 5,616 pesos, or about 43% of the potential income from sugar sales. These are all, however, only the roughest of calculations.

58. Indeed, in 1780, when don José Gonzales Calderón, a *vecino* of Mexico City, owned the trapiche at Zacapalco, the panocha produced there was remitted to him in Mexico City; AGN-T 3601/9.

59. The account of Salgado that follows is based on AGN-Alh 10/3 (1785), AGN-BN 1814/13 (1807), AGN-I 71/158 (1804), AGN-T 1870/2 (1804), AGN-T 2903/8 (1810), AGN-T 3535/1 (1793), AGN-T 3640/5 and 6 (early 1800s), AGN-T 3667/3 (1805), AGN-Tr 16/3 (1798), and AGN-Tr 56/23 (1794).

60. See the census in AGN-BN 1229/10, which is discussed in chap. 7. The owners were don Pedro Zorrilla (from at least the late 1760s to the late 1770s), don José Gonzales Calderón of Mexico City (in 1780), and, don Juan José Castañeda (in the late 1780s and early 1790s). For Zacapalco and Tepetlapa during the late colonial period, see AGN-BN 1229/10, AGN-BN 1814/13, AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v, AGN-T 3130/2, AGN-T 3535/1, AGN-3601/9, and AGN-T 3640/5 and 6.

The aggressiveness of Salgado in expanding his enterprises in the Taxco jurisdiction is documented through both the late colonial and early independence periods (up to at least 1828). He litigated with Huistac and Pachivia, indigenous villages bordering on Oculixtlahuacan to the north and west. And under his ownership and administration, the trapiches of Zacapalco and Tepetlapa were for decades embroiled with both indigenous and non-indigenous neighbors (the communities of Coscatlán and Tlamacazapa and the owners of Buenavista, respectively). At the same time he was well connected to the subdelegados of Taxco: he had put up bond for don Fernando Mendoza (1790–99); don Miguel Pacheco Solis (1799–1804) was described as his "beneficiary"; and under don Juan Dimas Abad (1805–9), Salgado served as "encargdo de la administración de justicia."[61] His disreputable character, however, was well known, and in 1805 the fiscal protector of the Real Audiencia noted that for his "very graves excesses" he had been stripped of his title of corporal (*cabo*) of the Tribunal de la Acordada.[62] Despite this setback to his political ambitions, Salgado remained in control of the major sugar producing enterprises in the jurisdiction of Taxco: Oculixtlahuacan and its annexes, Zacapalco, and Tepetlapa.

The process of capitalization and consolidation in regional sugar production during the late colonial period was not restricted to the jurisdiction of Taxco: a similar history evolved in the Iguala Valley to the south. Here, in particular, expansion took place in the irrigated lands of Atlixtac and Apango near Cocula, and at Acayahualco in the central valley; the 1808 inventory of don Manuel Sañudo's holdings reveal that all three enterprises were part of his estate. Atlixtac had been acquired by don Juan de Soto y Acuña in the early 1700s and remained in the hands of this family at least until the final quarter of the century.[63] In 1798 it was owned by don Atanacio

61. For the bonds, see AGN-Tr 56/23 and AGN-Tr 16/3; for the relationship to Pacheco Solis, see AGN-T 1870/2 and AGN-I 71/158; and for Salgado's position under Dimas Abad, see AGN-T 3667/3.

62. AGN-T 3667/3.

63. In 1775 bachiller don Juan del Pilar de Soto y Acuña, the original owner's son, was involved in a

Pérez; shortly thereafter it was acquired by Sañudo.[64] Apango was still retained by the village of Cocula at independence, though it and other land was frequently rented out; and Acayahualco was part of the vast landholding of the central Iguala Valley that at the end of the eighteenth century belonged to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco. Sañudo rented this landholding from the Archicofradía and then subrented Acayahualco to various individuals (such as Francisco Benítez and Juan José Corral) before taking over control of cane cultivation and sugar production there shortly before his death.[65]

It was in the late colonial period, probably the late 1770s, that don Manuel Sañudo came to the jurisdiction of Iguala. The first mention of his activity is in 1782, when he was taxed for sales at a trapiche of his named Tecoyometla.[66] His activity in the transport sector has already been noted. His commercial and agrarian enterprises (discussed below and in chapter 11) formed the core of late colonial transformations of rural society in the Iguala Valley. Yet he also expanded his activities into sugar production, buying the hacienda of Atlixtac from the Soto y Acuña family, renting Apango from the village of Cocula, and leasing Acayahualco from the

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border conflict with the owner of the hacienda of Tlaxocotla and ranch of Apetlanca, who accused Soto y Acuña of expanding Atlixtac westward onto the mesa of Apetlanca in the jurisdiction of Zacualpan; AGN-T 3591/3. By this time Zacualpan had incorporated the previously independent jurisdiction of Ixcateopan, apparently in an effort to control the distribution of maize produced there, much as occurred when Taxco incorporated Iguala (see chapter 11).

64. An alcabala ledger from 1798 (Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 7) records that Atanacio Pérez brought into the jurisdiction 430 mules from San Pedro del Alamo and Fresnillo. He kept 10 for service at his hacienda of Atlixtac and distributed the rest in *repartimiento* (credit) at 25 pesos each. In this same year, Sañudo brought in 10 mules for his hacienda at Apango as well as 300 mules and 100 colts from Rioverde, the former valued at 30 pesos each and the latter at 15. It is possible that in 1798 Pérez rented Atlixtac from Sañudo; renters were often referred to in the documentation as if they owned the estate.

65. Francisco Benítez is listed as selling panocha from his trapiche at Acayahualco in 1795 (Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4), 1798 (caja 5, exp. 7), and 1802 (caja 2, exp. 5). Corral invested in the hacienda between 1804 and 1807, when it was embargoed; see the discussion below.

66. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 3 (1782). In 1795 Sañudo again appears as the owner of the trapiche Tecoyametla, which remains unidentified; ibid. caja 5, exp. 4. Another early reference to Sañudo occurs in 1785, when he was among the principal agriculturalists of the northern Iguala Valley who signed a petition to free maize sales from the regional control of Taxco authorities.

Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento. A tax ledger from 1795 mentions that Sañudo sold sugar and panocha produced by his trapiche at Apango; it is likely that shortly thereafter he acquired neighboring Atlixtac.

The distribution of capital in sugar production enterprises is indicated by the relative values represented by different aspects of the productive process in Atlixtac, Apango, and Oculixtlahuacan. For Atlixtac, and considering only sugar producing activities (i.e., taking this sugar hacienda's adjusted value of 51,330-6-11, see table 9c), approximately 41.2 percent of capital was in constructions and tools, 18.1 percent in animals, 15.6 percent in land, 10 percent in outstanding credit, 7.6 percent in sugar at various stages of processing, 4.5 percent in cultivated cane, and 2.3 percent in maize. The corresponding figures for Apango (where land was rented and is not included in the evaluation) are similar: 41.2 percent in constructions and tools, 32.0 percent in animals, 12.8 percent in outstanding credit, 6.4 percent in sugar at various stages of processing, and 5.8 percent in cane. And finally, a breakdown in the value of Oculixtlahuacan confirms the nature of capital investment in sugar production: 35.0 percent in constructions and tools, 28.9 percent in land, 23.1 percent in animals, 7.5 percent in cane in the fields, 3.2 percent in sugar already processed, and 2.3 percent in fruit trees (see table 9d above).[67] The characteristics of all three haciendas suggest that the infrastructure for production required a fairly significant level of capital investment, as demonstrated by the relatively high percentages taken up by constructions and tools. In the Iguala Valley, the necessary capital was provided by the dominant merchant in the regional economy: don Manuel Sañudo.

67. For analysis of relative percentages of value in some other sugar haciendas, see von Wobeser (1988:table 29, pp. 216–17).

Table 9e
Value of the Atlixtac hacienda in 1808

Item	Value
Total construction (residences, boiling houses, trapiche, furnaces, purgeries, tanks, irrigation ditches, chapel and ornaments, etc.)	21,151-2-09
Sugarcane fields (all stages of growth, see table 9f)	2,328-4-00
Mules and oxen of the hacienda (including 130 cart mules, 65 pack mules, 28 riding mules, 25 horses, and 37 teams of oxen)	9,287-0-00
Mules used for transport on the camino real (2 *atajos*; 143 animals including 98 pack animals)	5,878-6-00
Money owed for cacao transport (63 tons transported from Acapulco in 3 months from 12 Mar. to 13 June)	3,200-5-05
Sugar extant in storage (1,254 arrobas 13 lbs. of sugar: *blanca*, *entreverada*, and *prieta*)	1,470-6-06
Sugar being processed (sugar, panocha, molasses)[68]	2,415-4-01
Maize (334 cargas)	1,169-0-00
Cash	387-5-00
Cheese (50 arrobas, 24 lbs.)	152-7-00
Total	*47,442-0-09*
Active credits:	
Collectable	4,179-5-03
Doubtful	407-7-02
Uncollectable	537-0-06
	5,124-4-11
Land	8,000-0-00
Total	*60,567-1-07*
Debt: owed to the administrator	156-7-03
Value of hacienda[69]	*60,410-2-04*

68. Included in this amount are 192 arrobas of *entreverada blanca* remitted for sale in Acapulco and held at the time of the inventory by don Simón Adrián of that port.

69. Source: AGN-T 3576/1 fols. 50f–66v. The value of the hacienda of Atlixtac decreased dramatically after the wars of independence (AGN-T 3576/cuad. 5):

Item	Value
Total construction	6,892-7-0
2 church bells without clappers	75-0-0
Land values:	
2 caballerías of land for sugarcane (2,000/cab.)	4,000-0-0
7 caballerías of land *de pan llevar* (400/cab.)	2,800-0-0
1 caballería of slightly less productive land (300/cab.)	300-0-0
1 *criadero* for cattle (grazing land with water)	800-0-0
1 *criadero* for cattle (with slightly less water)	600-0-0
1 *criadero* for cattle (lacking shelters and 1 cab. in less in size than the previous *criadero*)	500-0-0

Value of hacienda minus *atajos* and payments pending for cacao transport 51,330-6-11

Cane fields

Type of cane	Size in tareas	Range of value per tarea (reales)	Total value of cane (pesos)	Average value per tarea (reales)
First planting	456.5	between 14 and 20 reales	1,042-0-0	18.3
Ratoon	697.5	between 6 and 16 reales	1,071-0-0	12.3
Second ratoon	215.5	8 reales	215-0-0	8.0
Total	1,369.5 (14.24 cabs.)		2,328-0-0	

Potential production:	342	tareas in production any given year
	10,027	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 733 lbs per tarea (125.3 tons)
	18,824	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 1,376 lbs per tarea (235.3 tons)

Table 9f
Value of the Apango hacienda in 1808[70]

Item	Value
Total construction (residence, boiling house, purgery, a second house, mills and presses, furnace)	7,000-3-07
Sugarcane fields (all stages of growth)	983-5-00
Mules and oxen of the hacienda (including 82 cart mules, 27 pack mules, 20 riding mules, and 24½ teams of oxen)	5,439-0-00
Sugar extant in storage (626 arrobas 11 lbs. of sugar: *blanca*, *entreverada*, and *prieta*)	980-3-07
Panocha stored at the hacienda	205-3-06
Cash	193-6-00
Total	14,802-5-08
Active credits:	
Collectable	915-4-09
Doubtful	411-3-00
Uncollectable	845-2-06
Total	2,172-2-03
Total	16,974-7-11

Cane fields

Type of cane	Size in	Range of value per tarea	Total value of cane	Average value per tarea

1 fanega of land for maize fields near the cuadrilla to be planted by hacienda residents	50-0-0
Total land value	*9,050-0-0*
Total value of the hacienda	16,017-7-0

70. Source: AGN-T 3576/1 fols. 67f–73v.

	tareas	(reales)	(pesos)	(reales)
First planting	426	between 8 and 20 reales	740-0-0	13.9
Ratoon and second ratoon	303	between 2 and 10 reales	243-5-0	
Total	729	(7.58 cabs.)	983-5-0	

Potential production:	182	tareas in production any given year
	5,336	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 733 lbs per tarea (66.7 tons)
	10,017	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 1,376 lbs per tarea (152.2 tons)

There were two characteristics of the late colonial economy in the Iguala Valley that made the sugar sector a particularly attractive investment for rural entrepreneurs. The first was the almost complete absence of (and, indeed, seemingly lack of interest in) large-scale maize farming, despite the propitious ecological and economic (i.e., nearby markets) environment. The second was the mixed nature of rural enterprises and the continual overflow of capital from one sector to another. Documentation from the 1728 embargo of Antonio de Ayala's holdings in the valley (see chapter 5) reveals the dominance of ranching, a dominance that was not to end until don José de la Borda expelled Francisco Calzado's herd from Acayahualco in the early 1760s. Migration into the valley increased considerably after this time, and it was during the final half-century of the colonial period that most of the three dozen or so cuadrillas of peasant farmers emerged in the Iguala Valley, from Tlayelapa in the north to Azala in the south. Yet there was no effort to consolidate maize production into larger units, and economic activity in the grain sector was focused mostly on commercial speculation. The capital that came into the valley was merchant capital, oriented to the trade and transport sectors; and the limited investment that targeted the agrarian sector was placed in sugar, a product that could both be distributed in the regional economy and marketed over long distances, particularly in the Pacific coastal area as part of a two-way exchange of goods. The mixed nature of the rural economy received its quintessential expression in the economic empire that Sañudo built up in the late eighteenth century, with investment in the most lucrative sectors: transport, wholesale and retail trade,

subrental of land and grain speculation, and the production of goods such as soap and sugar. The inventory of his hacienda at Atlixtac suggests the multifaceted nature of his enterprises: close to 15 percent of the inventory is represented by 2 *atajos* of mules used for transport along the camino real and payments pending for cacao transport (that, once liquidated, would probably be transfered by Sañudo to other activities).

The development of sugar production at Atlixtac and Apango, therefore, parallels a process already noted at Oculixtlahuacan and its annexes: expansion and consolidation under a single entrepreneur during the final years of the colonial period. This is clearly demonstrated by the size of Sañudo's holdings in sugar-producing land in 1808, the year of his death. At that time, and considering all aspects of value, Atlixtac, Apango, and Acayahualco together were worth 80,196¼ pesos. More striking was the extent of the land under cultivation with cane, a total of 1,038.4 hectares (Atlixtac with 609.9 ha; Apango with 324.7 ha; and Acayahualco with 103.8 ha), or 24¼ caballerías. In terms of size, these figures compare favorably with those of many sugar haciendas in the valleys of the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca where, according to one researcher, "the majority of *ingenios* had between 4 and 10 caballerías (172 and 430 ha)."[71] As with Oculixtlahuacan, estimated production figures for Sañudo's holdings suggest the targeting of nonlocal markets. They also suggest that faced with the choice of producing maize for regional consumption or sugar for commercial exchange in distant markets, merchant entrepreneurs were as likely to chose the latter. The implication is that the rapidly shifting colonial and international markets for sugar affected the nature of capital investment in the rural sector and placed additional pressure on grain production for food-deficient urban centers. The tensions that developed over maize distribution (explored in chapter 11) can, therefore, in part be linked to the

71. The quote is from von Wobeser (1988:218; see particularly chap. 4 and tables 25, p. 209 and 30, pp. 219–20).

characteristics of the sugar sector and the origin of capital available for investment in agrarian production. A final case history further illustrates the nature of ties between the commercial and agrarian sectors in the Iguala Valley.

The history of Acayahualco, an area located on a plain at the confluence of three small rivers and streams in the central valley that provided a particularly propitious environment for the cultivation of cane, illustrates both how the agrarian sector in the Iguala Valley was able to attract commercial capital from outside the jurisdiction and how, eventually, one individual—don Manuel Sañudo—came to dominate the regional economy. In the late 1790s (table 9g) much of the panocha sold in the jurisdiction of Iguala was produced at Acayahualco, at a trapiche then in the possession of José Francisco Benítez, who rented this land (either directly from the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento or, as a sublet, from Sañudo).[72]

Table 9g
Origin of panocha sold as *viento* in the jurisdiction of Iguala, 1797 and 1798[73]

	1797		1798	
Origin	Value	Percent of market	Value	Percent of market
Trapiche Acayahualco	730	20.40	1,072	28.44
Trapiche Almolonga	32	0.89	64	1.70
Hda. Apango	870	24.31	260	6.90
Tecuacuilco	—	—	460	12.20
Trapiche Tepantlan	922	25.76	1,297	34.40
Trapiche Tepozonalco	900	25.15	400	10.61
not indicated	125	3.49	216	5.74
Total	3,579	100.00	3,769	100.00

72. Records for previous years are sketchy. In 1782 (Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 3) a significant portion of the panocha taxed was sold by don Joachín de Nava; of 3,728 pesos 2 reales taxed, he sold 1,874 pesos (50 percent of the total). In 1773 (AGN-T 3130/2), Nava is stated to own land at Tepastitlan, near Tepecuacuilco; and in 1777 Nava is mentioned as renting sugar-producing land from the *naturales* of Cocula (AGN-I 66/82). In 1795, 1,000 pesos of panocha, one-third of the panocha sold in the jurisdiction of Iguala, was produced at Zacapalco, in the jurisdiction of Taxco. This is the only time (besides a few insignificant sales in 1802) that panocha from the jurisdiction of Taxco was sold in the Iguala-Tepecuacuilco market; Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4.

73. Sources: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 6 (1797) and caja 5, exp. 7 (1798).

Ten years later the panorama had changed: the properties controlled by Sañudo's estate (Apango, Atlixtac, and, by 1809, Acayahualco) were producing a greater share of the panocha consumed in the jurisdiction (in 1809, 75.66 percent of the total), small-scale production in several minor trapiches (Pantla, Platanillo) began to appear in the ledgers, and some importation from outside the jurisdiction (Atenango del Río and Chilapa) was also occurring. These developments suggest an expanding market (indicated by, if nothing else, the higher values for total sales) that led to both increased participation in the sugar sector as minor players entered the field (in Pantla, Quahuistla, etc.)[74], and increased consolidation and concentration of production at the higher levels (exemplified by Sañudo).

Table 9h
Origin of panocha sold as *viento* in the jurisdiction of Iguala, 1802 and 1809[75]

	1802		1809	
Origin	Value	Percent of market	Value	Percent of market
Trapiche Acayahualco	850	19.06	648	11.95
Trapiche Almolonga	498	11.17	13	0.25
Hda. Apango	225	5.05	1665	30.72
Atenango del Río	—	—	260	4.81
Hda. Atlixtac	40	0.90	1,788	32.99
Chilapa	—	—	139	2.57
Trapiche Pantla[76]	1,050	23.55	104	1.92
Platanillo	180	4.04	56	1.03
El Puente (Jur. Taxco)	60	1.35	—	—
Quahuistla	—	—	100	1.85
San Gabriel	—	—	33	0.62

74. Note that a parallel process was observed in muleskinning, as muleteers from the Balsas River valley and the tenant cuadrillas in the Iguala Valley began to appear in the tax ledgers; see chapter 8, p. 484.

75. Sources: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 5 (1802) and caja 2, exp. 8 (1809).

76. In some cases the origin of the panocha is directly identified; in other cases only the person who "introduced" the good (i.e., sold it) is mentioned, along with his place of origin. In many cases these individuals are known hacienda or trapiche owners. In other cases their place of origin has been taken as an indicator of where the panocha was produced. This usually seems like a valid supposition, although for 1802 and Pantla it might not be. The panocha listed as from Pantla in 1802 might well be mostly be from Atlixtac.

Trapiche Tepantlan	1,475	33.08	249	4.59
Tepecuacuilco	—	—	363	6.71
Zacapalco (Jur. Taxco)	32	0.72	—	—
not indicated	49	1.09	—	—
Total	4,459	100.00	5,418	100.00

By 1804 or early 1805, ten years after he first appeared as "owner," Francisco Benítez was no longer renting land nor producing panocha at Acayahualco, which had caught the eye of don Juan José del Corral, an itinerant merchant from Veracruz.[77] Corral's venture into itinerant commerce began in 1804, when as a scribe (*escribano*) at a hacienda near Jalapa, he was befriended by the Veracruz merchant don Patricio Fernández Giraldes and, shortly thereafter, by don José de Lama. The former first gave Corral 7,000 pesos of goods to sell itinerantly. Over the next two years (between January 1804 and September 1805), Fernández Giraldes and Lama together gave Corral a total of 76,932 pesos 4½ reales of merchandise, with the agreement that he would keep one-third of the net profits for his efforts in peddling.[78] Corral acquired at least an additional 3,600 pesos of goods elsewhere, including just over 2,000 pesos (mostly in oxen, pigs, and grain) from don Manuel de Loricera, a rancher from Tlaltizapan, in the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca. In a scant two years, Corral had forged a vast trade network covering an area extending from Cuernavaca, through Taxco and Iguala, and south to Chilapa and Chilpancingo (see table 9j on the geographical distribution of individuals who owed money to Corral). Yet during this time he had only remitted 33,682 pesos 7 reales to Fernández Giraldes and Lama, who quickly initiated litigation to recuperate their investments.

When required by the Consulado in Mexico City to account for the goods he had

77. Corral is stated to be an itinerant merchant in a May entry of Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 17, exp. 4 (1804). The bulk of the information on Corral's activities are found in various documents of the Consulado branch of the AGN: 33/1–4 (1806–7) and 105/1–3 (1807). The following account is based on these sources.

78. AGN-Con 105/3, fol. 44f. There were 12 transactions in all, though 3 alone (in Jan. 1804, Dec. 1804, and Jan. 1805) totaled almost 42,500 pesos.

received, Corral presented a list of *cargo y data*, which documented the goods he had received in consignment as well as the destination of this merchandise or the cash it had generated. According to this account, Corral had received 12 shipments, totaling 76,932 pesos 4½ reales in manufactured items and other goods. He could account for 102,143 pesos 3 reales and 11 granos, which was divided between merchandise still to be sold, expenditures and investments, and outstanding credit (see table 9i). A separate account of outstanding debts, not including those given up as unrecuperable (*perdidas*), reveals the spatial extent of Corral's activities (table 9j) and, as noted in the previous chapter, the crucial role of credit in facilitating commerce.

Table 9i
Account of assets and expenditures of don Juan José del Corral: 1804–1806

Description	Total	Percent
Remitted to Lama and Fernández Giraldes in Veracruz	33,682-7-00	32.98
Commissioned for sale in Taxco	17,040-7-03	16.68
Outstanding debts owed to Corral	16,346-3-02	16.00
Cash in hand	5,700-0-00	5.58
Ribbons held by a merchant in Mexico City	715-6-06	0.70
Totals	**73,485-7-11**	**71.94**
Personal expenses	5,200-0-00	5.09
Food for Corral and servants, forage for animals, etc.	2,877-4-06	2.82
Alcabala	2,830-0-00	2.77
Hired transport	674-5-00	0.66
Mules and horses bought for servants	595-0-00	0.58
Totals	**12,177-1-06**	**11.92**
Investment in the hacienda of Acayahualco	13,231-6-00	12.95
Investment in pig-fattening enterprise in Cocula	1,718-3-00	1.68
Sesame held by a merchant in Mexico City	1,113-3-00	1.09
Debt owed by the administrator of "la finca" (Acayahualco?)	416-6-06	0.41
Totals	**16,480-2-06**	**16.13**
Total	102,143-3-11	

Table 9j
Outstanding debts owed to don Juan José del Corral

Residence of debtor	Total debt to Corral	Percentage of total
Taxco	1,095.00	5.60
Iguala	540.00	2.76
Tepecuacuilco*	4,458.00	22.80
Tuxpan	42.00	0.21
Cocula	54.00	0.28
Real del Limón	15.00	0.08
Chilpancingo	233.00	1.19
Chilapa	6,083.00	31.12
Ayahualtempan	146.00	0.75
Cuernavaca	253.00	1.29
Xantetelco	595.00	3.04
Xonacatepec	403.00	2.06
Puente de Ixtla	329.00	1.68
Jur. Cuautla Amilpas	917.00	4.69
owed to himself (*de su cuenta particular*)	4,386.00	22.44
	19,549.00	100.00

Source: AGN-Con 33/4
* Includes 1,978 pesos owed to don Manuel Fernando de Loricera of Tepecuacuilco, cousin of don Manuel de Loricera of Tlaltizapan

The accounts offered by Corral reveal that he was transferring and investing income from his joint commercial venture to productive enterprises in the Iguala Valley: by 1807 he had spent almost 15,000 pesos for the construction of a trapiche at Acayahualco (the land of which he subrented from Sañudo for 300 pesos/year) and on a pig-fattening business based in Cocula.[79] During this same period he was using the contacts he had established through itinerant trading to acquire resources for his agrarian businesses. For example, in November 1805 he bought 36 teams of oxen (with 17 plows and 6 pairs of leather straps to yoke the oxen), 65 pigs, 10 pack mules, and 1 horse, in addition to 65½ cargas of maize and 56½ cargas of sesame, from don Manuel de Loricera of Tlaltizapan, in the southwestern part of the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca.

79. In initiating litigation against Corral, Lama made specific reference to his unauthorized transfer of earnings from the joint business venture to "activities that are outside the purview of the guidelines he should have followed"; AGN-Con 33/1, fol. 10f.

Some of these expenditures (e.g., the pack mules and horse, and the maize) would be normal for any large-scale itinerant trader. Yet others were clearly destined to support Corral's agrarian enterprises at Cocula and Acayahualco: the 1807 inventory of Corral's embargoed Acayahualco hacienda included 26 cargas of maize (that had been paid for the rental of teams of oxen) as well as 27 animals (which may have been part of the 72 that Corral had acquired from Loricera the previous year).[80] Other expenditures, such as 438 pesos 1½ reales of copper bought from Sañudo to make 5 kettles and 3 sleeves for a sugar mill at Acayahualco, suggest an interest in expanding production, an interpretation supported by the large area under cultivation when the trapiche was embargoed in 1807 (see table 9k) as a result of charges leveled against Corral by his commercial sponsors (*habilitadores*), Lama and Fernández Giraldes.

Corral's accounts confirm some of the characteristics of commerce in late colonial New Spain that have already been mentioned: extensive networks of credit, long-distance trade linking various areas or regions of activity, and merchant interest in small-scale sugar production. Yet the economics of production at Acayahualco during Corral's brief initiative are difficult to state with certainty; the scattered data available suggests rapid (and failed) expansion (an increase in the land under cultivation and significant investment in capital improvements) to produce at a level that would exceed regional demand. However, it is unlikely that most, or even a significant

80. In the inventory and evaluation of the hacienda in 1807 there were only 27 oxen listed, a loss of 45. Their individual value had also decreased; Loricera had sold the 36 teams of oxen at 28 pesos/pair (14 pesos each). In 1807, Corral had only 26 oxen valued at 13 pesos each, and 1 (thin and probably sick) at 4 pesos; AGN-Con 105/1 and 2.

The continuing importance of maize agriculture at Acayahualco is demonstrated by the fact that in 1809, when don Pedro Antonio Cordero y Quijano (first Sañudo's associate and later the second husband of his widow) reported on the income from cuadrillas on the *archicofradía* land he rented and then subrented, the tenants at Acayahualco were said to pay 67½ cargas of maize; AGN-Alh 8/10. The rent was less that that collected from neighboring cuadrillas, which suggests that a significant portion of the best land at Acayahualco was probably given over to cane. The following list gives the expected rents from other cuadrillas: Tule (162), Copanaguasco (238½), Huisaqualoya (54½), Rincón (107), Sta. Teresa (151½), Sacacoyoca (124½), Estola (180), Palula (241), Sabana Grande (58), and Sasamulco (112½). In 1833 there were 20 rent-paying families at Acayahualco, who were charged a total of 80 cargas of maize; AGN-BN 439/9. On the relationship of land rental prices to ecology, see the discussion in chapter 2.

portion, of his 13,000-peso investment in Acayahualco was in material improvements: an increased workforce and an expansion of land under cultivation might well have absorbed a large percentage of Corral's funds. Ledgers from two weeks have survived. From 11–16 December 1806, 72 workers received 93 pesos 2 reales in wages; from 23–28 February 1807, 75 workers earned 77 pesos 1 real. The total expenditure for this second week, which appears to have coincided with a period during which panocha was being produced, was 193 pesos. It included 22 pesos 4 reales for carpenters and masons, 18 pesos for firewood, and 23 pesos 4 reales in loans to workers. The number of workers employed during the two weeks for which records are available is consistent with Barrett's and Martin's estimates of the relationship between workforce and productive capacity: 88 field and mill workers per 100 tons of productive capacity, a level of output consistent with the amount of land cultivated at Acayahualco at this time.[81] The 1807 inventory also reveals quite extensive plantings: a total of close to 5 caballerías, within the range of what von Wobeser characterizes as a small *ingenio* and with a level of potential production (see last line of table 9k) that seems well in excess of what the data on sugar and panocha sales in the Iguala Valley indicates to be local demand. A comparison of the two detailed inventories, from 1807 and from 1808 (tables 9k and 9l), also reveals convincing evidence that cane from the mostly highly valued fields in 1807 were processed before the 1808 inventory was completed. Each inventory records fields (of unvarying size) at San Ysidro, San Buenaventura, and San Fernando. Fields that were highly valued in 1807—at San Ysidro (70 tareas at 6 pesos/tarea in 1807, yielding 420 pesos total value) and San Buenaventura (40 tareas at 4 pesos 4 reales tarea in 1807, yielding 180 pesos total value), along with 6 tareas at San Nicolás—appear in 1808 at a very low value, suggesting that in the intervening period they had been harvested and the sugar

81. See Martin (1985:table 6.14, p. 153).

processed.[82] The total amount of cane cut, 116 tareas, is in precise accord with what would be expected in a hacienda of 464 tareas in which one-fourth the area was harvested annually. Yet the potential yield of 116 tareas, even at Barrett's very low estimate for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century production (i.e., a total of 3,401 arrobas of sugar) is well beyond the regional sale figures recorded in extant alcabala records and, therefore, probably well above local demand.

Table 9k
Value of Acayahualco in 1807[83]

Item	Value	
Total construction		
Fences for cane fields and cattle	200-0-0	
Trapiche and tools (kettles, construction, etc.)	308-2-0	
Residence	572-4-0	
Maize storage	262-7-0	
		1,343-5-0
Sugarcane fields (all stages of growth)		835-2-0
Mules and oxen of the hacienda (including 20 cart mules and 13½ teams of oxen)		1,087-0-0
Work tools and other misc. goods (picks, machetes, *coas*, nails, copper, cloth, maize, beams, ladders)		167-2-0
Total		3,433-1-0

Cane fields

Type of cane	Size in tareas	Value per tarea	Total value of cane (pesos-reales)
First planting over one *vara* high (*planta con más de vara de dulce*)	70	6-0-0	420-0

82. In the 1808 inventory, these two fields were valued at 6 reales/tarea for San Ysidro and 3 reales/tarea for San Buenaventura. San Fernando, the other field to appear in both inventories comprised 20 tareas valued at 6 reales/tarea in 1807 and 3 reales/tarea in 1808. Also probably cut and processed between 1807 and 1808 were 6 tareas at San Nicolás valued at about 3 pesos 3 reales/tarea.

The following fields of the 1807 inventory do not appear in 1808: San José, 45 tareas ratoon at 6 reales/tarea (33 pesos 6 reales); San Francisco, 104 tareas ratoon at 6 reales/tarea (78 pesos); San Juan, 75 tareas at 4 reales/tarea (37 pesos 4 reales); San Cayetano, 30 tareas ratoon at 6 reales/tarea (22 pesos 4 reales); San Pedro 40 tareas ratoon at 4 reales/tarea (20 pesos); and San Nicolás, 34 tareas at 2 reales/tarea (8 pesos 4 reales).

However, 2 fields not mentioned in 1807 do appear in the 1808 inventory: Nombre de Dios, 33 tareas at 10 reales/tarea (41 pesos 2 reales) and; Las Animas, 70 tareas at 10 reales/tarea (87 pesos 4 reales).

In total, therefore, 334 tareas mentioned in 1807 do not appear in 1808, and 103 tareas mentioned in 1808 do not appear in 1807, a net "loss" of 231 tareas (representing the inventory decline from 464 tareas in 1807 to 233 tareas in 1808.

83. Source: AGN-Con 105/1 fols. 34f–38f.

First planting (slightly lower quality than preceding)	40	4-4-0	180-0
Ready to be ground (*quedaron por moler*)	6	3-2-9	20-0
Ratoon	199	0-6-0	149-2
Ratoon	115	0-4-0	57-4
Ratoon	34	0-2-0	8-4
Total	464 (4.82 cabs.)		835-2

Potential production:	116	tareas in production any given year
	3,401	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 733 lbs per tarea (42.5 tons)
	6,385	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 1,376 lbs per tarea (79.8 tons)

Table 91
Value of Acayahualco in 1808[84]

Item	Value
Total construction (including 559-6-8 in *aperos* or tools and implements)	1,853-7-05
Sugarcane fields (all stages of growth)	203-6-00
Mules and oxen of the hacienda (in 1808 including 19 cart mules, 11 old pack mules, and 7½ teams of oxen)	646-0-00
Total	*2,703-5-05*
Active credits:	
Collectable	83-1-06
Doubtful	8-0-00
Uncollectable	16-1-06
Total	*107-3-00*
Total	2,811-0-05

Cane fields

Type of cane	Size in tareas	Range of value per tarea (reales)	Total value of cane (pesos)	Average value per tarea (reales)
First planting	103	10 reales	128-6-0	10.0
Ratoon and second ratoon*	130	between 3 and 6 reales	75-0-0	4.6
Total	233 (2.42 cabs.)		203-6-0	

Potential production:	58	tareas in production any given year
	1,700	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 733 lbs per tarea (21.3 tons)
	3,192	arrobas of sugar produced per year at 1,376 lbs per tarea (39.9 tons)

*The 130 tareas of ratoon were in the fields named San Ysidro (70 tareas at 52 pesos 4 reales), San Buenaventura (40 tareas at 15 pesos) and San Fernando (20 tareas at 7 pesos 4 reales); in the 1807 inventory these same 3 fields appear with the same size in tareas, but a higher estimated value: San Ysidro (with plants a *vara* in height at 420 pesos), San Buenaventura (with plants of a slightly less quality at 180 pesos), and San Fernando (with cane valued at 15 pesos).

84. Source: AGN-T 3576/1 fols. 74f–77v.

There appears little doubt that in late 1807 or early 1808, 116 tareas of cane were cut at Acayahualco; even with low yields and productivity, this activity had the potential to saturate the regional market. The data suggests, therefore, that Corral spent heavily in expanding production beyond the demands of the local market (perhaps in the hope of accessing extraregional markets, although the primary areas where he engaged in commercial activity, Cuernavaca and Chilapa, were sugar-surplus not sugar-deficient zones). Whether his investment would have yielded adequate returns in the long term is impossible to determine. Direct data on production and distribution of panocha (and perhaps sugar) from Acayahualco is lacking; instead, the only information available is on the percentage of the local market satisfied by panocha from this trapiche (see above, tables 9g and 9h). Additionally, Corral's enterprise had no time to flourish; his major creditors, the Veracruz mercants Fernández Giraldes and Lama, called him to accounts in an all-too-timely manner, though their lack of patience seems in retrospect fully justified. As a result of their action, the Acayahualco trapiche was embargoed, evaluated (at 3,433 pesos 1 real), and sold in public auction (for 2,401 pesos) to Thomás de la Hoz, an agent of don Manuel Sañudo, who was to die that same year.[85] In this way, on the cusp of independence, Sañudo acquired control of three of the major sugar-producing enterprises in the valley: Apango (which, rented from Cocula, seems to have been his first venture into this sector), Atlixtac, and Acayahualco.

Although the degree to which production from Acayahualco (11.95%), Apango (30.72%), and Atlixtac (32.99%) dominated the 1809 panocha market in the jurisdiction of Iguala might have been exceptional (compared to previous years, the low participation of Tepantlan is striking), these three haciendas were clearly the principal sources of local supply throughout the

85. After various expenses of the embargo and auction were deducted, this yielded 1,920 pesos 4 reales, which were remitted in *libranzas* (orders of payment) to reimburse some of Corral's creditors. See in

last quarter-century before independence. Even more striking is how Sañudo was able to extend his control over the sugar sector, monopolizing production of both the more highly refined and expensive *entreverada* types as well as the lower quality panocha. His control over the former was established through production at Apango and Atlixtac, enterprises he held well before he acquired Acayahualco. In 1795, for example, 87 percent of the recorded *viento* sales of sugar (974.40 arrobas of 1,118.16 arrobas total) were registered to Sañudo and his hacienda at Apango; in 1798 of 1,030 arrobas of *entreverada blanca* sold in the jurisdiction, 781 arrobas (76 percent) was from Apango; much of the lower-quality *entreverada prieta*, however, was from Tepantlan (about two-thirds of the approximately 250 arrobas sold). The figures for 1802 indicate a similar dominance: of 1,850.48 arrobas of *entreverada blanca*, 1,548.48 arrobas (84 percent) were produced at Apango.[86] In 1809 the amount of sugar sold in the jurisdiction increased dramatically, to 3,293.16 arrobas. A Sañudo estate, Atlixtac with 1,044 arrobas sold (32 percent of the total market), still dominated, but for the first time sugar from the Cuernavaca jurisdiction appears in the ledgers, with 615.28 arrobas (18.5 percent of the market) originating in the hacienda of Treinta Pesos near Zacatepec, Morelos. Yet while the regional market was definitely expanding and probably drawing in produce from more distant zones of production, given the size of the haciendas at Atlixtac and Apango, it does not appear that Iguala Valley enterprises were unable to meet regional demand. Rather, as Sañudo's 1808 remission of sugar to don Adrián Simón in Acapulco suggests, despite a growing local market he (and perhaps other local merchants) was still utilizing sugar to increase the profitability of interregional trade.

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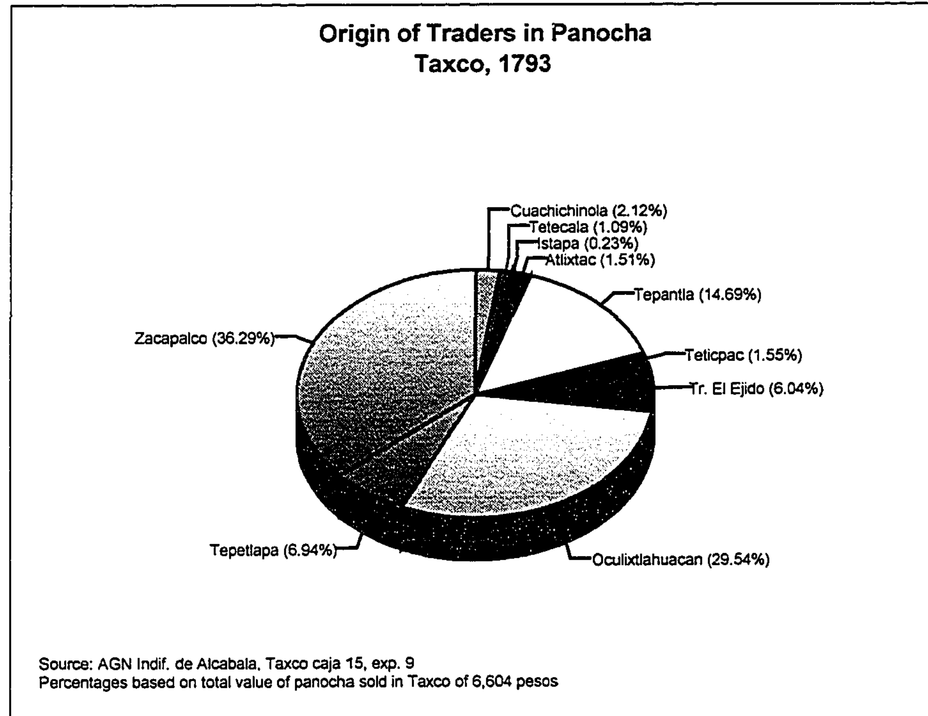
particular the adjusted accounts in AGN-Con 105/1, fols. 60f–63f.

86. The following sources were used to arrive at these figures: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4 (1795), caja 5, exp. 7 (1798), and caja 2, exp. 5 (1802).

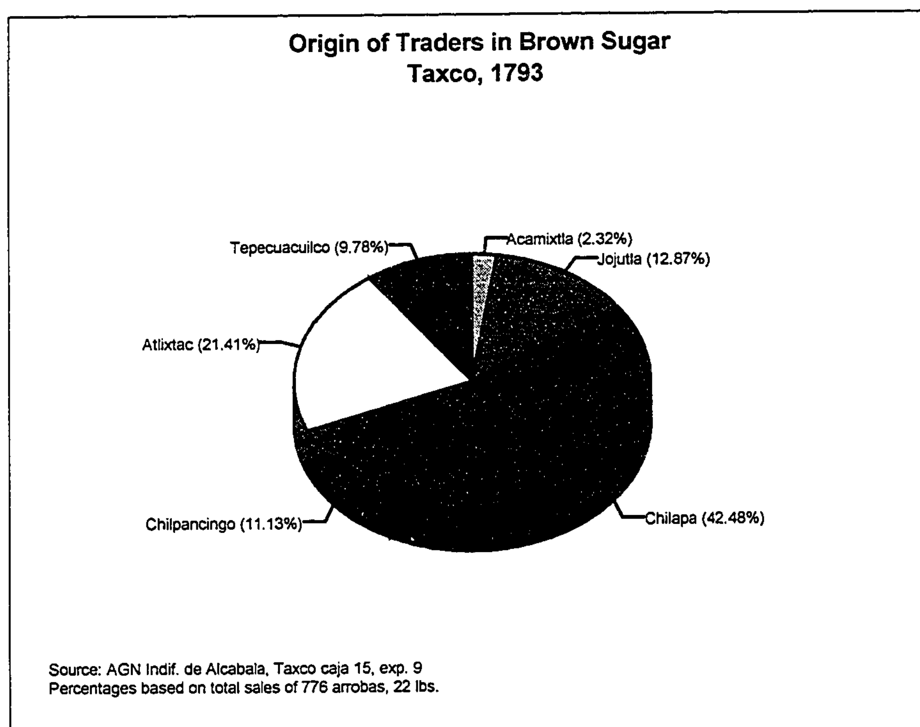
Chart 9a



This final factor brings into question the nature of intra- and interregional markets for sugar produced and consumed in north-central Guerrero. With few exceptions demand for sugar and panocha in the jurisdiction of Iguala was met by local production; this was not the case with Taxco. In the 1780s, Oculixtlahuacan and El Puente, both owned by don Ignacio Alvarez y Ayala, supplied approximately one-third the Taxco market in sugar and panocha combined; haciendas in the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca (particularly Treinta Pesos) satisfied another one-third, yet these tended to supply the higher-grade *entreverada* sugars (not panocha). Other ledgers confirm that in the Taxco jurisdiction, panocha was often supplied by local trapiches and haciendas: Oculixtlahuacan, El Puente, Zacapalco and Tepetlapa; more refined sugar, however, was often brought in from greater distances, from the Chilpancingo-Chilapa region in south-central Guerrero and from the western portion of the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca (particularly the

hacienda of Treinta Pesos).[87] The interregional aspect of the Taxco market is confirmed in a ledger from 1788, in which don Manuel Pastrana, a Chilpancingo merchant, is recorded as having sent two shipments of *entreverada blanca*, of 247 and 229 arrobas, to Taxco (representing 20

Chart 9b



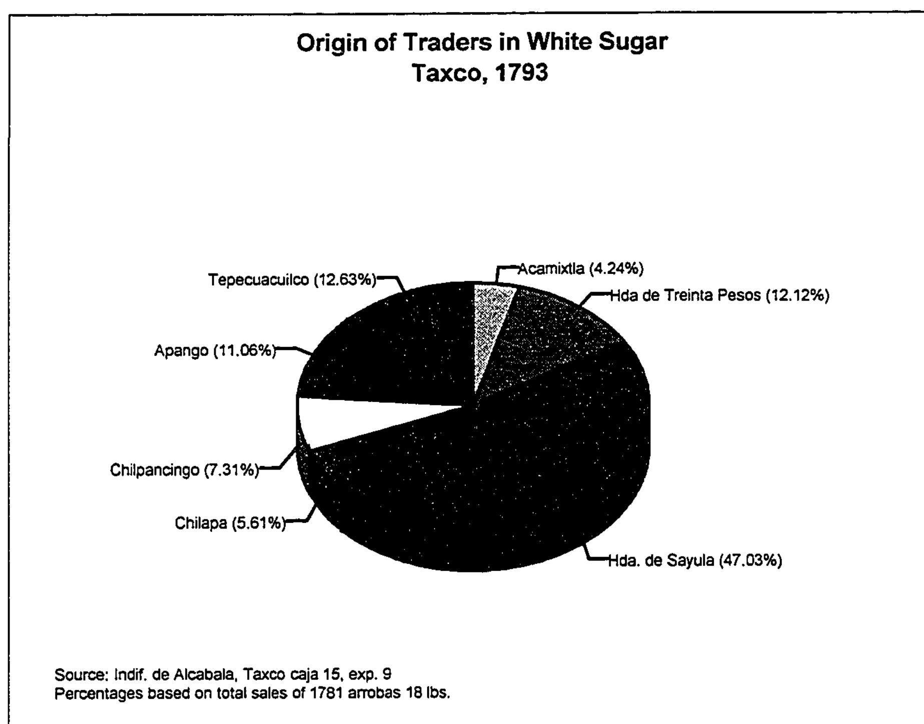
percent of the total recorded sugar sales of that year). As the size of these transactions makes clear (about 20 pack mules for each trip), Pastrana was a fairly large-scale trader; in a census a few years later he is stated to own 2 *atajos* of mules.[88] In other years the same pattern applies:

87. The discussion that follows is based on Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 13, exp. 3 (1782); caja 14, exp. 4 (1788); caja 15, exp. 3 (1791); caja 15, exp. 9 (1793); caja 16, exp. 1 (1795); caja 8, exp. 1 (1797); caja 16, exp. 3 (1798); caja 17, exp. 5 (1805); and caja 17, exp. 9 (1809).

88. AGN-P 17/fols. 287–379.

local production of lower-grade sugars and interregional commerce in the higher grades (see charts 9a, 9b, and 9c).

Chart 9c



For 1793, a year for which there is relatively good and abundant data, the spatial division of commerce in sugar again reveals the impact of the degree of refinement (indirectly related to capital investment in processing): low-quality sugars were produced near Taxco and higher quality products were imported from other jurisdictions. Just over 80 percent of the panocha sold in Taxco during 1793 was locally produced (defined as within the jurisdiction: Zacapalco, Tepetlapa, Oculixtlahuacan, El Ejido, and Teticpac). Most of the rest was brought in from Tepantla, near Iguala (which, as pointed out earlier, produced lower-grade sugars for the Iguala jurisdiction as well). For the most part the higher grade sugars originated in the jurisdictions of

Cuernavaca (Jojutla and the haciendas of Treinta Pesos and Sayula), of Chilapa and Tixtla (sold mostly by traders from Chilpancingo), and of Iguala (with traders principally from Tepecuacuilco and Atlixtac). Twelve years later similar patterns held.[89]

The spatial composition of the sugar and panocha market in Taxco suggests some interesting hypotheses. First, it would seem that despite the efforts to increase production at Oculixtlahuacan, El Puente, Zacapalco, and Tepetlapa, the level of capitalization remained low, as indicated by the fact that these enterprises tended to concentrate on lower-grade sugars. They were able to meet a considerable portion of the demand for panocha generated within the jurisdiction, but probably exported little outside the immediate zone of production (although they might have marketed some produce in the adjoining jurisdiction of Zacualpan). Certainly sugar from these enterprises was only rarely sold in the Iguala and Tepecuacuilco markets. A second point of interest is that despite several indications (particularly regarding the amount of land cultivated with cane on the one hand, and consumption patterns indicated by taxed sales on the other) that the productive capacity of Atlixtac and Apango exceeded demand in the Iguala-Tepecuacuilco region, these haciendas were only secondary sources of the more highly refined *entreverada* sugars sold in Taxco. Either production at these haciendas did not expand enough so as to be able to satisfy the Taxco market or the sugar produced at Atlixtac and Apango was traded elsewhere. There is at least some evidence that this second scenario was the case, as sugar from the Iguala jurisdiction does show up in tax ledgers from Pacific coast jurisdictions and Sañudo's inventory revealed 192 arrobas consigned to Adrián Simón in Acapulco. The final point relates to

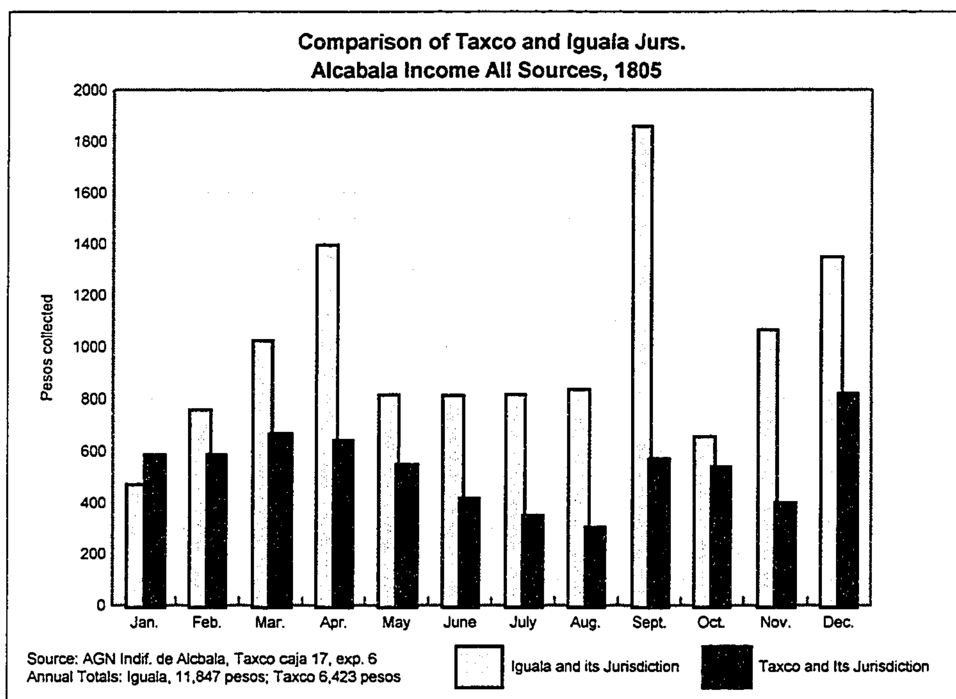
89. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 17, exp. 5. Still, over half the brown sugar sold in Taxco was brought in from the hacienda Treinta Pesos; approximately 39 percent of the white sugar was brought in from Chilpancingo, while traders from Acamixtla, Acuitlapan, and Taxco accounted for approximately the same percentage. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the origin referred to is the origin of the trader. When these were from sugar-producing zones or haciendas, it seems reasonable to assume that in most, if not all cases the sugar came from the place or region of muleteer origin. This assumption would be less valid with muleteers from the Taxco jurisdiction, and many of them probably went outside the jurisdiction and brought back the high-grade sugar they sold locally.

the considerable trade in sugar between Taxco and the Chilpancingo and Chilapa regions in south-central Guerrero. This pattern of commercialization suggests that the spatial distribution of production for the Taxco market did not directly reflect the impact of distance nor the distribution of capital resources, since the Iguala Valley was both closer to the Taxco market and had attracted and concentrated commercial capital to a much greater extent than the south-central regions of Tixtla and Chilapa. In a certain sense, the pattern of trade in sugar parallels that previously explored in regard to wheat flour: the formation of a compact pattern of exchange around one market (e.g., wheat from the southern Malinalco jurisdiction to Taxco and locally produced sugar to Tepecuacuilco) that was a factor leading to more distant and varied patterns of exchange in another market (wheat from the northern part of the jurisdiction of Malinalco entering the Tepecuacuilco market and sugar from south-central Guerrero being sold in the Taxco market). The impact of distance, then, was not the principal (or at least not the sole) factor in either stimulating the production nor in structuring the distribution of the major consumption goods produced by an agrarian society: wheat, sugar, and (as will be explored in the following two chapters) maize. Rather, the development of production and the patterning of exchange were heavily influenced by other social and economic factors. Principal among these were the concentration of commercial capital and the social and economic ties that, through exchange, linked regions that were often not contiguous.

The remaining section of this chapter will explore the spatial and social distribution of commercial activity in the Iguala Valley: where trade was concentrated and who dominated the market. The discussion begins with an exploration into the spatial distribution of exchange and commercial activities. Two patterns emerge. The first is the high degree of market primacy and the concentration of exchange in the major urban areas of both jurisdictions: Taxco and Tepecuacuilco. The second is the relatively high degree of commercial activity in the rural

hinterland, which by the end of the colonial period exceeded that of the urban mining center in Taxco. Finally, this section and chapter conclude with the case study of don Manuel Sañudo, a Spanish immigrant to Tepecuacuilco who in the space of a few decades forged an extensive

Chart 9d



economic empire that included control over one of the largest single landholdings in central Mexico and a level of commercial activity that rivaled that of the most afluent merchants of the major urban settlements in New Spain.

TRADE IN MANUFACTURED GOODS: THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS IN LATE COLONIAL NORTH-CENTRAL GUERRERO

This final section explores one further aspect of transformations in patterns of intraregional

economic activity during the final decades of the colonial period: the spatial and social distribution of trade in manufactured goods. Three major points will be covered. The first concerns the general spatial structure of trade, particularly differences in levels of activity between the Taxco and Iguala jurisdictions and, within each, the distribution of retail sales among the principal towns and villages. The data from tax ledgers reveal two facets of the geography of commerce: the relatively high level of activity in the rural Iguala Valley, a level that reflects the influx of merchant capital into the major town of Tepecuacuilco; and the high degree of market primacy, with sales concentrated in Tepecuacuilco and Taxco. The second point relates to the relative composition of markets in terms of types of goods. Here the major divisions concern manufactures—either those produced in Spain (*efectos de la tierra*) or those produced in the colony (*efectos de la tierra*)—as opposed to small-scale *viento* commerce, involving goods such as cattle, pigs, sugar, cotton and cloth, cheese, and other items of mostly domestic or cottage production that were generally sold either itinerantly or in weekly markets (*tianguis*). The tendency for some productive and commercial activities related to *viento* goods to become concentrated in the hands of a few individuals has already been noted: Sañudo, for example, was a major player in the acquisition and redistribution of wheat from the jurisdiction of Malinalco, and by the time of his death he had taken over a major share of regional sugar production. Yet at the same time, and not surprisingly, there was a clear caste and class component to this trade: more than trade in *efectos de china*, *castilla* and *la tierra*, *viento* activity tended to be concentrated among the lower classes (petty producers and traders) and, undoubtedly (although precise information is often lacking), the lower castes. The final point covered in this section relates to the social division of commerce—the manner in which trade activity was dominated by particular individuals and families and in which social networks articulated intra- and interregional business activities. Here the case history of one entrepreneur, don Manuel Sañudo,

again provides the best evidence of the dynamic potential of commercial ventures in hinterland societies, particularly the manner in which certain fairly unique characteristics of rural and urban society in north-central Guerrero created the conditions for a highly concentrated distribution of investment in a series of related economic ventures: transport, commerce, and agriculture.

Statistics from the last two decades of the colonial period show that the level of trade in taxable goods was significantly higher in the Iguala hinterland than in the Taxco jurisdiction, which was dominated by one of the most productive mining areas in central New Spain: the *real de minas* of Taxco.[90] This imbalance in favor of rural society was most pronounced during the first decade of the nineteenth century, the final period for which data is available. Graphs for 1805 and 1809 (charts 9d and 9e, respectively), illustrate the higher value of transactions in the Iguala Valley as opposed to Taxco, although the greatest imbalance was recorded at the beginning of this decade, in 1801. An extended view of the tax figures (see table 9m) suggests that the relative commercial dominance of Iguala developed out of two contrary though mutually reinforcing fiscal tendencies: an absolute increase in taxable commercial transactions in Iguala, and a corresponding decline of similar activity in Taxco.

90. Not included as goods taxed in Taxco is a group of about 24 items related to mining production (such as salt, tallow, iron and steel, and nails, among others) whose tax status was under dispute: miners sought exemptions, while the alcabala authorities sought the right to levy taxes. During much of the later colonial period taxes on these items were held in deposit until the case was resolved; they are not included in the alcabala statistics presented below. For the dispute over exemptions for goods used in mining, see the discussion in Howe (1949:passim).

Table 9m[91]
Relative commercial activity in the Taxco and Iguala jurisdictions based on sales tax income

Year	Taxco		Iguala		Total
	Alcabala	Percent	Alcabala	Percent	alcabala
1782	7,721-5-5	49	——	——	15.874-0-0
1784	——	——	9,432-3-5	44	21,482-0-0
1786	9,567-7-6	54			17,739-0-0
1792	10,134-6-0	62	——	——	16,340-0-0
1795	——	——	9,343-4-0	54	17,327-0-0
1797	6,405-6-9	42	8,754-3-0	58	15,161-1-9
1798	5,639-5-0	34	11,014-7-0	66	16,654-4-0
1799	——	——	9,197-5-9	62	14,759-0-0
1801	4,906-3-2	30	11,374-3-6	70	16,280-6-8
1803	4,492-2-2	31	10,031-0-3	69	14,523-2-5
1805	6,423-0-0	35	11,847-0-0	65	18,270-0-0
1809	6,644-6-0	36	11,816-1-0	64	18,460-7-0

Note: all figures are in pesos-reales-granos

These fiscal tendencies, which reflect overall commercial activity, were undoubtedly linked to two more general economic developments in north-central Guerrero during the late colonial period. The first was a steady population increase in the valley, the demographic concomitant to a booming agrarian society almost entirely dedicated to maize production in a market that seemed to increasingly favor sellers. The repercussion of this population trend was a surging, though dispersed, market demand in the hinterland. The second, contrary tendency was the decreasing productivity of Taxco mines after midcentury. The available evidence suggests

91. Sources (all references to *cajas* and *expedientes* are from Indif-Alc, receptoría Taxco): 1782: Taxco (caja 13, exp. 3), total (Garavaglia and Grosso, 1987:229–36); 1784: Iguala (caja 14, exp. 2), total (Garavaglia and Grosso, ibid.); 1786: Taxco (caja 14, exp. 3), total (Garavaglia and Grosso, ibid.); 1792: Taxco (caja 15, exp. 2), total (Garavaglia and Grosso, ibid.), 1795: Iguala (caja 5, exp. 4), total (Garavaglia and Grosso, ibid.); 1797: Taxco, Iguala, and total (caja 16, exp. 2); 1798: Taxco, Iguala, and total (caja 16, exp. 3); 1799: Iguala (caja 2, exp. 2), total (Garavaglia and Grosso, ibid.); 1801: Taxco, Iguala, and total (caja 17, exp. 2); 1803: Taxco, Iguala, and total (caja 17, exp. 3); 1805 Taxco, Iguala, and total (caja 17, exp. 6); 1809: Taxco, Iguala, and total (caja 17, exps. 8 and 9). Note that for several years documentation on only one of the two jurisdictions has been found. In these cases the figures for the other jurisdiction have been left blank and the total for the alcabalatorio has been taken from Garavaglia and Grosso (1987). In those cases in which total figures from the yearly ledgers have been found (1797, 1801, 1803, 1805, and 1809), they correspond virtually exactly to those offered by Garavaglia and Grosso in their macrostudy.

that although in the early decades of the eighteenth century this *real de minas* enjoyed a productive and economic boom, the period of prosperity probably ended shortly before 1760. By the end of the century the mines were in obvious decline.[92]

Evidently, a macrolevel study (based on data from centralized administrative archives in the viceregal capital), would be woefully inadequate in revealing socioeconomic processes and developments *within* a region. Viewed in its entirety, the Taxco tax district (an *alcabalatorio* that included the formerly independent jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala[93]) manifested no statistically significant tendency for commercial activity to increase between 1778 and 1809 (for an overview of tax income during this period, see chart 9f). Nevertheless, within the district there was a marked spatial shift in commercial activity, as the economic nerve center shifted southward to Tepecuacuilco and its environs, recently inundated with the growing material needs of significant numbers of peasant immigrants.

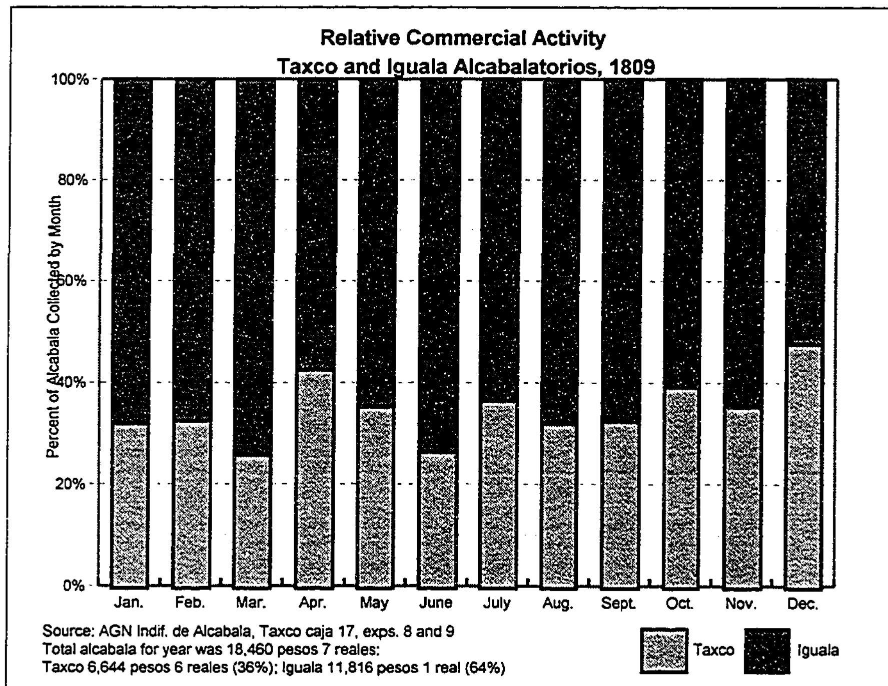
But it is not only a macrolevel approach that would gloss over this process; a sectorial approach, with a primary focus on either mining or agriculture, would fail to see the very

92. For a discussion of eighteenth-century silver production throughout New Spain, see Garner (1980), who notes the midcentury boom at Taxco; see also López Miramontes (1975). Vargas Lugo (1982:23) mentions bonanzas at Taxco during the 1720s; and the persistent requests for *repartimiento* labor by don Francisco de la Borda in the early 1720s (among many documents, AGN-Cv 1505/3, AGN-Cv 1608/10, AGN-Cv 1659/6, AGN-GP 25/52 and 151, AGN-I 44/74, AGN-I 46/15, AGN-I 47/150, AGN-I 50/175 and 213, AGN-T 2915/1; see also Amith 1993, and Haskett, 1991) signal sector growth and efforts to obtain cheap and secure labor. For the later colonial period, Gamboa (1761) offers a brief commentary on the Taxco mines (with deep, flooded shafts), which seem to have begun their decline in the immediately preceding years. By 1774 (López Miramontes and Urrutia de Stebelski 1980:doc. 13), Taxco had 171 abandoned mines and 47 still active. However, only 4 miners were deemed to possess sufficient capital to undertake mining ventures by themselves; the rest depended on loans from merchant *aviadores*. In the 1790s, Humboldt, in his travels through central New Spain, was witness to the decline of mining in Taxco (mentioned in Gerhard 1972:254).

Note that in the five-year period from 1769 to 1773, average yearly silver production in Taxco was just over 65,921 marks. For the entire period of 1700 to 1821, the average yearly production at Zacatecas was almost four times this figure, at 256,198 marks per year (Garner 1980:166); the low point at Zacatecas was 1760–64, with average yearly silver production at 108,758 marks, still 65% higher than the reported Taxco figures from 1769–73.

93. The political struggle over the unification of these two jurisdictions is discussed in chap. 11

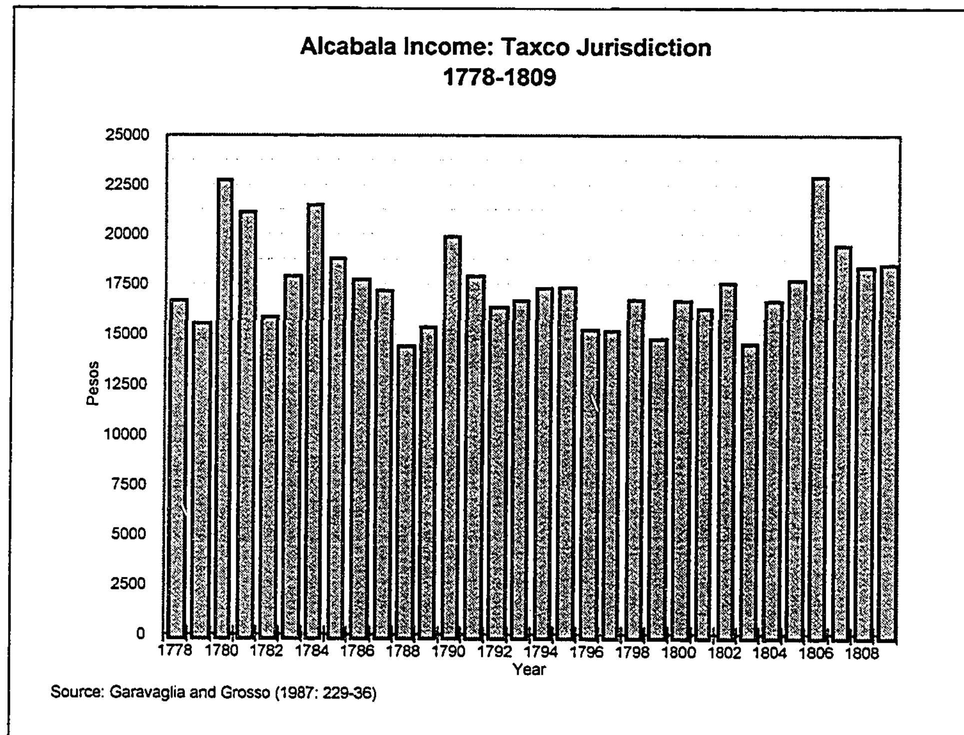
Chart 9e



complex interaction between these two types of productive economies. Even though regional urbanization and growth in the Taxco mining sector might have provided the initial impetus to hinterland development, by the late colonial period the valley economy had a dynamic all its own (and an ability to access more distant markets). It is apparent, then, that even during a period characterized by the decline and contraction of mining ventures in Taxco, its erstwhile hinterland, no longer dependent on regional grain markets, continued to grow—providing manufactures and services to the rural population; utilizing grain to support a booming transport network and perhaps an increasing division of labor within the region; and exporting grain to more distant markets.

One additional limitation of macrolevel or urban-based approaches to regional economies

Chart 9f



Source: Garavaglia and Grosso (1987: 229-36)

is that they pass over many of the social implications of economic change, which can best be understood through an exploration of intrajurisdictional space, of patterns of economic activity as they developed over time within a given administrative (and geographical) unit. This is especially true for societies such as colonial New Spain, in which members of particular classes and castes were unequally dispersed over a landscape that itself manifested an unequal distribution of resources. The emerging concentration of merchant capital in one location, which in the case of the Iguala Valley was the town of Tepecuacuilco, had serious implications for the social organization of trade as the colonial period drew to a close.

The dominance of Tepecuacuilco is apparent in most of the data, such as an account of sales tax income for 1797, when just under 78 percent of taxable commercial transactions took place in the cabecera (table 9n).

Table 9n
Alcabala distribution by type and place: *subreceptoría* of Iguala/Tepecuacuillco in 1797[94]

Type of alcabala charge	Alcabala (pesos-reales)	Percent of total
Merchandise from the Orient sold in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco	736-0	8.07
Merchandise from Castille sold in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco	1,185-2	13.00
Merchandise from New Spain sold in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco	3,410-2	37.41
Viento sold in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco (not including tianguis)	1,207-3	13.24
Tianguis (weekly market) in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco	552-2	6.06
Viento sold in Iguala	1,397-4	15.33
Viento sold in Huitzuco	399-2	4.38
Viento sold in the mining town of El Limón	149-4	1.64
Viento sold in other outlying pueblos (*pueblos foráneos*)	79-4	0.87
Total[95]	9,116-7	100.00

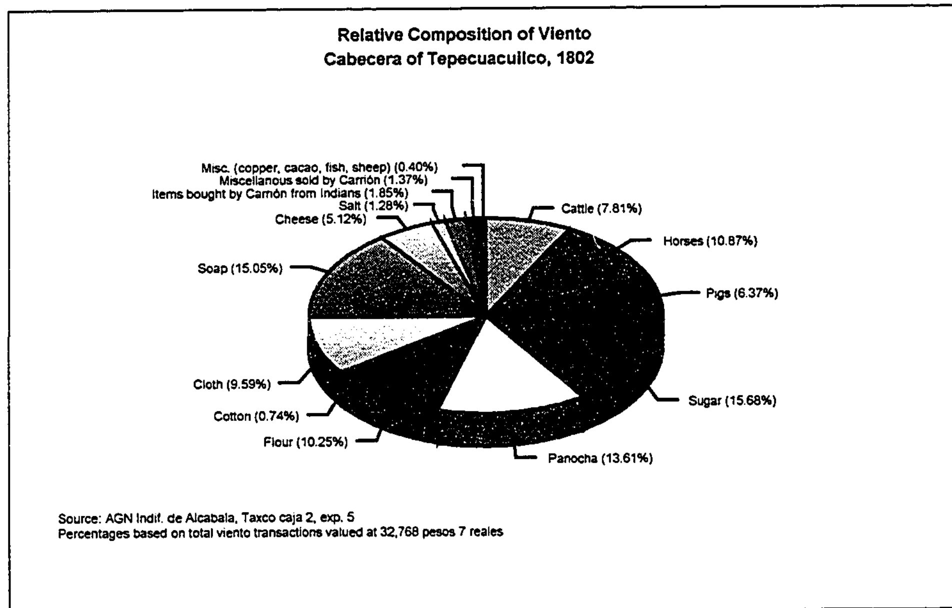
The outlying pueblos (final line) comprised the indigenous villages of Mayanalán (38 pesos 4 reales of commercial transactions) and Mezcala (243 pesos 6 reales), the migrant settlements of Santa Teresa (208 pesos 3 reales) and Palula (62 pesos 4 reales), and the trapiche of Tepantlan (768 pesos 7 reales).[96] There was very little sales tax remitted from these villages, despite the presence of deputy authorities in each. Whereas part of the reason for reduced tax collection might well have rested in an inefficient administrative infrastructure, there were other reasons for the geographic imbalance in fiscal income. The first was that the majority of those living outside the major towns of Tepecuacuilco, Iguala, and Huitzuco were mostly dedicated to subsistence agriculture, undoubtedly with small, seasonally defined (i.e., shortly after harvest) forays into the commercial market. The market demand generated by this sector would have been rather limited, and perhaps satisfied by occasional visits to stores located in the major towns named above. The second reason is that much of the itinerant commerce in the outlying reaches

94. Source: Indif-Alc, Taxco, caja 5, exp. 6

95. The total from this document, 9,116 pesos 7 reales, is slightly greater than that reported as received in a document from the jurisdictional seat in Taxco (see table 9m for 1797, based on Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 16, exp. 2).

96. The total value of commercial transactions was, thefore, 1,322 pesos, which at a 6% alcabala charge yielded the 79 pesos 4 reales of fiscal income on the final line of table 9n.

Chart 9g



of the hinterland probably involved the resale of items first acquired by the principal merchants of Tepecuacuilco, which were then sold by commissioned agents in the countryside. Not only was it hard to tax such elusively petty commerce, but within a jurisdiction the right of the state to tax resales was heavily contested during the late colonial period. Thus the limited income generated by taxes in outlying settlements might well reflect not simply the low level of commerce in such locales, but the gradual establishment of distribution networks that first passed through the enterprises of major merchants who operated in the principal towns, where most of the taxes were assessed, and who would be able to resist efforts to tax second sales within a single jurisdiction. It would appear, then, that although the late eighteenth-century influx of peasant migrants into the Iguala Valley resulted in a more dispersed settlement pattern, as new cuadrillas sprung up on rented land, commercial transactions (particularly those dealing in manufactured goods from the Orient, Spain, and other jurisdictions in the colony) were spatialy centralized—monopolized by a small coterie of merchants located in the major towns of the northern valley.

The geography of commerce during other years follows a similar pattern of high levels of

market primacy. Thus in 1795, 82 percent of alcabala income was accounted for by transactions in the cabecera. *Viento* sales in Iguala (11.5 percent) and Huitzuco (5.5 percent) accounted for most of the remaining fiscal income.[97] And in both 1802 and 1809, there was a comparable patterning of commercial activity (table 9o).

Table 9o
Distribution of Alcabala Income by Place and Type: *Subreceptoría* of Iguala in 1802 and 1809[98]

Type and origin of alcabala charge	Value of commerce 1802	Value of commerce 1809	Percent of total market 1797	Percent of total market 1802	Percent of total market 1809
Merchandise from the Orient, Castille, and New Spain sold in Tepecuacuilco	106,966-4	97,848-0	58.48	57.49	52.33
Viento sold in Tepecuacuilco (not including *tianguis* sales)	32,768-7	27,934-4	13.24	17.61	14.94
Tianguis in Tepecuacuilco	9,696-0	14,261-4	6.06	5.21	7.63
Viento sold in Iguala	26,412-4	30,845-7	15.33	14.20	16.50
Viento sold in Huitzuco	7,499-0	13,342-6	4.38	4.03	7.14
Viento sold in the *real* of El Limón	1,250-0	1,466-5	1.64	0.67	0.78
Viento sold in the trapiche of Tepantlan (for 1809, *viento* from nearby Tuxpan)	1,327-1	1,000-0	0.51	0.71	0.53
Viento sold in Santa Teresa (for 1809 combined *viento* sold in Sta. Teresa and its sujetos, and Venta de Estola and its sujetos)	141-5	293-6	0.14	0.08	0.15
Totals	186,061-5	186,993-0	99.78[99]	100.00	100.00

The preceding table demonstrates that the 1797 patterns of fiscal income from taxable commercial transactions was fairly constant during the late colonial period, with 80 percent of recorded activity occurring in Tepecuacuilco. A slightly different trade pattern emerges when one takes into account only *viento* and petty (*tianguis* or weekly market) commerce, that is, sales of

97. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4 (1795).

98. Source: Indif-Alc, Taxco, caja 2, exp. 5 (1802) and caja 2, exps. 7 and 8 (1809).

99. The remaining .22 percent of commerce was carried out as *viento* activity in Mezcala, Palula, and Mayanalán.

items of primary consumption that were sold without registration of source (i.e., without *guías* or *pases*). Here the spatial distribution of commerce (table 9p) more accurately reflected the demographic balance among major towns, with 46.5 percent of sales taking place in the cabecera, and most of the remaining in Iguala (37.9 percent) and Huitzuco (10.6 percent).

Table 9p
Distribution of alcabala income from *viento* and weekly market sales in 1797

Type of alcabala charge	Alcabala (pesos-reales)	Percent of total
Viento sold in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco (not including *tianguis*)	1,207-3	31.90
Tianguis (weekly market) in the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco	552-2	14.59
Viento sold in Iguala	1,397-4	36.92
Viento sold in Huitzuco	399-2	10.55
Viento sold in the mining town of El Limón	149-4	3.95
Viento sold in the trapiche of Tepantlan	46-1	1.22
Viento sold in Mezcala	14-5	0.39
Viento sold in the cuadrilla of Santa Teresa	12-4	0.33
Viento sold in the cuadrilla of Palula	3-6	0.10
Viento sold in Mayanalán	2-4	0.07
Total	3,785-3	100.00

Viento commerce tended to be dominated by a few basic items of consumption, sold in petty transactions either in a marketplace (the weekly *tianguis*) or itinerantly to final consumers and small-scale storeowners. A breakdown by goods for 1802 reveals that most commerce involved animals (cattle, horses and mules, and pigs), sugar products (*entreverada* and panocha), flour, cotton and cloth, and soap (chart 9g). Production and exchange patterns for several of these goods has already been discussed (e.g., sugar and panocha, as well as flour) and thus it is apparent that petty commerce did not always involve petty production. The market in soap, for example, manifested a pattern similar to that of sugar, with major Tepecuacuilco merchants (such as Manuel Carrión and Manuel Sañudo) controlling both production and distribution.[100] Soap

100. Carrión is the person most frequently mentioned as owning a *paila* (small soap factory); see in particular Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4 (1795); caja 6, exp. 5 (1801); caja 2, exp. 5 (1802), and caja 2, exp. 8 (1809). Other major merchants mentioned as producing soap include Francisco Carranco, caja 2, exp. 5 (1802) and caja 6, exp. 5 (1803); and Manuel Sañudo, caja 2, exp. 5 (1802); for an inventory of

production in the province of Iguala was more than sufficient to meet local demand, as demonstrated by the fact that most sales in the Taxco mines to the north were carried out by traders from the Iguala Valley, who seem to have taken over the Taxco market from soap originating in Puebla.[101] The much more fragmented pattern of soap sales in Taxco, as opposed to Iguala, might simply reflect a greater number of intermediaries (muleteers and petty traders based in the valley) who bought this item for resale from the few entrepreneurs who monopolized local production.

Nevertheless, although certain facets of *viento* trade were dominated by local entrepreneurs, it was also at this level that more marginalized economic actors accessed the commercial sector. For example, the Taxco pig market, at least according to some ledgers, seems to have attracted a greater number of female merchants than other sectors. Data from the minor Huitzuco market, in the jurisdiction of Iguala, suggests a similar pattern of female participation. In 1797, of the 64 individuals who traded pigs, 24 were women (37.5 percent); their market share of the total transactions was slightly higher than their numerical portion of total traders, indicating that relative degree of market participation was not gendered (of 355 pigs, a total of 150, or 42.5

Sañudo's *paila*, see AGN-T 3576/3 fols. 36v–37f. In 1802 (Taxco caja 2, exp. 5), the year for which information is most complete, these three merchants controled the market, with Carranco selling 647 pesos 6 reales of soap (13.1% of all sales), Carrión 1,436 pesos 4 reales (29.1%), and Sañudo 2,646 pesos 6 reales (53.7%). In 1798 Carrión paid taxes on 82.8% of the soap sold; Carranco accounted for another 13.1%; Taxco caja 5, exp. 7. These individuals sold soap both directly to individuals (who might have then resold the merchandise) and through their own stores, probably to final consumers.

101. Thus in 1779, of 911 pesos of soap sold in Taxco, 511 were brought in by merchants from Iguala and Huitzuco; the other 400 pesos were sent in a single shipment from Puebla; Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 13, exp. 2. In 1782, 652 pesos of soap were brought to Taxco from Puebla, and only 63 pesos 4 reales was brought by merchants from Iguala (Taxco caja 13, exp. 3). Following years, however, show almost a complete dependency on soap from the Iguala Valley. Thus in 1791 all the soap sold in Taxco (worth a total of 2,040 pesos 4 reales) was brought in by traders from Iguala (Taxco caja 15, exp. 3); virtually identical figures hold for 1793 (Taxco caja 15, exp. 9), when 2,017 pesos 4 reales of soap was sold and of 53 transactions, 50 involved traders from Iguala; the remaining 3 were by traders from the neighboring village of Tuxpan. Data from later years are less conclusive, but it seems that most soap sold in Taxco continued to be brought in by traders from Iguala, who might have been either agents of the major producers, or resellers operating with their own commercial capital. See particularly Taxco caja 6, exp. 6 (1806) and caja 17, exp. 9 (1809).

percent, were sold by women traders who, as mentioned, constituted only 37.5 percent of all merchants).

Of all types of *viento* goods, pigs seem to have provided one of the lowest entry points and thus attracted the most diffuse group of producers. Indeed, the sale of these animals was one of the more diversified aspects of the regional economy (not including grain, for which petty production and distribution data are not easily obtained). Thus despite the general tendency in the Iguala Valley toward concentration of capital, during the period under consideration there was no marked tendency toward monopolization of pig raising. For example, in 1806 a total of 106 individuals sold 1,659 pigs, with no person accounting for over 10 percent of the market; in fact there were only 4 merchants (perhaps resellers) who individually accounted for more than 5 percent (but less than 10 percent) of sales; this still left a signification portion for the remaining 102 traders. The two-tiered structure of the Taxco market, on the other hand, showed a higher degree of bifurcation (between those who raised young animals and those who fattened them for slaughter) and a greater tendency to monopolization. This was probably related to the structure of this market, for the majority of pigs were brought in from the Teloloapan jurisdiction to the west, to be fattened and resold locally, thus local bulkers provided a steady outlet for traders who came from Teloloapan.[102]The first tier was occupied by a large number of petty producers, many of

102. Female participation is best documented for 1795, when of 615 pigs bought by Taxco resellers, 210 (34.2% of the total) were bought by 3 women, particularly one, who bought 164 by herself. The dominant position of pigs brought in from Teloloapan (which generally represented about 50% of those sold in Taxco) is a constant throughout the late colonial period. See, for example, AGN Real Hacienda, caja 134 (1778; with 53.6% of 1,681 pigs sold in Taxco originating in Teloloapan and 15.9% from Iguala and Tepecuacuilco); Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 13, exp. 2 (1779; with 65% of 1,051 pigs sold originating in Teloloapan); caja 13, exp. 3 (1782; with 41% of 792 pigs sold originating in Teloloapan); caja 15, exp. 3 (1791; with 59.5% of 1,508 pigs sold originating in Teloloapan); caja 15, exp. 9 (1793; with 46.9% of 1,136 pigs sold originating in Teloloapan); caja 16, exp. 1 (1795; with 42.1% of 792 pigs sold originating in Teloloapan); and caja 16, exp. 3 (1798; with 52.3% of 467 pigs sold originating in Teloloapan). The price of Teloloapan pigs sold in Taxco suggests small animals bought for fattening and resale. For example, in 1793 the 533 pigs from Teloloapan averaged 2.64 pesos/each. Pigs from the Iguala Valley tended to fetch a higher price: Coacoyula (11 pigs for 3 pesos/each), Iguala (26 pigs for 3 pesos/each); Huitzuco (8 pigs for 3.13 pesos/each); and Cocula (25 pigs for 5 pesos/each). However, the 25 pigs from Tepantlan, in

whom brought pigs in from outside the jurisdiction; the second tier comprised local entrepreneurs, in increasingly reduced numbers, who fattened the pigs for resale. Concentration among the latter reached its peak in 1809, when of 1,175 registered sales, fully 1,128 (96 percent of the total) were carried out by Eusebio Román (or by Eusebio along with Manuel Román, probably a close relative).[103]

The pig market demonstrates quite clearly how different facets of the structure of any particular sector, even those dealing with basic items of consumption often produced in household units, could vary greatly depending on the characteristics of the regional infrastructure of that particular industry. The distinct structures of the pig market in Taxco and Iguala seem to reflect the divergent economies of the two areas. Iguala was a rural area with a maize surplus; thus the primary factor of production and that involving the greatest cost—grain—would have been available to petty traders. Taxco, however, was a maize deficient urban area; acquisition of this grain required considerable capital investment and thus posed significant entry costs to pig fattening. Also significant was the fact that in Taxco smaller animals were brought in from a distance (Teloloapan and other points to the west) and fattened locally. In Iguala pigs were both produced and fattened in the northern valley (with a few occasionally exported to other regions such as Toluca and Mexico City). In the valley, therefore, the possibilities for small-scale vertical integration of these two stages of production was greater, and thus both the acquisition and the fattening of these animals remained a low-level enterprise, dominated by household production with little bulking.

In summary, then, even the petty *viento* market manifested a great range in internal structure and in the nature and level of participation by different classes and castes of colonial

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the northern valley, averaged 2.32 pesos/each. See Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 15, exp. 9.

103. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 17, exp. 9 (1809).

society. There was obviously a high level of small-scale activity, and the market did penetrate into the most recondite areas of New Spain. Yet even at the level of *viento* transactions there existed strong tendencies for the concentration of resources and control of exchange, arrangements that were most manifest in the trade of sugar products, wheat, and soap. Indeed, even at the lower level of commerce represented by *viento* activity, many of the major regional merchants were still active and accounted for a significant share of total activity. Minor economic actors did sell and peddle some of the goods registered in the ledgers, but to the extent that they participated in intra- and interregional trade, much of it probably occurred outside the watchful gaze of the colonial tax collectors whose records provide the principal information on trade patterns during the late colonial period.

The final, and lowest level of spatially fixed commerce occurred in weekly markets. It was here that the greatest amount of low-level commerce and the highest participation of poorer peasant traders occurred, outside of the petty itinerant trade that remains mostly invisible to the modern researcher. In the province of Iguala, the only documented weekly market is the *tianguis* in Tepecuacuilco that, based on sales valued at between approximately 7,500 and 14,000 pesos, generated some 5–7.5 percent of the alcabala tax collected in the jurisdiction.[104] These figures can be compared to those from Taxco, where in 1795 *tianguis* sales in the cabecera totaled 9,936 pesos of merchandise (7.5 percent of total transactions); in 1798 the value of *tianguis* sales was 11,379 pesos 6 reales (12.1 percent of total transactions in the *subreceptoría* of Taxco).[105] The limited data available suggest that in the *subreceptoría* of Taxco the relative level of *tianguis*

104. Data exists for 1795 with 7,546 pesos sold, generating 4.8% of the *subreceptoría*'s alcabala; Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4; 1797 with 9,204 pesos and 6.1%; 1802 with 9,696 pesos and 5.2%; and 1809 with 14,261 pesos and 7.6% (see table 9m).

105. Data for 1795 are from Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 16, exp. 1 and for 1798 from caja 16, exp. 3; cf. to table 9m. The relative important of *tianguis* sales in 1793 might well have been equally high, if not higher, given that the weekly market generated tax income reflective of 15,858 pesos 3 reales of merchandise sold. Unfortunately the entire tax base for the *subreceptoría* of Taxco during this year has not been located.

sales (considering total trade in the jurisdiction) was higher that it was in the *subreceptoría* of Iguala/Tepecuacuilco. If this were indeed the case (and additional data would be needed to confirm this hypothesis), then it would suggest that the greater capitalization of the commercial sector in the valley, as opposed to that of the Taxco mining district, had the effect of decreasing market activity at the lowest levels (the *tianguis*) and in negatively affecting the viability of petty commerce by poor peasants and traders.

In keeping with the perspective presented in the preceding pages, one key research problem is the nature of *tianguis* transactions: the structure of exchange and the social identity of participants, particularly in regard to the role of Indian peddlers. Documentation of these aspects of lower-level commercial transactions is difficult given the nature and the scarcity of the material. Judging the degree of Indian participation is particularly problematic. One reason is that Indians were exempted from paying alcabala on most goods that they themselves produced or acquired from other Indians; another is that the ethnic identity of traders is usually not recorded, and thus commercial activity by the indigenous population is not transparently identifiable. One unusual entry in 1802, in the section of *viento* commerce for Tepecuacuilco, mentions that don Manuel Carrión bought 606 pesos 2 reales of "efectos" (merchandise) from Indians. This is one of the very few mentions of Indian participation; yet the 606 pesos 2 reales constituted only 1.85 percent of total *viento* sales that year (and *viento* sales themselves accounted for only a small fraction of total commerce).[106] Another factor that would lead to a reduced record of Indian

106. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 5. Of all recorded commercial transactions, the sale by Indians to Carrión represented only 0.33 percent of the total value. In the other ledgers reviewed there were only two references to indigenous commerce, both from 1793; Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 15, exp. 9. In one, an Indian merchant from Iguala sold 32½ arrobas of cotton to Francisco Betamos of Taxco; in another Juan Francisco, an Indian from Tixtla, sold salt to various individuals. In both cases the buyers paid the sales tax (not, as usual, the seller) given that the seller was an Indian. Both annotations suggest that buyers might have been at a disadvantage when they acquired goods from Indians, whereas Indians were at an advantage. As mentioned previously, it is important to consider the way in which fiscal policy affected both market participation and market structure (e.g., location, levels of interaction, etc.).

commerce is that overall, and considering trade in both foodstuffs and manufactures, only about one-third of total commerce was subject to the alcabala. Perhaps some 40 percent of trade involved foodstuffs exempt from payment, and Indian participation in this trade was undoubtedly higher than that for manufactures.[107] In addition, to a considerable degree residence patterns were such so that Indians tended to live in settlements that were only weakly administrated by colonial tax officials. Finally, much indigenous exchange might well have followed social networks and been conducted without a direct cash transfer; this too would have made Indian participation in commerce less visible.[108] For all these reasons, Indian commercial activity would be underreported in the colonial documentation; as one study mentioned, "Indians and mestizos were excluded and discriminated against in the market, and negated or ignored in the texts."[109]

Yet the possible lack of indigenous participation in the late colonial market should not be construed as a culturally or politically based rejection of market activity or the European economy, but rather the result of an economic process of exclusion and marginalization that gradually overcame an often enthusiastic initial response of the native population to trade opportunities. Indeed, one of the first reports from the area under study, the 1579 *Relación geográfica* from Iguala, mentions that the inhabitants of this village "are well dressed according to their customs, dressed in cotton; they are rich people given that they are located in a favorable climate and near the mines, where they are able to profitably sell their produce, and the majority

107. This figure is suggested by Tandeter et al. (1995), who mention that "the traffic controlled by the customs authority for the payment of the import tax was only 35 percent of the total movement, while that portion of 65 percent exempt from the alcabala was made up of approximately 40 percent food products and 24 percent mining inputs" (pp. 202–3).

108. The question of indigenous market participation has been treated by many of the contributions to Larson, Harris, and Tandeter (1995), particularly Larson (1995), Stern (1995), and Tandeter et al. (1995).

109. Tandeter et al. (1995:220).

of them are *puchtecas*, as they call merchants."[110] Even earlier, in 1542, the oidor Lorenzo de Tejada issued a series of ordinances for the Taxco mines, one of which stated that "all Indian merchants should leave these mines, and not dare return within a four-league distance, under threat of 100 lashes . . . as I am informed and have witnessed that they bring clothes, cacao, chickens, melons, pomegranates, and many other good things to eat and large quantities of Castilian wine, and day and night they enter the houses of slaves and beseech them and pursue them to buy these things at exorbitant prices, which leads them [the slaves] to commit the aforementioned robberies [of silver]."[111] These portraits are of an indigenous society eager and able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by commerce in a silver-driven economy; and of a colonial state intervening to stem the flow of overpriced goods, and the perceived drive for illegal gains it motivated among the black slave population of the nascent mining economy.

Thus on the one hand there is an inherent bias in late colonial fiscal documents against recording indigenous marketing; on the other hand, there are early colonial reports mentioning a level of commercial activity that drew the attention of colonial authorities and led to early bans on indigenous trade in Taxco. Yet despite these considerations (problematic documentation and a history of positive indigenous response to market incentives), which might suggest a higher level of indigenous commerce during the late colonial period than that overtly manifested in the tax ledgers, it does appear that Indians were increasingly pushed out of the trade sector, at least in regard to those goods that were monitored by the alcabala officials. And it seems that even at the level of the weekly market, where one would expect the greatest participation of indigenous traders, they were apparently quite scarce, and concentration of activity in a few small-scale merchants seems to have been the norm.

110. "Relación de Iguala" (Acuña 1985:340).

111. Cited in Zavala (1982a:178). The ordinances are reproduced and commented on in Zavala

Table 9q
Source of alcabala from the Taxco *tianguis*: 1798[112]

Item traded	Quantity or value		Alcabala collected (pesos-reales-granos)
Cattle (live)	145 animals		107-5-00
Salted beef	114 animals		86-2-00
Calves	6 animals		2-4-00
Horses	1 animal		0-3-09
Pigs	19 animals		7-7-09
Salted pork	14 animals		2-5-00
Sheep	343 animals		54-6-06
Butter (mantequilla)	1.5 pesos		0-0-07
Cheese	971 pesos 6 reales		60-7-06
Dates	1 tercio		0-1-06
Fish	30 arrobas 6 lbs.		5-5-00
Flour	13 arrobas		1-0-00
Panocha	19 pesos		1-1-06
Peanuts	1 tercio		0-2-00
Piloncillo	2 pesos		0-1-00
Plums	13½ cargas		5-2-09
Rice	22 arrobas		2-1-06
Saffon	½ lb.		0-3-00
Cotton	110 arrobas		21-0-00
Cloth (various types)	n.a.		1-3-03
Glasses (*vasos*)	4 pesos		0-2-00
Gourds (*xícaras*)	31 pesos		1-7-00
Hats	21 hats		1-0-00
Notions (*mercería*)	9 pesos		0-4-06
Paper	1 ream		1-0-00
Soap	16 pesos		0-7-09
Suede (*gamusas*)	2		0-1-06
Tinder (*yesca*)	10 lbs.		0-6-00
Wax (*cera de muertos*)	50½ arrobas		39-4-06
			408-0-10
don Agustín Gamboa	stall and ice (*nieve*)	42 wks	31-3-00
don Julián Vasques	itinerant merchant	39 wks	78-4-00
don Manuel Galindes	itinerant merchant	27 wks	54-3-00
don José Rueda	itinerant merchant	12 wks	29-0-00

(1982a:176ff.).

112. Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 11, exp. 1.

		193-2-00
cotton cloth weavers (*manteros*)	5 per week a 2 reales/loom	62-4-00
petty traders (*mercilleros*)	93 over the yr. at 1 real each	11-5-00
		74-1-00
Total		**675-3-10**

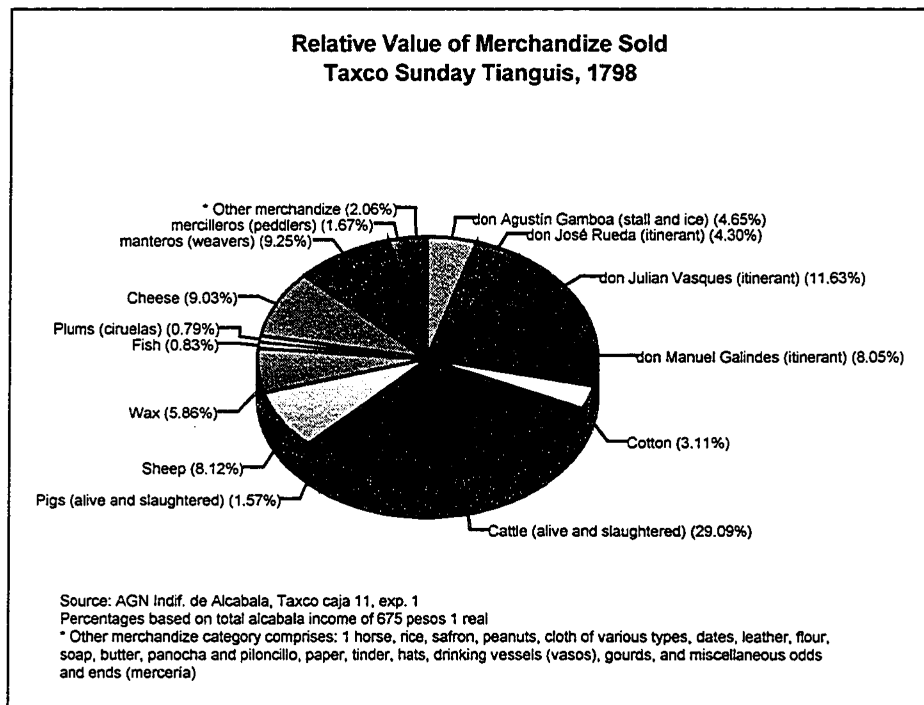
A detailed study of the tax ledger for one weekly market, the Taxco *tianguis* of 1798, confirms this impression and offers insight into the nature of this trade venue (see table 9q for a list of items taxed, and chart 9h for an illustration of the relative weight of each item or merchant in the total yearly market). The *tianguis* was dominated by three types of trading. First there was trade in animals, particularly cattle and sheep. Interestingly, sheep do not appear in ledgers documenting either *viento* trade or sales of *efectos de la tierra*; rather, they were sold virtually exclusively in the *tianguis*. Nevertheless, the market was relatively concentrated, with only five individuals accounting for 87.6 percent of all sheep sold. Pigs sales, on the other hand, were commonly registered in the *libros de viento* and this sector has already been briefly discussed; they were rarely sold in the weekly market (with only 33 sold in Taxco during 1798). Cattle is found in both types of ledgers (*viento* and *tianguis*). In the 1798 *tianguis* there were 209 sales involving 259 animals (live and slaughtered together), a statistic that reveals the reduced number of animals sold in any given transaction. The largest operators were two individuals who in 14 and 12 transactions sold 48 and 40 head of cattle, approximately one-third of the total. Cheese, another animal product, also showed a slight tendency toward concentration, with 5 merchants (most of whom made repeated sales during the months of July–October) accounting for 41.3 percent of total sales.[113]

The second type of trading involved itinerant merchants (*viandantes*) who made repeated trips to the Taxco *tianguis*. During 1798 four such individuals are registered in the ledger; their

113. There were 56 distinct merchants, who carried out a total of 189 transactions.

average payments were approximately 1 peso 5 reales, the equivalent of about 26 pesos 6½ reales of goods sold per week. Among them, they accounted for 28.6 percent of total mercantile activity in the *tianguis*. Whether these individuals also had storefronts, or sold itinerantly at other regional markets is unclear. Two of them, however, appear to have been regulars in Taxco, setting up stalls for the greater part of the year (42 and 39 weeks, see table 9q).

Chart 9h



The third group comprised petty traders who sold minor amounts of goods in the weekly market (cloth, notions, and minor consumption goods such as dates, fish, peanuts, plums, rice, saffron, and gourds, among other items). Most prominent are a group of 5 weavers (paying 2 reales per loom) that appears weekly, almost without fail, in the ledger.[114] There was also a group

114. It is not clear whether they actually brought the looms to market or were taxed based on the *alcabaleros* knowledge of the nature of their household economy.

of *mercilleros* (petty traders in notions) who, with a head tax per *tianguis* of 1 real, paid 93 reales (11 pesos 5 reales) over the course of the year. For neither of these groups are individual names recorded (the tax ledger only gives a single entry stating the number of individuals and the tax paid); thus it is impossible to tell if the same weavers and *mercilleros* returned to the *tianguis* throughout the year. Other petty products such as fish and plums were occasionally sold by individuals who seem to have made only the most occasional foray into the market. For example, the 13½ *cargas* of plums were sold in 13 different transactions, each by a different seller.

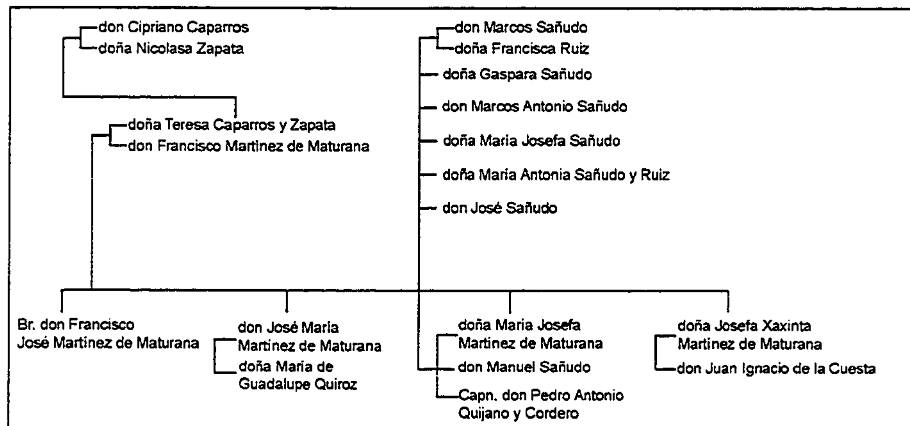
The image of the weekly market that emerges is of a small event (from a low of 10 weekly traders in late February, to a high of 42 in early September) that varied in accord with the agricultural cycle. From the months of April through August, the planting season, an average of 18 sellers participated each week; from September to March the figure was just over 25. The average throughout the year was 22. The market was primarily dedicated to the sale of animals, exchanged in transactions that seldom exceded one or two head. Another significant portion of total commerce was conducted by a reduced group of four itinerant merchants, probably mestizos or poor criollos, who participated fairly regularly, with sales that averaged about 27 pesos per week. Finally, there were petty and occasional peddlars who tended to trade in notions and seasonal produce; a small group of weavers completed the weekly pattern. It was in these last two rubrics that indigenous participation was probably the highest. Indeed, in an 1805 ledger the weekly charge of 1 real was levied on a group specifically referred to as "*indios* varilleros" (Indian peddlars), obviously the same rubric as the *mercilleros* mentioned in the 1798 ledger.[115] Taken together, however, the average number of Indian peddlars participating in the 1798 and

115. For the 1805 *tianguis* ledger, see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 10, exp. 2. The weekly records of a 1 real head tax assessed against Indian peddlars (*indios varilleros*) reveal a heavy balance toward participation during the first half of the year. From January through June, a total of 92 reales were collected; from July through December only 32 reales. The highest number of Indian *varilleros* for any given week was 10, at the *tianguis* held on the second Sunday in February. Only three other weeks had more than 5 Indian *varilleros*. Discounting these 4 weeks, the average number was under 2 Indian *varilleros* per *tianguis*.

1805 *tianguis* was only about 2 per week.

The discussion to this point has explored a market system whose characteristics had significant implications for the political, economic, and social patterns of interaction that pervaded late colonial society in north-central Guerrero. At the macro level, the hinterland economy of the Iguala Valley demonstrated a commercial dynamic that came to excede that of the regional urban and mining center in Taxco and its surrounding district. Given that this shift in

Genealogy 9a:
Genealogy of the Maturana-Sañudo Families



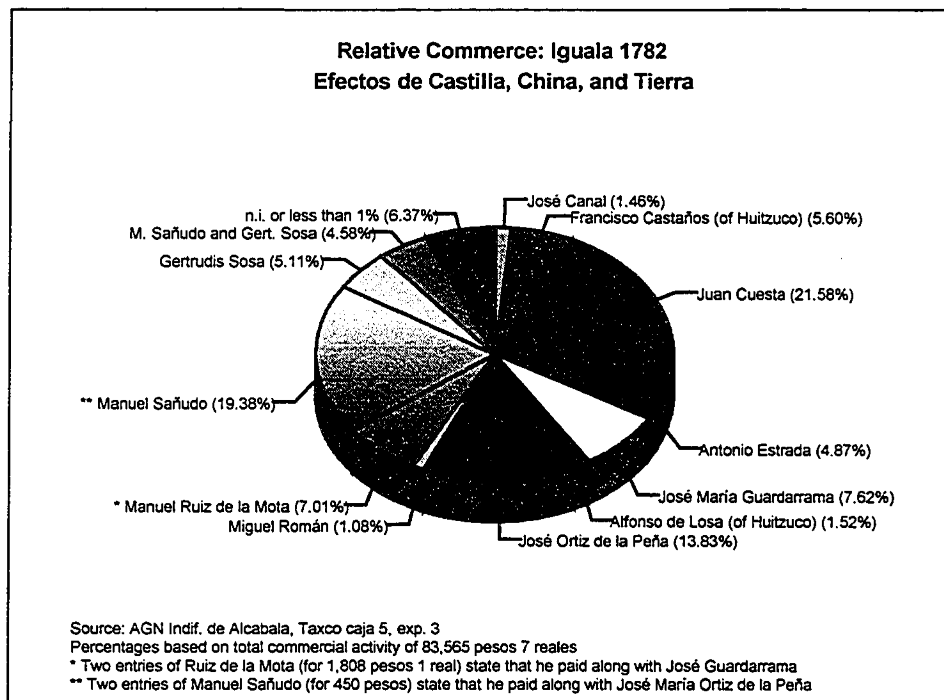
balance occurred during a period of decreasing silver production in Taxco, it would seem that the rural hinterland had broken free from a dependence on regional urban markets and capital, and had begun to manifest an independent pattern of growth (which continued even in the face of a contracting regional mining sector). This was the result of several factors: the rapid demographic expansion in the Iguala Valley (the result of migration onto land that was opened up to farming in the mid–eighteenth century) and the increased market demand that this generated; a highly capitalized transportation infrastructure (a response to a late colonial boom in cacao imports and the intermedial role played by muleteers based in the northern Iguala Valley) that facilitated long-distance trade as well as grain exports beyond local markets; and the influx of commercial capital

into Tepecuacuilco that created a network of entrepreneurs who were able to challenge the political and economic hegemony of the Taxco elite, particularly in regard to grain production and distribution.

These develoments, and the monopolistic tendency and high concentration of capital that characterized late colonial trade in imported manufactures, seem to have pervaded even the lowest levels of economic exchange: *viento* sales and the weekly markets. Many of the goods registered as *viento* sales were in fact controlled (either in terms of production or distribution) by the hinterland's major merchants; trade in other items (such as fattened pigs sold in the Taxco market) was also a potential target of entrepreneurs who aspired to monopolistic market control. The nature of trade at the highest levels of capitalization might also have affected even the weekly markets, which seem to have been rather modest in size, accounting for a relatively small percentage of total commercial transactions in the region. Finally, it was suggested that indigenous participation in the formal market sector might well have been contracting in the face of an influx of commercial capital into regional markets and a tendency toward monopolization. Certainly the lack of documentation on indigenous commerce can be explained in part by administrative and structural features of the market economy: the tax exemptions accorded most Indian trade as well as to maize sales, and the fact that much indigenous commerce took place in outlying areas and involved petty trade and direct exchange among households. Yet even the relatively complete records of weekly markets suggest that indigenous mercantile activity was fairly limited in both numbers of participants and scope of activity. The data would suggest, then, that the effect of market penetration and the commercialization and capitalization of the late colonial economy on indigenous and peasant society was not a linear process leading to their increased incorporation, but was directly related to a multitude of factors, including the structure and linkages of rural and urban societies at the time of expansion. In north-central Guerrero,

indeed, one of the principal effects the growth of merchant capital seems to have been a constant pushing and peeling off at the edges—effective marginalization and probable impoverishment of the poor peasant and indigenous population.

Chart 9i



Source: AGN Indif. de Alcabala, Taxco caja 5, exp. 3
Percentages based on total commercial activity of 83,565 pesos 7 reales
* Two entries of Ruiz de la Mota (for 1,808 pesos 1 real) state that he paid along with José Guardarrama
** Two entries of Manuel Sañudo (for 450 pesos) state that he paid along with José María Ortiz de la Peña

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the other pole of commercial society—the elite—in an effort to demonstrate the role of mercantile capitalism in forging bonds and divisions that pervaded a prolonged struggle for politico-administrative control of central Guerrero during the late colonial period. It does so by presenting the case history of one individual—don Manuel Sañudo—who in a short time built up an extensive network of activities that ran through almost all facets of the regional economy. Sañudo's enterprises comprised an extensive transport business, serving some of the most prominent Mexico City merchants (particularly those involved in the trade of cacao and oriental imports); monopolistic control of Iguala Valley land, which he

leased from the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco and subrented to peasant migrants to the tenant cuadrillas of the central valley; a dominant position in the local production of sugars and soap; a key role in the importation of wheat and the exportation of grain from the valley; and a highly dominant role in the exchange of manufactured goods throughout the region. His role in any one of these sectors—transport, agrarian, or commercial—would have placed him high up within the provincial elite of New Spain. His active role in all of them together gave him a rather unique position of dominance and control that had a profound effect both on the internal dynamics of social, economic, and political relations within the Iguala Valley as well as the nature of urban-rural relations between the valley and the regional mining center in Taxco.

Don Manuel Sañudo was born to don Marcos Sañudo and doña Francisca Ruiz in the "diocese and mountains" of Santander, in northern Spain, probably sometime between 1720 and 1740.[116] No account of his early life or migration to the New World has been found; the first record of his activities occurs, as has already been mentioned, in 1782, when he was taxed for sales at a trapiche of his named Tecoyometla.[117] Although he eventually took over most of the business ventures of his mother-in-law, doña Teresa Caparros y Zapata, the tax records for 1779, 1782, and 1788 suggest a gradual process whereby the responsibility for these enterprises shifted to Sañudo.[118] In 1779 the only records analyzed have been those pertaining to *viento* sales, mostly of flour. There is no mention of either Sañudo nor de la Cuesta (his *concuño*, or wife's sister's

116. Data on Sañudo is found in the following sources: AGN-BN 435/3 (1816); AGN-BN 1604/1 (1806); AGN-Con 33/1 (1806); AGN-Con 105/1 (1807); AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v; AGN-In 1192/3 (1778); AGN-Sub 47/fols. 105–200; the extensive material in AGN-T 3576/various exps.; and AGN-Tr 16/3 (1798). For Maturana and Caparros, see the above (particularly AGN-T 3576/various exps.) as well as AGN-Alh 1/5 (1770); AGN-GP 43/135f–135v (1761); AGN-GP 44/18 (May 1761); AGN-GP 53/11 (Oct. 1774); AGN-GP 57/fol. 80f (1776); AGN-GP 57/fol. 86f (1777); AGN-I 64/133 (1774); AGN-I 64/191 (1774); AGN-I 64/199 (1775); AGN-Sub 37/25 (1811); and AGN-T 3640/6 (1828).

117. See above, n. 66.

118. The tax data for 1779 is found in Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 2; for 1782 see caja 5, exp. 3; and for 1788 see caja 2 exp. 1.

husband); Caparros, however, is recorded as having acquired 40 percent of the flour sold in the jurisdiction of Iguala (75½ of the 191 cargas registered). The data is scant, but considering Sañudo's later dominance of flour imports it appears that in 1779 Caparros was still, at least from the perspective of public administrative officials and records, considered responsible for the family enterprise that her deceased husband Maturana had left behind. Yet despite the appearance of Caparros in the tax ledgers pertaining to flour imports, her son-in-law de la Cuesta had already begun to adminster the family estate.[119]

More complete records are available for 1782, by which time Caparros's two sons-in-law, don Juan de la Cuesta and don Manuel Sañudo, had apparently increased their hold over the management of family activities in the commercial sector (see chart 9i), at least in dealings with colonial tax officials. Caparros, though still alive and in possession of much of her wealth (as indicated by the fact that many years later she loaned Sañudo 29,000 pesos), is not mentioned in the ledgers, nor does she ever reappear.[120] In 1782, it was de la Cuesta and Sañudo who were responsible for paying the alcabala on the family's commercial acquisitions: together they accounted for just over 40 percent of the sales tax generated by trade in goods from the Orient, Castille, and other jurisdictions of New Spain (*efectos de china, de castilla, y de la tierra*). During the following 27 years up to independence, this level of activity and control was to be maintained (and at times increased) by Sañudo alone.[121]

By 1788, Sañudo had clearly come to dominate the Maturana legacy in the Iguala Valley. Of the tax on registered acquisition of imports from the Orient, Spain, or other jurisdictions in

119. Thus in 1778 de la Cuesta is mentioned as "administrador de las tiendas y bienes de da. Teresa Caparros" (administrator of the stores and properties of doña Teresa Caparros); AGN-In 1192/3.

120. For the 29,000-peso loan, see AGN-T 3576/cuad. 2. The loan was extended on 25 Feb. 1799.

121. According to the same 1782 ledger, Sañudo was also apparently extending his network of contacts throughout the region, for several times he acquired goods jointly with doña Gertrudis de la Sosa, widow of don Eugenio López, the former owner of Oculixtlahuacan and other properties.

New Spain, he alone accounted for 45.1 percent, paying alcabala on 22,656 pesos 4 reales of the 50,223 pesos 4 reales of non-*viento* merchandise that was registered as having come into the jurisdiction. A merchant name José de la Peña was responsible for another 16.2 percent; the only other traders with more than 5 percent of the registered market were Francisco Castaños, a Huitzuco merchant (with 6.5 percent); Atanacio Pérez, of Iguala (with 5.2 percent), and Manuel Ruiz de la Mota (with 8.4 percent). Manuel Carrión, who was shortly to become the second most active commercial entrepreneur in the valley, was barely represented, his dealings at this time totaled only 2 percent of the market (representing acquisitions valued at only 999 pesos 2 reales).

Table 9r
Storeowners of *tiendas mestizas* in the jurisdiction of Iguala-Tepecuacuilco, 1788[122]

Contribution of 30 pesos/year	Location of *tienda mestiza*[123]	Yearly payment
Manuel Carrion	Tepecuacuilco	30
Francisco Castaños	Huitzuco	30
Juan de la Cuesta	2 in Tepecuacuilco 1 in Iguala	90
Antonio Estrada	1 in Tepecuacuilco 1 in Iguala	60
Alfonso de la Loza	Huitzuco	30
Atanacio Pérez	Iguala	30
Manuel Ruiz de la Mota	Tepecuacuilco	30
Gertrudis de Sosa	Tepecuacuilco	30
Antonio Torre	Tepecuacuilco	30
Exempt from contribution[124]		
Juan de la Cuesta	El Medio in Tepecuacuilco	0

122. Source: Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 1.

123. Kinsbruner describes the *tiendas mestizas* as "mixed stores that sold food and hardware items in larger lots than did the small retain grocery stores" (pp. 3–4). Undoubtedly many of these storeowners distributed merchandise, probably on credit, in the smaller villages of the valley, or articulated wide-ranging webs of exchange by supplying small-scale itinerant "*buhoneros, revendedores,* and *regatones*"; see Stein (1997:385).

124. The reason for the exemption is not given, although it might have been the case that for sales in these stores the owners kept a running account that was used to directly tax actual sales, rather than estimated and projected sales. The precise language of the ledger is simply "[store] that was exempt from paying an *iguala.*"

Antonio Estrada	Huitzuco	0
Manuel Ruiz de la Mota	Iguala	0
Total		360

Yet 1788 is also one of the few years for which data on tax payments by storeowners has been found, and this document (see table 9r) provides a better perspective on the possible distribution pattern for the goods that Sañudo acquired. The *iguala* of 30 pesos per store obviously underrepresents the level of commercial activity, since at 6 percent this amount would reflect commercial transactions totaling only 500 pesos, well below the expected figures for a *tienda mestiza*. Yet the list is useful in that it provides the names of the major storeowners in the northern Iguala Valley and their relative importance. The data suggest that de la Cuesta continued to administer the stores of Teresa Caparros through at least 1788. And given the early history of this family's activities, the continuing close ties between de la Cuesta and Sañudo, and the fact that in 1788 the former is not recorded as having paid alcabala on any incoming goods, it is quite likely that de la Cuesta administered the stores where Sañudo's acquisitions were sold, a situation that suggests a division of labor within the family, with de la Cuesta maintaining hold of fixed outlet locations at least through the late 1780s and Sañudo increasingly involved in the acquisition end of the family's commercial enterprise. The principal competition to the Maturana heirs came from Antonio Estrada, a local merchant who had been engaged in continual and often ascerbic disputes with Maturana and his supporters since the early 1770s (these disputes are explored in chapter 11). Each of these factions—Estrada on the one hand, and Maturana and his heirs and allies on the other—was able to obtain control over the administration and application of the alcabala and use this position to thwart (or attempt to thwart) the commercial interests of the other. The continual disputes give evidence for the existence of deep-seated tensions for the

control over lucrative regional trade.[125] It would appear that Sañudo, in expanding the enterprises of his father-in-law, was triumphant in this struggle.

Although the precise moment when Sañudo migrated to Tepecuacuilco, married María Josefa Martínez de Maturana, and began his meteoric rise within the local elite is not inequivocably documented, it is likely that all these events occurred in the late 1770s or early 1780s.[126] What is clear is that his father-in-law, by then deceased or near death, was a powerful force in the region. Maturana had been alcalde mayor of the province of Iguala in 1752, 1761–63 (when he proceeded against and expelled the last major cattle rancher in the valley, don Francisco Calsado), and 1770; and in 1774 he was *teniente general* of the province, recently incorporated into that of Taxco.[127] From 1768 to 1773, Maturana was implicated as a leading protagonist in an intravillage indigenous conflict in Iguala, where he defended the native elite against a popular faction enjoying the support of colonial officials in Taxco (see chapter 11). For many years he also collected the tithe in various jurisdictions of Guerrero: Ixcateopan, Zacualpan, Taxco, Iguala,

125. For the 1774 dispute between Estrada (then administrator of the royal monopolies of tobacco, gunpowder, and cards) and Mastachi (apparently a follower of Francisco Maturana, then administrator of the alcabala), see AGN-GP 53/11 Oct. 1774 and AGN-GP 57/fol. 80f. Estrada accused his opponents of trying to prevent him from opening a new store. For the 1778 attempt of Estrada to increase the alcabala payments of de la Cuesta, then administrator of the stores and property of da. Teresa Caparros, widow of Maturana, see AGN-In 1192/3.

126. There is much circumstantial evidence to support this hypothesis. First, doña Teresa Caparros died in 1809 (for her will, see AGN-T 3576/cuad. 2, fols. 21f–34f). Her age at death is not known, but assuming 80 years this would put her birth at around 1729. Even assuming that she married at an early age (18), that María Josefa was her first child, and that she married Sañudo at an early age (18), the marriage of Sañudo and Martínez de Maturana could not have taken place before 1765. However, there is additional data. When Sañudo made out his will on 12 June 1807, his youngest child, don Manuel Alexo, was 6 years old. He would therefore have been born in 1801. Even assuming a late birth at 40, that would place María Josefa's birth in 1761. She would not have been able to marry Sañudo much before 1776. Since it seems clear that by 1782, Sañudo was participating in the family enterprise of Caparros, it is possible to date his marriage to María Josefa Martínez de Maturana somewhere between 1776 and 1782. A final piece of suggestive evidence is that one year after Sañudo and Martínez Maturana married, Caparros gave her son-in-law just over 6,100 pesos. This suggests that Caparros was a widow by then; Francisco Maturana died sometime between 1777 and 1779. Thus it would appear that the marriage must have taken place between 1778 and 1780. The only question that remains, therefore, is how many years (if any) Sañudo had been living inTepecuacuilco before he married.

Tixtla, and Chilapa, a position he gained by offering the most lucrative bid for the rights to these goods. Although most of Maturana's commercial activities are undocumented, given that he died just about the time the Bourbon regime established direct crown administration of the alcabala, he did engage in the *repartimiento* (credit sales) of mules in the Iguala Valley.[128] When Sañudo married Maturana'a daugher, therefore, he was marrying into the dominant family in the Iguala hinterland and one of the principal families in northern and central Guerrero.

The marriage commenced on a solid (though by no means remarkable) financial base. Sañudo brought 14,000 pesos in cash and goods to the union, along with about 500 or 600 pesos worth of jewels and personal belongings. His wife had no dowry, but within a year Caparros gave Sañudo just over 6,100 pesos. Six years later she offered him an additional 10,000 in cash and credit (although given that some of these debts could not be collected, the total given amounted to a little over 7,500 pesos).[129] Thus within six years of marriage, in the mid-1780s, Sañudo had a working capital of about 29,000 pesos. Twenty years later this had expanded into an estate worth some ten times as much.

The growth of Sañudo's activities in various sectors has already been discussed. He dominated a transport network stimulated by the late colonial trade boom in Guayaquil cacao imported through Acapulco and by the commercialization of Pacific coast cotton produced for a growing textile industry. He also invested in the production of sugars, a transfer of resources that eventually gave him a highly salient role in this sector. Other aspects of his economic empire have been briefly mentioned, particularly his interests in soap production and the flour trade. Yet

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127. See appendix 7b.

128. For documentation on Maturana, see n. 116 supra. For his activity in the repartimiento, see AGN-GP 57/fol. 86f (1777); for his position as tithe collector, see AGN-Alh 1/5 (1770) and AGN-T 3640/6 (1770).

129. Apparently the money that Caparros gave at this time was later taken to represent Maria Josefa's dowry; when Sañudo's estate was divided at his death, each conyuge was considered to have contributed 14,500 pesos to the union.

there were two other facets of this empire that dominated regional society in north-central Guerrero: his majority role in in the acquisition and distribution of goods from Castille and other regions of New Spain; and his effective control over most of the land in the Iguala Valley, an immense holding of over 150,000 hectares that he leased from the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento and either subrented to immigrant peasants or occupied (particularly areas in the northwestern part of the valley) with his own cattle and horse ranches. Each of these two activities—commerce on the one hand and agriculture and ranching on the other—will be discussed in turn.

The growth of Sañudo's participation in regional commerce up to 1788 (when his activities accounted for 45.1 percent of non-*viento* goods imported into the province of Iguala) has already been reviewed. Over the next 20 years, until almost the beginning of the independence wars, he maintained a strong presence in this sector, as indicated by an analysis of tax records and the percentage represented by Sañudo's payments: 1795 (40.4 percent), 1797 (34.1 percent), 1797 (34.1 percent), 1798 (35.5 percent), 1799 (33.1 percent), 1802 (33.3 percent), and 1805 (38.5 percent). The other major merchant was Manuel Carrión, based in Huitzuco.[130] In 1809 the stores of the by-then deceased Sañudo (now being run by don Pedro Antonio Quijano y Cordero, the executor of Sañudo's estate and the new husband of his widow), had dropped to 25.1 percent of registered non-*viento* goods brought into the province, the beginning of a decline that culminated in the 1820 embargo of the estate after don José Martínez de Maturana claimed payment of the outstanding debt still owed to his mother (then deceased), doña Teresa Caparros.[131] Moreover, as the level of commerce in the province of Iguala increased

130. Carrión's figures for the same years were as follows: 1795 (18.3%), 1797 (19.8%), 1798 (19.1%), 1799 (23.3%), 1802 (22.3%), 1805 (27.1%), and 1809 (22.0%). Note that in 1788, before Carrión surged to the front of the commercial economy, he accounted for only 2.0 percent of the *efectos de la china, castilla y de la tierra*. In previous years (1782 and 1779) he is not mentioned. For sources, see the following note.

131. The corresponding documents are Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 5, exp. 4 (1795); caja 5, exp. 6 (1797); caja

over time, the absolute value of Sañudo's proportional activity also increased. Thus in 1788, Sañudo's 45.1 percent control of the *efectos de china, castilla y la tierra* imported into the province represented tax payments on a total value of 22,656 pesos; his 38.5 percent in 1805 represented the alcabala paid on goods valued at 35,646 pesos 4 reales, an increase in acquisitions of over 50 percent from the 1788 figures. Sañudo's investments grew along with the commercial sector and, whatever the absolute level of imports, between 1795 and 1809 Sañudo maintained a relatively constant presence in the regional market, between 33 and 40 percent of all registered non-*viento* acquisitions.

An inventory of Sañudo's stores carried out shortly after his death in 1808 (table 9s) reveals not only the extent of his holdings in retail goods (mostly manufactures, but some agricultural produce), but the high percentage of his commercial assets that were tied up in unsound credit (a key element of a financial "empire" that was more structure than content).[132] The value of his largest retail store outlet, in Tepecuacuilco, was just under 100,000 pesos (not including the value of the building and land), an extremely high sum considering the provincial location of the enterprise. Yet of this only about 35 percent was in actual merchandise. Equally surprising is the fact that not only about 65 percent of his total mercantile assets (104,463 pesos of 160,330 pesos total) was represented by outstanding credit, but that over 47 percent of this

5, exp. 7 (1798); caja 2, exp. 2 (1799); caja 2, exp. 4 (1802); caja 2, exp. 6 (1805); and caja 2, exp. 7 (1809). Note that in 1798, Sañudo's overall percentage of the total commerce includes 12 percent of the market for the value and taxes paid on 310 mules and 100 colts brought in, apparently for distribution through *repartimiento* (credit advances).

132. Not included in this list is a fifth store, in Huitzuco, that Sañudo had sold to don Santiago Gutiérrez in 1807, and for which Gutiérrez had obligated himself to pay 3,000 pesos, covering interest payments of 5% per year until he had paid the principal. At Sañudo's death Gutiérrez owed the estate the interest that had accrued since the transfer: 17 pesos 7 reales 4 granos. Again, the Huitzuco store's inventory reveals the extent of outstanding credit that stores held. In 1807 a total of 2,749 pesos was owed to the store; of this amount 2,206 pesos were considered uncollectable. See AGN-T 3576/1 fol. s.n.

(49,324 pesos of the 104,463 total) was deemed uncollectable (*incobrables*).[133] A significant portion of this bad credit had been carried for over 30 years: an annotation in the inventory states that 8,611 pesos 3 reales of the money owed to the large store in Tepecuacuilco dated to the time of don Francisco Maturana.

Table 9s
Value of Sañudo's estate holdings in retail stores: inventory, implements, credit, and debt in 1808[134]

Store location	Extant inventory*	Store implements	Debts owed to Sañudo: Collectable	Doubtful	Uncollectable	Value of store assets	Debts owed	Adjusted Value
Cocula								
Value**	7,668	229	4,310	692	3161	16,060	729	15,331
Percentage	47.75	1.43	26.84	4.31	19.68	100.00	4.54	
Atlixtac								
Value	2,906	26	2,830	887	95	6,744	0	6,744
Percentage	43.10	0.39	41.96	13.15	1.41	100.00	0	
Iguala								
Value	12,737	422	6,485	935	4,663	25,242	2,371	22,871
Percentage	50.46	1.67	25.69	3.70	18.47	100.00	9.39	
Tepecuacuilco[a]								
Value	642	28	916	1,002	15,018	17,606	0	17,606
Percentage	3.65	0.16	5.20	5.69	85.30	100.00		
Tepecuacuilco[b]								
Value	33,929	381[c]	28,570	8,512	26,387[d]	97,778	0	97,778
Percentage	34.70	0.39	29.22	8.71	26.99	100.00	0	
Totals								
Value	57,882	1,086	43,111	12,028	49,324	163,430	3,100	160,330
Percentage	35.42	0.66	26.38	7.36	30.18	100.00	1.90	

133. All store inventories reported three types of credit assets: *cobrables* (collectable), *dudosos* (doubtful), and *incobrables* (uncollectable). Slightly higher figures than those given in table 9r are listed in a summary account of the estate division in 1810; see AGN-T 3576/cuad. 4. The value of the goods and implements of the 5 stores is given as 59,548½ pesos (cf. the 58,968 sum of the first two rows of table 9r) and the total credit is 57,363½ collectable; 13,132 doubtful; and 53,458 uncollectable (for a total of 123,953½ in outstanding credit owed to the stores).

134. Sources are all in AGN-T 3576/1 at the following folios: Cocula, fols. 14f–19v; Atlixtac, fols. 23f–26f; Iguala, fols. 2f–10f; Tepecuacuilco (small store), fols. 27f–29f; and Tepecuacuilco (large store), fols. 30f–37v.

* In a few cases this includes a small amount of cash on hand at the store
** Rounded to nearest peso
[a] Store named Nuestra Señora de Dolores
[b] Store named simply the "tienda principal"
[c] Among the "aperos" (implements) are those of the soap factory (about 175 pesos) and bakery (about 47 pesos)
[d] Including 8,611 pesos 3 reales that dated to the time of the deceased don Francisco de Maturana

The store inventories, then, confirm an aspect of the late colonial mercantile boom that has previously been discussed: the immense importance of credit, which facilitated not only the trade of small- and mid-level merchants, but was a key factor in the expansion of exchange networks (both acquisition and distribution) at the higher levels of commercial activity. Unfortunately, in Sañudo's case there is only scant information on the recipients of store credit, particularly in the smaller locales. In Atlixtac, for example, the *cajero* (store manager) owed Sañudo 249 pesos 6 reales; in Cocula the *cajero* owed 125 pesos 7 reales, and a group of ranchers living nearby in Xonacatla owed 403 pesos 4 reales. Salary advances and credit guaranteed by property holdings (such as cattle) were apparently areas in which Sañudo was willing to lend money. Yet the 529 pesos 1 real of credit that can be itemized at Cocula represents only about 12 percent of the total collectable debt (4,310 pesos). Sañudo also probably supplied itinerant petty merchants who peddled in outlying areas and sold small amounts of merchandise to poor peasants who were expected to pay after the harvest. In Iguala, Cocula, and Atlixtac, however, there is little direct evidence of the structure of Sañudo's commercial networks, i.e., the sources of his debt and the beneficiaries of his credit.

In this respect the account books of the principal store in Tepecuacuilco are somewhat more precise: eight ledgers listed cash owed to Sañudo, another five recorded his outstanding debts. The credit, totaling 12,090 pesos, was in addition to the total of 63,469 pesos given in appropriate line of table 9s, which probably represented merchandise advanced in small amounts,

with payments left pending.[135] The eight ledgers of outstanding credit, on the contrary, document major economic transactions. Included were 4,000 pesos owed to Sañudo by the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco, to be repaid by lowering Sañudo's rent for the *archicofradía's* land in the Iguala Valley; 3,000 pesos that don Santiago Gutiérrez owed Sañudo for a Huitzuco store that the former had bought in 1807; and 2,749 pesos in outstanding sums still owed to the store and to which Sañudo retained the rights.

The remaining five ledgers record Sañudo's debts at the time of his death. Key here are large loans from family members: 21,000 pesos provided by his mother, doña Teresa Caparros; 11,000 pesos lent by Sañudo's brother-in-law Br. don Francisco José Martínez de Maturana; and 16,000 pesos lent by the then deceased doña Francisca Martínez, perhaps a close relative.[136] In addition, don Fernando Hermosa, a Mexico City merchant whose close ties to Sañudo are evidenced by the fact that he was named co-tutor of Sañudo's children and co-executor of his estate, had lent a total of 22,835 pesos.[137] Sañudo had other significant debts: to the estate of the wealthy Mexico City merchant don Ysidro Antonio de Ycaza (1,407 pesos); to don Fernando de la Pasadilla of Iguala (4,154 pesos); and to don Diego de Agreda of Mexico City (5,000 pesos), don Juan Antonio del Castillo y Llata of Querétaro (6,472 pesos), don Tomás de la Hoz, Sañudo's occasional representative (1,499 pesos in unpaid salary), don Pedro Antonio Quejano y Cordero (1,715 pesos), and don José Sañudo, Manuel Sañudo's brother (7,856 pesos). The total was

135. That is, the 63,469 pesos represents the sum of 28,570 pesos, 8,512 pesos, and 26,387 pesos, the debts in the second Tepecuacuilco store; see table 9r.

136. There is no other mention of da. Francisca Martínez, but her last name is suggestive of Martínez de Maturana, the family name of Sañudo's in-laws. Although the ledger at the Tepecuacuilco store gave a loan figure of 21,000 pesos, a later dispute mentions that Caparros had lent her son-in-law 29,000 pesos at 5% interest on 25 Feb. 1799, with the principal to be paid within nine years. At his death Sañudo had paid back 11,000 pesos, leaving 18,000 outstanding. His wife and her second husband then agreed to continue paying back interest at 75 pesos/month (equivalent to 900/year, i.e., 5% of 18,000) and return the principal of 18,000 by 25 Oct. 1814. See particularly AGN-T 3576/cuad. 2.

137. The other tutor was de la Cuesta; the other two executors were de la Cuesta and Sañudo's widow.

106,654 pesos 3 reales, of which over half (55,856 pesos) probably came from immediate family members.[138] In a later correction to the inventory a few other debts were recognized: to don Antonio del Corral and the *subdelegado* don Juan Dimas Abad (1,076 and 1,215 pesos, respectively, for the collection of *repartimiento* debts), and to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento (owed 1,000 pesos pending from the final rental payment).

In effect, then, Sañudo was able to channel resources from a small network of kin into a business enterprise of considerable proportions. The figures vary very slightly across different ledgers, but the following summary represents the general state of his finances at death. Sañudo's assets totaled about 328,000 pesos (see table 9t). Of these, approximately 37.8 percent were in money owed to Sañudo, including 16.3 percent in assets deemed uncollectable and 4.0 percent considered "doubtful" (see chart 9j). The remaining 62.2 percent of the estate's value was fairly well distributed over various types of enterprises and holdings: sugar haciendas, cattle ranches, pack animals, store inventories, urban holdings, and a combined rubric of cash, produce, and personal belongings ("productos y frutos").

Table 9t
Summary account of Sañudo's assets at death in 1808[139]

Asset	Value (pesos-reales-granos)
Urban property	
House in Iguala	3,255-3-03
House in Cocula	1,787-7-01
Large house in Tepecuacuilco	6,321-2-01½
Adjoining house in Tepecuacuilco	2,204-6-04
Another house called Corral de Abajo y Miga	9,732-0-03
Another house near the river	117-7-00
Total	**23,419-2-00½**
Rural property	

138. These immediate family members who lent cash to don Manuel Sañudo were Teresa Caparros, Francisco José Martínez de Maturana, Francisca Martínez, and José Sañudo.

139. This table is based on the summary account in AGN-T 3576/cuad. 4, dated 16 Jan. 1810.

Sugar hacienda at Atlixtac	40,767-2-08½
Hacienda at Apango	13,423-6-06½
Hacienda at Acayahualco	2,703-5-05
Total	**56,894-6-08**
Cattle ranches	
Ranch of Cococingo	7,996-5-00
Ranch of Coacoyula	10,080-4-00
Ranch of Sonacatla	6,572-4-00
Total	**24,649-5-00**
Animals	
5 *atajos* in Tepecuacuilco and 2 in Atlixtac	18,184-0-00
Animals serving the main house in Tepecuacuilco	455-0-00
Total	**18,639-0-00**
Store goods and instruments	
Store in Iguala	12,195-2-10
Store in Cocula	7,827-3-03½
Store in Atlixtaca	2,932-3-01
Small store in Tepecuacuilco	669-6-05½
Principal store in Tepecuacuilco	31,616-7-06½
Total	**55,241-7-02½**
Products and fruits	
Transport costs owed (7 atajos in 4 journeys)	10,151-6-11
Extant in Atlixtaca in sugar, maize, and panocha	6,394-0-08
Furniture, worked silver, jewels and clothes of Sañudo	2,626-4-07
Cash in stores	4,306-4-09
Total	**23,479-0-11**
Active credit	
Collectable in the stores and haciendas[140]	57,363-3-08½
Doubtful	13,131-6-10½
Uncollectable	53,458-1-01
Total	**123,953-3-08**
Miscellaneous additions	1,441-6-00
Total inventory[141]	**327,718-7-06**

140. The ledger here mentions "créditos activos," i.e., credit owed to the stores of Iguala, Cocula, Atlixtac, to the two stores in Tepecuacuilco, and to the haciendas of Atlixtac, Apango, and Acayahualco; AGN-T 3576/4.

141. The total here is slightly less than that which appears in the actual document; AGN-T 3576/cuad. 4.

The debit side of the final inventory, however, greatly reduced the estate's assets. The former included 119,366½ pesos in outright debt (including that to the close family members and associates mentioned above); 29,000 in capital that Manuel Sañudo and María Josefa Martínez de Maturana had brought to the marriage; and 4,816 miscellaneous expenses incurred with the execution of the will. The total debt reported in the ledgers was 153,632 pesos 5 reales 2 granos. Subtracting this figure from that of the assets (328,898 pesos 6 granos), yielded the positive balance of the estate: 175,265 pesos 3 reales 4 granos. Sañudo's widow was to receive half of this, plus the 14,500 pesos she had brought to the marriage, yielding an inheritance of 102,132 pesos 5 reales 8 granos. Sañudo's three children together were to receive the other half of the estate after various expenses (masses, funeral, donations, etc.) had been deduced. In the final account, each child was to receive assets worth 31,526 pesos 5 reales 2½ granos.

The bulk of Sañudo's wife's and children's inheritance (60 and 67 percent, respectively), however, was in rights to collect credit that had been extended by the various stores (see below). Apparently most of the material assets of the estate were reserved to pay Sañudo's debts, although it is not clear whether these were immediately paid off with cash generated by estate sales. In at least one case, Sañudo's debt was renegotiated, not repaid. Sañudo's widow and her second husband, don Pedro Antonio Quijano y Cordero, agreed to pay doña Teresa Caparros 900 pesos a year in interest on 18,000 pesos of outstanding principal from a loan originally negotiated by Sañudo. They also agreed to pay back the principal by 25 October 1814. They failed to do this and after Caparros's death her son and executor, Br. don Francisco José Martínez de Maturana, sued his sister and brother-in-law for repayment and managed to have what remained of Sañudo's estate embargoed and auctioned for this purpose.[142]

142. See AGN-T 3576/cuad. 4.

Doña María Josefa Maturana

In cash	14,500-0-00
Collectable debt	28,681-5-04½
Doubtful debt	6,565-7-05¼
Uncollectable debt	26,729-0-06½
Estate assets	25,656-0-04
Total	102,132-5-08

Each child (Petra Manuela, María Ygnacio, and Manuel Alexo)

Collectable debt	9,560-4-05¼
Doubtful debt	2,188-5-01¾
Uncollectable debt	8,909-5-06
Estate assets	10,867-6-01½
Total	31,526-02½

An overview of Sañudo's commercial activity, then, suggests that he gradually funneled the assets of family and friends (such as Hermosa, a merchant who not only provided Sañudo with goods but who was close enough to be named tutor and executor) into a wide range of enterprises: a transport network, sugar haciendas, stores, and retail sales. Yet to a great extent the credit seems simply to have flown freely through his hands, for when he died Sañudo was owed almost as much as he himself had borrowed. And, in the end, his main legacy to his heirs was more credit than capital or cash, which was used to repay creditors. An estate nominally worth over 328,000 pesos was passed on with only 72,759 pesos in real assets.

But if the collapse of an "empire" built on credit was the most dramatic result of Sañudo's death, during his life his willingness to borrow and lend seems to have provided him with a profound influence in the region: a multitude of activities and a proliferation of contacts. Much of the cash Sañudo borrowed was probably invested in one or more of his extensive economic ventures: his seven *atajos* of mules (approximately 375 animals worth over 18,000 pesos) that dominated the regional transport sector; his ranches of Cococingo, Coacoyula, and Sonacatla, which together contained some 3,168 head of cattle and horses; or his expansion of the

fields and infrastructure of sugar haciendas that he gradually acquired as his economic interests in the region grew. Less directly, Sañudo's great assets permitted him to acquire control over what was certainly one of the largest landed properties in central Mexico—the haciendas knows as San Miguel, Carrizal, and Xochicuetla, which belonged to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco, officially constituted in 1691.[143]

The formation of this landholding has already been discussed (see chapter 5). In 1782 Br. don Manuel de la Borda, the son of don José de la Borda, donated the extensive hacienda of San Miguel in the northern Iguala Valley to the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento. Income from these lands was to be used for the maintenance and upkeep of Santa Prisca, the church his father had built in Taxco. Then, in 1796, the *archicofradía* acquired the lands of Carrizal and Xochicuetla, immediately south of San Miguel, which had belonged to don José Martínez de Viedma. The sodality paid 3,000 pesos in cash and agreed to take over the interest payments on 3 *capellanías*, with principal that totaled 7,000 pesos.[144]

Upon acquiring these lands, the *archicofradía* began to collect the rents, in kind, that were due from the various cuadrillas of peasant migrants that had been established in the central valley over the years (see chapters 6 and 7). Up to the turn of the century the religious sodality had an administrator who would collect the maize payments and remit them to the Taxco, where they would be sold to feed the poor. But at the beginning of the century Sañudo, described later as

143. For the *archicofradía* constitution, which was approved at its founding, see AGN-BN 1028/23 (1691). Extensive documentation on these landholdings can be found in AGN-Alh 8/10 (1809), AGN-Alh 8/11 (1809), AGN-BN 85/72 (1820), AGN-Bn 136/45 (1817), AGN-BN 146/25 (1779), AGN-BN 275/11 (1849), AGN-BN 368/17, AGN-BN 369/53 (1848), AGN-BN 435/3 (1816), AGN-BN 436/9–12 (1833–35), AGN-BN 769/17 (1836), AGN-BN 1028/23 (1691), AGN-BN 1604/1 (1806), AGN-BN 1815/13 (1806), AGN-BNz 22-101/94, AGM-Con 33/1–2 (1806), AGN-In 40/134, AGN-I 69/331 (1794), AGN-I 69/414 (1796), AGN-I 83/fols. 19v–21f, AGN-I 83/107f–108f, AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v, AGN-M 83/fols. 74f–75v.

144. The donation by de la Borda is held in the archive of the Domínguez Islas family in Taxco; see appendix 8i.

"one of the powerful men of the pueblo of Tepecuacuilco," had requested and been given a nine-year lease, with rental payments established at 2,500 pesos for the northern lands of San Miguel and 500 pesos for the southern lands of Carrizal and Xochicuetla.[145] One of the clauses of the rental contract obligated Sañudo to bring the maize he preceived as rent into the *real y minas* of Taxco to sell, thus continuing with the original legacy of de la Borda, who acquired these lands for the specific purpose of ensuring the provisioning of the mines. Whether or not Sañudo sent maize to Taxco is unclear. An anonymous complaint against him and his alleged associate, don Antonio del Corral y Velasco, accused them of collusion in thwarting the supply of cheap maize to the mining town.[146] Another indication of the failure of Sañudo to meet his obligations in regards to urban grain supply is the fact that a year after his death his successor, don Pedro Antonio Quijano y Cordero, remitted testimony to Mexico City on the distribution of maize perceived in rent on the same *archicofradía* lands. Quijano y Cordero mentioned his obligation to supply the Taxco mines with 1,000 cargas of maize. However, he also gave his "household expenses" as 1,500 cargas of maize to maintain 5 *atajos* on the camino real; 1,000 cargas for his food for his household, horses and mules, and pigs; and 200 cargas required by the hacienda of Acayahualco. Given that only about 1,500 cargas of maize were collected in rent, Quijano claimed he was unable to meet the 1,000-carga requirement.

The struggle over maize supply and the role of Sañudo and other Iguala Valley agriculturalists in challenging the dominance of urban officials in Taxco is discussed in greater detail in chapter 11. Yet it seems clear that Sañudo's extension of regional control to the land

145. See particularly AGN-BN 1814/13 and AGN-BN 1604/1. Documentation of the clause requiring Sañudo to take maize he perceived from the rental of the lands to sell in Taxco is found in AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v. He was also to construct a *pósito* or *alhóndiga* (public granary and public grain market). Finally, if there was a need for additional maize, he was legally obligated to obtain it and bring it to Taxco so that its population never suffer from shortages nor lack this grain in any way whatsoever. For Quijano y Cordero's obligation to transport 1,000 cargas of maize to Taxco every year, see AGN-Alh 8/10 (1809).

146. This complaint is found in AGN-I 88-fols. 229f–236v (1809).

base for agricultural production was one of the final steps in the consolidation of an economic empire that he had begun to expand some two decades previously. It seems, moreover, that the acquisition of rights to rental payments in grain was mainly directed, as indicated by Quijano y Cordero's summary account, on assuring a steady supply of grain for Sañudo's own major commercial ventures: transport, pig-fattening, and sugar production (to feed the animals that transported the cut cane and supplied power for the mills). At the same time, Sañudo's willingness to extend credit might have been another factor that the *archicofradía* took into account when it extended a rental contract to Sañudo. There were certainly many who suggested direct administration of the land as a more profitable enterprise and as the only way that the *archicofradía* could meet its religious obligations.[147] But rental to Sañudo created a direct link between the Taxco church and the wealthiest merchant in the region; when the *archicofradía* needed funds they approached Sañudo and were given 4,000 pesos, which at the time of his death had still not been repaid.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the structure of agrarian production and commercial markets within the valley and jurisdiction of Iguala. As was the case with interregional trade and transport, the impact of extracolonial and extrajurisdictional factors was strongly felt. This was particularly true in the sugar sector, which in the mid-to-late eighteenth century responded to growing colonial and then international markets. Moreover, even if the destruction of the sugar plantations on Santo Domingo did not directly stimulate production in Guerrero for overseas sales, the exportation of significant amounts of sugar through the port of Veracruz undoubtedly did affect patterns of

147. For this perspective, see the long discussion in AGN-BN 435/3 (1816). The claims of immense profits to be had through direct administration seem to have been misguided, as account books from such an arrangement reveal, e.g., AGN-BN 439/9-12 (1832–34). Note that in 1833, direct administration

intracolonial exchange within New Spain, probably stimulating both local production and increased long-distance trade. The evidence suggests that during the final decades of the colonial period, sugar production in north-central Guerrero exceeded regional demand, and that some sugar produced in the Iguala Valley was being exported to other jurisdictions. Direct evidence of this exchange has been found on the Pacific coast.

A consideration of the implications of overall patterns of production and exchange of sugar in central Guerrero suggests that in conjunction with a demand-oriented approach to the sugar industry another interpretation should be considered: the role of sugar, as well as other items of specialized or localized production, in articulating webs of petty trade and commerce through the capital deficient and impoverished rural areas of central Guerrero. To the extent that sugar was used to facilitate the articulation of distant markets in a cash-deficient society, the impact of distance on transport costs and interregional market integration needs careful reevaluation. For example, if transport expenditures are evaluated on the basis of "opportunity costs," then the costs and benefits of transporting sugar (or other highland products, such as petates from Tixtla) over long distances to geographically distinct areas at particular times of the year would have less to do with efforts to secure a profitable return to capital investment and more to do with the particular temporal and spatial structure of exchange in colonial New Spain. During the dry season, for example, not only would transport be facilitated in physical terms (as roads were in better condition), but besides muleskinning and peddling peasants would have few alternatives for remunerative activities (in another idiom, the "opportunity cost" of rural labor approached zero). In terms of the spatial dynamics of commerce, long-distance marketing of sugar along the Pacific coast was an integral element of the structure of exchange, providing a product that could be sold or bartered for tropical produce or overseas imports and permitting

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produced only 3,866 pesos, little more than Sañudo's rental payments of 3,000 pesos.

profit to be made on both legs of a marketing trip between dissimilar areas of consumption and production. In this sense sugar was not unlike some of the other petty goods described in the previous chapter.

Yet at the same time sugar production, at least of greater amounts of the higher grades, required heavy levels of capital investment, principally for irrigation systems and processing plants. Thus it was somewhat prone to monopolization; in effect this is what occurred. Around Chilapa, the Mesa family controlled the greater part of regional production, although mostly by means of a large number of small trapiches. In north-central Guerrero, Manuel Sañudo, Nicolás Salgado, and the Soto y Acuña family were dominant; the northern haciendas were generally relatively large, with some competing on the scale of similar enterprises in the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca, the major sugar-producing region of New Spain. The attractiveness of the northern Iguala Valley was also noteworthy; it was enough to encourage local investment by a Veracruzano merchant, although legal problems with creditors quickly brought an end to his enterprise. Yet perhaps the most striking aspect of late colonial developments in the rural economy of the Iguala Valley was the way in which Sañudo, whose control over transport and maize agriculture has already been documented and discussed (the former through investment in hundreds of pack animals, the latter through rental and subrental of tenant cuadrillas), extended his control to the most dynamic sector of the late colonial period. His sugar producing enterprises came to dominate regional markets (particularly of the higher grade sugars) and gave him access to a product that he could export to Acapulco, where he acquired tons of cacao that he would remit to highland capitalists.

Finally, this chapter has explored one additional facet of the regional economy: market structure (particularly its locational aspects) and general patterns of exchange of goods (particularly the relative participation in commerce of different individuals and sectors of

society). Here again patterns of concentration appear, both spatially, in terms of market primacy, and socially, in terms of the domination of a few highly capitalized merchants. This affected even the more localized aspects of regional production in the Taxco-Iguala area, most notably the characteristics of pig-fattening enterprises and the nature of participation in small-scale regional markets (such as the weekly *tianguis* that provided the major point of exchange for animals and goods exchanged by petty producers). Labor-intensive husbandry enterprises (such as pig-fattening, which converts maize to meat) directly competed with humans for grain; during the late colonial period the development of such activity added considerable pressure to the subsistence base of the human population, exacerbating the negative impact of the flow of grain to feed pack animals in the booming transportation sector. Moreover, husbandry activities not only competed for scarce resources at local and regional levels, but effectively created the functional equivalent of surreptitious maize export economy. Grain was literally gobbled up by the animals, and these were often exported (dead or alive) under circumstances that probably provoked less resistance than the direct transfer of grain to distant markets.[148] In general, the willingness of the state to accept the flow of grain into capitalized enterprises such as the transport and animal husbandry sectors reflects a more general shift toward liberal property rights vis-à-vis grain (both the right to export out of a region and the right to use it as animal fodder) and an abandonment of a political commitment of the state to guaranteed subsistence. At the same time the localized organization of husbandry enterprises seemed to differ quite markedly in the jurisdictions of Taxco and Iguala. As suggested above, these differences probably reflected differences in the ecology of grain production and consumption. In the Taxco market, young pigs were often imported from

148. The problem was not the husbandry activity as such, but its conversion into a capitalist venture divorced from household economies. Peasants can, and do, easily switch grain from animal to human consumption during periods of scarcity or economic crisis; and thus when grain becomes scarce (for instance, after a drought) they will often sell off their pigs, or stop fattening them. However, in a capitalist venture no such flexibility or direct links to family economies exist and thus these husbandy ventures are not sensitive to human consumption needs.

peripheral locations in Tierra Caliente around Teloloapan and fattened locally. Along with young pigs, grain in the food-deficient Taxco jurisdiction was acquired on the open market; most of it was probably imported from the Iguala Valley. Thus entry into the pig-fattening business around Taxco required a level of capitalization that served to limit participation and push the industry toward monopolistic control. In the Iguala Valley, on the other hand, both pigs and grain were available locally. Participation in this sector seems to have been much less concentrated that in Taxco and it seems quite probable that husbandry was more closely articulated with household economies and petty production. When capitalist enterprises, such as that in Cocula, were established, they seem to have elicited a quite negative reaction on the part of peasant farmers, who would see how grain they owed for cash advances was used for animal, not human, consumption, driving up prices and creating a very visible affront to any moral component of an agrarian economy.

Finally, there is the question of the market structure and patterns in the commercialization of manufactures produced both in New Spain and overseas. Here the most striking feature of the regional economy is the notable concentration of hinterland activity in the hands of two major merchants: don Manuel Carrión and don Manuel Sañudo. The commercial enterprise of the latter was explored in depth. Sañudo acquired and then expanded the business ventures of his wife's family and converted loans from kin and associates into a vast network of credit and debt that formed the endoskeleton of an empire that was more form than substance: at Sañudo's death his heirs inherited much more credit than cash. Yet when alive he controlled the greater part of the regional economy; indeed, his economic activities were surprising for their breadth and depth.

On the basis of this economic organization and a detailed study of market primacy and the spatial distribution of commerce, as well as of relative unimportance of petty *viento* sales and weekly market activity, it appears that the influx of commercial capital into the hinterland created

an economy increasingly dichotomized along two axes. First there was a division between a powerful merchant elite that increasingly excluded poor peasant and indigenous sectors from the more lucrative sectors of the late colonial commercial economy. And second, there was an increasing concentration of commercial capital in the hinterland, which was thus able to assert a substantial degree of politico-administrative independence, even dominance, over the regional urban mining center located in Taxco.

It is to this spatial, rural-urban tension that the present study turns in conclusion. Chapters 4 through 9 have analyzed the three major parameters of the rural economy in the Iguala Valley: land tenure and the consolidation of a single holding that dominated the most fertile valley lands; eighteenth-century migration into the valley by mostly indigenous peasants who established over three dozen tenant cuadrillas dedicated to maize agriculture; and a late colonial boom in mercantile activity that shifted the locus of regional economic power to the northern Iguala Valley. Parallel to these processes was a strong undercurrent of desires for development whereby an urban elite in Taxco sought the vertical integration of a grain market to the mining economy. This effort began in the early eighteenth century, with the first petition to incorporate the jurisdiction of Iguala into that of Taxco for the express purpose of obtaining politico-administrative authority over the distribution of maize. At the same time, efforts were repeatedly made to insure that this grain would be brought from the valley to the mining center: ranchers were expelled, lands donated to the church, and contractual obligations set down that required renters to send grain to Taxco. Up to a certain point this process of integration seems to have occurred, yet there were many barriers to its final consumation. First, in the mining industry maize (as fodder and food) was a cost of production. To maximize profits miners were under constant pressure (more so than other urban consumers) to keep prices low. There was, for this reason, an inherent structural deterrent to the use of economic incentives (i.e., competitive

pricing) to achieve market integration. Second, the liberal concept of open markets and inviolable property rights was gaining increasing acceptance; the state was therefore more and more reluctant to limit the rights of grain merchants to freely trade their produce. Third, as the economy grew, large amounts of grain were diverted from human to animal consumption to support the transport infrastructure. Thus as mining recuperated over the eighteenth century, there was more competition for grain from newly emergent sectors of the colonial economy. And finally, a strong rural entrepreneurial merchant class, epitomized by Sañudo, emerged and challenged the hegemonic intentions of the regional urban mining elite. All these factors created lines of tension for rural-urban market integration of the most basic subsistence good: maize. Moreover, the conflict over grain between these two poles of regional society—urban miners and rural commercial entrepreneurs—reveals a fundamental struggle for what was, at its most basic level, a contest over the definition of the space, for both the moral and political economy of provisioning had at their core a geographic component related to the characteristics of regional identity and rights over the delimitation of marketing systems.

Part 3

Absolute Property and Spatial Politics:

Struggles for Control over Grain in the Late Colonial Period

CHAPTER 10

THE POLITICAL AND MORAL ECONOMY OF SUBSISTENCE: STATE CONTROL OF GRAIN MARKETS

...too often in our histories we foreshorten the great transitions. We leave forestalling and the doctrine of a fair price in the seventeenth century. We take up the story in the nineteenth. But the death of the old moral economy of provision was as long-drawn-out as the death of paternalist intervention in industry and trade.

E. P. Thompson, "The moral economy reviewed"

INTRODUCTION: PARADIGMS IN THE POLITICS OF PROVISIONING

In his now classic analysis of conflict over grain provisioning, E. P. Thompson fashioned a paradigm of "moral economy" that has dominated inquiries into state formation and class struggle in Western Europe, particularly England and France.[1] The changes he studied went beyond economics. The new market relations that emerged in the early modern period were accompanied by transformations in the dominant theories of property rights and of political legitimacy;[2] as one scholar has noted, the transition to a capitalist economy was "a creative social act."[3] A schematic representation of these cultural transformations would align royal absolutism,

1. See Thompson (1991b, 1991c). His argument was directed against what he called a "spasmodic view of popular history," which characterizes popular revolt, particularly the grain riot, as a simple response to economic deprivation. For an analysis of the relationship between state formation and the administration of subsistence, see C. Tilly (1975) and, particularly, Kaplan's (1976, 1984, 1996) monumental works. Walter and Wrightson (1976) examine how state and elite discourse on the causes of grain shortages were constructed so as to mitigate the potentially explosive impact of dearth on the social order.

2. On the specific problem of the meaning of "property," see Aylmer (1980), also Pocock (1985a[1980]:56). On state formation and cultural transformation, see Corrigan and Sayer (1985). For an elegant study of how market forces interact with changing traditions of "property" (here in the case of the philosophy of artistic creation and intellectual property), see Woodmansee (1994).

3. Appleby (1978:18).

scholasticism, and the virtue of republican or aristocratic values on one side; and liberalism, empiricism, and commercial self-interest on the other.[4] From this perspective, the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries witnessed a series of hesitant (though finally consummated) ideological shifts: the retreat from centralized market control epitomized by Colbertian mercantilism in the face of an onslaught of radical liberalism championed by the physiocrats and Adam Smith; the repudiation of normative scholastic economics, attentive to the penetration of ethics and justice into the world of exchange, in favor of a positivistic approach rooted in political economic pragmatism and its concern with what Machiavelli would call "the effective truth of things";[5] and the decline of medieval notions of vice and virtue as commerce and mercantile activity were increasingly assigned a constructive role in the advancement of economic well-being, social liberty, political justice, and international harmony.[6]

Thompson situates grain riots within the framework of politicized class struggle informed by a clear perception of a balance of rights and obligations linking citizen to state, as well as region to nation. According to his analysis, protest in the struggle for subsistence reflects the varying extent to which distinct social groups and provincial factions adhere to conflicting models of a moral or a political economy (particularly in regard to market regulation and price

4. For this series of oppositions, see Wootton (1994:13). In an article in the same volume, Sher (1994:381) mentions the work of Pocock to the effect that the critical problem of eighteenth-century political and social philosophy was the reconciliation of ideas of liberty, justice, and commerce (which can be considered a type of "third man" in this mixture). He cites from Pocock's 1985 anthology (1985c:231) that "thinking principally, but not exclusively, of Britain, there existed 'an antithesis between virtue and commerce, republicanism and liberalism, classicisim and progressivisim. The Old Whigs identified freedom with virtue and located it in a past; the Modern Whigs identified it with wealth, enlightenment, and progress toward a future. Around this antithesis, it is not too much to say, nearly all eighteenth-century philosophy of history can be organized.'"

5. See Hirschman (1977:12–13)..

6. The literature on these topics is vast, see particularly Appleby (1978), Baldwin (1959), de Roover (1955, 1958, 1974[1963]), Grice-Hutchinson (1978, 1993), Hirschman (1977), Hont and Ignatieff (1983), Hutchinson (1988), Meek (1976), Pocock (1972, 1975), Sher (1994), and Winch (1978: particularly chap. 4).

control of grains). In England this meant continued popular allegiance, especially during times of dearth, to Tudor policies of administered regional grain markets and to the customary assumption that the state's fundamental obligation is to oversee public provisioning (as opposed to the subsequent Lockean emphasis on the state as primarily responsible for the defense of private property).[7] Yet rioters also implemented another model, based on the medieval view that producers and consumers should be in direct contact and asserting that "corn should be consumed in the region in which it was grown, especially in times of scarcity."[8] These two aspects of the moral economy—the state's paternalistic provisioning role and the sanctioning of regional customs that prioritized local consumption and direct grain marketing—were potentially in conflict.[9] This latent friction was held in check by mercantilist administrative practices under which the state would alternately prohibit and license interregional commerce and foreign export depending on whether local demand had first been met.[10] The political and economic benefits of national market integration were clearly perceived, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the absolutist state was still unwilling to entrust entrepreneurial merchants with achieving this

7. For Tudor social welfare policies, see Pound (1971) and Williams (1979). One of the most important aspects of Thompson's study is the manner in which he links the language of elite political theory to the political actions of the popular classes.

8. Thompson (1991[1971]:212); see also Bohstedt (1983:35).

9. For an interesting essay on the interaction of custom and law, see Kelley (1990a:136) who notes, for example, that in the relationship between custom and statutory law, custom was "situated at the very storm center of modern political and constitutional debates. Imperial, royal, and papal ideologists tended normally to argue that law, which was the exclusive monopoly of the sovereign, always superseded custom; but judicial doctrine inclined to the opposite view, which was that, according to the authoritative Accursian Gloss, 'Custom abolishes law' *(Consuetudo vincit legem),* or, in the works of Baldus, 'Later custom annuls earlier law.'" See also Thompson (1991a), as well as the extensive documentation in Berman (1983).

10. Fox-Genovese (1973:165–66) notes this conflict in stating that "although traditional economics spoke with the national tongue, its centre of attention was directed to a series of local (micro) grain markets." Thompson (1991c:269) notes the transitory function of mercantilist theory, calling it a "middle passage of theory" The conflict between the paternalistic provisioning role of the state and the mercantilist goal of

integration, particularly with such a sensitive commodity as grain.

In France, as opposed to England, there are additional elements of tension to consider. Strong regional customs and sentiments (institutionally expressed through the *parlements*[11]) opposed the centralizing tendencies of the absolutist state and the aggressive expansion of the Parisian market.[12] In her seminal analysis of the food riot in eighteenth-century France, L. Tilly attributes conflict over provisioning to two factors:

> (1) a two-directional movement in French political arrangements first toward political centralization and concentration on the national level of policy decisions concerning economic matters, then toward a modification of the traditional paternalistic economic policy; and (2) the formation of national market, also under the influence of state action. The movement of enlarging markets corresponded with the emergence of Paris as a price-maker—even for distant markets—at the end of the seventeenth century.[13]

Tilly analyzes trends in grain prices across regions to argue for the existence of a national market; more specifically she offers an extended critique of Labrousse's contention that high transport costs resulted in highly localized and disconnected markets. In a statement that could well apply to New Spain,[14] Tilly adds that

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maximizing foreign revenue is noted below.

11. For the consolidation and expression of regional interests in the *parlements,* see Parker (1983:21–22) and Moore (1966:60); for tension between the *parlements* and intendants, see Bonney (1978:243ff.). For the perspective of the *parlements* on the liberal's abolition of privilege, see Kaplan (1976 1:155) and Bouton (1993:254–55).

12. Magagna (1991:121) also notes that peasant revolt on the continent was more closely related to problems of state building and commercialization than in England. Nader (1990) discusses the way in which Habsburg absolutism achieved centralized control through the fragmentation of local politico-administrative units into an increasing number of Spanish municipalities that entered into a clientilist relationship with the crown.

13. L. Tilly (1971:25). For other English-language works on eighteenth-century provisioning and protest in France, see Bouton (1990, 1993), Cobb (1970:sec. 3), Hufton (1983), Kaplan (1976, 1984, 1996), Miller (1992, 1999), Rudé (1964:chap. 7), and Weir (1989). For seventeenth-century French absolutism, see Bonney (1978) and Parker (1983). For French mercantilism, see Cole (1939, 1943), Hutchison (1988:87–90) and, in particular, Usher's (1913) early and lucid study of grain markets and state policy.

14. Cf. Coatsworth (1989:539–40) on the definition and nature of a national market. He specifically, and I

> the continued existence of regional markets does not vitiate a strong movement toward a national market and increased circulation of grain, especially in years of harvest failure.... There was no trade connection between some of the high and low price areas, not because of high transportation costs, but because there existed closer foreign markets or French markets only slightly more distant than normal supply areas which could offer emergency supplies at acceptable costs.... The evidence shows that grain moved.[15]

The spatial expansion of the national market economy, and the resultant competition for scarce grain in times of dearth, was one cause of food riots.[16] Such expansion resulted from the interplay of both economic and politico-administrative mechanisms. Key among the former were price differentials that stimulated trade between markets, as well as the presence of a capitalized and professional class of commercial entrepreneurs who marketed subsistence goods between regions.[17] In France, centralized politico-administrative measures began in the seventeenth century with consumer-oriented mercantilist strategies implemented through the intendancy system; by the mid–eighteenth century the focus had shifted to promoting agricultural production

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believe correctly, denies that for a national market to exist trade must take place between distant markets or even that prices must be in covariation. In regard to grain, even when a national market exists "trade only takes place in the infrequent years when harvest failure in one place is matched by relative abundance in another." Garner (1993) also argues for the existence of a nascent national market in grain; Morin (1979b) documents long distance trade in subsistence goods.

15. L. Tilly (1971:44). For a contrary view, see Weir (1989) who argues against the existence of an integrated grain market, rejecting "Tilly's overly optimistic evidence for a national market" (p. 211), while at the same time noting the unsolvable difficulty of distinguishing between price correlations that result from shared ecological factors to correlations that reflect market integration. He notes the relation between price differentials and an integrated market, a process that is statistically reflected in "the decline of the margin within which grain prices could fluctuate locally without inducing trade (market integration)" (p. 208; cf. the comment by Coatsworth in the preceding note).

16. As Charlesworth and Randall (1987:201, n. 4) note, however, the role of market expansion in provoking riots is only a minor theme in Thompson's original work. For a discussion of the influence of the market it provoking grain riots in England, see Williams (1984) as well as Thompson's response (1991c:262).

17. Le Goff (1973) offers a case study of the economic activities of a Breton grain merchant; see also Kaplan (1984:80ff.).

through the laissez-faire approach of the physiocrats and their political disciples.[18] The mercantilist approach to grain emphasized political and economic unity within the nation, the elimination of tariff and toll barriers to internal commerce, and controlled (just) prices of subsistence goods that would favor urban society. Grain exports, which furthered the fundamental mercantilist goal of increasing the nation's money supply, were suspended during subsistence crises. The liberal approach held that national economic and fiscal progress could best be achieved through each individual's pursuit of his or her own self-interest.[19] High grain prices (the *bon prix* of the physiocrats), the deregulation of commerce, and the elimination of barriers to interprovincial transactions in subsistence goods were the favored means to encourage agricultural production and harmonize distribution.[20] National markets emerged not simply, nor even primarily, due to changes in productive and distributive technology and infrastructure, but also as a result of novel models of property rights and political legitimacy.

In and of itself, the expansion of the grain market was not problematic.[21] Rather,

18. Cobb (1970:269ff.), who gives a scathing indictment of physiocracy, notes that both the "traditionalists" and the *economistes* supported the idea of free trade in grain within France. Nevertheless, the former recognized the direct political implications of dearth and accepted that provisoning was a state responsibility. For French mercantilism, see the sources cited in n. 13 supra; for physiocracy, see in particular Fox-Genovese (1976) and Meek (1962) and, for its impact on grain legislation, Kaplan (1976 1:chap. 3).

19. Thus Kaplan (1976 1:150), for example, notes that "liberalization was above all an economic policy whose goal was to increase the wealth and power of the state by making the nation more prosperous and industrious." See also MacLachlan (1988) for a discussion of the shift from mercantilist to physiocratic and finally to liberal economics in the context of political legitimacy in New Spain. Hutchison (1988:chap. 7) offers a concise summary of early eighteenth-century economic theory (Boisguilbert, Mandeville, Gervaise, and Vanderlint) that manifested both mercantilist and liberal tendencies, particularly in regard to free trade, open markets, and the positive effects on society of individual's pursuit of self-interest.

20. Miller (1992) notes how French officials pressured bakers to lower bread prices while at the same time (in 1763–64, 1774, and then after the revolution in 1789) they liberalized the grain trade. As she notes (p. 231), "Physiocratic reforms spared the bakery." Bakers (who were often forced to produce at a loss) were caught in the middle of a liberal policy that sought the benefits to production of high prices in grains and a paternalist policy that admitted the need for low prices of subsistence goods to help the poor.

21. Bohstedt (1983:212), for example, notes that the development of a national market mitigated the potential

difficulties arose in times of scarcity, when latent tensions scarred the surface of a gaunt and haggard society. By the eighteenth century, the key question was not whether a national market existed, but rather how scarcity affected social, economic, and political relations among the many groups (divided according to class, region, status, etc.) that made up national society. Although harvest failures were often localized occurrences, they reverberated throughout the nation. Dearth was, as Cobb notes, "a great divider":

> It set one region against another, one town against another, every town against Paris. It set the urban population—insofar as one can speak of such a thing in a country in which the line of division between townsman and countryman is still not at all clearly marked—against that of the countryside, urban consumer against rural producer (but there were rural consumers also), grain-producing areas against those rich only in forest, in mountains, in chestnuts, in lake and marsh, or in vineyards. If the dearth became extreme, these divisions would dominate all others, running even across the usual lines of trade or class, accentuating every form of regionalism, particularism, and separatism.[22]

In a significant sense, regionalism complemented class struggle as a logic of dissent to the social and spatial concomitants of liberal political economy. Just as poor, mostly urban, consumers appealed to the paternalistic ideology of the preliberal state to counter the rising cost of subsistence, regional societies invoked their traditional, medievally based right to administer local markets in order to stop the disastrous outflow of grain. The two most common forms of the grain riot—*taxation populaire* (forced sale at a just price) and the *entrave* (blockage of transport)—respectively responded to class and regional interests in the struggle for subsistence.

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for food riots by allowing food-deficient urban centers to import grain and hinterland farmers to take their produce to the most favorable markets. This is certainly the case in most non-crisis situations. However, the point of most of the literature is not that long-distance trade in subsistence goods was detrimental to urban poor and provincial interests, but that in times of dearth, high prices and freedom to speculate across regional space could cause serious short-term suffering. Kaplan (1976 1:40–41) notes how in one town during a period of subsistence crisis a defensive riot occurred against outside grain merchants while several years later this same town protested when it was put off limits to Parisian buyers.

22. Cobb (1970:217).

For over two centuries, then, social metamorphosis and the debate over subsistence were witness to a protracted pas de deux between an inchoate national market and an embryonic politico-cultural model of free exchange, absolute property rights, and the modern state. Grain riots have often been understood as resistance to these processes: regional authorities opposed centralized state regulation of subsistence; residents of provincial grain-producing regions feared the foraging probes of outside merchants in times of dearth; urban consumers considered themselves hostage to forestallers and regraters and the high grain prices they hoped to command. Another, complementary, approach is advanced by Bohstedt, who notes that neither adherence to a moral economy nor the expansion of highly urbanized demand centers adequately explains either the collective nature of riots or their spatial distribution across the nation.[23] In his comparative study of riots and community politics in Devon and Manchester, Bohstedt addresses this theoretical deficiency by problematizing the *collective* nature of public protest, of which the food riot is but one dramatic example. More than that of other researchers, his position reflects both a classic sociological emphasis on the salience of collective behavior in traditional societies and a more contemporary anthropological concern with the role of social networks in structuring political action. Bohstedt's research suggests that the nature of political action varies in relation to a continuum—running from the halcyon countryside to the anomic metropolis—with a midpoint (characterized by communities with dense, stable social networks) highly propitious to

23. In many ways Bohstedt's methodology and theoretical approach are similar to that employed by Taylor (1979), both of whom stress the relationship between the nature of community social relations and the form of local violence. Bohstedt (1983:207), for example, notes that the "relative stability and density of social relationships permitted riotous "bargaining"; instability promoted the cruder use of force by both rioters and authorities." Magagna (1991) also provides a clear and consistent argument for the role of social cohesion in influencing popular riots; for him, community defense, rather than class interests, in influencing the incidence and character of rural revolt. His approach is oriented to the debate over the class vs. community nature of rural protest, whereas Bohstedt suggests that network analysis provides a more adequate model. See also Van Young (1988) who also discusses the implications of a fragmented urban social environment, marginality, and anomie

collective protest:

> Indeed, the relationships between riots and communities formed a spectrum. At one extreme stood Manchester, where rapid urbanization had swamped older social networks and older forms of riot, and where newer, more "artificial" forms of popular mobilization began to emerge. At the other extreme lay rural agrarian England, little disturbed by riot, perhaps because horizontal networks among the common people were too sparse and vertical relationships with the local authorities were too tight to permit effective collective action. The center of the spectrum was marked out by the small towns of Devon, whose dense and stable social networks furnished the optimum milieu of the "classic" tradition of riots: riots that were frequent, disciplined, and successful.[24]

According to Bohstedt, rioters' claims for a just price of grain were not based on ancient paternalistic practices, nor did local protests represent an unequivocal rejection of a burgeoning national market. *Taxation populaire* riots usually pressed for a compromise solution between recent "normal" prices and those of the actual crisis; the "just price" was based more on contemporary market quotes than on an inviolable subsistence ethic or consumers' appraisal of farmers' simple and limited right to a reasonable profit.[25] *Entrave* protests, on the other hand, were not simply a response to the growth of a national market system. In England this had taken place in the seventeenth century, generally to the benefit of both consumers and producers. Rather, riots occurred in areas where local political and popular authority had retained enough power to sever, when convenient, the symbiotic bonds between local farmers and outside merchants. In summing up the lessons of his case studies, Bohstedt notes that they suggest "that the interaction of a town's growth rate, industrial structure, and political "density" set up

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on collective action.

24. Bohstedt (1983:26).

25. It is important to distinguish between a popular ideology of the "just price" and one of "just profit." Viewed from another perspective, there is a significant difference between a "subsistence ethic" and a culture of protest against usurious transactions. The discourse of peasant protest in New Spain seems more focused on combating profiteering and excessive gains on the misfortune of others than on an inviolable moral right to

important tendencies and limits for the incidence and character of riot."[26] For him, the key issue in the occurrence of riot is not the motives for individual protest, but the social structural conditions that lead to collective action. The determining factors have less to do with market expansion and economic ideology and more to do with the regional structure of political power, the nature of social relations, and the level of demand (related to the ratio of consumers to agricultural producers).[27]

Each of the preceding historians offers a distinct perspective on the political economy of subsistence as it developed in Western Europe during the long eighteenth century. Tilly is attentive to spatial tensions that spread through the early modern nation as state and mercantile interests centralized and extended their political and economic power. Thompson explores the coalescence of diverse social groups around contrasting cultural models of property and political legitimacy that orient social action.[28] Bohstedt focuses on the sociological basis of collective

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subsistence.

26. Bohstedt (1983:207).

27. See in particular Bohstedt (1983:211–12).

28. The two models during the transition period were paternalism (the state as guarantor of subsistence) and liberalism (the state as protector of individual rights to private property). But the validity of a stark contrast between the provisioning and property-protecting role of the state has been questioned, particularly in the debate between Hont and Ignatieff (1983) and Thompson (1991c). Perhaps a more useful manner of understanding the transition is of a change from policies that protected consumption (medieval and mercantilist) to ones that promoted production (mercantilist and liberal). Hont and Ignatieff (1983:2) summarize their perspective on provisioning and property as follows:

> Our argument is that the *Wealth of Nations* was centrally concerned with the issue of justice, with finding a market mechanism capable of reconciling inequality of property with adequate provision for the excluded. Smith was simply transposing into the language of markets an ancient jurisprudential discourse, carried into modernity by Grotius, Pufendorf and Locke, about how to ensure that private individuation of God's dominion would not deny the propertyless the means of satisfying their needs. Yet the answer which Smith gave to this problem—that a system of competitive markets in food and labour could guarantee adequate subsistence to the labouring poor—was a scandal in his own time, to those, even within the ranks of political economics themselves, who insisted that government should

protest and how the nature of social relations in regional societies affects their responses to subsistence crises at the local and regional level. Together, the three perspectives broach a wide range of issues that provide an analytical foundation for research on the politics of subsistence in a plethora of contexts. One issue considers regional prerogatives and state formation; a second concerns discourse on prices, property rights, and political legitimacy; and a third the implication of social relations of class and community for the realization of collective action. Although these general issues are relevant to many aspects of social analysis, they are particularly germane to inquiries into the political and moral economy of provisioning in New Spain.

Yet at the same time, the colonial situation presents problems of analysis that are quite distinct from those encountered in the study of grain policies and protest in Western Europe. One difference was the particularities of production in the New World, and how this related to the political economy of space as it developed from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Here there were two major points of divergence from Old World society. The first was the presence of an originally large yet rapidly decimated indigenous population. Early colonial discourse, particularly on provisioning, stressed the reluctance of Indians to participate in the agrarian economy of the emerging colonial state, either through a refusal to sell surplus or a reluctance to plant more than was necessary for their own minimum subsistence. Eventually this perspective was to change, especially under the influence of Campillo and his "new pragmatic system." In regards to provisioning, this meant that the political economic shift from control of distribution to promotion of production was constantly tinged in New Spain by racial conceptions of the

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> 'police' the market in subsistence goods, and to those who believed that the poor had rights to subsistence which must have priority over the property claims of the possessors.... Smith's arguments were designed to show how an economy of abundance could be created in which this ancient jurisprudencial antinomy between the needs of the poor and the rights of the rich could be transcended altogether.

productive potential of a large segment of the population. During the early colonial period, this resulted in strong state measures to insure indigenous production (tribute requirements were to be met in foodstuffs) as well as distribution of these public goods in a manner most in accord with state interests (achieved through the *repartimiento de maíz*, which aimed to funnel tribute payments in grain to the major mining centers). This leads to the second particularity of production in the New World: the importance of mining to metropolitan finance and the colonial economy. Because of the significance of this extractive sector, maize was doubly coveted: as food it was important to the provisioning of the population, and as fodder it was a key factor in the production of mineral wealth. The potential for conflict between these uses of maize (as food and as fodder) was felt both in the social and in the spatial realm, for not only did animals (used for traction and transport) contest humans for food, but mining centers competed with urban settlements for grain. In the late colonial period, this meant that the state was often reluctant to free the grain trade when such a move would adversely affect the favored mining sector, of primary importance to the fiscal and economic health of the colonial system.

There was also the question of caste and class relations, and how these shifted along with changes in the agrarian economy. Here the information for the Iguala Valley is scant but suggestive. There appears to have been at least an incipient realignment of the regional elite, as those at the head of urban and rural society came to an accord over provisioning, an accord facilitated by the personal ties between members of these two groups. Whether or not any sort of class structures emerged that cross-cut the rural-urban divide is still an open question. But it does seem that the more impoverished groups of both Taxco and the Iguala Valley did perceive a common enemy in the rural-urban elites; and that at the end of the colonial period the continual tension between wealthy agrarian and mining entrepreneurs was mitigated, if not resolved. There is also the question as to whether the changing agrarian economy had an effect on Indian

communities. Here too a change is apparent; indigenous villages seem to have become more and more heterogeneous as criollos moved into the communities. And at least in some cases (e.g., Cocula), community bonds might have been more salient that caste or ethnic heritage as a central symbol of personal identity.

Finally, there is a more general issue that informs the arguments presented in these final two chapters: the interaction of ideological shifts in the European-based legal and moral parameters of grain provisioning with the specifics of colonial economy, social structure, and politico-administrative organization. The articulation of European discourse on the political economy of provisioning with the political, economic, and social realities of colonial society was a complex process. From the perspective of Iberian society, in each of the three domains mentioned in the pages above—regional prerogatives, property rights, and class and community relations—New Spain presented complex variations. One of the most salient points of tension involved the recontextualization of Old World discourse in New World settings; another involved the uneasy fit between the politico-administrative priorities of Habsburg and Bourbon monarchs and the divergent historical geography of Spain and the New World. This situation was, as stated in the introduction to this dissertation, one of a system of regional law without regional society, an inchoate structuring of space that was continuously being negotiated, perhaps at a more intense and complex level than in the Iberian peninsula.

The significance of discourse was partially due to the fact that colonial bureaucrats themselves were often trained as lawyers and along with colonial settlers were steeped in the culture of Spanish regional rights and customs.[29] Indians also rapidly learned the techniques of

29. See, for example, Muldoon (1980:302, n. 2) and Kaplan (1976 1:42) who stresses the importance of prosopographic studies of local administrators.

Hispanic litigation in the colonial courts and were frequently represented by lawyers who advised them on rhetorical strategies and procedural tactics. Priests were another source of learning and were undoubtedly instrumental in conveying the moral ideals of the Early Fathers. Thus to meet the specific needs of different regions and social sectors, New World society had at hand potential discourses on the ethics and politics of provisioning that ranged from a medieval scholastic morality, through the centralized state ideology of mercantilist administrators, to the laissez-faire liberalism of the late Bourbon state. All of these were to encounter a new field of application in the Spanish colonies during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Themes such as those mentioned in the previous paragraphs— regional prerogatives, property rights, patterns of mining and rural production, and class and community relations— form the backbone of the analysis of colonial society presented in this chapter and the next. The following two sections examine the interaction of regional and national factors in the formation of provincial markets in the Old and New Worlds. The first section provides an overview of the tension between provincial and national forces that contested the nature of market integration and the flow of goods, particularly grains. In Europe, probably the strongest elements favoring a regionalized system of exchange were the authority (including that conveyed through the Spanish *fueros*) that was traditionally and legally invested in provincial and municipal corporate structures, and the historical development of regions that, over time, had created "naturally" integrated units of urban demand centers and associated rural hinterlands. In Western Europe national economic integration was promoted by state-administered price controls and Colbertian mercantilist practices; in essence the creation of a unified market was closely linked to the formation of the absolutist state. Yet the colonial situation presented several particularities that affected how, in general, the European system of provincial authority over markets was transformed in the new transatlantic setting. In New Spain the nature of mining (which was not

only a favored industry, but also absorbed great amounts of grain in the production process) and the existence of forced labor drafts (*repartimiento*) were key factors that affected spatial structures and practices of provisioning. The drafts themselves created a seldom studied conflict between state paternalistic measures (which protected the Indian by setting a limit, 10 leagues, beyond which the *repartimiento* could not be instituted) and regional interests in mining production (which sought to use administrative mechanisms to acquire labor from the most distant pueblos possible, thus freeing the zone immediate to the mining area for the production of high-bulk low-value goods such as timber and charcoal). Evidence from Taxco and Guanajuato is adduced to demonstrate that miners did confront state paternalism in regards to forced labor as they sought to create a Von Thünen–like pattern of resource exploitation, attempting to employ nearby areas for the provisioning of materials and grain and more distant areas for forced labor.

The second section below continues to delve into the particularities of grain supply in New Spain by exploring an early colonial system whereby the state requisitioned and then redistributed to the mines grain given as tribute (both to the crown and to individual encomenderos). This program, called the *repartimiento de maíz*, represented the most direct and widespread viceregal effort to oversee grain distribution, although it was in effect for only a short time during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Yet the *repartimiento* failed to achieve the desired results (an assured supply of maize supplied on credit to early mining enterprises) for two major reasons. First, the tributary system was undergoing rapid change: encomendero rights were being curtailed by the crown, which perceived a feudalistic challenge to state absolutism in the aspirations of this privileged group; and, as grain was increasingly being produced by a colonial agrarian entrepreneurial class, a reliance on tribute for subsistence needs was declining. As a result Indians were soon paying tribute in cash alone and encomenderos became little more than pensioners of the crown. Second, the *repartimiento de*

maíz was based on an implicit dichotomization of the agrarian economy that was increasingly difficult to maintain—grain redistributed by the state for consumption in mining enterprises (often as fodder) on the one hand as against grain destined for subsistence sold on the open market on the other. The redistributive system in fact denied those who received *repartimiento* maize the right to access grain on the open market, yet when the state controlled mechanism proved unreliable, miners would petition for the right to freely buy maize from private individuals. For this and other reasons (including official corruption and the difficulty in collecting debts for maize advanced to miners on credit), by the early seventeenth century, centralized state redistribution of grain had ceased.

The termination of the *repartimiento* system does not seem to have immediately led to any major problems in the procurement of maize for the Taxco mines; and for the one-hundred-year period from the early seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries there is little documentation on litigation or struggle over the grain market and urban provisioning in central Guerrero. This might well represent the decreased pressure on maize supply that would have accompanied a contraction of the mining industry during New Spain's seventeenth "century of depression," which apparently did not begin in Taxco until the fourth decade of the century.[30] Or it might represent the absence of any strong group of politically oriented miners who could initiate what was to become the next major stage in the struggle over the grain market: an attempt to incorporate the agrarian hinterland in the Iguala Valley under the jurisdiction of Taxco

30. For the classic statement, see Borah (1951). For critique and discussion see Bakewell (1971), Brading (1971), Brading and Cross (1972), Israel (1974), and Tepaske and Kline (1981). Borah relates the contraction to indigenous population decline and dates its commencement to the late sixteenth century, shortly after the major epidemic of 1585. Bakewell (1971:chap. 9), in a critique of Borah's focus on indigenous demographics as the major reason for economic contraction, notes that mining in Zacatecas declined only after 1635. It appears that Taxco production was also fairly dynamic until at least the late 1630s.

authorities. Market integration can be achieved through two basic mechanisms: economic incentives and politico-administrative controls. The evidence presented in the following chapter shows that starting in the early eighteenth century, and continuing toward final success in 1768, Taxco mining and colonial officials pursued the second solution, seeking to redraw provincial boundaries to include the *corregimiento* of Iguala within that of Taxco and, in this way, to obtain the right to block export from the "jurisdiction" until local needs had been met. This "moral" or "medieval-based" strategy can be understood as a response to the economic incentives offered by the northern, more highly capitalized mines, such as Zacatecas and Guanajuato, that threatened to disrupt the integration of the regional market around Taxco and Iguala. In other words, politico-administrative closure, or the fragmentation of colonial markets might well have developed progressively over time, as it did in Taxco, as a defensive mechanism to maintain viable regional systems of provisioning. Yet by the time incorporation of the Iguala Valley under Taxco's authority had been achieved, another problem had emerged: the development of a powerful hinterland economy linked to a booming transport and commercial sector, and the presence of rural entrepreneurs able to challenge Taxco's attempts to dominate and control the distribution of maize produced in the Iguala Valley. Tensions were exacerbated between producers and consumers, between rural and urban areas. During this same late colonial period, state political economic discourse had gradually shifted toward ideas of liberal exchange and absolute property rights, and these concepts had finally made inroads into the domain of subsistence and provisioning, creating the situation that Thompson, Tilly, and others have discussed so well. Late colonial struggles over the structure of the grain market in the Taxco-Iguala area, therefore, offer a case study of the political and discursive strategies utilized by an urban mining elite in integrating a secure agricultural hinterland, the forceful opposition of a powerful group of rural agrarian entrepreneurs (manifested in claims of property rights to grain as well as through the

utilization of political and economic power to structure markets), and the eventual accommodation of rural and urban interests. This regionalized struggle over the construction of economic space occurred in the late colonial period as the denouement of the transformation of the rural hinterland in the Iguala Valley that was explored in part 2 of this dissertation—land acquisition and consolidation, migration and resettlement, and the influx of commercial capital. Its final resolution, an alliance of rural and urban elites who were under attack by both rural and urban poor, suggests the emergence of incipient class relations and conflict in central Guerrero society.

THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OF GRAIN HINTERLANDS: MUNICIPAL RIGHTS, STATE POWER, AND CONFLICT OVER THE CREATION OF REGIONAL HINTERLANDS

In general, political intervention in grain distribution occurs at two basic levels: regional and national. At the first level is what Vassberg has called "municipal mercantilism," whereby municipal governments "enacted regulations fixing prices and restricting the movement of goods."[31] These two policies (price controls and commercial barriers) complement each other; low local prices discourage the influx of grain while encouraging outflow to higher-priced markets. For a high-bulk, low-value good such as maize, which can be effectively cultivated in very diverse ecosystems, the cost of land transport alone would often prove an effective barrier to grain movement.[32] This situation would mitigate the need for provinces to establish trade barriers

31. Vassberg (1984:188), who is discussing the situation in Spain. Bakewell (1971:102) notes that *cabildos* in the colonies emulated their medieval peninsular counterparts in overseeing and regulating provisioning within their jurisdictions. As he notes, "So firmly had they become embedded in the institutional structure of towns in Spanish America that they operated almost without supervision."

32. The now traditional argument (see, for example, Brading 1971) for the emergence of regionalized economies in New Spain points to the high cost of transport as a key factor that inhibited long-distance

in years of normal harvests, when most of the disputes in grain marketing

affected relations between rural producers and urban consumers at the regional level. But when price differentials between regions were great enough to induce long-distance trade, or when harvest failures reduced local stocks to a precarious level, administrative barriers constituted the most practical means of countering the potential depletion of supplies. In New Spain—perhaps more obviously than in Old World contexts—regions, provinces, and jurisdictions were often born of political and economic struggle, and market structures themselves became a major arena of contention between regions dominated by defensive provisioning systems faced with the challenge of external, aggressive economic expansion. Market closure was at times often simply a defensive response of provincial authorities faced with a scarcity of grain in their own jurisdictions.[33] But even in times of adequate harvests, administrative authorities would restrict the movement of grain in order to avoid direct economic competition for resources with urban and mining centers able to pay higher prices. Municipal mercantilism, therefore, should be analyzed within the context of potential competition for scarce resources among numerous provinces. From this perspective, regulatory closure of regional markets did not simply reflect the resolute exercise of traditional provincial rights to police local markets. Thus in the case of

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commerce. However, such arguments often fail to take into account the unequal distribution of transport costs across geographic and social space. On the one hand, for various reasons (lower economic status, absence of alternative sources of income during the dry season, etc.) there is a general tendency for opportunity cost for peasants to vary directly with distance from urban demand centers. Thus peasants far from marketing centers are more likely to "over-exploit" their own labor as muleteers and to transport small amounts of goods over relatively great distances. At the same time, capitalized transport ventures would be expected to have different accounting systems than the intermittent family-based transport provided by marginal peasants. The result would be a sort of two-tiered distribution system, with highly capitalized entrepreneurs (responsible for more massive transport of fully commercialized produce) at one end, and peasants (transporting small amounts of goods either produced by their household or acquired in small local markets) at the other. See the discussion in chapters 8 and 9.

33. See West (1949:75–76).

Taxco, for example, an assertion of regional prerogatives over grain distribution was less a defense of entrenched regional rights and more a tactical response aimed at preventing the flow of grain to higher-priced markets that relied more heavily on economic incentives to acquire provisions. Regionalization, particularly in New Spain, was not a conservative seizure of historical divisions but an emergent process, the consequence of (or response to) a strongly integrated interregional economy (and the constant threat that the most high-priced markets would dominate trade) and weakly centralized political power (which meant that the colonial state was unable to break local power strongholds or to effect mercantilist solutions to regional disputes over provisioning). Indeed, this pragmatic use of "municipal mercantilism" represents an early example of the meaning of regionalism in the Americas: rather than simply a defense of past patterns and practices, it was an innovative response to centralizing tendencies and extra-regional pressures.[34]

In Western Europe, price differentials between regions emerged with the growth of urban demand centers (particularly Paris and London) and periodic, though localized, harvest failures. Both situations inevitably drove up prices in food-deficient areas. Cobb offers a lucid portrayal of the strife that invariably ensued:

> At the best of times the system was so delicately balanced that even a localized failure, especially in the provisioning area of Paris, could set the whole edifice toppling, with food commissioners from rival towns and, in wartime, from rival armies, rushing to outbid one another and with the whole *carte des approvisionnements* being pushed beyond its normal frontiers, northwards or westwards, or southwards or eastwards, or all at one, to crush other, well-marked marketing areas.[35]

34. In the domain of power, this aspect of regionalism was to dominate nineteenth-century struggles for political control in Mexico after independence.

35. Cobb (1970:282).

New Spain, however, possessed a unique, additional catalyst for discord and dissonance in the grain trade: the unsettling effects of regional inflation and the increased demand for maize that accompanied a silver bonanza.[36] Mining areas had the economic potential to effectively plunder the hinterlands of other urban centers and acquire supplies from far-flung provisioning zones. But mining was also unique among urban industries in the degree to which maize entered into consideration as a cost of production.[37] In the early eighteenth century, for example, mine workers at Santa Eulalia received approximately a quarter of their salary in maize rations (between 6½ and 13 *fanegas* per year depending on the worker's skill and salary);[38] mules, used for power and transport, consumed about 22½ fanegas per year.[39] Therefore, no matter how wealthy or how high their profit margin,[40] miners, unlike other urban industrialists, had a direct

36. The principal texts on mining are Bakewell (1971, particularly chap. 4), Brading (1971), and West (1949, particularly chap. 4). But see also Alatriste (1983) and Hadley (1979). Bakewell and West stress the extensive geographic zone from which Zacatecas and Parral, respectively, obtained supplies. For a general statement on the role of mining in stimulating internal markets in colonial societies, see Assadourian (1979, 1982) and Assadourian et al. (1980). For an approach that stresses the role of urbanization and demographic increase or agrarian production and markets, see Van Young (1981, 1983).

37. Records from *haciendas de beneficio* often had entries for maize and *zacate*, but even in the absence of a strict accounting procedure for these items, there is little doubt that miners were aware of the relationship of maize (both as fodder and as food) to their costs of production and workers' cost of living.

38. The figures are from Alatriste (1983:94–103) for Parral in the late eighteenth century. A family of four individuals consumed about 22 ½ fanegas/year (see Ouweneel 1996:118).

39. Brading (1971:135) offers a contemporary estimate that 800 mules needed to operate 14–16 whims in the Zacatecan mine La Quebradilla consumed 18,000 fanegas of maize per year. He also notes (ibid.) that the principal cost of mechanized drainage was fodder for mules and horses.

40. Unfortunately, most studies of mining in colonial New Spain have emphasized the high wages paid to a labor force that is generally assumed to have been more than sufficient to meet demand. The problems of such a perspective are multiple. First, high remuneration for mine workers was often in the form of a share of ore extracted (the *partida*) that benefited only a small portion of skilled workers who worked in the shafts. Other laborers, particularly those in the mills and *patios* of *haciendas de beneficio* were poorly paid for the dangerous tasks that often caused their death. Second, much as in debt peonage, high wages can be considered a dependent variable, inversely linked to the availability of labor. Thus high wages and benefits become perhaps the best indication of a general shortage of workers. Third, undercapitalized miners would often work their mines on a profit-sharing basis *(trabajar a ingenio);* workers' potentially high compensation would be related

stake in reducing the cost of grain.[41] Price-fixing was one way to accomplish this; another was through spatial controls—administrative restrictions on the movement of grain.

The major northern mines—Parral, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato—apparently were able to integrate regional markets through economic incentives (competitive prices) that attracted goods from great distances. Only rarely did they have to restrict grain shipments out of the province.[42] Guadalajara followed the same pattern. Moreover, in contraposition to the general tendency for municipal authorities to regulate the market in order to force prices down, Guadalajara's *cabildo* intervened when necessary (through the *pósito*) to raise prices and by this means encourage the introduction of maize into the city.[43] Guadalajara's location in the midst of major market centers at Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Mexico City may have influenced the adoption of an "economic" (as opposed to "administrative") solution to market integration, and to its stressing adequate

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to their assuming part of the risks and expenditures (in lieu of wages) that in more capitalized ventures were the owners' responsibility. Finally, regardless of the profit margin of mining during a bonanza period, it is naive to assume that miners did not try to lower wages and maximize profits. Some of these points are discussed in continuation, others are treated in Amith (1993).

41. In an indirect sense all individuals who employed labor had an interest in low prices for subsistence goods as this would increase the buying power of wages or, in Marxist terms, reduce the cost of reproduction for the labor force. Nevertheless in mining the relationship was much more direct. Mine and hacienda owners had to themselves acquire grain for rations, and in its capacity as feed for animals grain was more equivalent to modern "oil" than cereals.

42. West (1949:75–76) notes that on occasions when the traditional hinterlands of other mines, particularly Zacatecas, failed to produce adequate supplies of grain, agriculturalists around Parral would ship flour out of the region. If shortages started to develop in Parral, restrictions were placed on the amount of flour that could be taken out, and occasionally export was entirely prohibited. All three mining towns—Parral, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato—followed the general Hispanic custom of requiring grain sales to take place in a public market *(alhóndiga)* in an effort to avoid speculation and price-gouging.

43. Van Young (1981:88–89). Hamilton (1934:228) notes how certain localities in Spain would remove price controls during times of dearth to allow prices to rise and thus encourage imports. For additional documentation on the *pósito* and municipal regulation of grain, see Chávez Orozco (1953), Florescano (1965, 1986), Hassig (1985:chap. 11), Rubio de Coloma (1939), and Vázquez de Warman (1968). There were only a handful of *pósitos* in New Spain (compared to over 12,000 in Spain). Unfortunately, there are no comparative studies of municipal grain regulations and provisioning strategies.

supply over low prices. Mining, as a collective industrial enterprise,[44] was confronted with a dilemmatic choice similar to that faced by *pósito* authorities in Guadalajara: drive up prices to secure adequate provisioning (but at the same time increase production costs); or lower corn prices to assure subsistence for the poor (reducing production costs, but at the risk of insufficient supplies). Apparently, northern mines relied more upon economic incentives to integrate both grain and labor markets; south-central mines (such as Taxco) seemed more disposed to seek municipal regulation of grain distribution.

The clash between the administrative and the purely economic dimensions of marketing structures has significant implications for the temporal and spatial development of exchange systems, particularly those that revolved around policy decisions implemented at the local or regional level. The prototypical situations have already been mentioned: open markets in times of abundance, closed markets in times of dearth; demand centers able to support high prices and thereby expanding their supply zone by virtue of their power of acquisition, provincial centers protective of their local hinterland and denying access to outsiders by invoking customary privileges. Therefore, the dichotomy between economic and administrative mechanisms to structure markets had both a temporal and a spatial distribution. Temporally, any one given locality or region might shift its emphasis toward one pole or another (entailing either the high prices of economic incentives or the high political costs of administrative closure) depending upon changes in a series of factors: the relationship between local production and demand, competition from external markets, the impact of maize prices on production costs. Spatially, and viewed from a wider perspective, regional structures of market integration might bifurcate across

44. The *diputaciones de minería* in most of the *reales,* as well as the strong influence of mining interests on local politics, facilitated collective political action by miners.

a national landscape as different local systems headed toward either economic or administrative control of resources. As already suggested, these strategies of market integration were correlated phenomena: administrative closure functioned to block off the disruptive effects of high prices elsewhere, and economic incentives worked to pierce the pregnable barriers of jurisdictional control.

But municipal regulations were not simply defensive mechanisms to promote market closure; they could also be used aggressively to prompt the acquisition of grain from other jurisdictions. Such was the case with ordinances that established a radius from an urban center within which regraters, forestallers, and engrossers were enjoined from operating.[45] Such regulations encouraged direct marketing close to the urban center, while forcing intermediaries and speculators into distant agricultural areas. From the standpoint of any given urban center, this was an extremely advantageous arrangement, the best of two worlds. Divergent ideologies of marketing principles were mapped onto space: a medieval pattern of direct sales in a contiguous "de-commercialized zone," and a liberal system of open competition in more distant areas that otherwise might not be drawn into the agricultural hinterland of the urban center.

An analogous interplay between administratively organized space and patterns more in accord with a "rational" market and formal structuring of economic relations occurred in the relationship between forced acquisition of labor through *repartimiento* and the more spontaneous

45. See Kaplan (1976 1:71 and passim, also 1984:27–28) who discusses the idea and effect of a de-commercialized zone. C. Tilly (1975:430) notes an ordinance in Liege from 1317 that forbade engrossers from buying within a radius of two leagues from the city. In New Spain such spatial regulations were commonly issued by the Mexico City *cabildo* in the sixteenth century (see Florescano 1965 and Lee 1947), although they were also utilized by provincial towns such as Taxco (see, for example, the ordinances of Lic. Lorenzo de Tejada, an *oidor* who had been *visitador* and *juez de residencia* in Taxco, cited in Zavala (1982a:176–80); AGN-M 2/282 and 283). A more drastic measure of spatial control was that enacted by Viceroy Mendoza in 1551, when he abolished all markets within 10 leagues of Mexico City in an effort to force the growth of the capital's market. In the face of complaints from zones surrounding the city, the order was soon rescinded; see

development of an agricultural hinterland around mining centers. Mining ventures required immediate access to a large number of supportive goods (charcoal and timber),[46] services (muleteers), and pasture for the thousands of mules used daily in extraction and refining activities. A practical economic strategy would attempt to secure heavy, low-value goods (high transport costs) from close by, and labor (low transport costs) from the greatest distances; pasture and farmland would be most practically located in between, with pasture closer to the mines.[47] Labor could be obtained through the economic incentives of high wages or through administratively controlled access to *repartimiento* (forced Indian labor).[48] The greatest demand for labor recruitment emerged during periods of bonanzas. But efforts to use wage incentives to lure laborers over great distances had the potential to disrupt local production patterns by

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Hassig 1985:239–40.

46. For village specialization around mining areas, see AGN-Sub 34/7 (dated 1752) in reference to Zacualpan. This document mentions an effort to promote Indian commerce by supplying pack animals to them on credit *(repartimiento de mercancías).* It is clear that the nearby Indian population was more valuable to the miners as a potential source of material goods than as a base for *repartimiento* labor.

47. Indeed, early ordinances prohibited maize planting in Taxco given the urgent need for pasture. Thus, during a *visita* to Taxco in 1575, Dr. Lope de Miranda issued a series of ordinances including one that Indians be enjoined from planting cornfields given the great lack of pasture for mules and horses used in refining operations (AGN-GP 1/fols. 70v–76v, published in ZyC 1:33–44). Shortly thereafter Taxco miners petitioned for an *ejido,* land set aside for pasture (AGN-GP 1/331, dated 1575). They mention conflict with Indians, apparently migrant laborers, who planted small maize fields. For the grazing of mules in the Iguala Valley, see AGN-I 2/79 (dated 1582).

Miners probably recognized the insecure nature of the labor force employed in mines. Certain regulations such as injunctions against house plots, might not have been aimed simply at freeing land, but also at creating a marginal and dependent labor force. The instability of mine labor is a frequent theme of discussion: a Zacualpa priest argued against *repartimiento de mercancía* because it encouraged flight; don José de la Borda requested the elimination of bull fights and *"comedias"* in Taxco and Zacualpa because they attracted workers who left their jobs. The secondary literature abounds in discussions of the high mobility characteristic of mine labor; see Swann (1990), and other works of his cited in the bibliography. For festivals and the problem of work discipline in a mining camp, see Martin (1994).

48. The conflict between production of mining goods and *repartimiento* is clearly expressed in a 1635 petition by the *naturales* of Cacalotenango, who request exemption from *repartimiento* given that their church was in disrepair and that they work in making charcoal and cutting timber used in Taxco's mines and refineries (AGN-I 12/216, published in ZyC 6:88–89).

enticing workers to abandon other tasks or by inflating wages. A viable alternative, therefore, was to request *repartimiento* workers in order to cover periodic increases in the demand for labor.[49]

Repartimiento drafts from villages near mining camps,[50] however, could also disrupt local production patterns, particularly in dynamic economies of "full-employment" and full participation of indigenous villages in commercial society. An analysis of the distribution of *repartimiento* to Taxco suggests that nearby pueblos, whose role in petty commodity production and transport made them vital to the economic infrastructure of mining enterprises, might have been relatively immune to the pressures of forced labor.[51] Thus the pragmatics of labor draft petitions by miners, who often indicated precisely the pueblos from which they wished to be assigned labor,[52] might well have been guided by models of efficient resource exploitation (both

49. In early eighteenth-century Taxco this occurred with the mining ventures of don Francisco de la Borda, who attempted to obtain hundreds of laborers, mostly from the Cuernavaca jurisdiction (see Amith 1997; the most relevant documents are found in AGN-Cv 1608/10 and AGN-T 2915/1). A similar attempt by Guanajuato miners to obtain labor from the sierra of Michoacán is published in Chávez Orozco (1935).

50. The legal limit beyond Indians could not be forced to work in tasks deemed "necessary for the republic" was 10 leagues; see *Recopilación de leyes . . . de las Indias*, Lib. VI, tít. 12, ley iii. Miners' attempts to secure labor beyond this distance were usually contested by the affected villages.

51. I have found no mention of *repartimiento* after 1618 for the following pueblos in the Taxco jurisdiction: Acamixtla, Acuitlapan, Atzala, Cacahuamilpa, Huistac, Nochtepec, Teticpac, Tecalpulco, and Tlamacazapa. There are references to *repartimiento* from Cacalotenango in 1635 (AGN-I 12/216, published in ZyC 7:88–89) and 1720 (AGN-I 44/74); Chontlacuatlan in 1686 (AGN-I 29/161); Coscatlán in 1640 (AGN-I 12/fol. 165f, published in ZyC 8:306), 1703, and 1724 (AGN-I 50/52 and 65); Pilcaya in 1694 (AGN-I 32/241); and Taxco el Viejo in 1665 (AGN-I 24/79). The general impression suggested by the extant documentation is that greater pressure for *repartimiento* was placed on villages *outside* of the Taxco jurisdiction.

52. Direct relations often developed between villages and the miner to whom they were assigned. Some examples can be found in the following sources: AGN-GP 3/309 (publ. ZyC 3:48–49) in regard to Cristóbal Guillén a miner in Temascaltepec (1587); AGN-GP 4/fols. 35v–36f (publ. ZyC 3:112) in regard to Indians of Zumpahuacan assigned to Lorenzo Xuárez de Figueroa in Zacualpa (1590); AGN-I 5/326 and AGN-I 6(2)/70 in regard to Indinas of Atzala assigned to Dr. Luis de Villanueva Zapata in Taxco (1591); AGN-GP 6/501 in regard to Indians of Tarimbaro assigned to Alonso Martínez in Ozomatlán (1603); AGN-I 16/138 in regard to Indians from Malinalco assigned to Fernando Velazquez de Cárdenas in Zacualpa (1651); AGN-GP 11/fol. 264 (publ. ZyC 8:8–9) in regard to Indians from Tescaltitlan assigned to Juan de Rivera Vargas in Sultepec

human and agricultural) and overall market integration. In this paradigm, for miners the most advantageous location from which to obtain *repartimiento* labor would have been at the margin of cultivation, the area where high transport costs to the urban market made commercial farming unprofitable. *Repartimiento* over such distance would forcibly capture distant labor that would otherwise not benefit the urban mining area. The alternative would have been to offer high economic incentives to induce voluntary migration to the mines, but with the adverse effects already noted—disruption and inflation of the local, nearby economy. *Repartimiento,* therefore, was a means of keeping wages down during periodic booms in production and accompanying labor shortages. For Taxco, the relative freedom from labor drafts of villages close to the mines can only be inferred from the general lack of litigation over *repartimiento* in this area. A petition by Guanajuato miners, however, gives much clearer evidence of how miners attempted to utilize the very particular politico-administrative structures available in New Spain to coordinate the interplay of labor and agricultural hinterlands.[53]

In the midst of a bonanza, and faced with what they claimed to be an acute labor shortage, the mining deputies of Guanajuato had successfully petitioned for 500 *repartimiento* Indians from pueblos in the sierra of Michoacán that were 30, 40, and up to 60 leagues from the mines.[54] A torrent of litigation followed. Indian villages legitimately opposed the labor grant: a

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(1661); AGN-GP 11/fols. 321f–321v (publ. ZyC 8:49–51) in regard to Indians from Tlacomulco, Ucareo, Taymeo, and Xilotepec assigned to Capn. Juan Jacinto de Trejo, Lic. Juan de Pontaza, and Lic. Juan Martínez de Ergueta in Tlalpujahua (1662); AGN-GP 18/fols. 276f–277f (publ. ZyC 8:134–35) in regard to Indians from Soquitzingo assigned to Don Joseph Antonio Velasques de Cárdenas in Zacualpa (1701); and AGN-I 46/110 in regard to Indians from Zumpahuacan and Xonacatepec given to Don Joseph de Santa María y Singüenza in Tlaucingo.

53. The document, dated 16 October 1779, is reproduced by Chávez Orozco (1935:1–24). See also AGN-I 59/299 (dated 5 October 1773).

54. *Repartimiento* in Guanajuato was unusual in that each shift of Indians was obligated to work six weeks, instead of the usual, and legally established, one. For a two or three week repartimiento shift in Zimapán, see

basic law, often enforced in other circumstances, prohibited the assignment of *repartimiento* from villages over 10 leagues from their destination in the mines.[55] The *fiscal,* nevertheless, had granted the labor draft, favoring the needs of the mines and processing plants over the objections of the Indians. Workers were to be drafted from the closest indigenous villages first, and then from more distant ones until Guanajuato's labor requirements were fully satisfied.

On 16 October 1779 Guanajuato's mining deputies attempted to modify this seemingly favorable resolution. In their original petition they had stressed the labor needs of the mines; they now emphasized material needs: wheat, maize, beans, chile, barley, firewood, timber, lime, sand . . . all produced within 10 leagues of Guanajuato. But it was within this 10 league area that Indians were fully employed in meeting the demand created by Guanajuato's mining industry and associated high population. *Repartimiento* could not be assigned within this radius, the miners claimed, "without damaging the supply of that city, its mines and haciendas, taking away [laborers] from some tasks and giving to others."[56] But it was within these same 10 leagues that the *fiscal* planned to impose the *repartimiento*; and it was on this point that the miners sought to alter the traditional spatial structure of forced labor recruitment:

> Not even in regard to the distance is there disagreement by the *fiscal,* who agreed in paragraph 21 that *repartimiento* should be extended to 12, 14, and 16 leagues, as however might be necessary; so that in this case no limit is placed on the discretion of the alcalde mayor who has been commissioned from this said city. In this matter the only difference in opinion between the petition of my clients and the aforementioned response in that *repartimiento* should first be taken from the pueblos that are within 10 leagues. The Indians of these villages are occupied to

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AGN-I 30/s.n. (dated 1700; published in Simpson 1938:61). Clearly as Indians were brought from greater distances a one week shift becomes untenable; more time would be spent in travel than in work.

55. See n. 50, *supra.* An application to mining of this general principle limiting forced labor to a maximum of 10 leagues from the pueblos of origin can be found in many documents, e.g., AGN-I 45/138 (dated 10 June 1772), which limits *repartimiento* in Cuautla to only a 10 league radius from the mines.

56. Chávez Orozco (1935:9).

> great utility in working the fields and pasturing cattle and they can not be removed from these tasks without notable damage to agriculture and to this *real,* which is dependent on it. And if perhaps they fully comply by giving 4 percent, the service of the mines and the countryside will suffer and decline.[57]

As with de-commercialization of a zone around an urban center (a practice that affected how grains were brought into marketing systems), the Guanajuato petition attempted to use politico-administrative mechanisms to structure the economy of subsistence (where and how efficiently grains were produced). Miners sought to create a "zone of exception" from *repartimiento* close to the mines within which economic processes could play themselves out and hinterland enterprises respond to the incentives of constant and high demand, free from any interference caused by labor drafts.

De-commercialization (in regard to grain) and the creation of a zone of exception (in regard to labor), therefore, represent two mechanisms through which urban power groups could structure spatial patterns of the acquisition of resources from their hinterlands. But there is another type of local control of the subsistence economy that is not based on abstract distance (the laws of de-commercialization and exception were both applied according to a set physical distance in leagues from a given point), but rather on natural and cultural divisions.[58] In Europe much of the traditional discourse and legislation on subsistence was based on regional control and provincial autonomy. And most *entrave* actions to stop grain flow had an implicit spatial dimension, an area—occupying a middle ground between community and nation—of privileged access to locally grown grain. In various countries resistance to the centralization of power and the creation of a national market was riveted to the political and cognitive salience of long-

57. Chávez Orozco (1935:17, pt. 26).

58. For a discussion of market reorganization after the conquest, see Hassig (1985:chap. 11).

standing political divisions that reflected both natural (related to the ecological potential of a particular region) and cultural (related to human identification with a given region) formations. Usher notes these factors, particularly the former, in regard to France:

> Interests of two types were effectively represented by the local officials: the intensely circumscribed interests of individual towns, and the wider interests of those real geographical regions which formed the provinces. *The relation between political boundaries and the natural divisions of the country is of significance in the history of the grain trade, as a province or government was almost certain to include the whole of a fertile area;* and, as they frequently included several of those sharply defined regions, they represented a local interest of a very pronounced kind. The products of the various sections differed, and frequently the whole province was ultimately dependent upon one part for its grain supply. *This natural basis of provincial boundaries made the province the best unit for regulation of the grain trade during the sixteenth century.* A prohibition of export from the province permitted the ordinary local trade, but guarded the region against any disturbing influence of extra-provincial demand. . . . The characteristic feature of administrative regulation in the sixteenth century was the persistent effort of provincial governors or parlements to limit the export trade of the province (emphasis added).[59]

The words used by Usher—"real geographical regions" and "natural divisions"—reflect a perspective on regional structure that stresses integration within ecologically diversified provinces (a balance between agricultural zones of production and urban zones of consumption) rather than physical differentiation between provinces. To what extent his vision captures the structure of French provinces (i.e., the degree to which politico-administrative power to regulate the grain trade was exercised over a "naturally" constituted space of production and consumption) provides an engaging topic for research. But it also suggests a point of tension in the functional relevance of the European model of "municipal mercantilism" in New Spain.[60] In

59. Usher (1913:242–43).

60. Nader (1990) has pointed to the proliferation of municipalities in Habsburg Spain (1516–1700) and suggests that regional and provincial structures were a late development, related to Bourbon and nineteenth-century administrative restructuring and a rewriting of Spanish history by nineteenth-century historians who ignored the municipal fragmentation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, Nader focuses

essence, the practical utility of exercising provincial authority over the grain trade in order to integrate regional markets of subsistence goods depended upon the province's capacity to produce a substantial amount of grain that could, in fact, be regulated. When such an situation did not exist (i.e., when hinterlands fell beyond the bounds of urban authority) other mechanisms were employed. One was the use of economic incentives to attract commerce, another was the utilization of political power to extend the boundaries of authority into distant spaces of agricultural production. As already noted, these two mechanisms represent ideal poles (economic and administrative) that were not always at opposite ends of a spectrum (e.g., administrative measures were often taken to generate economic incentives).[61] But the dichotomy is valid and offers a heuristic means for analyzing the formation of regional systems of subsistence. Taxco's ultimately successful attempt to acquire jurisdictional authority over its agricultural hinterland in the Iguala Valley (discussed in the following chapter) was a prototypical case of administrative aggrandizement.[62] It became necessary when Taxco miners could not, for three basic reasons, rely on economic incentives to integrate a grain market: 1) maize accounted for a significant

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mostly on politico-administrative structures rather than on other elements that might have reflected extramunicipal or regional identities. Indeed, a nineteenth-century concern with regional history might reflect a changing historiography influenced by German anti-Enlightenment Romanticism (for France, see Rearick 1974).

61. Such was the case when local authorities litigated to lower the alcabala, fully aware that an abusive tax collector would drive away commerce and that tax breaks on commercial activity would attract merchants.

62. The phrase "administrative aggrandizement" is taken from Kaplan (1976 1:29) whose discussion should be kept in mind for my analysis of Taxco miners' efforts to gain control over the Iguala Valley. As he notes: "Sometimes officials used the subsistence issue as a pretext for administrative aggrandizement, but it is not usually difficult to tell when the struggle was genuine, that is, when the communities urgently needed the supplies and the contest for power was subsidiary to the competition for grain. The communities fought over the grain itself, the control of the supply zones, the allegiance of merchants, the legitimacy of certain regulations and the validity of sentences pronounced against individuals."

In chapter 7 another case of administrative aggrandizement was discussed, that of Tixtla in its efforts to obtain control over the Iguala Valley, where emigrants from its jurisdiction had fled.

percentage of production costs in a marginal and risky industry and therefore needed to be acquired cheaply; 2) competition from Mexico City and from more profitable and highly capitalized northern mining camps (Zacatecas and Guanajuato) offered the incentives of lucrative outside markets and disrupted direct sales from the Iguala Valley to Taxco; and 3) highly capitalized commercial entrepreneurs in the Iguala Valley were able to counter the political and economic power of the Taxco miners, and had the means with which to store and transport grain, facilitating speculation over time and space. Instead of attempting to integrate a grain-producing hinterland through economic means, Taxco miners employed a discourse of customary rights that gave provincial authorities the right to regulate the movement of grain within their jurisdiction. But, in the language of Usher and Vassberg, the miners had to first "naturalize" their jurisdiction, incorporating the grain-producing province of Iguala before "municipal mercantilism" could become an effective argument. The history of urban control over grain marketing in the Taxco-Iguala region is, therefore, in part the history of a struggle (both discursive and political) to create an administrative unit that would serve as a propitious arena for the articulation of municipal rights to local provisions.

The second level of political intervention in the grain market is national. On the Continent, Colbertian mercantilism represented one form of state intercession; physiocratic advocacy of "legal despotism" as a means to secure the observation of rules ultimately derived from nature represented another.[63] From the late seventeenth century (and particularly after the commencement of Bourbon rule) up to the wars of independence, French-based agrarian mercantilism and physiocracy had a profound impact on Spanish political economists (*arbitristas*

63. The incongruity between physiocratic economic policy, based on free trade and economic liberalism, and its political policy, based on the centralized institution of the monarchy, is explored by Fox-Genovese (1976).

and others) and state officials.[64] Yet at the same time both the Habsburg and Bourbon regimes continued a policy of centrally determined price controls on grain that the Catholic Kings had begun in 1502. The monarchs established price-fixing legislation (called the *tasa*) in Castile, although in Valencia they allowed subsidies and condoned the export of bullion for the acquisition of foreign grain.[65] The regulations were often ineffective (frequently circumvented) and probably counterproductive (inhibiting investment in agriculture), but they continued in force until Charles III liberated the grain trade in a royal decree *(pragmática)* of 11 July 1765.

In Spain, both centralized administration of the agrarian economy under mercantilism and the ultimate freedom accorded to grain merchants with laissez-faire and free trade had to subdue provincial authority, break down barriers to interregional exchange, and create a consciousness of national unity that would overcome the legal privileges *(fueros)* and cultural vitality of regional society.[66] As Anderson notes, the construction of a unified market was linked to the formation of the absolutist state which in this, as well as other endeavors, was doubly limited "by the persistence of traditional political bodies below it and the presence of an

64. See Anes Alvarez (1969), Argemí i d'Abadal (1985), Castillo (1980), Davidson (1962), Grice-Hutchinson (1978), Hamilton (1932, 1935), Herr (1958, 1989:chap. 2), Lluch and Argemí i d'Abadal (1985), Perrotta (1993), Smith (1940, 1971), and Tiryakian (1978).

65. A good exposition of Castilian price controls on grain can be found in Hamilton (1934:243–60, 1947:187–203); see also Vassberg (1984:188ff.), and Viñas y Mey (1941:103–10). According to Hamilton, the 1502 legislation had medieval antecedents, although it did establish the basic pattern of legislative control for the following two and a half centuries. For price controls in New Spain, see Aiton (1926) and Chávez Orozco (1953), as well as the works by Florescano (1965) and Lee (1947) already mentioned. As Aiton notes, early New Spain price-fixing laws extended well beyond the basic subsistence necessities that were the subject of the Castilian laws.

66. For the relation between economic liberalism and political authoritarianism, see Pocock (1985a [1980]). Note that free trade was not predicated not on the absence of hinderences to traffic, but the freedom of ingress into a profession or trade (de Roover 1951:511–12).

overarching moral law above it."[67] Market unification was not, however, unidirectional; in moments of decline, political and economic power would flow back to the provinces (the traditional political bodies mentioned by Anderson) in a process that Kagan refers to as "devolution." When the state weakened during the seventeenth-century, Spanish municipal courts began to reassert their judicial prerogatives and "the unified national market characteristic of the sixteenth century gradually dissipated, giving way to others that were primarily local or regional in scope."[68] From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, then, Spanish political economy manifested a complex relation between the local and national levels. Habsburg absolutism evolved while it facilitated and promoted fragmentation at the municipal level;[69] and Bourbon enlightened despotism was played out between efforts to create intermediate administrative units (particularly the intendancy structure) for the implementation of royal policy, and the surging philosophical and practical confidence in rational action, the free market, and, particularly, the strongly imagined relation between individual action and the common good. The debate over the grain trade was perhaps the most celebrated arena in which these tensions evolved.

Nationalization, therefore, involved structural change at various levels: the territorialization of a consolidated space; the codification of a centralized royal law; the balances established between central, regional, and local authority; and the liberalization of economic enterprises. All, to some extent, attempted to achieve unification. And all, to varying degrees, faced the opposition of interests that were entrenched either in provincial and local space or in the privileged sectors of a society in transition. Appeals to rights based on a strong, entrenched

67. The quote if from Anderson (1974:51), the reference to market on page 17.

68. Kagan (1981:221–22). For the strength of local and regional customs and law, see also Kleffens (1968).

69. Nader (1990).

regionalism (as well as entrepreneurial invocations of the advantages of individualism and private property) contributed as much to conflicts over grain distribution as did adherence to a subsistence ethic or popular beliefs in the state's responsibilities to provide for its citizens. And just as Bohstedt stressed the density and stability of social networks as the principal factor leading to collective action within the community, so too must one consider the force and vitality of regional politics and cultural identity as a prime factor influencing how conflicts over grain markets played out on the national stage. In this respect, the conquered lands of New Spain presented a novel set of circumstances for the politics of grain that in Europe were so problematical. The struggle for provisioning was as much a spatial as a social phenomenon

THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OF GRAIN HINTERLANDS: THE *REPARTIMIENTO DE MAÍZ* AND CENTRALIZED CONTROL OF PROVISIONING IN EARLY COLONIAL NEW SPAIN

During the first century after conquest indigenous structures of regional authority were for the most part obliterated. After the conquest, "Mexico ceased to be an area of scattered kingdoms, city-states, and hegemonic empires."[70] Struggles for control imploded to within the cabecera-sujeto complex as the hereditary nobility (caciques) had to contend with a new postcolonial indigenous elite rising from within the ranks. Among the Indian population, therefore, political power became concentrated in the
hispanicized village complex of the cabecera-sujeto.[71] Spanish jurisdictions were also in a state of extreme flux: the sixteenth century was characterized by the rapid propagation of

70. Hassig (1985:225).

71. There were cases in which supracommunity relations of indigenous authority persisted into the early colonial period, such as Tepecuacuilco's advocation of Oapan residents' land rights to Palula (see chapter 6). But the general tendency was toward an atomization of political structures.

administrative divisions that would dominate the colonies over the following two hundred years. Between 1550 and 1570 there was a total of about 40 alcadías mayores and corregimientos; by 1580 the number had increased to 70 of the former and 200 of the latter. There is, unfortunately, little documentation and less analysis of how the political geography of New Spain and the territorialization of administrated space responded to the influences of history, politics, and economics during this formative period. But, in general, the spatial dynamics of political and economic power flowed in opposite directions in the mother country and the colonies. In the former, the absolutist state and a national market were forged at the expense of regional power, economic structures, and privileged identity; in the latter, regionalism (as opposed to simple regional variation) was an emergent process—still little understood or analyzed—as regional structures and identities were gradually built up during the colonial period and beyond. Although there were certainly provincial elites and political cliques, it is less clear if such groups identified themselves with any spatial or territorial unit beyond the city or town,[72] or whether regional structures of identity ever challenged the influence of family, class, and caste in orienting social action.[73]

72. This raises the question about the cognitive saliency of regional groups during the colonial period, i.e. the existence of what some behaviorist geographers have referred to as vernacular regions, or regional self-awareness (see Jordan 1978; Shortridge 1984, 1985; Zelinsky 1980). Much of this literature, based on research conducted in the United States, is concerned with overt regional categories that are labeled by discrete lexical terms (see chapter 7, n. 69). Indeed, even at the community level, it is unclear whether non-Indians felt any great association with the town, and thus whether locality was a significant concomitant to personal identity. Indeed, one may posit a generally inverse relation between locality as constitutive of personal identity and other factors such as class, caste, etc.

73. Magagna, in his study of collective action by peasant communities makes repeated reference to a "less than appropriate class logic" (p. 26) that he feels has been mistakenly used to understand the structure of conflict in provincial societies. In its stead he offers the concept of "the community of grain" as a model for the interpretation of rural revolt. An analogous discussion may be applied at the regional level and here, for colonial Mexico, the question becomes whether regional structures and identities can be utilized to understand the nature of conflict over provisioning. See also Desan (1989) and her discussion of *community* in the works of E. P. Thompson and Natalie Davis.

With conquest, the colonial state brought and imposed an assemblage of laws against regrating, engrossing, and forestalling,[74] as well as a historical justification for the administrative control of prices and markets. In the Americas, however, it immediately acquired a new mechanism with which to manage the subsistence requirements of the Hispanic population: control over indigenous tribute in grain, which, whether given to the crown or an encomendero, was in effect the property of the state.[75] Hassig, in his exemplary study of marketing structures in central Mexico from the late postclassic to early colonial periods, suggests a fundamental change in the role tribute played among the Aztecs and within the Spanish colony:

> There was a basic divergence between the Aztecs' and the Spaniards' approaches to tribute. The Aztecs used the tribute to support their urban population (at least the nobility), so that the transportation cost was not their primary concern, although they were cognizant of it. In the Spanish system tribute belonged to the king, and the concern was primarily for revenue. The supply of foodstuffs for Mexico City from tribute sources was a secondary consideration.[76]

Nevertheless, although the crown's primary concern might well have been revenue, over the course of the sixteenth century the colonial state demonstrated that it was not adverse to employing tribute paid in grain to satisfy the subsistence needs of food-deficient urban and mining centers, even with a potential loss in revenue.[77] Indeed, subsistence and fiscal priorities

74. For a brief definition of these terms, see Baldwin (1959:29).

75. To the degree that encomenderos are considered recipients of a state pension (in the form of rights to crown tribute) their property rights to this tribute (either in money or grain) was not absolute. Thus administrative control over tribute grain was not a direct challenge to property rights in general.

76. Hassig (1985:226).

77. For the sale of crown tribute in Taxco, see the examples from the *Libro de las tasaciones* (see appendix 8j) as well as AGN-M 2/636 (dated 1543) and AGN-M 2/700 (dated 1544). For a similar case involving the mines of Zumpango, see AGN-M 2/668; for an illicit effort by the *lugarteniente* in Iguala to require Xochipala and Chichihualco to supply the Tlalixtaca mines in southern Guerrero, see AGN-I 3/316 (dated 1591). For Mexico City around 1576, see Lee (1947:653–54).

were not always incompatible, and occasionally both could be met despite a reduction in the tribute burdens of an Indian community. For example, in 1537 Ajuchitlán had its tribute assessment changed from 2,000 fanegas due at the Coyuca mines, to 1,000 fanegas to be taken to Taxco, where prices were more than double those of Coyuca. In this case, judicious market management meant that crown revenue was maintained, and subsistence needs better met, despite halving Ajuchitlán's tribute obligation.[78] Encomenderos also received tribute, and through most of the first three decades after conquest many of them utilized the labor services *(servicio personal)* and material goods (particularly grain) they received as tribute to support entrepreneurial ventures in mining (see appendix 8j).[79] The New Laws prohibited *servicio personal,* but grain payments continued, particularly after the plague of 1576, when, in an effort to maintain a subsistence base dependent on Indian agriculture, indigenous villages were required to deliver their crown and encomendero tribute in wheat or maize.[80] Thus the encomenderos continued to hold considerable rights to resources in grain that at times was scarce or highly priced in Mexico City and in the flourishing mining centers of the late sixteenth century. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century this grain was subject to intermittent requisitions, occasionally at a price below market value.[81] By this time encomenderos were

78. See entry under Asuchitlán (appendix 8j).

79. See also Miranda (1941–46). Zavala (1984a:228) reports a transaction in 1541 involving 200 *fanegas* from the pueblo of Malinalco and another 200 from the *encomienda* of Serván Bejarano (Coatepec, jur. Malinalco). A certain Diego de Logroño was to take this maize to a building owned by Rodrigo de Castañeda in Taxco. For other activities of Castañeda in the Taxco-Iguala region, see AGN-M 1/257, AGN-M 2/277 and 278, and ENE IX:18. Acuña (1986 8:114) and Porras Muñoz (1982) give biographical information on Castañeda.

80. Gibson (1964:203–204) and Lee (1947:651–652).

81. In particular, see Lee (1947) for an account of grain legislation for the decade after the 1575 crisis. Lee (p. 658) notes that "the tribute grain of the encomenderos was not requisitioned except in case of serious emergency." Although he mentions (p. 658) that private tribute was requisitioned at a price below that of

isolated from other sectors of colonial society, having suffered the effects of the New Laws and the conspiracy trials of the mid-1560s; unlike feudal lords in Europe, they were unable to mobilize any sort of regional alliance that could successfully counter the centralizing policies of the state, or the power of the clergy, miners, and new entrepreneurial elite.

The waning power of encomenderos was but one of the many changes in colonial society during the closing decades of the sixteenth century. This was a period of rapid transition: a drastic decline in the indigenous population; restructured settlement patterns through forced nucleation of Indian villages (the secular *congregación* program completed by the viceroys conde de Monterrey and marqués de Montesclaros); the boom in silver production; an increase in colonists' acquisition of land and their commitment to commercial agriculture; the beginnings of forced *repartimiento* labor; and, after 1590, several decades of strong central authority exercised by a series of viceroys beginning with Luis de Velasco the Younger. After indigenous villages began to pay their tribute in maize and wheat, the viceregal authorities in Mexico City were better able to control the spatial distribution of marketed grain in the provinces. For Taxco there are several examples of such efforts. In 1579 grain harvested on communal fields in Iguala and in Tepecuacuilco was ordered taken to Taxco and sold at a peso of *oro común;* the income was to be used to pay community officials.[82] Several years later, in 1582, both Mayanalán and

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market value, in the orders to requisition grain for mining camps (see below) special care was taken to ensure that encomenderos received compensation at market value, the "just price" in Roman-influenced medieval economic theory (see below).

For private-tribute maize requisitioned to be sold in Taxco, see the cases of Coatepec (AGN-I 6(2)/643, dated 1592; this is Coatepec Costales) and Coatlán (AGN-I 6(1)/247, dated 1592). For Mayanalán and Tlaxmalac, see AGN-I 2/212 and 218, both dated 1582.

82. AGN-I 1/198 (Iguala) and AGN-I 1/199 (Tepecuacuilco). Apparently these officials had usually been paid from excess tribute collected. In another effort to increase maize supply in the Taxco mines (AGN-M 2/284, dated 1543) the viceroy ordered that Indian merchants who went to buy small quantities of silver from the miners' slaves be required to contribute three *celemines* (¼ *fanega*) of maize (it is not clear whether this maize was to be sold by the merchants, or reflects a type of tax on the license to buy *(rescatar)* small quantities

Tlaxmalac, along with their encomendero Martín Vázquez de Cisneros, petitioned for viceregal protection of their right to freely sell grain on the open market. The request was granted on the condition that they first fulfill their obligation to take an assigned portion of their tribute to Taxco (their *repartimiento de maíz*) and that, in a language befitting classical concerns with regional well-being, "the region not be left without provisions."[83] This restriction reflected a recognition (even at this early date) of the inevitable tension that free marketing of grains created between tangible benefits to production and undeniable harm to provisioning.

Although the practice was undoubtedly common, before the viceroyalty of the conde de Monterrey (1595–1603) there is only scattered evidence (such as the cases just cited) for the direct assignment of crown and encomendero tribute to meet provisioning demand in regional mining centers.[84] But this changed at the turn of the century. In 1597 the conde de Monterrey ordered *visitas* to the ten principal mining camps *(reales de minas)* of early colonial Mexico.[85] The final report, issued in the spring of 1598, included a summary of requests for salt, maize, and

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of silver) and that all transactions in silver be carried out in a public market *(tianguis)*. Although there was always a possibility that the creation of a market for silver would encourage theft by workers, the Taxco miners were willing to take this risk, saying that "they looked favorably on the fact that [the Indians] be allowed to buy silver from the Spaniards' slaves, because they thought it worse to see the slaves die of starvation than that they be prevented from stealing the said silver".

83. AGN-I 2/212 and 218. The condition that regional needs first be met before export is allowed is, of course, a traditional aspect of European markets. Toward the end of the colonial period it was to be repeatedly invoked by Taxco miners in their attempt to limit the export of grain from the Iguala Valley (see below). For the marketing of maize in Mexico City by Bernardino de Casasola, encomendero of Huitzuco, see AGN-I 4/124 (dated 1589); Huitzuco caciques were also involved in speculation with maize; AGN-I 3/132, dated 1590.

84. Besides Tepecuacuilco, Iguala, Mayanalán, and Tlaxmalac, references have been found to Coatlán and Coatepec (see n. 81 *supra*). For examples of encomenderos using tribute in provisions to supply their mining ventures, see the data from the *Libro de tributos*, appendix 8j.

85. Nine of the mines were in New Spain (Cuautla, Guanajuato, Ozomatlán, Pachuca, Taxco, Temascaltepec, Tlalpujahua, Zacualpa, and Zultepec) and one, Zacatecas, in Nueva Galicia. For a summary of the report, see Zavala (1987:317ff.). De la Peña (1983:241–46) reproduces another report of 1596, which gives brief descriptions of 15 mining camps.

Indian laborers from each of the ten *reales*.[86] Two years later the viceroy issued a series of dispatches for provisioning the seven central *reales* (Cuautla, Taxco, Temascaltepec, Tlalpujahua, Zacualpa, Zultepec, and Pachuca[87]) with salt and maize. Guanajuato and Zacatecas, far north of the central highlands, were not included in these provisioning orders.[88] Maize was obtained from both the tribute of villages held by the crown and from those still in private hands. The encomenderos were informed that they could not sell tribute maize to any party except the crown, but that they would be compensated at the current market price for all requisitioned

86. See Zavala (1987:323). The salt was used in the mercury amalgamation process along with copper pyrite *(magistral),* and mercury.

87. The first six of these mining camps were clustered approximately 100 km southwest of Mexico City; Pachuca was located some 85 km to the northeast.

88. Apparently Tlalpujahua was only provided with maize; I have found no record of a *repartimiento* (assignment) of salt to this mine. One mining camp, Ozomatlán, requested neither salt nor maize, and was given neither. Two mining camps, Guanajuato and Zacatecas, requested large quantities of both items, but were not included in the *repartimiento* orders of 1600 for either item.

In regard to salt, the following list indicates the amount requested in 1597 and the amount granted in 1600 (for other contemporary assignments of salt not listed in the table below, see AGN-GP 5/241 (dated 1599) in regard to Temascaltepec, and AGN-GP 5/719 (dated 1600) in regard to the mines of Zacualpa, Cuautla, and Taxco). The first, general order is in AGN-GP 5/1086, "Auto sobre la sal que se a de dar a las minas de esta Nueva España" (the number after each mining camp's name is that of the *expediente* in General de Parte vol. 5 that contains the specific order for each *real de minas*; although I have not recorded the information, each *expediente* identifies the place of origin for the salt that was to go to each mining camp):

MINING CAMP	SALT REQUESTED (*FANEGAS*)	SALT GRANTED IN *REPARTIMIENTO* (*FANEGAS*)
Pachuca (exp. 1267)	10,920	4,300
Taxco (exp. 1095)	13,030	5,300
Cuautla (exp. 1237)	3,850	1,800
Temascaltepec (exp. 1209)	4,100	1,500
Zacualpa (exp. 1095)	7,500	1,900
Zultepec (exp. 1088)	7,500	1,500
Tlalpujahua	2,400	no grant located
Guanajuato	12,900	no grant located
Zacatecas	36,000	no grant located
Ozomatlan	no request	no grant located

maize.[89] The administrative decrees of 1600 were part of a cohesive colony-wide program that restructured the provincial grain market that supplied mining camps. But the degree to which maize *repartimiento* (forced distribution) satisfied the original petitions varied: Taxco received 99 percent of the maize it requested; Zacualpa was given only 41 percent.

The *repartimiento de maíz* (see table 10a) evidences the viceroy's decided effort to rationalize market arrangements under centralized control without affecting privately owned grain.[90] Tribute maize was usually assigned in *repartimiento* to the closest mines;[91] the remission of crown grain from the village of Huexocingo (80 km southeast of Mexico City) to Taxco (100 km southwest of Mexico City) is a striking exception, as are the remissions from Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Tepeaca to Pachuca.[92] In transit the grain would have passed through Mexico City,

89. AGN-GP 5/1085; this dispatch is repeated in all of the seven *repartimiento* orders specific to each mining camp. The composición for the embargoed grain would either be the current market price at the encomendero's village, or that at the customary market outlet after transport costs had been deducted. However, if the point of requisition was within a 12-league distance from Mexico City, the price paid for the private tribute maize was to be the current price in the Mexico City *alhóndiga* minus the cost of transport to the city. Encomenderos could chose the pricing arrangement they found most favorable.

For other documents pertinent to salt and maize *repartimientos,* see for Pachuca AGN-GP 6/380 and 381 (both dated 1603; the latter published in ZyC V:67–68); for Temascaltepec AGN-GP 5/241 (dated 1599), AGN-GP 6/10 (dated 1602), AGN-GP 6/73 (dated 1602), AGN-GP 6/540 (dated 1603, which deals with the *administrador* of both Zultepec and Temascaltepec), and AGN-GP 6/1044 (dated 1604); for Taxco AGN-GP 5/719 (dated 1599), AGN-GP 6/181 (dated 1602), AGN-GP 6/571 (dated 1603), and AGN-GP 6/fol. 325f (dated 1603, published in ZyC V:128); and for Zultepec AGN-GP 5/801 (dated 1600).

90. On the other hand, the *repartimiento de sal* was more oriented to avoiding conflict and competition among mining camp administrators in the acquisition of salt, and to preventing over-stocking that depleted the amount of salt available to the general population; see AGN-GP 5/1086, dated 1600. For a study of the highly centralized administration of provisioning in the Roman Empire, see Rickman (1980).

91. The majority of villages assigned to Taxco were in the jurisdiction of Taxco (Taxco, Cacalotenango, Tlamacazapa, Huistac, Atzala, Nochtepec, Pilcaya, Chontalcoatlan, Acuitlapan, Teticpac, and Acamixtla) or the surrounding jurisdictions of Iguala (Iguala, Cocula, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, Tlaxmalac, Oapan (this latter village still probably in the *corregimiento* of Iguala) and Mayanalán) and Ixcateopan (Ixcateopan, Teloloapan, and Totoltepec). The 2 Sept. 1600 general dispatch (AGN-GP 5/1085) specifically stated that crown tribute maize was insufficient to meet the demands of the *reales de minas* and that "it is necessary to buy all the maize of the encomenderos who are within the said areas and near to the said mining centers."

92. Tlaxcala was approximately 100 km south of Pachuca, Cholula about 120 km, and Tepeaca some 140

Table 10a
Distribution of *repartimiento* maize in the mines of New Spain, 1600
(fanegas and almudes)

MINING CENTER (AND MAIZE REQUESTED)[a]	MAIZE FROM CROWN VILLAGES		MAIZE FROM VILLAGES HELD IN ENCOMIENDA		TOTAL MAIZE ASSIGNED IN REPARTIMIENTO
Guautla	Yzucar	344-11	Tlalcozautitlan la mitad de		4,642-04
5,100 *fanegas*	Tlatetla [? Tetela]	66-02	encomendero	195-00	
	Coacingo	17-01	Acapistla	1,000-00	
	Tlilapa	113-05	Yautepec	800-00	
	Pueblos de Las Amilpas	300-00	Quatepeque	100-00	
	Ocopetlayuca	395-01	Tepustlan	600-00	
	Atenango	308-11	Zacualpa de Solis (suj. de		
	Zacango	35-04	Cuernavaca)	40-00	
	Mesquitlan	61-05	Quaculco	30-00	
	Tlalcozautitla la mitad		Tlacotepeque de Solis	40-00	
	de su Magestad	195-00			
	TOTAL	1,837-04	TOTAL	2,805-00	
Pachuca	Tlaxcala de tributo,		Guachinango	1,000-00	13,880-05
18,750 *fanegas*	quitado	7,200-00	Tulancingo	500-00	
	el diezmo	2,390-03	Tlacuiloltepeque	200-00	
	Cholula	1,790-02	Atotonilco de don Andrés de Tapia	300-00	
	Tepeaca		Papaloticpac	200-00	
			Paquatlan	300-00	
	TOTAL	11,380-05	TOTAL	2,500-00	
Taxco	Taxco	109-02	Cuernavaca	2,000-00	6,987-07
7,050 *fanegas*	Tenango	86-10	Tepecuacuilco	400-00	
	Tlamagazapa	169-00	Teticpac	60-00	
	Talistaca (Huiztac)	140-08	Acamistla	70-00	
	Azala	72-09	Hueyzuco	140-00	
	Yguala	141-06	Tasmalaca	140-00	
	Cocula	115-05	Oapan	300-00	
	Escateupa	120-07	Xalatlaco[c]	400-00	
	Tutuluava	166-01	Mayanalán	70-00	
	Tultepeque	92-11	Ocelotepec de Da. Catalina		
	Nustepeque	67-09	Peralta	200-00	
	Pilcaya	139-09	Tlachichilpa y Malacatepeque[d]	300-00	
	Coatlán y Cuitlapan	100-00	Tlapanaloya[e]	50-00	
	Cd. de Guexocingo[b]	1325-02			
	TOTAL	2847-07	TOTAL[f]	4,130-00	
Temazcaltepec			Tlaxcaltitlan y sus sujetos	600-00	2,150-00
4,600 *fanegas*			Calimaya	300-00	
			Metepeque	300-00	

			Toluca	700-00	
			Tepamaxalco	250-00	
			TOTAL	2,150-00	
Tlalpuxagua 2,450 *fanegas*	Atlacomulco	818-04			1,186-04
	Xocotitlan	368-00			
	TOTAL	1,186-04			
Zacualpan 6,050 *fanegas*	Tonatico	65-09	Zaqualpa de Ruis López	130-00	2,476-06
	Ostuma	94-03	Zumpaguacan	270-00	
	Alaustlan	74-06	Tenancingo	140-00	
			Ocuila	200-00	
			Zoquizingo	40-00	
			Coatepeque de Diego de Ocampo[h]	50-00	
			Malinalco la mitad de encomendero	200-00	
			Calimaya	300-00	
			Metepeque	400-00	
			Miapa [? Mimiapa]	50-00	
			Jilocingo de Da. Catarina	60-00	
			Xuquipilco	400-00	
	TOTAL[g]	234-06	TOTAL	2,240-00	
Zultepec 7,700 *fanegas*	Amatepeque y sus sujetos	157-07	Tlacotepeque de Garnica	150	1,907-07
			Cinacantepeque	800	
			Toluca	800	
			TOTAL	1,750-00	

All sources are found in AGN-GP vol. 5: Guautla, exp. 1238; Pachuca, exp. 1268; Taxco, exp. 1094; Tlalpuxagua, exp. 1280; Zacualpa, exp. 1097; Zultepec, exp. 1087. A summary of all *repartimiento* is found in exp. 1037.

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[a] From Zavala (1987:323), see also de la Peña (1983:79, cuad. IX). The original document is in the Archivo General de las Indias 58-3-13 (dated 1597). Note that Guanajuato requested 15,000 and Zacatecas 26,300 fanegas, but I have no record of either of these mines receiving *repartimiento* maize which suggests that the lucractive northern mines may not have been granted grain in *repartimiento,* perhaps because of their distance or perhaps because they were able to obtain supplies through economic incentives alone.

[b] In AGN-GP 5/1094 the figure for Guexocingo is 1,847 fanegas 7 almudes, which appears to be an error. The correct figure, given the totals listed in AGN-GP 5/1094, of 1,325 fanegas 2 almudes is given in the summary sheet of all *repartimiento de maíz* in AGN-GP 5/1307.

[c] Along with Ocelotepec, in the jurisdiction of Tenango del Valle.

[d] In the jurisdiction of Metepec.

[e] In the jurisdiction of Tetepango.

[f] Document gives total here of 4,140 fanegas and total of crown and encomendero maize as 6,987 fanegas.

[g] Document gives 235 fanegas 6 almudes here, and 2,476 fanegas 6 almudes for total of all maize.

[h] Coatepec Harinas in the jurisdiction of Zacualpa.

where high demand often led to periodic shortages. The movement of grain from Huexocingo to Taxco suggests that for mining, maize supply was indeed a serious problem and that Taxco could not simply rely on the fertile Iguala Valley for its grain, nor had it been successful in integrating its own provisioning hinterland.

As already noted, in the original viceregal dispatch that established the *repartimiento de maíz*, Zacatecas and Guanajuato are conspicuous by their absence. Surprisingly, the central mines, those closest to the sedentary agrarian indigenous villages of the central highlands, seem to have suffered most from a shortage of grain and were those most specifically targeted by the government program. Thus despite their claims to the contrary,[93] the two northern mines had apparently been more successful in integrating an agricultural hinterland that survived the demographic collapse of the late sixteenth century.[94] But the terms of the viceregal dispatches that restructured markets in the seven central mining camps reveal that the change was as much related to questions of cash flow and credit for the acquisition of factors of production (perhaps not as much a problem in Zacatecas and Guanajuato) as to absolute shortages of grain, state adherence to an ideology of paternalism, or a pressured response to a popular subsistence ethic. Maize was to be treated like the other principal factors of production essential to silver production: mercury and salt. Authority to distribute grain was placed in an *administrador de la sal y el maíz*; miners were given maize on credit, to be repaid at the moment they registered their silver.[95] This apparently direct relationship between maize *repartimiento* and restricted cash and

93. Zacatecas had requested 36,600 *fanegas* of maize, Guanajuato 12,900 (Zavala 1987:323).

94. Parral, much further to the north, is a classic case of a mining camp that was able to stimulate and integrate its own agricultural hinterland (see West 1949).

95. See particularly AGN-GP 5/801 (dated 1600), in regard to a commission to administer salt and maize in Zultepec. After no bids were submitted for the *abasto* (provisioning) obligation for these two items, a search

credit in the mining sector, rather than consumer demand for provisions, is not altogether surprising. The undercapitalization of mining ventures (a reality of entrepreneurship that is reflected in the abundance of state-administered credit institutions in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries) meant that mining entrepreneurs would find it increasingly difficult to cover expenditures, particularly for mercury, salt, and grain. And as grain prices rose, miners would manifest a greater dependency on government advances of material as against future silver production. Moreover, in addition to the problem of cash flow, undercapitalization also created a vicious cycle of consumption and competition. Poor mineowners, unable to directly work their property, would frequently offer workers "sharecropping" arrangements that were highly beneficial, particularly to poor Indians willing to speculate with their labor—working without pay in the hopes of directly profiting from a share of the extracted ore. The proliferation of such arrangements would both attract migrants (putting increased pressure on the provisioning system) and, by offering potentially lucrative alternative employment for mine laborers, escalate the salaries and benefits that capitalist mining enterprises would need to offer to maintain their hold on wage labor (thus decreasing the profit margin on mines that used hired labor).[96]

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was conducted for an administrator who would be encharged with buying and distributing salt and maize. However, no individual was found who could post the required bond; the alcalde mayor was then commissioned to use up to 10,000 pesos to acquire salt and maize. After buying the required quantities, he was to take these goods to the mines and distribute them to the miners for cash or on credit; the 10,000 pesos were to be replaced by February 1601. The price to miners of the maize and salt was to be the original price paid by the alcalde mayor plus transport and administrative costs; sale was limited to active miners within the jurisdiction of Zultepec. Miners who wished to buy these items outside the jurisdiction were required to obtain a viceregal license; see the case of Luis Vaca de Salazar cited in the main text.

96. For "sharecropping" arrangements, see Bakewell (1975, 1977, 1984:part. chap. 2) and Stern (1988). For an official report that blames sharecropping arrangements *(trabajar a ingenio)* for the high benefits in ore-sharing given to wage laborers, see the 1770 report of Pedro Joseph de Leóz (reproduced in Chávez Orozco, 1978). Leóz directly links the growth of the "pernicious" *partidos* (the share of ore extracted given to pikemen in addition to their salary) to full sharecropping arrangements in which capital-deficient miners allowed pikemen to enter their mines, giving them candles and tools in exchange for half the ore extracted. This is an extremely important point that has not received much attention in the literature on colonial

One of the most striking features of *repartimiento* was that during the few years that maize and salt distribution was administered in this way, the provisioning system was marked by a clear, almost rigid, dichotomy between free and structured markets, and between private and public property. To a certain extent *repartimiento* built upon previous arrangements that had governed encomendero and community rights to freely market tribute and communally produced grain, respectively. Thus, in the previously cited case of Mayanalán and Tlaxmalac villagers were authorized to sell grain on the open market provided that they first complied with their *repartimiento* obligation to Taxco and that the region (prioritized as was generally the case with provisioning structures before the eighteenth century) not be left short of grain. And from about midcentury, the colonial state had reserved the right to requisition tribute in grain from encomenderos.[97] Parallel to these extant mechanisms to control the distribution of tribute maize, the generalized *repartimiento* system of the conde de Monterrey imposed strict additional barriers on the free acquisition of grain in a competitive market. For example, in 1602 Luis Vaca de Salazar, a Temascaltepec miner, sought and was granted a license to buy all the salt and maize he needed, despite a previous dispatch to the contrary sent to the local *administrador de la sal y el maíz*. But in receiving his permit this miner lost the right to acquire these goods in the structured market: the administrator was ordered not to give Vaca de Salazar any salt or maize in the future.[98] An analogous situation occurred in Pachuca, where in early 1603 a shortage of grain

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mining: undercapitalized mines, unable to hire wage labor, would offer workers the benefits of sharecropping (a system under which mine workers essentially "lent" their labor to mine owners. As the report by Leóz asserts, it was such arrangements that escalated and inflated the wages and benefits earned by pickmen and their helpers in the major mines of the time.

97. See nn. 77 and 81, *supra*.

98. AGN-GP 6/10. In specific, the document mentions a previous order "en que se prohive a los mineros que no lo puedan comprar" ["in which miners are prohibited from buying it"]. A similar license was given to Pedro Gutierres de Rivera, also a Temascaltepec miner (AGN-GP 6/73).

left the administrator unable to meet local demand. In response, the viceroy issued a general license allowing anyone to freely sell maize in Pachuca during the entire year, opening up a market that up until then had been under direct crown administration and closed to free market competition.[99] Finally, in Taxco the *repartimiento* experiment ended when the administrator was relieved of his position "so that each [miner] could seek out and acquire these goods wherever and however he might desire."[100] As elsewhere, the end of *repartimiento* in Taxco was directly linked to the opening up of a competitive market in which miners could actively seek provisions in the hinterland.

In writing to his successor, the viceroy conde de Monterrey mentioned his efforts to ensure the mines an adequate supply of labor, maize, and salt (each item through its own system of *repartimiento*). The administered provisioning of maize and salt, he added, "was extremely useful, but passing through the hands of men and the perils of avarice, it wound up being inconvenient."[101] But avarice and greed are simple explanations to a complex problem. And even the rectification of inefficient distribution and corrupt administration would have given *repartimiento* but a short reprieve from an inevitable fate.

99. AGN-GP 6/530. Apparently the fact that the crown administered the Pachuca market through *repartimiento* meant that other individuals were enjoined from freely trading there. Thus a specific license was necessary to permit the marketing of grain in these mines (the brevete of the dispatch read: "A qualesquier personas para que libremente puedan llevar a las minas de Pachuca el maíz que quisieren vender desde oy hasta fin de este presente año" [To any person so that they might freely take to the Pachuca mines the maize that they wished to sell, from now to the end of this present year]. In this sense the *repartimiento* functioned somewhat like the *abasto*—a monopolistic concession that for certain products granted exclusive access (as well as the obligation to meet demand at a prearranged price) to urban markets.

100. AGN-GP 6/181 (dated 1602). At this time Pérez was owed just under 14,165 pesos by Taxco miners for maize and salt that he had distributed on credit. To facilitate collection Pérez was authorized to take a percentage from the silver that miners took to register; he was also authorized to sell the maize (2,500 *fanegas*) and salt (700 *fanegas*) that he still held in storage.

101. The "Apuntes al sucesor" of the conde de Monterrey discussed in Zavala (1990:23ff.); the citation is found on page 27.

One reason for this was temporal: the awkward moment at which the state attempted to directly administer the distribution of tribute resources. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the provisioning of colonial society was precariously situated at a crossroads, dependent on both a tributary system of declining resources and an agrarian economy of still insufficient production. In part *repartimiento* failed because it attempted to reach back for the fading resources of an encomendero class then under attack by most other sectors of the colonial state and society, and, less directly, for the productive potential of an Indian society devastated by the conquest and its aftermath. But the most basic failing of *repartimiento*—a concerted effort of the centralized viceregal authority to direct tribute maize, both state and individually controlled, into the most dynamic sector of the late sixteenth-century provincial economy—was "categorical." *Repartimiento* created an administrated economy of mixed metaphors and contrived boundaries: the sharp yet inherently unstable division it envisioned between the direct administration of tribute goods held by the state and the free market commercialization of private goods (even though distribution of the latter was still restricted by the traditional injunctions against regraters, forestallers, and engrossers);[102] the failure to recognize the irreducible conflict between maize used as a factor of production and maize used as the basis of subsistence;[103] and the inflexible, monopolistic structure that *repartimiento* imposed by denying miners the opportunity to look for and acquire grain wherever it was

102. See, for example, AGN-GP 6/765 (dated 29 Nov. 1603) in which previous ordinances against regrating issued on the following dates were confirmed: 16 July 1576; 28 March 1577; 1 April 1577; 13 July 1577; 5 Dec. 1577; 14 May 1578; and 14 Feb. 1587. All these ordinances refer to regrating in the vicinity of Taxco. The necessity of confirming these ordinances in 1603 suggests the continuing problem of regrating through the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

103. This conflict is recognized in the numerous laws against using maize to fatten pigs *(cebar marranos)* during periods of scarcity in grain for human consumption.

available.

It was precisely this blurred structure that quickly became problematic. In effect, *repartimiento* was a short-lived experiment to integrate a system of grain supply for mining production that incorporated features prevalent in other systems of provisioning: the monopolistic marketing arrangements of the *abasto* system that dominated urban meat supply;[104] the credit structure of state-administered mercury distribution to undercapitalized miners;[105] and the legal rhetoric that backed up the paternalistic provisioning of basic foodstuffs to regional centers. And each of these aspects of *repartimiento* entailed its own set of problems: maize was not as easily controlled as meat; credit to miners often proved impossible to collect; and legal structures to administer markets were often challenged and circumvented by entrepreneurial agriculturalists. But whatever might be said of these particular problems, and of the inefficiency of the *repartimiento* system in general—ineffective distribution, high administrative and transport costs that could not be recuperated, and credit extensions to miners that could not be collected—essentially it was the artificial division between openly distributed maize used in provisioning and state-controlled maize used in production that was the weakest link in this experimental policy. The colonial state felt it could threaten to curtail access to *repartimiento* maize and thus keep miners in the central highlands from pursuing grain acquisition in the open market, which was principally oriented to the provisioning of subsistence requirements. But this rigid dichotomization between open and closed distribution of maize could not long survive the pressures of competitive demand and limited supply.

104. See Barrett (1974) and Van Young (1981:chap. 3).

105. The best account of state-sponsored credit for the acquisition of mercury remain Bakewell (1971) and Brading (1971).

Beneath the momentary stress created by the *repartimiento* system were other more generalized and fairly constant tensions that ran through colonial society and created constant strife in the political economy of grain supply well after the *repartimiento* system had ended. Thus, as regional society changed, so too did the nature of state intervention and public struggle in the grain market. And as state access to agricultural (tribute) resources declined, a new context for struggles over provisioning emerged (discussed in the following chapter), one that increasingly concerned relations between rural and urban societies, between mining and agrarian sectors, and between an absolute right to market one's possessions and paternalistic social control over items of basic necessity. One significant obstacle to the development of an integrated strategy of provisioning was the favored status of mining and its continual demands for preferential treatment, which found strong support in the Bourbon regimes of the eighteenth century. Under the *repartimiento de maíz*, this demand for preferential treatment had resulted in the assignment of state-controlled, public resources in grain to private ventures in silver production; later these same demands manifested themselves in miners' attempts to maintain regional control over the marketing of provincial grain at the very same time that political economy theory and practice was tearing down barriers to interregional exchange and promoting a concept of absolute property rights and the free market. Another factor affecting provisioning structures was the emergence of a growing hispanic sector of rural entrepreneurs—a minor factor in provisioning at the time of the *repartimiento*—who were increasingly responsible for the food supply of New Spain. As the economic and political clout of this sector grew, it generated and promoted its own set of demands for the structuring or, perhaps better said, freeing of markets from provincial controls. The emergence of this sector of entrepreneurial farmers and grain merchants also shifted the debate over provisioning to general questions of property (the right to freely dispose of one's own material possessions) and profit (manifested in the problematic

relationship of political to moral economy). But to the degree that conflict over foodstuffs implied issues of closed versus open markets, it also involved the articulation of arguments that reflected not only changing concepts of property rights but also the shifting boundaries of national spatial and territorial organization.

Finally, often caught in this web of conflict between a mining sector that demanded provisions and an agrarian sector that provided them was an indigenous society that produced and marketed grain both at an individual (privately controlled) and community (village controlled) level. As a result, the mechanisms through which resources from Indian society entered the colonial economy varied. The production and commercialization of privately controlled grain was most closely related to decisions within household economies as they developed in the context of local, regional, and national structures of demand and prices. The production and commercialization of village controlled grain occurred within these same spatial and economic contexts as private marketing practices, but the defining units of analysis were different, and undoubtedly related more to political than to economic factors. To the extent that village structure was defined by obligations to the Spanish crown, the administration and disposal of community resources reflected the interaction of state policies and, particularly at the regional and local level, factional politics, both within and beyond community boundaries. One indication of the effect of market developments on Indian villages were the changing mechanisms that viceregal authorities established to expropriate community resources. The sixteenth-century decrees requiring that tribute be paid in foodstuffs and the subsequent establishment of *repartimiento* control over distribution have already been discussed. An analogous situation occurred in the late eighteenth century, when subdelegados were asked to report on the relative advantages to the fiscal interests of crown and village of a head tax (the *real y medio*) as opposed to communal planting and marketing of maize. Communal agricultural

activities were promoted where strong regional markets existed, which assured that community grain could easily be sold at relatively favorable prices; a head tax was suggested for more isolated villages.[106] At the local and regional levels, factional politics for control over grain (as well as other community resources) were a constant of village life. Nevertheless, the late colonial period seems to manifest an increasing tendency for class considerations to influence the composition and rhetoric of local-level political groups, including those that penetrated into and formed within Indian villages.[107] It is to these developments, manifested in eighteenth-century struggles for control over grain distribution and markets, that the final chapter turns.

106. The late colonial period witnessed a return to the debate over tribute in grain versus tribute in cash as in the 1790s and 1800s subdelegados were asked to assess community wealth and suggest whether villages under their jurisdiction should plant communal land in maize or contribute a tax of 1½ real per tributary. A particularly noteworthy document is dated 1803 from the jurisdiction of Tetela del Río, where mines of that name were located. The report of the *encargado de justicia* suggested communal planting for those villages close to markets and the real y medio tax for those that are located at greater distances. For Tetela del Río itself he favored communal planting, "given the prices with which grain is sold in the reales de minas of Tetela del Río and Tepantitlan, located a moderate distance from the village." Other reports (e.g., AGN-I 80/5, dated 1794, for Malinalco) suggest the 1 ½ real tax given the difficulty in determing the true yields of communal fields and the strong possibility that villages were misrepresenting yields and income.

107. See the excellent study to this effect by Martin (1982, 1985).

CHAPTER 11

SEEDS OF DISCORD AND DISCONTENT: GRAIN, REGIONALISM, AND EMERGING CLASS CONFLICT

INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PROVISIONING IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

On 11 July 1765, influenced by the liberal political economy advocated by his key ministers, Esquilache and Campomanes, King Charles III of Spain issued a decree (*prágmatica*) abolishing the customary price controls (*tasas*) that had governed Spanish provisioning systems ever since the first decade of the sixteenth century, while at the same time freeing the grain trade from the tradition of provincial controls on interregional commerce.[1] The abandonment of regulation and intervention as the primary mechanisms to ensure the subsistence requirements of those individuals dependent on commercialized grain reflected the impact of a series of changing perspectives on the role of state interference in the agrarian economy. Perhaps the most novel premise was that a country's only true source of wealth, and the motor of overall economic growth, was to be found in the nation's level of agricultural production; at the same time liberal agrarianists in Spain tended to adopt a decidedly pessimistic perspective toward the

1. For an account of these decrees and the violent reaction that ensued, in both Madrid and the provinces, see Rodríguez (1973a, 1973b). Herr (1989:chaps. 1–2) gives a good introduction to conditions in eighteenth-century rural Spain and their relationship to liberal agrarian reform, and Rodríguez (1975) provides the best account of the political economic theory of Campomanes as well as a summary account of the debate leading to the 1765 *pragmática* (1975:chap. 4). A clear and detailed account in English of Spanish regulations concerning grain pricess (*tasas*) may found in Hamilton (1934:243ff, 1947:187ff) and Rodrígeuz (1973:118ff.) and a discussion of its influence in Viñas y Mey (1941). Particularly noteworthy about the Spanish *tasa* was the fact that it was calculated on the basis of the price at the point of origin or production (not consumption) of the grain. The market price was therefore that price plus the cost of transport and included a "reasonable profit (honesta ganancia)" (Hamilton 1934:246). Note also that the regulation of grain markets varied within Spain. Thus for the mid–seventeenth century, "whereas Castile relied upon statutory limits to insure reasonable grain prices, the kingdom of Valencia attempted to reach the same end in an unregulated market through governmental intervention to guarantee an abundant supply" (Hamilton 1934:257).

contemporary state of their nation's rural economy.[2] All was not well, they tended to think, and the focus of mid–eighteenth-century agrarianism was on remedying the perceived sorry state of rural production through economic liberalization, particularly in regard to trade and commerce.[3] In addition, the *pragmática* of July 1765, and contemporary policy shifts in France, exemplified the incipient extension of a liberal perspective on absolute property rights to the domain of items of basic necessity.[4] Economic thought, from the teachings of the Early Fathers to the natural rights theory of John Locke, had consistently recognized a division (certainly more tenuous as the modern era progressed) between different types of property. In particular, ownership of grain, and to a lesser extent of land, had always been attenuated by social and moral considerations, and the final acceptance of an absolute right to freely market subsistence goods was closely wedded

2. For general works on physiocracy, see Fox-Genovese (1976) and Meek (1962). The former is particularly adamant in contrasting the tension in physiocratic thought between economic decentralization (a precursor of liberal laissez-faire) and political centralization. Spengler (1960) offers a concise summary of general mercantilist as well as physiocratic concepts of economic growth, noting that "whereas the mercantilists had looked upon the nonagricultural sector as being most strategic, and the sector potentially most responsive to developmental stimuli of governmental origin, the physiocrats found the agricultural sector to be the most strategic, and a regime of competition to be the one whereunder this sector would be most likely to flourish" (pp. 54–55); for a brief mention of physiocratic interest in mining, see Spengler (1960:56). Kaplan (1976: 1:chap. 4, e.g., 174 ff.) notes that liberals and physiocrats were particularly prone to talk of the decadence and desolation of the rural economy. Obviously those who felt less pessimistic about this sector would be unwilling (or see it as unnecessary) to take drastic measures to favor agricultural production.

3. MacLachlan (1988:chap. 4) offers a good discussion of the changing conception of merchants and traders that characterized the Spanish Bourbon regimes, as Spanish political economic thought promoted the idea of a *nobleza comerciante* (commercially involved nobility; pp. 71ff) that would have its privileges based on its economic contribution.

4. As Appleby's (1978) exposition makes clear, the downfall of the paternalist ideology of provisioning was intrinsically linked to the full inclusion of grain in an emerging culture of commodification and absolute ownership, in which there would be no limits on either the price of corn or the spatial extent of its distribution. These two principles—price control and the regulation of spatial aspects of marketing—constituted the central issues in the public administration of subsistence. This process of commodification ran parallel to that affecting the private and absolute ownership of land (see chap. 3). A popular moral theory of land ownership was that humans held land as stewards and that property rights were contingent on proper use; provisioning ordinances, however, seem more in accord with prohibitions against usury than on theological discourse regarding the origins of property. Nevertheless, a common element exists; rights to both land and grain were abridged in society's interest. For a good discussion, see Hont and Ignatieff

to an emergent moral discourse on the ultimate (and long-term) benefit of laissez-faire political economy for the common well-being.[5] As the responsibility for provisioning shifted from a social obligation of the state to a beneficial consequence of absolute property rights, free markets, and self-interest, grain merchants and agrarian entrepreneurs had increasing access to a discourse of individual rights unencumbered by traditional moral and social constraints.[6] Finally, early liberal

(1983:13–18, 27ff.).

5. See the discussion in chapter 3. Van Young (1979:602) offers a statement by the *fiscal real* of Guadalajara that absolute property rights should *not* be extended to the basic necessities; the phrasing of the discussion in these terms demonstrates a clear awareness of the implication of changing property rights for customary provisioning systems. Appleby (1978) offers a more general and theoretical perspective on the same issue. In her examination of economic thought and ideology during the transition to a fully commercial economy, Appleby notes that "three areas critical to the development of a rational, profit-oriented market economy remained vulnerable to the scrutiny of moralists. They were the grain trade, the conversion of commonly held land to private property, and the lending of money for interest" (1978:53; cf. Kaplan 1976 1:53). Yet, she goes on to note, the transition to a commercial economy may also be understood as an extended debate over the status of grain as a commodity like any other, absolutely possessed by its owner:

> The fundamental importance of food production stands out in the Tudor codification of laws against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing. In these explicit denials of the food producers' freedom to manipulate the market for personal gain, the Tudors, like their predecessors, were affirming their conviction that the growing and marketing of corn, the milling of flour, and the baking of bread were principally social rather than economic activities. Grain was not seen as a commodity to be moved through the countryside in search of the best price, nor was it ever absolutely possessed by the producer. The farmer who grew it—be he tenant or landlord—did not really own the corn; he attended it during its passage from the field to the market. He could not store it in order to wait for a more propitious moment of sale; he could not move it to a distant market; he could not sell it to a middleman, a regrater, while it stood in the field. Rather, he must load up his carts with his grain, proceed to the nearest market, and offer his year's harvest to his traditional customers. (Appleby 1978:27–28)

As Miller (1992) notes, however, it was often easier to regulate the bakers than the producers and merchants of grain. Thus sociopolitical controls on the pricing of provisions could be and were maintained (by regulating bakers) even with the freeing of commerce in grains. Miller also suggests that the dichotomy in political economic through between physiocratic emphasis on open markets and a paternalistic discourse on providing for the poor led to a dichotomized policy of provisioning: open markets for grain; regulated prices for bread. In her words, "physiocratic reforms spared the bakery" (p. 230).This option, that of divergent policies for grain and bread was not, however, a viable one with maize, in which the "baking" process (i.e., making tortillas) was almost always a private, household affair.

6. The role of the state in food supply and, even more directly, the clear recognition of the political implications of an adequate provisioning system goes back at least to the early Roman Republic. Thus Rickman (1980:2) cites a letter of the Emperor Tiberius in A.D. 22: "This duty [of feeding Rome], senators,

thought (particularly that of the physiocrats) manifested an unresolved tension between political centralization (increasing state power in the guise of the enlightened national ruler) and economic decentralization (increasing national wealth through the actions of the self-interested individual).[7] Obviated by this discourse were regional systems—the complex of obligations and privileges that bound political economic structures to an intermediate terrain between self and nation.

At the same time that centralized politics and liberal economics were triumphing as the basic tenet of absolutist policy in Spain, a contrary step had been taken by the Bourbon regime in regard to a provincial capital in the colonies. In 1768, almost half a century after their original petition, the miners and political officials of Taxco succeeded in obtaining royal approval for the political incorporation of the heretofore independent province of Iguala.[8] By itself, the restructuring of administrative boundaries that defined colonial space is not particularly noteworthy; it was a persistent result of continual political struggles at the village, town, and regional levels.[9] More striking, however, is the timing and rationale behind this particular reorganization of provincial geography. It empowered a regional coterie (miners) at the very time that state policies in the metropolis were stressing the unification of national interests and the

devolves upon the *princeps*; it if is neglected, the utter ruin of the state will follow."

7. Another aspect of enlightened and liberal perspectives was an adamant rejection of tradition as embodied in the behavior of the hoi poloi. A constant fear was that economic agents would not act rationally, but instead be bound by tradition. Hence the necessity of what in essence became an imposed "rationality" of action on the populace. For an excellent discussion of anti-Enlightenment defense of tradition, see Berlin (1976).

8. See, in particular, AGN-GP 25/39, fols. 49f–52f (published in ZyC 8:231–36) for the original petition of 1724, and AGN-RC 89/141 and AGN-Alh 1/5 for the 1766 petition and the 1768 incorporation, respectively.

9. Among the few studies of spatial reorganization concomitant to empire building, see Nicolet (1991) on the Roman empire.

centralization of political power. And, more significantly, it embraced a political economy of provisioning for the colonies that affirmed antiquated traditions of fragmented markets at a time when regional prerogatives over provisioning systems in the metropolis had suffered irreparable damage from the multipronged attack of liberal ideals. Taxco miners and officials had a clearly expressed motive to incorporate the adjacent grain-producing province of Iguala: that of creating a political geography that would be beneficial if they were to invoke regional prerogatives to control grain marketing. To benefit from invoking a political economic discourse of paternalistic regionalism—one that prioritized local subsistence needs and well-being over the universal and unmitigated right to private property and free trade—the urban elite of Taxco obviously first had to generate a spatial structure that would make such an appeal to jurisdictional authority (to the "ancient principle ... that grain is first reserved to the province where it is born"[10]) worthwhile. That is, it first had to create an administrative territory that included a fertile and productive agricultural hinterland.

The enigmatic combination of liberal discourse in the metropolis and conservative practice in the Hispanic colonies that characterized the third quarter of the eighteenth century is not entirely exceptional. In regard to England, for example, one student of the subject has noted that "classical liberalism provided no single, unambiguous set of answers to the array of questions posed by the existence of ... empire."[11] For Spain and the Spanish colonies a similar

10. Kaplan (1976 1:36).

11. Winch (1965:144). MacLachlan (1988:67–68) discusses the shift in the ideology of the Spanish state from mercantilism to physiocracy. Grice-Hutchinson (1993:137) notes a different dichotomization in Spanish economic thought:

> Thus, from the discovery of America onwards, we find two conflicting strands running through Spanish economic thought. The one, derived from patristic doctrine and natural law, is universalistic and benevolently disposed towards all mankind. The other, concerned with the 'reason of state,' is nationalistic and defensive. Sometimes, as in Tomás de Mercado, these run side-by-side through the later economic literature,

situation existed; political economic theorists and fiscal administrators manifested a striking eclecticism—often laissez-faire liberals at home and interventionist mercantilists abroad—in regard to the administration of economic and fiscal expansion.[12] Models that had been elaborated for the development of the internal economy in Europe failed not only when dealing with the role assigned to the colonies in metropolitan theories of empire (i.e., that of dependent dominions that would serve as a source of wealth for the mother country). They also became inconsistent when confronted by the particularities of colonial society itself: the dominance of mining as the major source of wealth and the Indian as a key economic actor.[13] Although the liberalizing measures that characterized European political economy in the eighteenth century stressed laissez-faire and the abolition of privilege (both sectoral, or bound to particular social groups, and spatial, or bound to specific geographical divisions), Bourbon policy in New Spain was often interventionist, especially in regard to the production of precious metals. Viewed from another perspective, although Bourbon colonial policy was directed at breaking the monopolistic control of major actors in the Atlantic economy, particularly the large merchant houses of Cádiz and New Spain, it was also extremely considerate of large-scale mining interests, including in particular those of the erstwhile Taxco entrepreneur don José de la Borda. Mining enterprises

> reappearing with redoubled vigour in the great debate between free-traders and protectionists upon which the Spanish economists of the 19th century were largely engaged.

12. See, for example, Castillo (1930), Grice-Hutchinson (1993), Hamilton (1935), Márquez (1944), Smith (1971), and Tiryakian (1978).

13. For a general critique of the negative effects of interventionist state policy in the Spanish colonies, see Coatsworth (1982, 1986). Tiryakian (1978) discusses the influence of English political economy on Campillo y Cosio, particularly his emphasis on property and economic freedom as well as his efforts to include Indians within the general discourse of liberal political economy as rational economic actors. It should be remembered that although the early colonial regulatory mechanisms for the grain trade had strong European antecedents, the perceived inability for Indians to respond to direct market incentives was a prime motive for state intervention in the economy. See also Hamnett (1994) and Pitschmann (1990).

received an effective state subsidy through a lowered price for state-controlled mercury; sales tax (alcabala) exemptions for materials utilized in the extraction and refining of silver; breaks on fees paid on refined silver; and grants of forced vagabond labor, whether of Indians, mestizos, or Spaniards.[14] Taxco miners were particularly tenacious in seeking advantages from the Bourbon inclination to favor mining interests. They were vociferous advocates of a colonywide tax exemption on the sale of materials used in silver production; and well into the eighteenth century they continued to vigorously seek viceregal grants of Indian *repartimiento* labor.[15] But they also sought to procure advantages through privileged primary access to regionally produced grain. In arguing their case, they articulated the early colonial bullionist perspective that stressed the importance of silver production to the colonial and metropolitan economy. At the same time, they asserted and defended traditional marketing arrangements that privileged regional economies by prohibiting the export of grain until local needs were first satisfied.[16]

Countering, and at times echoing, the urban mining elite were two other groups, each of which framed their interaction with the state apparatus in terms of contemporary discourse. The first were the highly capitalized rural entrepreneurs who controlled regional trade and the agrarian economy of the Iguala Valley. With the emergence of a liberal political economy that celebrated the inviolability of private property, the social benefits of free trade, and the necessity

14. For the impressment of vagabond labor in late colonial mining ventures, see Brading (1971:146–47).

15. Throughout the late Bourbon period miners (and in particular those of Taxco) struggled to preserve the tax exempt status of materials utilized in silver production; see Howe (1949:passim). For Taxco's heavy utilization of *repartimiento* labor in the late colonial period, see Amith (1993) and Haskett (1991).

16. Polanyi (1957) has discussed counter-movements to liberal economics and the penetration of a market ideology. Yet the social movements for protective legislation favoring the increasingly disempowered social classes that he discusses were, like those discussed by Thompson, related to the formation of working class movements. As the analysis in this chapter shows, however, such counter-movements based on a social ideology of subsistence could be championed by urban elite entrepreneurs themselves heavily dependent on a controlled provisioning system.

of vigorous rural production, agrarian elites now had at hand a systematic theory (and one then dominating the theoretical perspectives of Western European states, as exemplified in the *pragmática* of 11 July 1765) that would justify their own entrepreneurial activities and aggressive marketing of grain in the colonial context. They were poised, in other words, to challenge the rhetoric of the mining elite by demanding the same freedoms and rights that were then being extended to their counterparts in Europe, where "liberty was the leitmotif of all ... petitions."[17] Colonial agriculturalists wanted to be treated like European farmers (the newly discovered bastions of national wealth); and colonial entrepreneurs wanted to be treated like European merchants (recently rescued from the disdain that for centuries had tarnished their image). For both, the liberal policies then in vogue offered a means to increase their rents and profits.

The second group was a more dichotomous unit, covering a range from the urban proletariat to the marginalized campesino, both village and cuadrilla based. In the context of struggles within a nascent and competitive provisioning system, their position was both shifting and precarious. Operating at the margins of subsistence (the lowest common denominator that defined their shared condition) the actions and perspectives of both proletariat and campesino were at first framed by their relative position in the market, as consumers or producers. The urban poor, for whom accessible maize was the key element of survival, could thus find shared ground with mining entrepreneurs, for whom low-priced maize was a major determinant both of profit and of what has been called "the cost of the reproduction of labor."[18] Likewise, small-scale

17. Kaplan (1976 1:121), who goes on to define this liberty as "in its broadest and least controversial form, freedom to pursue one's interests and to profit from new skills and methods of business; in its explicity political form, as it concerned, for example, the Herberts and the Quesnays, freedom from the constraints of a noxious police regime."

18. Campomanes, as well as the physiocrats, suggested a direct relation between the price of subsistence

campesinos could at times find common cause with rentiers and merchants who, given that they either were paid in or speculated in grain, strongly advocated open, competitive, and high-priced markets. But as the colonial period drew to a close and a new social structure of elite alliances was forged in the crucible of regional development, this rudimentary primordial division between producers and consumers (which was often, though not necessarily, coincident with a rural-urban division) was transformed into a more complex series of factions and alliances that permeated indigenous villages as well as peasant and proletarian society. And to the pragmatic rhetoric of the mining and urban elites on the one hand and agrarian entrepreneurs on the other (groups that utilized discourses based on the mercantilist and liberal political economies of the period) was added a third voice, one that made claims to the normative ideals of a just economy—just profit as opposed to just price—derived from early Christian ethics.[19]

But the conflict over provisioning in late colonial central Guerrero was not only in the realm of the rhetoric of political economy. It was also, and in fact primordially, played out on the hard field of economics. By the late seventeenth century, the miners and urban elite of Taxco had acquired the most fertile sections of the Iguala Valley and, at least after the second quarter of the eighteenth century, there was a growing concern that these lands be given over to maize farming

and wage levels. Thus it was felt that high prices for provisions would simply raise wages and thus any potential harm to laborers would immediately be mitigated. See Rodríguez (1975:193). The coalescence of diverse social groups around market issues was noted by Polanyi (1957:155) in the following terms: "Precisely because not the economic but the social interests of different cross sections of the population were threatened by the market, persons belonging to various economic strata unconsciously joined forces to meet the danger."

19. Here as elsewhere (e.g. chapter 3) a prime concern is exploring dispute and conflict through an exploration of contemporary meanings; as Pocock (1985a[1980]:57) notes, the "strategies of contemporary debate and the structures of contemporary language" are key elements in understanding social processes in historical perspective. In regards to the Canonists differentiation between just price (i.e., current market price, a question for ecclesiastical courts of law, for the external forum or *ius fori*) and just profit (a concept based on considerations such as intention, and a matter between the individual and God, for the internal forum, including the confessional, or *ius poli*); see Baldwin (1959: passim, but esp. 58).

and that the harvested grain be marketed in the jurisdiction of Taxco. Nevertheless, the ownership of rural properties by miners proved an ineffective means to integrate a direct system of urban provisioning; as proprietors, miners were unable or unwilling to farm the land directly and therefore had access only to the rents in kind that peasants paid on relatively insecure harvests. Moreover, there were two developments that made it increasingly difficult for urban interests to maintain a favorable market structure through strictly economic means. First, in response to the demographic boom in the hinterland, the late colonial economy of the Iguala Valley had witnessed the rapid emergence of a highly capitalized merchant and agricultural elite that possessed the wherewithal to challenge urban miners not simply on the discursive and political front, but on the economic one as well. As the colonial period drew to a close, rural-based entrepreneurs were able to monopolize Iguala Valley harvests and either hoard maize in immense storage facilities (waiting for local prices to rise) or ship grain over large distances (accessing more lucrative extraregional markets). Second, the increasing integration of the colonial economy meant that the inexorable conflict between Taxco miners and Iguala Valley agriculturalists was less and less contained within the dynamics of a regional system (with urban consumers pressuring for low prices and rural suppliers holding out for high ones) and more and more linked to economic developments in distant parts of the colonial economy.

Miners' efforts to use politico-administrative mechanisms to bound the regional provisioning system can thus be understood as a second-level strategy, one that developed for a variety of reasons: the role of maize as a factor of production in mining; the fairly direct link between low subsistence costs and low wages, which would mean a higher margin of profit; and, primarily, increasing conflict as strictly economic urban control (centered in Taxco) over regional market structure failed when confronted by powerful economic interests situated both in the hinterland and in extraregional locales. Unfortunately for Taxco, the most expeditious route

to such urban-dominated closure was an consumer-oriented appeal to traditional marketing arrangements that were then breaking down on both philosophical and political fronts in the metropolis—as part of the "great transition" that Thompson has so eloquently documented.

The incorporation of the province of Iguala under the jurisdictional authority of Taxco was, not surprisingly, immediately followed by a series of conflicts that were played out on the economic, political, and social fields. The economic was a continuation of a struggle that dated from the first half of the eighteenth century, though by late century it was the rural elite that dominated the field. The hand of the miners and their allies—land acquisition and the conversion of valley land from ranching to farming—had already been spent. The political was linked both to a pragmatically oriented discourse by the major actors (derived from scholastic, mercantilist, and liberal political economy) as well as to more direct measures, such as the role of rural entrepreneurs in guaranteeing bond (*fianza*) for urban-based colonial authorities. Finally, the social field was marked by the emergence of a shifting matrix of new alliances and factions that cross-cut rural, urban, class, caste, and community structures. More than any other sector of the colonial economy, the production, commercialization, and consumption of grain invariably generated conflicts that catalyzed the persistent redefinition of colonial society in a manner that closely reflected its dominant tensions. The following sections explore the economic, political, and social struggles that developed in late colonial central Guerrero over the structuring of a provisioning system, the discursive strategies employed by the contending actors in this drama, and the implications of these conflicts for the morphology of rural-urban relations during the late colonial period.

RURAL-URBAN RELATIONS IN THE TAXCO-IGUALA REGION DURING THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD: THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF PROVISIONING

In early 1724 a lawyer approached the Real Audiencia in representation of don Joseph de la Borda and the other miners and deputies of the "real y minas de Taxco" with a petition that sought an administrative solution to the integration of a provisioning system: the incorporation of the province of Iguala under the immediate jurisdiction of Taxco's alcalde mayor. The strategy was clear: to eliminate the political authority in the hinterland that impeded urban officials in Taxco from ordering that "the aforementioned pueblos not sell their maize in other jurisdictions, but rather that they supply the said *real*."[20] This administrative solution to the dichotomization of rural-urban interests was, the miners claimed, one that had been already carried out in "many other" jurisdictions, most particularly when Teloloapan was incorporated under the authority of the *real* of Zacualpa.[21] Indeed, dominating the miner's petition was the assertion that, apart from obvious ecological grounds (the barrenness of the Taxco region and the fertility of the Iguala Valley), the problem of provisioning was a political, not economic, dilemma. Taxco officials had little authority to counter the intromission of Iguala's alcalde mayor in the commercialization of grain produced in his jurisdiction, an activity he personally undertook to compensate for the poor remuneration he normally received. The only opportunity urban officials had of structuring the marketing of hinterland grain was limited to the demands that mining deputies could make on inhabitants of Coscatlán (a village in the Taxco jurisdiction) who had moved to the Iguala Valley to farm.[22] The deputies compelled the migrants to take a prorated portion of their harvest (set on

20. AGN-GP 25/fols. 49f–52f (in ZyC 8:232). The account that follows is taken from this *expediente*.

21. Ibid. Gerhard (1972:153), citing AGN-Reales Cédulas Duplicadas, 24, mentions the annexation of Iscateupa (Teloloapan) to neighboring Zacualpa as having taken place in the 1680s, though he does not give a motive for the said incorporation. See also AGN-RC 89/141 in which the incorporation of Ixcateopan under the authority of Zacualpa in order to ensure an adequate grain supply to the mines is given as a model for the incorporation of Iguala to Taxco.

22. For a detailed study of conflict in and around Coscatlán in regard to outmigration to the Iguala Valley, see chap. 7.

the basis of household size) to the weekly Taxco marketplace (*tianguis*); to enforce the direct marketing of these provisions and prevent surreptitious exports to other jurisdictions, the deputies placed police on the roads leading from the hinterland to Taxco. On at least one occasion opposition to this forced marketing led to violence: a knife fight in the town plaza of Taxco included an attack on the otherwise distant mining deputies.

In responding to the petition, the *fiscal* of the Real Audiencia recognized the validity of the miners' request for administrative realignment but noted that only the crown, and not the viceregal officials, had the authority to restructure colonial jurisdictions.[23] Therefore, he suggested that the viceroy order the alcalde mayor of the jurisdiction of Iguala not to permit, under any circumstances, Indians from villages under his control to sell their maize anywhere but in the *real* of Taxco nor any entrepreneurs to buy grain for resale. The viceroy's *asesor general* then gave a second, slightly different, opinion. While agreeing with the *fiscal* as to the urgency of provisioning the mines, he disagreed as to the legal limitations on the colonial government's authority to restructure *corregimientos* and *alcaldías mayores*, particularly considering the importance of supporting mining enterprises.[24] Nevertheless, to avoid the negative repercussions that he feared would be concomitant to restructuring a politico-administrative unit, the *asesor* supported the *fiscal's* more discreet call for an injunction to the alcalde mayor of Iguala, though he suggested that the Indians be guaranteed the right to sell their maize at the price they wished, free from locally imposed price controls (*tasas*). The viceroy marqués de Casafuerte ordered as advised.

The miner's petition focused exclusively on controlling the distribution of maize

23. The law cited was the *Recopilación de Yndias*, ley 2, tít. 2, libro V.

24. To this effect he cited ley 54, tít. 3, libro III of the *Recopilación*.

produced by Indians, either those residing in villages or the increasing numbers, including those of tension-ridden Coscatlán, who were moving to cuadrillas in the Iguala Valley. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century the number of Indians renting land was probably still quite reduced; documentation associated with the 1728 embargo of don Antonio de Ayala's hacienda de Palula (see chapter 6) clearly shows that the hacienda land was then dominated by ranchers. But even though population and production patterns in the Iguala Valley started to change dramatically over the final three quarters of the eighteenth century, the most noteworthy aspect of the decades that followed the 1724 petition are that they constituted a point of departure for the politicization of provisioning structures in central Guerrero.[25]

In the area under consideration, struggles over the distribution of subsistence goods manifested a commonplace noted by scholars of provisioning in Europe: tension in times of dearth, liberality in times of abundance. As the legal representative of indigenous villages in the jurisdiction of Iguala claimed at midcentury: "in times of abundance they disdain it [maize] and in times of scarcity it is the deputies who cause the greatest harm" (i.e., by seeking to control and limit distribution)."[26] In such times of tension, the viceregal authorities were caught between the arbitrating functions of late medieval rulers (settling disputes between provincial authorities of feuding jurisdictions) and the administrative roles played by enlightened despots (gathering information in order to arrive at centralized decisions for the common good). Thus in conflicts over provisioning, Mexico City authorities generally acted in response to (rather than in anticipation of) provincial strife, but often did so, in the absence of an intendant system, by commissioning *personas decentes* (decent individuals) to carry out specific fact-finding missions

25. The sources for the following discussion are AGN-GP 31/335 and 32/404 (both dated 1739), and AGN-I 56/17, AGN-I 56/29, AGN-GP 36/11, and AGN-GP 36/63 (all dated 1750).

26. AGN-I 56/29.

on regional patterns of supply and demand.[27] One such moment of tension occurred in 1739, when the mining deputies and priest of Zacualpa challenged the terms of the 1724 dispatch that gave Taxco exclusive rights to Iguala Valley maize. Agents from Zacualpa had gone to the valley and paid for maize in advance (*en tiempo*); but Taxco authorities had blocked the transport of grain (although apparently only 100 cargas) to Zacualpa after the harvest.[28] In arbitrating the dispute, the viceroy decided that after allowing Iguala Valley pueblos to retain the maize needed for their own consumption, the remainder should be prorated according to the consumption requirements of each *real de minas*. Just over a decade later a similar administrative determination was taken in regard to Guanajuato. In 1750 the legal representative of this city was granted permission to extract 4,000 fanegas of maize from the Iguala Valley. The provisioning obligations of the valley were mindfully calculated in the relevant viceregal dispatches: of the 20,953 fanegas that the Iguala Valley was estimated to have, 2,000 were destined for Taxco and 4,000 for Guanajuato.[29]

The reluctance of the marqués de Casafuerte to place the province of Iguala directly under the jurisdiction of Taxco in 1724 led, therefore, to a series of injunctions that evolved into rather rigorous control over grain produced by Indians. But unlike the much earlier brief experiment with the *repartimiento de maíz*, which redistributed maize collected as tribute, the

27. The generally "reactive" nature of viceregal policies occurred despite the viceroys' responsibility to provide cities and mining camps with the necessary provisions (see the *Recopilación de las leyes . . . de las Indias,* Libro V, tit 19, ley viii, cited in AGN-GP 36/11).

28. Zacualpan authorities had also bought maize in Toluca, only to be confronted with the same type of blockage when they attempted to retrieve the grain; see AGN-GP 32/404.

29. See AGN-GP 36/11; the efforts of Guanajuato's mining deputies to buy Iguala Valley maize is also mentioned in AGN-I 56/29 and AGN-GP 36/63. When the 4,000 fanegas proved to be insufficient and agents from Guanajuato attempted to secure more maize, Taxco authorities blocked the roads (AGN-I 56/29). All three documents are dated in 1750. The inclusion of Iguala Valley maize in the provisioning structure of the quite distant Guanajuato mines also suggests maize shortage in this north-central city.

eighteenth-century petitions and ordinances were a multifaceted though essentially unmitigated attack on private property and utilized the antimonopolistic and regional-rights discourse of the time. The Taxco deputies, in claiming their right to buy maize, denied that cultivators and merchants had the right to refuse to sell to anyone who offered to buy at the price current at the moment. And they were particularly vehement in assailing what were portrayed as monopolistic practices—hoarding maize and retaining it from the market to force higher prices—that eliminated competition.[30] At the same time, the Taxco authorities demanded preferential treatment in the struggle "between buyers of this real and buyers of other distant and foreign jurisdictions to whom under guise of sale they [Iguala Valley speculators] cheaply auction off the grain leaving without provisioning this jurisdiction, which has a better right to enjoy it."[31] The essence of the urban provisioning strategy, therefore, was a claim of right that directly struck at both the temporal (the right to buy at all times) and spatial (the right to exclude extraterritorial commerce) concomitants to market structure in an effort to lower prices; the former by promoting competition, the latter by limiting it.[32]

Within this context of limitations, the midcentury petitions made repeated reference to the current price (*precio corriente*), alternatively described by both sides (Taxco miners and

30. AGN-GP 36/11. Market regulations and moral discourse consistently attacked and regulated three acts that were said to interfere with open and competitive markets: "forestalling, or the private buying up of goods before they reached the market, engrossing, or buying up the whole or large supply of goods to corner the market, and regrating, or the buying of goods to be sold again on the same market. These private monopolistic practices would artificially force prices above the competitive level and would not be lawfully authorized" (Baldwin 1959:29).

31. AGN-GP 36/11.

32. For the enforcement of competition in grain markets, see de Roover (1958:426ff.). The actions of the Taxco authorities, however, point to the conflict between enforcing competition at the intraregional level and encumbering competition at the interregional level.

Iguala Valley agriculturalists) as "lexítimo," "legal," and "justo."[33] Thus the plaintiffs from the Iguala Valley, while recognizing that "it is true and very much in accord with good government and royal laws that mining camps be supplied and their provisions right at hand" continued by claiming that all sales should be "at just and current prices in accord with the same laws."[34] But within the context of market expansion, of change in the politics of regional privilege, and of a liberalizing political economic discourse, the very significance of "current (legitimate, legal, and just) price" was increasingly problematic, a point dealt with in further detail below. Indeed, the significance of a dichotomized cultural ethics of exchange—between merchants now capable of exploiting the spatial irregularities in market integration and prices and peasants more attached to a localized concept of markets and exchange in which price irregularities of subsistence goods were a function of time—is that it is a direct, though not unique, result of economic growth. As the temporal and spatial concomitants to the market change, so does the nature of determining the just price. The Taxco miners attempted to control the market by controlling the time and place of sale; Iguala Valley entrepreneurs attempted to free their actions from these spatiotemporal controls. Throughout, the concept of the "current price" constituted a formally identical idiom of rights that increasingly came to mean something different for each group.

Equally noteworthy in the urban discourse on provisioning is the attempt to link agrarian entrepreneurs with the morally tainted acts of usury and greed, an argument that focused more on

33. The relationship of the "just price" to the "current price" is a central point of the works of Baldwin (1959), Cahn (1969), and de Roover (1958) who pays particular attention to the role of supply and demand in determining this just, current price. Baldwin's work may be considered the definitive work on the subject of the just price. He begins with a discussion of "the theory of exchange of Aristotle, the mistrust towards merchants and mercantile practices of the Church Fathers, and the legal system of sale of ancient Roman law" (p. 9) and then explores in regards to just price and just profit the views of Romanists and Canonists, concerned with "a just and legally enforceable system of sale," and of theologians, concerned with constructing "an all-embracing system of human ethics in which the virtue of justice formed the foundation of the good life on earth" (both citations from p. 8).

34. AGN-I 56/17.

unjust *profit* than on unjust *price* and that complements the more general political argument of consumer rights to subsistence goods. Thus one of the miners' petitions presented a rather detailed account of the economics of oxen rental, an exposition that is meaningful only as part of a moral offensive against agrarian capitalists.[35] A team of oxen, the miners claimed, rented for 15 cargas of maize while it was worth, with plow and yoke included, a maximum of 30 pesos. By selling the maize at retail for 3 or 4 pesos per carga, the income from renting was, the miners' petition for market control over grain stated, not only well in excess of the 5 percent return on capital then commonly accepted as an ethical rate of interest, but was also, in fact, much more than the value of the animals themselves. There was, moreover, no risk to the owner, for the peasant was responsible for any harm that might befall the animals during the five-month planting season. In mentioning a lack of risk, the urban plaintiffs were again signaling an immoral gain, for in the development of Christian discourse on the economics of usury, the right to profit was in direct correlation to risk: the higher the risk the greater the right to profit. Indeed, although much has been made of linking the development of a capitalist "ethic" to a formal, rational, and masculinized model of exchange, one can make the argument that capitalist ethic began by sneaking in the back door as feminized, immoderate passion for high-risk speculation.[36]

35. AGN-GP 31/335 (dated 1739) and AGN-GP 36/11 (dated 1750). For additional information on the rental of ox teams, see AGN-T 3576/1 (inventory of 3 Aug. 1808) in reference to Sañudo's property in Coacoyula. Plowshares (*rejas*) were rented at 20 reales each; the rental cost of ox teams is not given, although mention is made of 175 cargas of maize still owed. Note also that 29 bulls were lent out to be broken in (*dados a mansar*). This suggests that the modern practice was in effect, whereby bulls are given out free the first year; at half-price the second year; and at full price the third year, when they have been fully trained to pull a plow.

36. Here not only is Hirschman's (1977) study of the metamorphosis of passion into reason relevant, but also Pocock's (1985a[1980]:69) observation "that since capitalism in this form was perceived in terms of speculation rather than calculation, its epistemological foundation appeared as fantasy rather than rationality." And, more pointedly:

> Economic man as masculine conquering hero is a fantasy of nineteenth-century industrialisation (the *Communist Manifesto* is of course one classical example). His

It was the security, not fantasy, of profit that was immoral, and thus the mitigation of risk through contractual arrangements was a step in the direction of earthly sin. In sum, the utilization of key terms such as "current price," "usury," and "risk," therefore, represents a late colonial appeal to a languishing ethical discourse. With terms such as "current price," the problem of use and interpretation centered around the penetration of extralocal market forces into regional economies, a process that in essence destabilized local knowledge and expectations in exchange relations. With terms such as "usury" and "risk," the strategy of urban rhetoric was to judge economic entrepreneurship by older moral standards relating to immoral gain and "shameful profit" (in Latin, *turpe lucrum*). And, finally, by arguing for regional privileges in a hierarchy of provisioning rights, local urban and consumer elites were appealing to a model of political organization that was increasingly anachronistic in light of metropolitan developments.

The second quarter of the eighteenth century was marked, therefore, by the beginnings of a politically oriented and morally charged discourse that revolved around two distinct models of provisioning, one of which was at that time articulated by consumers and the other by producers and merchants. But in 1750, before the consummated acceptance of liberal economic discourse in the metropolis and before the incorporation of the province of Iguala under the political authority of Taxco in the colony, it was the rural litigants—in this case the "*governador*, *oficiales de república* and other *naturales* of the jurisdiction of Iguala"—who argued for the primacy of regionally based provisioning structures, i. e., that "it is of more importance that those in the

> eighteenth-century predecessor was seen as on the whole a feminised, even an effeminate being, still wrestling with his own passions and hysterias and with interior and exterior forces let loose by his fantasies and appetities, and symbolised by such archtypically female goddesses of disorder and Fortune, Luxury, and most recently Credit herself.... Therefore, in the eighteenth-century debate over the new relations of polity to economy, production and exchange are regularly equated with the ascendancy of the passions and the female principle. (1985c:113–14)

For risk and usury, see Baldwin (1959:passim) and Noonan (1957:passim).

same jurisdiction as where the grain is harvested be supplied than that it be exported to other distinct jurisdictions."[37] This argument, one of the most entrenched and strongly defended of regional prerogatives, was later put forth by the Taxco elite, but only after it had officially incorporated the fertile hinterland in the administrative territory of Iguala. Thus the moral economy discourse of the poor indigenous population of the valley was later adopted by the rich entrepreneurial miners of Taxco. In response to this latter development, the rural marketers of grain adopted the by then prominent liberal model of unencumbered interregional trade that was challenging traditional marketing arrangements and policing practices. In 1750, the indigenous plaintiffs also complained about "the coalition of the alcalde mayor of Iguala with that of Taxco, along with his deputies." This perceived alliance between the political authorities of the two clashing jurisdictions, though short-lived, reflects a pattern that was to repeat itself at the close of the colonial period, when urban and rural elites reconciled their differences over marketing priorities and forged a system of rural production and urban provisioning that aimed at meeting the needs of both. As with the political ties forged at midcentury between the authorities of two jurisdictions in conflict, the socioeconomic alliances of the late colonial period between rural and urban elites led to a realignment of the parties in contention that did not strictly reflect immediate economic interests.

FROM RANCHING TO FARMING: THE CONVERSION OF THE AGRARIAN ECONOMY OF THE IGUALA VALLEY

The shifting patterns of discursive appeals to the colonial state and evanescent coalitions between diverse elites, however, represent but one aspect of the struggle over provisioning. By midcentury another process of change, also aimed at ensuring provisioning for urban consumers

37. AGN-I 56/17.

and Taxco miners, was coming to a head: the conversion of the valley from pasture to farmland. This process began in the late seventeenth century when the Jesuits withdrew their Santa Lucía herds from the zone and miners and local ranchers invaded the abandoned land. In the late 1720s or the 1730s—a short time after he led the drive to incorporate the province of Iguala under the direct control of Taxco authorities, a move designed to ensure politico-administrative command over the distribution and commercialization of hinterland maize—don José de la Borda took over vast tracts of land in the northern Iguala Valley (see chapter 5 and geneaological chart 5a). De la Borda's early political activities, his acquisition of hinterland property, and his subsequent efforts to restructure the pattern of land utilization in the fertile valley point to a tenacious pursuit of the integration of maize supply for urban provisioning.[38] This concern was obviously linked to de la Borda's position as the primus inter pares among the mining elite of Taxco and, more generally, to mining's utilization of maize as a factor of production. Significantly, Taxco was one of the two mining camps (the other was Zimapán) in which pickmen and their helpers did not receive a *partido* (profit share) of the extracted ore, a customary payment that at times accounted for half of mineworkers' potential earnings.[39] Clearly there was direct relationship between cost of living (in colonial Mexico, to a major extent, this meant cost of maize), the availability of labor (in colonial Mexico related not only to demographics but also to institutional mechanisms to capture indigenous and vagabond labor), wages, and profit: low prices of subsistence goods and a high ratio of potential to actual workers facilitated a downward pressure on wages. This, in

38. Biographical sketches of de la Borda can be found in Toussaint (1931), Vargas Lugo (1982), and Ximénez y Frías (1779). Other aspects of his life, particularly the high regard in which contemporaries held him, can be gleaned from the primary sources cited throughout this thesis.

39. See the report of Areche in Chávez Orozco (1978:89–90) in which he mentions that in the mining camps of Taxco and Zimapán the *partidos* are not given, but neither is there a lack of workers. See also Ladd (1988:14–15).

turn, increased the margin of profit.[40] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Taxco miners (particularly don Francisco de la Borda) petitioned and litigated to increase their allotment of forced *repartimiento* labor. In essence, therefore, the attempt to incorporate the province of Iguala and integrate a direct supply of maize was one facet of what might be considered a two-pronged strategy to establish strong politico-administrative controls over the major factors of production: maize and labor.[41] This strategy, based on politico-administrative control of human and material resources, undoubtedly represented a defensive responsive to the more aggressive tactics of economic incentives proffered by the more highly capitalized northern mines (in Guanajuato and Zacatecas) that, perhaps with a greater margin of profit or perhaps less flexible (given the high level of capital investment), seemed to assign greater sums to acquiring the major factors of production. Thus the market control and closure sought by Taxco over grain and labor was not a simple conservative adherence to past practices, but the innovative use of available practices and philosophies of socioeconomic organization to counter the deleterious effects of colony-wide market expansion and integration on certain undercapitalized regional economies.

But also important, don José de la Borda's altruistic nature should not be overlooked. An extremely pious man who spent a personal fortune of close to half a million pesos in constructing the sumptuous church of Santa Prisca in Taxco, in contemporary accounts de la Borda was

40. An increased supply of labor, either as the result of demographic factors, particularly population growth, or the result of a greater pool of forced *repartimiento* labor, undoubtedly affected wages. The close connection between forced *repartimiento* labor and wages for free labor did not go unnoticed by contemporary authorities; see the 1770 reports by Leóz and by Areche in Chávez Orozco (1978:90ff.). In the early eighteenth century Taxco miners, particularly don José de la Borda's brother, Francisco, made a concerted effort to obtain vast supplied of *repartimiento* labor from areas that included the easternmost extremes of the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca; see Amith (1993) and Haskett (1991b).

41. Interestingly, each strategy to integrate systems of supply was spearheaded by one brother of the most successful mining family in Taxco: don José de la Borda (maize) and don Francisco de la Borda (labor).

invariably described in terms that highlighted his munificent personality.[42] An indebted worker whose credit obligations were pardoned mentioned the "notorious magnanimity of don Joseph de la Borda."[43] And in documents concerning obligatory contributions collected to maintain and repair the conduits leading to Taxco's central plaza, de la Borda's generosity in financing the public waterworks is gratefully acknowledged.[44] A more manifest example of his concern with the general welfare occurred in relation to a town located some 200 kilometers from Taxco. In 1752 de la Borda inherited the property of don Pedro Marza, whose assets consisted mostly of debts owed to him by residents of Chilapa, where he had lived, and of neighboring Tixtla. Although the debts admittedly would have been hard to collect, de la Borda donated any money he might receive to the construction of an *alhóndiga* (public grain market) to benefit the residents of Chilapa. And finally, one may note his forays into the agricultural hinterland of Taxco to buy grain directly from rural producers and then transport it to Taxco so that urban residents would have access to cheap provisions.[45] But the most clear-cut example of de la Borda's efforts to restructure agricultural production in the Iguala Valley occurred at midcentury; it involved protracted litigation to expel the last major cattle rancher, don Francisco Calzado, from the region or to force him south to more marginal lands in the Iguala Valley in order to favor indigenous peasants who wished to farm the extremely fertile land that Calzado and his brother

42. For the church of Santa Prisca, completed in 1758, see Vargas Lugo (1982), who briefly mentions other pious works of de la Borda. She also stresses the generosity he showed toward his workers and his concern with their general well-being (pp. 20ff.).

43. AGN-GP 44/56 (dated 1761).

44. AGN-GP 54/s.n. and s. fols. (dated 9 June 1773). This document mentions that de la Borda "of his well-known piety and beneficence he took on and obligated himself (so that the Indians and other poor merchants would not suffer from this contribution) to pay from his own pocket for the conservation of the [town's] water and in effect this is what he did until the year of '57 when he could no longer continue given the notorious decline of his resources."

45. See, for example, AGN-I 56/17 (dated 1750), which refers to de la Borda's acquisition of 2,000

occupied around Acayahualco.

In 1740 don Francisco Calzado, then alcalde mayor of the province of Iguala, was the defendant in litigation promoted by a local merchant on behalf of himself and Indians from the jurisdiction. Calzado was accused of soliciting bribes to release prisoners, engaging in the *repartimiento* of mules and horses, and of hoarding and speculating in maize.[46] There is no further information on this case; the extant document is a simple dispatch to the *justicia* closest to the jurisdiction of Iguala to undertake a secret investigation of the charges. But Calzado was not simply a colonial official who used his position to capitalize on an ephemeral sinecure that would expire at the end of his term. He was, instead, deeply involved in directly exploiting the potentiality of ranching in the central portion of the Iguala Valley. And even after leaving his official post as alcalde mayor, he continued to experience legal problems with the provincial authorities.[47]

By midcentury, if not before, Calzado and his brother, don Miguel Nicolás Román, had begun to lease pasture land at Acayahualco, Santa Teresa, and Sacacoyuca from don José de la Borda.[48] The lease expired on 7 July 1757, and de la Borda refused to renew it. But it was not

fanegas of maize in the Iguala Valley.

46. AGN-GP 31/450.

47. See, for example, his difficulties with the alcalde mayor of Iguala, don Francisco Maturana, over tribute collection in 1761 (AGN-GP 43/135f-v and AGN-GP s.n. and s.fols., dated 18 May 1761). In his response to the latter petition, the *fiscal* of the Real Audiencia recommended an exemplary punishment for Calzado "para el escarmiento de éste y otros cavesillas en aquella Jurisdicción que tiran a señorearse de las justicias." Previously, Calzado had placed charges (*capítulos*) against Maturana in what the viceregal authorities were to judge a frivolous case. Calzado had fled to Taxco from where he petitioned for a safe conduct pass to appear in Mexico City to defend himself. Instead the viceroy ordered him imprisoned and, if this was not possible, the embargoing of his property in the jurisdiction of Iguala.

48. The following information is taken from AGN-M 79/229f–229v and AGN-M 79/230f–231v, both dated 1758, and from AGN-GP 43/125, dated 1760. A two-year lease (which might not have been the first lease signed by Calzado and Román) was dated 4 July 1755 and extended to don Francisco Calzado and his brother don Miguel Román. Probably both individuals had rented valley land, perhaps the same land, previously.

until the following April that he obtained an official decree ordering Calzado and Román to abandon the land. Calzado remained adamant in his refusal to evacuate the property, claiming that the season was not propitious to a massive move and that, moreover, there was no comparable site for his cattle within fifty leagues. Román, however, soon accepted a compromise solution (he would move his cattle south to Sasamulco and Apasapa) and signed a contract with de la Borda (whose hacienda of San Miguel extended south to Estola; see map 5g) on 26 May 1758. This contract stipulated that Román permit his brother to pasture his cattle on these southern lands. Moreover, both brothers were still to be allowed to herd their cattle northward to Acayahualco, Santa Teresa, and Sacacoyuca to graze on the stubble once the Indian renters had taken in the harvest. To prevent crop damage during the planting season, Román and Calzado were obligated to construct a wooden fence separating the summer pasture lands around Sasamulco and Apasapa from the farmlands and dry-season pasture near Acayahualco.[49] Despite viceregal decrees of 6 October 1758 and 25 January 1759, Calzado and Román persisted in grazing cattle during the summer in fields around Acayahualco. In December 1760, the viceroy responded to another petition by de la Borda in favor of the "farmers and poverty-stricken Indians" to whom he had rented land, by allowing the aggrieved Indians to spear or shoot cattle that grazed on their fields after mid-June. There is no further evidence of disputes over ranching, and one can surmise that after 1760 the cattle was kept under tighter control and, eventually, moved from the area.

49. Whether this period marks the beginning of the elaboration of an immensely long fencing system that provided common pasture fields for groups of villages, such a system continues to exist in central Guerrero. Villages (such as those in the Balsas River valley) divide their lands into three sections: 1) one, usually close to the village, farmed every year; 2) a second farmed every even year; 3) and a third farmed every odd year. Villages will allow their cattle to graze together on the sections targeted for pasture in a given year; the following year a different alignment of villages will pasture their cattle together. Thus Ameyaltepec (where I did fieldwork) grazes their cattle with those of San Juan Tetelcingo to the west one year, and the following year grazes cattle to the east, with animals from San Agustín Oapan.

The struggle between de la Borda and Calzado to restructure the pattern of land use in the Iguala Valley was not, however, limited to a simple landlord-tenant dispute; it was directly linked to the development of factional politics in north-central Guerrero. In 1761 Calzado was described as one of the "cavesillas" (ringleaders) in conflict with the duly constituted authorities of the jurisdiction of Iguala. His cohorts were never identified, but his adversaries were: don José de la Borda and two alcaldes mayores of Iguala, don Francisco Maturana and don Santiago Gómez de la Madrid. All three—particularly Maturana—were key figures in the rural agrarian economy of the region. Thus the struggle between de la Borda and Calzado can be situated within a wider context of contestation for political authority in Taxco's agricultural hinterland. And de la Borda's eventual triumph was in large part related to
Calzado's estrangement from Iguala Valley political authority and the emergence of rural landholders and agricultural entrepreneurs as political officers and brokers in the hinterland.[50]

In sum, the effort to integrate rural production in the Iguala Valley into the urban Taxco market was a complex process. At one level of analysis, the shift of cattle ranching south to areas more and more distant from the urban demand center represents a pattern fully in accord with a rational use model predicated on Von Thünen's locational theory of agricultural geography.[51] At

50. Gómez de la Madrid, owner of the lands and ranch named Tlapala, was probably related to others of that name (don Manuel Eustaquio and don Miguel) who were active in regional politics (particularly as *fiadores* of Taxco officials) and agrarian society; see AGN-T 3130/2 (dated 1773–74), as well as AGN-Sub 47/5, AGN-T 1287/6, AGN-Tr 16/3, and AGN-Tr 56/23. Maturana (probably deceased by 1779, when his wife was stated to be renting the right to collect tithes in Tepecuacuilco and his son-in-law, don Juan de la Cuesta, was the actual collector; Indif-Alc Taxco caja 5, exp. 2) was a dominant figure in the Iguala Valley during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1770, he was renting the right to collect tithes in the jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, Zacualpa, Tixtla, and Chilapa (AGN-Alh 1/5) and various times he was named alcalde mayor or *teniente* in Iguala (see appendix 7c). His sons-in-law were don Manuel Sañudo and don Juan Ignacio de la Cuesta, two of the most influential individuals in late colonial Iguala and Taxco (see genealogical chart 9a).

51. In this regard, see Van Young's (1981) study of late colonial restructuring of land use in the Guadalajara hinterland. Other studies of the applicability of von Thünen's theory can be found in Day and Tinney (1969), Ewald (1976b), Griffin (1973), Norton (1979), and Peet (1969). For von Thünen, see

another level, the shift of ranching reflected the impact of mid–eighteenth century demographics on land use. It was at this time that large-scale migration to the northern Iguala Valley—which in comparison to the southern area was closer to market outlets, more productive, and more heavily capitalized—commenced in earnest.[52] Simply put, people and farming began to displace cattle and ranching. And, in turn, the rural population attracted capital investment in hinterland production and exchange that led to the development of a late colonial rural elite. But the shift in land use patterns, though understandable in the context of economic and geographic models of rural change, involved processes of transformation that were also cultural and political. These processes involved discursive appeals both to traditional customs that limited the spatial extent of market exchange and to more contemporary practices that removed most legal restraints on exchange transactions. This struggle, in turn, generated a factional politics that adumbrated more profound disputes that occurred after 1768, when Iguala was subsumed under the politico-administrative authority of Taxco.

CLASS, CASTE, AND COMMUNITY: THE REPERCUSSIONS OF ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGE AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ON FACTIONALISM IN AN AGRICULTURAL HINTERLAND

In a short essay on the implications of metropolitan policy decisions for the constitution of late colonial elites, Brian Hamnett noted that "the impact of the Bourbon reforms at the pueblo level remains one of the least understood aspects of the period."[53] The comment was offered in connection with a model of political action that posited the progressive mitigation of state

Thünen (1966).

52. These three facets of the rural economy—land fertility, distance from markets, and the structure of capital investment—quite accurately reflect three major perspectives on rural agricultural production, those of Ricardo, of von Thunen, and of Marx.

53. Hamnett (1994:45); the following quote is from page 41.

policies toward the bottom of the ladder—metropolitan, viceregal, provincial, and local—of administrative authority. At each level, Hamnett added, "competing interest groups and political factions sought to use state institutions to promote their own objectives. Bureaucratic agencies often challenged one another's authority, and interest groups at one level subverted policies at another level. As a result, the characteristics of the Bourbon state varied according to context."[54] It is this concern with the contextualization and lower-level consequences of political change—both administrative restructuring (particularly the intendancy system) and changing political economic strategies (particularly the antinomic policy of liberalizing trade while privileging mining)—that constitutes one dominant facet of this section. The changes in the administrative system of central Guerrero—first the incorporation of the province of Iguala under the jurisdiction of the *alcaldía mayor* of Taxco in 1768, and then the appointment of a subdelegado in Taxco in the late 1780s—represent stages during which the power base of the institutional representative of royal political authority was progressively distanced from the point of its direct application, a shift that was concomitant to a centralization of power. The effects of these politico-adminstrative changes were directly felt by regional elites such as those in Taxco and Iguala. First, both indigenous communities and the upper echelons of rural society had to contend with the rehierarchization of power that occurred when the agricultural hinterland in the Iguala Valley was placed under the jurisdiction of the urban-based alcalde mayor of Taxco. However, the potential benefit to the mining sector in Taxco of acquiring politico-administrative control over the province of Iguala was short-lived. Soon urban and rural elite, as well as workers and

54. A similar argument, in which spatial variation in the character of a hegemonic state is the focus of attention, is discussed by Rubin (1996) in regard to the Cárdenas regime of 1934–40. But whereas Hamnett presents spatial variation as a consequence of weaking state power at progressively lower levels of authority, Rubin looks at variation as a consequence of both the flexibility of centralized power and the assertiveness of lower-level elites in engaging the state.

peasants, had to grapple with a second change: the imposition of a subdelegado as the regional representative of the intendancy system, the cynosure of late colonial Bourbon reform.

The institutional aspects of politico-administrative change in central Guerrero were accompanied by relevant transformations in two other arenas, both already discussed. The first involved developments in European-based theories of state and political economy. One important though neglected topic of research on the Hispanic colonies is precisely how such changes penetrated what may be called the political culture of colonial society, molding the rhetoric of conflict and dispute and affecting the decisions and policies of officials at various levels.[55] The second transformation was regional in scope. It involved the capitalization of the rural economy in the Iguala Valley and the emergence of a rural elite (see chapters 8–9) capable of challenging urban-based power. Thus as the struggle in central Guerrero for control of the production and commericalization of maize continued into the late colonial period (1768–1810), it did so in the vortex of changing politico-administrative, cultural, and economic environments. The result was a gradual though profound shift in the politics of alliance and contention that swirled around the agrarian economy and urban markets.

When in the mid-1760s don Pedro Corvalán, interim alcalde mayor of Taxco, petitioned the crown as to the "indispensable necessity" of adding the province of Iguala to the *alcaldía mayor* of the *real y minas* of Taxco, it was clear that the major, if not sole motive of his request was to facilitate direct politico-administrative control over the grains produced in the valley.[56]

55. See, for example, Larson's (1980) brief discussion of the agrarian mercantilist and physiocratic influences on the policymaking decisions of an intendant in Cochabamba. The Cochabamba intendant sought to stimulate agricultural production by promoting grain exports to lucrative, though distant, mining-town markets in the highlands.

56. AGN-RC 89/141. The royal cedula that responded to Corvalán's petition by ordering the viceroy to elaborate a report as to the benefits of adding the jurisdiction of Iguala to that of Taxco was dated 19 July 1766.

Without such authority, emissaries from Taxco had been unable to register the grain bins of the hinterland in their efforts to requisition—at market prices, the urban authorities always insisted—the surplus maize produced. The viceregal officials, ecclesiastics, and wealthy residents of the province of Iguala were thus able to buy maize cheaply (often from indigenous villages in the valley) and sell it dear; and urban consumers in Taxco needed to go to Toluca, where they bought maize at "exhorbitant prices" (*precios muy subidos*). During the rainy season (generally the time of grain shortages), torrential downpours and poor roads would increase travel time, making the task of bringing maize to Taxco a two-month proposition. As a result of the ensuing high prices and scarcity, workers were deserting the mines, which for this reason were, Corvalán reported, in a state of "total decay." The proposed solution—incorporation of a grain-producing hinterland under the authority of an urban center of consumption—was not a novel one. Between 1701 and 1705, the province of Iguala had already been subsumed under the jurisdiction of Taxco. And for similar reasons—direct urban control over grain supplies produced in a contiguous rural hinterland—the agricultural province of Ichcateopan had been added to the *real y minas de* Zacualpa. Although the viceregal report concerning the administrative reorganization of the Taxco-Iguala region has not been found, it was clearly favorable to the alcalde mayor's petition: in 1768 the province of Iguala was added to that of Taxco.[57]

Within a year of incorporation, the now subordinate authority in the valley—the *theniente general de la provincia de* Iguala—petitioned on behalf of the indigenous villages under his jurisdiction for a general license to use the first communal monies available (*el primer*

57. AGN-Alh 1/5.

dinero que occurriere) to build granaries for storing surplus maize.[58] At the same time, fearful of a scarcity of subsistence supplies in Taxco, the alcalde mayor—now unchallenged by an autonomous rival authority in Iguala—prohibited the sale of maize from Iguala outside the newly conjoined jurisdiction.[59] These two actions—the effort to "help" indigenous villages construct storage facilities and the prohibition of extrajurisdictional commerce in maize—suggest two basic strategies in urban efforts to ensure a cheap and plentiful supply of maize. The first was apparently focused on breaking the link between community produced maize and agrarian entrepreneurs who bought and stored grain in speculative efforts to take advantage of seasonal price fluctuations. The construction of communal granaries would permit villages to store grain themselves; political alliances between the Taxco authorities and indigenous elites would then permit the former access to substantial supplies of village grain. The second strategy—the prohibition of extrajurisdictional commerce in maize—was a tacit admission that in the face of both a capitalized rural economy in the Iguala Valley (where entrepreneurs had sufficient control of storage and transport facilities to break free from the immediate pull of local markets) and aggressive policies of grain acquisition by commissioned agents from distant markets (particularly the north-central *reales de minas*), economic incentives alone would be unable to guarantee grain supplies in Taxco and adjacent mining camps, at least not at "convenient" prices. The immediate effect of administrative restructuring in 1768, then, was the bifurcation of regional space in central Guerrero into competing zones of political control (the urban mining center of Taxco) and economic power (the agricultural hinterland of the Iguala Valley). The first decades of this new arrangement witnessed a tense stalemate as the mining elite in Taxco and the

58. AGN-I 62/83.

59. AGN-Alh 1/5.

agrarian entrepreneurial elite in the Iguala Valley jockeyed for favorable treatment by the viceregal authorities. But eventually new lines of division were drawn: rural and urban elites worked toward accommodation while peasants and urban mineworkers started to voice similar-sounding complaints against market manipulation and monopolistic practices.

In sum, late colonial struggles for control over the production and distribution of maize in central Guerrero had profound implications in two major contexts. The first was within the Indian village. A case study of Iguala, and briefer discussions of the situation in neighboring communities, reveals how transformations in the politico-administrative, cultural, and economic environments of the late colony penetrated indigenous communities, influencing local-level factionalism, modifying traditional arrangements in the structure of authority, and creating pressures and incentives for the reassignment of communal agrarian resources. The second context involved the general nature of provincial alliances throughout the region. As markets expanded, as the influx capital increased while the stakes of contention rose, and as political authority was less and less tied into the power structure of regional elites, new rifts in the fabric of colonial society began to emerge, rifts that seemed now to more closely reflect class, rather than spatial (rural-urban) or caste (Spanish-Indian) divisions. It is these two contexts that are the focus of discussion in the remainder of this chapter.

The same year that the grain-producing province of Iguala was subsumed under the politico-administrative jurisdiction of Taxco, an acerbic factional struggle erupted in the maculated indigenous community of Iguala, now infused with a band of Spaniards and *lobos* who had acquired a relatively prosperous position in this village."[60] For the next half-dozen years the

60. Unless otherwise noted, the information that follows is summarized from the following sources, all from the Ramo de Indios: 62/104 (dated 11 Apr. 1770), 62/123 (dated 20 Dec. 1770), 62/178 (dated 3 Aug. 1771), 64/71 (dated 9 Oct. 1772), 64/84 (dated 9 Feb. 1773), 64/133 (dated 9 Oct. 1773), 64/151 (dated 10 Feb. 1774), 64/190 (dated 3 Dec. 1774), 64/191 (dated 3 Dec. 1774), and 64/199 (dated 20 Mar. 1775).

Mexico City courts were peppered by continual litigation—once echoed by a small-scale local riot that left the village jail in ashes and its prisoners freed—that focused on contested elections for *governador* and alleged improprieties in the administration of community property. Yet the prolonged struggle over political offices and village resources represents simply the lowest common denominator of battles that were transpiring both below and above the fractured surface of Iguala's formal institutions. Below were intense rivalries among Spanish colonists not simply for control of indigenous resources but for the definition and domination of regional market arrangements. Above was a much more basic intravillage controversy over the question of the rights of membership in indigenous community and the sociocultural basis of village rule. What is clear, nevertheless, is that the redefinition of colonial politico-administrative authority was the primary catalyst for a period of regional strife whose most direct manifestation was the struggle for control in the indigenous village of Iguala, the wealthiest community in the valley.[61]

During 1768 the *governador* of Iguala was Juan Bentura, one member of a triumvirate of village strongmen (the others were Francisco Thomás, who in the course of litigation was accused of having been *governador* for seven consecutive years, and Jose Gregorio) who spent the next six years defending their prerogatives and power against an upstart faction headed by Manuel Fabián. Fabián had been elected *governador* for 1769, "against the will of the *principales*"; he completed his term, but by the end of the year the community had been polarized.[62] When the vast majority reelected Fabián to serve in 1770, the *teniente general* of

61. Considered so by a comparison of the resources of the *caja de comunidad* in 1789 (rounded to the nearest peso): Iguala, 1500; Tlaxmalac, 1181; Cocula, 937; Mayanalán, 853; Huitzuco, 785; Tuxpan, 494; Mezcala, 444; Xochipala 357; Tepecuacuilco, 0. Note that the wealthiest community in the Taxco jurisdiction was Tecalpulco, with 284 pesos; the remainder of villages there had been 55 and 175 pesos; see AGN-AHH 405/4.

62. The citation is from AGN-I 62/178. Fabián was still involved in village politics in 1796, when he was again *governador;* see AHH-405/4.

Iguala, don Juan Antonio Alvares, took the lead in repudiating the election. He refused to approve it and sent the alcalde mayor of Taxco a report of his objections to Fabián, who was accused of misappropriating community funds obtained from maize sales by spending them on religious observances, of collecting illegal contributions (*derramas*), and of having been illegally reelected in voting that took place without the required presence of the parish priest.[63] The viceroy, following the recommendation of his *fiscal*, annulled the election on 6 March 1770; despite protests from the *común de Iguala*, he reconfirmed this decree on 11 April.

By early 1770, with Fabián's reelection, the basis for dissension had been established. Future events only exacerbated fundamental conflicts, brought underlying tensions to the fore, and solidified patterns of alliance. With the acquiescence of Taxco's alcalde mayor, who was repeatedly accused by Iguala's old indigenous guard of failing to comply with viceregal decrees, Fabián maintained himself in office through 1770 and up to August 1771. The former year was especially conflictive. In a melee, the causes of which were never clarified, rioters destroyed the community jail along with the house of the ecclesiastical judge; then, citing the "grave inconveniences" that would impede a fair election of *oficiales de república* for 1771, Fabián and his followers managed to have the plebiscite canceled. By this time, however, the roots of the conflict were beginning to emerge. In a move designed to show that they themselves were not interested in holding office, those who challenged Fabián's regime requested that the *varas de justicia* (the official symbols of justice) be placed in the hands of village elders. And in recusing

63. The surreptitious utilization of the proceeds from communal planting for religious fiestas and other pious activities was, however, a common practice; see *expedientes* 1–9 in AHH/403 for the jurisdiction of Tixtla, and *expedientes* 2–6 in AHH/405 for the jurisdiction of Taxco/Iguala, particularly exp. 5, cuad. 2, fols. 3f–3v. In fact, one reason that colonial authorities switched from basing Indian contributions to the *caja de comunidad* on communal harvests to instituting a standardized tax of a *real y medio* per tributary (either *entero* or *medio*) was the notorious propensity of Indian villages for fudging the production figures for the communal harvest in order to skim some of the profit for village expenses; see AHH-405/4.

the alcalde mayor of Taxco from further action in the dispute, they noted that his impartiality had also been challenged by don Joseph Mastachi, a colonist living in Iguala who had also been targeted by Fabián and his supporters. During 1772 Fabián was no longer in office; but in late fall of that year he was once again elected *governador*, this time overwhelmingly, with 81 out of 101 votes cast. The elite opposition, now clearly in a minority, continued to press its claims that Fabián had misappropriated community grain, had fomented one riot and participated in another, and was a fugitive from justice. On the other hand, the alcalde mayor of Taxco continued to support him, reporting that Fabián had placed 300 pesos in the *caja de communidad* (the first *governador* to place any money at all in the community chest) and had begun both to check the accounts of his predecessors and to call in outstanding debts to the community (a move that was sure to antagonize those who had benefited from access to loans from village funds). After noting the maliciousness of the opposition and the widespread support for Fabián, on 9 February 1773 the viceroy confirmed the election. Moreover, in implicit accord with Fabián's activities, he ordered the alcalde mayor of Taxco to audit the accounts of past *governadores* and other *oficiales de república* and "prudently" force repayment of any debts, "taking into consideration the *miseria* of the Indians."[64]

During 1773 conflict continued. After entertaining yet another objection from Iguala's disempowered elite, in the spring of 1773 the viceroy revoked his initial approval of Fabián and mandated a new election. This order was not carried out, not simply because of the resistance presented by the *naturales* of Iguala, but because both the alcalde mayor of Taxco and the teniente of Iguala (now apparently in league with the Taxco authorities, or at least of the same opinion in regard to Fabián) refused to take the required action. By autumn the opposing factions

64. The citation is from AGN-I 64/84 (dated 9 February 1773).

had arrived at a compromise solution regarding village officials, subsequently rejected by the viceroy. Finally, over the objection of Taxco's alcalde mayor, Francisco Thomas became *governador* for 1774, in an election supervised by a commissioned agent specially appointed by the viceregal authorities.

Francisco Thomas's return to power was not based on a shift in the composition and boundaries of factional groups in Iguala, but in the re-establishment of an electoral process sanctioned by tradition but recently challenged by a plebeian-led transformation of village politics. In the election for 1774, suffrage had apparently been limited to ex–*oficiales de república*. By late fall, with new elections just concluded, the lame-duck *governador* and his supporters petitioned for a permanent return to the system through which they had maintained power for so many years. Since "time immemorial," they claimed, voting rights had been restricted to ex–*governadores*, *alcaldes*, and *regidores*—to the exclusion of all others. But in 1768, when the viceroy marqués de Croix ordered that the province of Iguala be incorporated into the *alcaldía mayor* of Taxco, he had also instructed that young men be granted the right to vote.[65] The alcalde mayor of Taxco had permitted, backed, and even fomented this arrangement, such as had occurred in late 1774, when all the adolescents and young men of the village had shown up at the election and been allowed to vote for officials for the following year. However, in response to a direct appeal by the *principales* of Iguala for strict observance of the "estilo antiguo" (ancient style) of elections, the viceroy enjoined the alcalde mayor to completely respect "the ancient, legitimate customs as they might have been observed in the elections." The final outcome of the election of *oficiales de república* for 1775 is not known; and no further litigation appears in the documentation.

65. The exact wording here is that "concurre a la elección la clase de los jóvenes o muchachos" (AGN-I 64/190).

Undoubtedly, the restructuring of politico-administrative authority at the colonial level had a direct impact on the constitution of authority at the village level. The bifurcation of political and economic domains between Taxco and Iguala created competing systems of power that for a short period evolved into parallel lines of patron-client relations. First, over the course of the mid–eighteenth century a working relationship had apparently been established between the indigenous elite of Iguala and an early generation of rural entrepreneurs, who quickly came to dominate valley economy and politics. The former controlled village politics, blocking access to power by defining rights of "citizenship" according to a "traditional" and "ancient style" that left approximately three-quarters of village residents without voice or vote. Clearly, however, these same disenfranchised individuals were still responsible for meeting the many duties and obligations that community membership entailed. The rural powerbrokers with whom the indigenous elite were allied were headed by Francisco Maturana, husband of a prosperous trader and father-in-law of a second generation of entrepreneurs that dominated late colonial central Guerrero (see genealogy chart 9a). Maturana's liaison in Iguala was don Joseph Mastachi, a man described in 1765 as "the principal subject of this jurisdiction, as much for his wealth as for his intrepidity with the justices [of the jurisdiction] and his overbearing character (*su dominante genio*): it is for these reasons that he overwhelms everyone and that everyone fears him."[66] The other faction, headed by Manuel Fabián, had probably been contesting village power, though perhaps not in its formal institutional structure, well before the 1768 realignment presented them with a powerful ally in the alcalde mayor of Taxco. First don Ygnacio Gemmir y Leonarte, and then doctor don Damián Rodrigo de Carratalá, defended Fabián against a continual onslaught of charges that persisted for over half a decade. Throughout this litigation the viceroy's decisions

66. AGN-In 1001/2, fols. 53f–54f.

resonate with an inconsistency that if nothing else reveals the great margin of play that a distant and centralized judicial system left for community factional struggles. First one side, and then the other, would gain an apparently conclusive, yet in effect ephemeral, advantage through appeals to often clueless colonial officials in Mexico City.

Given that the incorporation of the province of Iguala under the authority of the *real de minas* of Taxco was a direct consequence of an ongoing dispute between agriculturalists and miners over the commercialization of grain, it is not surprising that a persistent charge leveled against Fabián was that he had misappropriated community maize. The clearest manifestation of how conflict over access to village grain played out in the arena of struggle between the rural and urban colonial elites is the 1773 complaint by several *principales* of Iguala against Fabián for having personally benefited from the sale of 400 cargas of village maize to don Joseph de Viedma, a leading Taxco miner and a member of one of the wealthier Taxco families.[67] The *principales* added that the alcalde mayor of Taxco had protected Fabián in this business deal, of obvious interest and benefit to the common welfare of the grain-deficient mining camp and urban center.

But divisions in the economic structures of central Guerrero were not limited to disputes over access to and commercialization of maize. During the mid-1770s two rival commercial associations—each based in one of the two conflicting regions—were formed to take advantage of the profits to be obtained from the *repartimiento* of mules.[68] In Taxco the alcaldes mayores

67. Depending upon the figures for household consumption of grain that one uses (estimates vary from 15 to 25 fanegas), 400 cargas of maize would supply a year's supply of grain for between 35 and 50 households.

68. The *repartimieno de mercancía* involved sales of goods (often with a degree of coercion) to mostly peasant and Indian buyers who were extended credit at fairly high rates. Payment was enforced by regional colonial officials, generally the alcalde mayor or his *teniente*, who often had a stake in the venture. See Hamnett (1971) and Baskes (1996).

don Ygnacio Gemmir y Leonarte (1765–71) and doctor don Damián Rodríguez de Carratalá (1772[?]–74) formed a partnership in 1772. The first year 211 mules were sold on credit; by the third year Carratalá had died. The earnings on investment were quite high.[69] A similar though more limited partnership (50 animals sold in 1774) was undertaken by don Francisco Maturana, who contracted with don Manuel Ignacio Ruiz de la Mota, his successor, in 1775, as *teniente general* of the province of Iguala.[70] It would appear, therefore, that the geographical location of *compañias* to effect *repartimiento* closely followed administrative divisions, even after incorporation in 1768. The alcaldes mayores in Taxco formed one company, and the *tenientes* in Iguala formed another. Most likely each association carried out *repartimiento* in the jurisdiction under its immediate control.[71] Apparently, then, despite clear lines of tension between the alcalde mayor in Taxco and his *teniente* in Iguala concerning the structure of regional marketing systems for maize and the basis of political authority in the indigenous village of Iguala, in regard to *repartimiento* the boundaries of influence seem to have been much more precisely, and less

69. AGN-Cv 510/único. The contract between the two parties, dated 9 Apr. 1774, is found on fols. 20ff. The arrangement between Gemmir y Leonarte and Carratalá involved significant costs of collection, but significant profits (for the accounts, see fols. 177ff.). For example, the first *repartimiento* had a capital outlay of 10,974 pesos 6 reales (for buying mules, payment of the alcabala, and other expenses) and income (principal and earnings) of 19,723 pesos, representing a gain of 8,748 pesos 2 reales. The collector was paid 8% of the principal (i.e., 877 pesos 7 ¾ reales) and 10% of the earnings (i.e., 874 pesos 6 ¼ reales). In sum, on an investment of 10,974 pesos 6 reales, the final earnings were 6,990 pesos 4 reales, a gain of 63.7%. The following year the return was 37.7% and the next year 20% (taking into account 646½ pesos of uncollectable debts out of a total investment of 3,539 pesos ¼ reales and a total sale value of 6,115 pesos). Thus even with 10.5% of sales unpaid, and about 11.5% costs of collection, profits were still 20%.

70. AGN-GP 57/fol. 86f. Br. don Miguel Ruiz de la Mota, probably a relative, was the *teniente de cura* in Iguala in 1773 and had been enjoined from speculating in maize in 1739; see AGN-I 64/84 and AGN-GP 31/335, respectively. Also ordered to desist from speculating in maize in 1739 was Br. don Thomás de Soto y Acuña, the priest of Iguala, who had obtained over 300 cargas of maize from contributions to his sustenance and from the rental of ox teams. Soto y Acuña was a close relative of Mastachi.

71. This is further suggested by the fact that the man in charge of collecting outstanding debts for the company of Gemmir y Leonarte and Carratalá was don José Martínez Orejón, owner of a *hacienda de ganado mayor* 1.5 leagues from Taxco and the alguacil mayor of Taxco in 1778. See AGN-Cv 510/*único*, AGN-T 3601/9, and AGN-RH *caja* 134.

contentiously, drawn.

Perhaps one of the more interesting alliances, however, was that between Francisco Maturana (probably the most powerful man in the jurisdiction of Iguala during the 1760s and 1770s) and the irascible Mastachi.[72] Whereas the former seemed to have been a ubiquitous and respected individual—besides his political posts as alcalde mayor and *alcabalero*, he rented the right to collect tithes in the jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, Zacualpa, Tixtla, and Chilapa, and he was the legal representative of the agriculturalists of the jurisdiction of Iguala—the latter was a feared and unpopular figure. In the four years immediately preceding the incorporation of Iguala into the jurisdiction of Taxco, Mastachi was the object of a secret inquisitorial inquest on charges that he had made pacts with the devil and was *supersticioso y hechicero* (superstitious and a witch).[73]

The case began in the summer of 1764, when a Tepecuacuilco schoolteacher, a 60-year-old Spaniard named Juan Joseph de Segada, repeated a complaint against Mastachi, first in confession and then before the ecclesiastical judge. Segada said that his *comadre*, Rosa Mendoza, had told him that a certain Anna María Salgado had told her that Manuel Fabián (the same Indian who was later to become *governador* of Iguala against the will of the *principales*, of Maturana, of the parish priest, and of Mastachi) had advised her, Salgado, that neither she nor her cousin, who had been imprisoned by Mastachi, should even think of winning litigation against Mastachi. The reason, Fabián said, was that don Chepito, as Mastachi was called, had a doll (*muñeco*) that he appealed to whenever he was in need of something. Mendoza had also told

72. One of the clearest examples of this alliance was the fact that when Maturana was in charge of collecting the alcabala in the *alcabalatorio* of Iguala, he commissioned Mastachi as his agent for collection in Iguala. See AGN-GP 53/s.n. and s.fols. (dated 11 Oct. 1774).

73. See AGN-In 1001/2 for an account of this enquiry.

her *compadre* that another woman, Lucía Ramírez, had told her that Iguala was soon to be destroyed, inundated by a snake that was living in the nearby lake of Tuxpan. At the same time fire would sweep through the village, starting at the house of don Joseph Mastachi, who kept two snakes (one with horns of gold, the other with horns of silver) in his loft. The charges continued: that his wet nurse had seen one suspicious thing, his shepherd another, and his *peón* (manual worker) and house servant something else; that Mastachi had powerful snakes; that he could appear and disappear at will; that he kept his wife from teaching their son the Christian doctrine; that he had a crucifix that he would often "discipline." The protagonists of these attacks included one Indian cacique-cum-carpenter, but most were Spaniards (or so they claimed) and lower class: an agricultural worker, a muleskinner, a wet nurse, an apprentice to a tailor. When called before the commissioned judge of the Inquisition, all ratified what Segada had reported that they had said.

The judge, however, was not convinced. He failed to pursue this and other similar charges against Mastachi. And he was reluctant to conduct a further inquest into the original complaints in part, he said in early 1767, because it was not easy to find honest people in Tepecuacuilco (*no hay facilidad de encontrar personas honestas*). After hearing the first round of testimony, moreover, the inquisitor was even more doubtful. The complaints had been vague hearsay at best. The inquest was suspended for over a year until it was reopened in late 1766, when witnesses were recalled to ratify their earlier testimony. But by this time the situation had turned even more problematic; in 1767 there had been a generalized disturbance in Tepecuacuilco and Iguala, with each village divided into two groups. One, including (if not led by) officials of the *acordada*, was against Mastachi, then in prison; the other faction acted in his favor. In late April 1767, the inquisitor reported that Tepecuacuilco was in at that time in a state of "revolution . . . because of the imprisonment of Joseph Mastachi" and that a mob had rioted in Iguala. By late August 1767

the inquest was again suspended, this time permanently, and the documents remitted to a Mexico City archive. In his final report, the inquisitor disdainfully noted the basis of the charges. Mastachi, he reported, had greatly increased his wealth and, with this, the "respect" and "consideration" of the alcaldes mayores and priests of Iguala, who would turn a blind eye to his many excesses and extravagances. The pueblo (and here he spoke with manifest derision) brazenly attributed Mastachi's wealth and favorable treatment to superior powers and pacts. If a judicial decision favored Mastachi they would say that "the serpent was winning out" (*iba venciendo la culebra*) and if the decision was adverse, that "it had been vanquished" (*que ya iba de vencida*). These and other allegations of these "rustic people," the judge said, gave him cause for laughter. Rather than the reasons adduced by the rumormongering crowd, Mastachi's favorable circumstances were attributable to the "astuteness of his actions and the manipulation of his wealth" (*la viveza de su agente y a la manipulación de reales*). This, the ecclesiastic said, was how Mastachi won over judges and took care of business. In effect, his only vices were those of arrogance and greed, besides the fact that he was irreverent and irreligious and negligent of his duty to confess at least once a year.

The decade-long turmoil over Mastachi's actions bridge the period of administrative reorganization. Scandals and slander that had obviously been brewing among the hoi polloi for some time erupted into direct accusations of blasphemy in 1764, much as the underlying tensions within the village of Iguala also became overtly manifest once Taxco officials obtained jurisdiction over the province of Iguala. And in commenting on the 1775 elections in Iguala, the *fiscal de la Real Audiencia* noted that opposition to Fabián was limited to four or five followers and protégés of Mastachi.[74] They were said to be "of his band" (*de la parcialidad de Mastachi*)

74. AGN-I 64/199.

and their leader, Francisco Thomas, was his "dear *compadre*."[75] Mastachi was also said to be protected and favored by the parish priest and by the *teniente general* Maturana.[76] Mastachi had recused the alcalde mayor of Taxco from overseeing village elections in 1771; and in 1773 the alcalde mayor had reported that Mastachi was influencing and stirring up the Indians of Iguala.[77] But despite this aggressive alliance of village elite with Mastachi and, through him, Maturana, before 1768 Fabián had specifically counseled certain Spaniards that any efforts to oppose Mastachi would be doomed to fail—a tacit recognition of the potency of his magic and the power of his money. It was only after an alliance with the alcalde mayor became a possibility that Fabián led the majority of villagers against the system of favors and considerations that linked an entrenched indigenous elite with a powerful patron.

By the third-quarter of the eighteenth century, therefore, the northern Iguala Valley was rent by divisions that spanned at least the two major villages (Iguala and Tepecuacuilco) and cut through caste divisions between Indian and Spaniard. As the regional economy became more dynamic—with the resurgence of silver mining in Taxco, immigration to the rural hinterland and the booming mining camps, capital investment and long distance trade centered on grain exports from the hinterland and increased consumption in urban and rural markets—the stakes were escalated and the pool of potential protagonists of endemic strife expanded. Throughout this period a procrustean bed of class conflict grew evermore thick with the daily fallout from regional tensions. Clearly there was a simmering discontent with the actions of Mastachi, a stream of malicious gossip that flowed through the more plebeian levels of rural society, indigenous as well as colonist. Equally clear is the fact that Fabián, the representative of

75. AGN-I 64/191.

76. Ibid.

disenfranchised indigenous young men who powerlessly contemplated assignment of landed community resources to Mastachi and the village elite, had rather frequent contact with low status colonists equally discontent, and also invidious and suspicious of Mastachi's newfound wealth.

Within the indigenous community of Iguala and low status colonial society in the northern Iguala Valley, then, resistance to the authority and influence of the dominant clique that controlled local politics and economy was manifested on two fronts. The first was a series of elusive comments (eventually leading to a secret inquest) against Mastachi, alleging that his wealth had been obtained by actions—witchcraft—that lay outside the bounds of legitimate society. The second was a frontal attack on the political alliances that Mastachi had formed in the village where he was based—Iguala. While the empowerment of the alcalde mayor of Taxco over the Iguala Valley certainly facilitated direct political struggle, clearly resentment and defiance were simmering below the surface well before administrative restructuring. The 1764 Inquisition inquest and the 1768 elections, with its overt contest over community politics, were abrupt reminders of the tensions underlying an effervescent society in flux. And, in a similar manner, the 1767 that melee centered around the jailing of Mastachi was both an adumbration and analogue of the 1771 melee that centered around the jailing of Fabián. Yet besides a common enemy in a shared society, Indians and Spaniards were at variance in the nature of their actions against this person. Although it would be imprecise to characterize the witchcraft accusations as a strategized effort to topple Mastachi, they do reveal a closely knit social network that frequently gossiped about the character and morality of Mastachi. Just how ardent and deep-rooted this network ran is revealed by the seriousness of the 1767 "revolution" (as it was

77. AGN-I 62/178 and AGN-I 64/133.

described by a contemporary) in Tepecuacuilco. Indigenous revolt, on the other hand, was community centered and formally manifested; its result was a structural transformation in the political society of an Indian community. In 1764 two witnesses before the Inquisition mention Manuel Fabián as counseling against challenging Mastachi because his powers, derived from his dolls and snakes, was too great. Though initially advising caution, Fabián soon risked a campaign that was both more straightforward (it was a publicly litigated dispute over political rights and legitimacy) and more circumspect (it attacked the village allies of Mastachi) than that of his acquaintances among the Spanish colonists. It was also less personalized, directed less against Mastachi himself than against the array of rights and courtesies that he had obtained to community resources.

The variant manifestations of opposition to Mastachi—by Indians and by non-indigenous rural poor—in part represent the implications of divergencies in social structure and immediate goals of each group. The rural poor were no doubt confronted with Mastachi's abuses on a daily and personal level—buying goods, seeking credit for petty purchases, paying taxes on small-scale commerce. Undoubtedly Indians felt the same pressures (Mastachi did have a store in Iguala), but they also were witness to a more serious concern: his exploitation of community resources with the acquiescence of the village elite. The Indians also had an institutional structure through which they could effect their protest—*la república de indios*. Thus the nature of protest over Mastachi's actions (rumors and witchcraft accusations or political attacks against a coterie of village allies) reflected both the characteristics of the issues in dispute (individual or community resources) and the structure of relations among the aggrieved parties (informal social networks among the rural poor, or formal social institutions among the indigenous members of Iguala). During the 1760s and 1770s the two lines of protest—with a fairly rigid distinction in terms of the ethnicity of the protagonists, the formality of their methods, and the venues of their

actions—remained essentially distinct. Yet as rural society and the composition of indigenous villages continued to rapidly change during the last half-century before independence, this too was to change.

But parallel to the class and status divisions in the Iguala Valley and the more spatially differentiated elite-level tensions that existed between entrepreneurs centered in the grain deficient urban settlement and mining camps of Taxco and others operating within the agricultural economy of the Iguala Valley, within the northern valley itself there were competing commercial and economic interests. Participating in the 1767 riots in Tepecuacuilco and Iguala were individuals whom the ecclesiastical judge referred to as "officials of the *acordada*." Though not named, these officials probably included don Antonio de Estrada, who in 1774 was administrator of the *real ramos de tabaco, pólvora y naipes* (royal fiscal administration of tobacco, gunpowder, and playing cards). At that time he was engaged in litigation with Mastachi, who had been commissioned by the *alcabalero* Maturana to collect sales taxes in Iguala. Estrada accused Maturana and Mastachi with conspiring to overcharge him for alcabalas in an effort to prevent him from opening a new store. By 1778, just following the administrative restructuring of the tax jurisdictions (*alcabalatorios*) in 1777, the tables had turned. The province of Iguala was now subsumed under Taxco and the sales tax administrator, don Juan de Villanueva y Aparicio, had appointed Estrada (selected because of his wealth—he owned three *tiendas* in the jurisdiction of Iguala) as his collecting agent in the now dependent tax district of Iguala.[78] Both officials went after doña Theresa Caparros, Maturana's widow, and their son-in-law don Juan de la Cuesta, who was managing Caparros's four stores and soap factory as well as her rental of the

78. AGN-In 1192/3. At this time Estrada is specifically mentioned as *teniente de la acordada.*

right to collect (and commecialize) tithes.[79] Estrada had reviewed a set tax rate (*iguala*) that had been negotiated between de la Cuesta and Villanueva y Aparcio and found it to be grossly underestimated.[80] He attempted to impose a new rate. In his defense, de la Cuesta mentioned the notorious and public litigation that had previously characterized relations between Estrada and Maturana. Estrada was accused of continuing the dispute after Maturana's death by singling out his widow and son-in-law for charges of tax evasion. The Mexico City authorities sided with Estrada; they overturned the sales tax contract and ordered an investigation to determine a rate that would better approximate the annual alcabala due from Caparros and de la Cuesta given their commercial activities (including the sale of goods obtained as tithe). The ascension of Estrada from object of attacks orchestrated by Mastachi to a position of authority paralleled that of Fabián; both took advantage of administrative restructuring (the first of tax districts after 1777, the second of the *alcaldías mayores* of Taxco after 1768) to forge new, extraregional alliances centered on Taxco in an effort to counter the dominance of rural elites in the agricultural hinterland. But this time new power structures were emerging. Mastachi had faded into ignominy. At the time of his death he was in debt for over 13,000 pesos and his property was valued at under 9,000.[81] Maturana's legacy of power was to survive in the persons of three sons-in-law (don Manuel Sañudo, don Juan de la Cuesta, and don Pedro Antonio Quijano y Cordero)

79. This case is found in AGN-In 1192/3.

80. The dispute centered on the fact that Caparros and de la Cuesta had contracted to pay taxes of 900 pesos per year, based on what they claimed were estimated sales. However, Estrada found that in little less than two and a half months they had been liable for 400 pesos in taxes; and that income from the sale of goods obtained in tithes would increase liability even further. In light of this, Estrada wanted to invalidate the contract (*iguala*) and raise the tax rate for Caparros and de la Cuesta.

81. For Mastachi's death and the 1776 embargo and public auction of his estate with which his wife had to contend, see AGN-GP 57/fols. 44f–44v; AGN-GP 57/fols. 58v–61v; and AGN-GP 57/fols. 69f–69v. At this time Mastachi's property was in poor condition: rotting grains, an *atajo* (set, probably of around 40) of mules for transport, a handful ("poquisimos") of oxen and mares, a palm house and another (with fissured walls) of adobe, and a store inventory.

whose ascendancy in the rural economy and regional power structure of late colonial central Guerrero was based on accommodation and compromise with urban interests and priorities.

In sum, during the late colonial period underlying conflict in the Iguala Valley seems to have been present at several levels: between indigenous plebeian and patrician factions within communities such as Iguala, between the rich and poor colonists, and between elite cliques of rural entrepreneurs who sought privileged access to resources and their commercialization. The manner in which these tensions were manifested depended in part on the structure of institutionalized power, on the nature of possible alliances of any of the aforementioned factions with the representatives of the colonial state in the regional environment. Thus when the nature of such representation changed—with the incorporation of the province of Iguala under the jurisdiction of Taxco, with the switch from a system of alcaldes mayores and corregidores to one of subdelegados, and with the elimination of tax farms in favor of direct administration of the alcabala—the balance of power between contending factions also changed. And one of the more direct and overt manifestations of such this was the emergence in the indigenous community of Iguala of a plebeian faction able to challenged the entrenched interests of village *principales* and their allies among the Spanish commercial elite of colonial society.

GRAIN AND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE OVER THE DEFINITIONS OF MARKETS, PROPERTY, AND JUST PRICE

In petitioning for jurisdiction over the province of Iguala, miners and urban authorities in the *real de minas* of Taxco had expected to acquire complete control over the regional grain market. But in 1768, at the precise moment of political triumph, this hope threatened to fade into fantasy as metropolitan ideologues successfully implemented a new political economy of national space and integrated markets. This state plan fused public policy with an emergent philosophy of property

and profit, what one scholar has called "possessive individualism,": the celebration of absolute rights to mobile property, competitive commerce, and limitless acquisition.[82] Miners soon discovered, however, that the restructuring of politico-administrative divisions would not be a simple, uncontested, and efficient solution to the problem of supply. Rather, it expanded the arena of conflict between urban and rural elites from one for political and economic control to one that included discussions over the definition of space and territory and debates over the nature of property rights to grain. In short, the change in administrative divisions occurred in a period of shifting ideas in the metropole (political economic liberalism) and new economic patterns in the colonies (the expansion of the rural economy and infusion of merchant capital into the hinterland, and the nationalization of exchange concomitant to the development of storage and transport facilities in the Iguala Valley and to the influx of commissioned agents and independent buyers from extraregional provinces, particularly the booming mining camps of northcentral Mexico). Consequently, administrative restructuring sparked conflicts that went well beyond what may be conceived of as a strictly political arena.

At the same time, indigenous villages, as well as non-community-based peasants and proletarians, started to challenge developments in late colonial political economy through a language that contested the impact of the commercialization and capitalization of the rural economy on the lives of the dominated sectors of regional society. More and more, it seems, attacks were directed not against individuals but against loosely defined sectors—*los monopolistas, los poderosos*—by communities and individuals increasingly involved in the developing economy of late colonialism. Equally important was the effect of temporally- and spatially-expanding markets on long-held conceptions of justice in exchange. One theoretician of

82. See Macpherson (1962).

the period (although referring to Europe) has remarked that "in every phase of Western tradition, there is a conception of virtue—Aristotelian, Thomist, neo-Machiavellian or Marxian–to which the spread of exchange relations is seen as presenting a threat."[83] For "virtue" we may perhaps read "justice" and for the just-mentioned erudite philosophers of the politics and practice of exchange we may read "common and local." Thus in the New World (as opposed to the Old) and among plebeian (as opposed to intellectual) society, what the expanding market threatened was a common and local normative economics: a conception of the justice of exchange or, more precisely, of price and profit.

Philosophical debates about the meaning and rights of property were not limited to the litigious petitions of miners of silver and merchants of grain but penetrated through all sectors of society. At the lower levels, the voices of protest have often been linked to a "moral economy" and, more specifically, a "subsistence ethic"—the former linked to a paternalistic political ideology of legitimacy and authority, the latter to a peasant mentality that favored security over social mobility. The argument advanced here, however, explores another aspect of peasant and proletarian expectations about provisioning, that which was linked to local knowledge of the social dynamics of exchange, rather than simply consumption. With eighteenth-century market expansion and increasing investments in the infrastructure of storage and transport,[84] the entire concept of "*current market* price" upon which theories of just exchange had been based, became problematic. Market expansion may well have crystallized exchange into patterns that more readily fit the universalizing mathematical models of liberal economics (and provided grist for

83. Pocock (1985c:104) who goes on to state: "In this perspective those thinkers of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries who argued on individualist, capitalist or liberal premises that the market economy might benefit and transform human existence appear to be the great creative heretics and dissenters."

84. See Garner (1993:9).

the mills of early theorists of exchange), but the crystal still had a multifaceted surface. And thus viewed from a local level, market expansion initially tended to fracture (not integrate and harmonize) the perception of exchange by creating a spatial and temporal dynamic to price that was no longer pegged to immediate concerns and traditional patterns.

Faced with the imposition of a regional colonial authority in Taxco that argued for the rights of jurisdictions to control the distribution of provisions within their territory, the Iguala Valley agrarian entrepreneurs initially countered with a distinct definition of space and market price. Their definition of space denied the relevance of politico-administrative boundaries for the definition of region, particularly those regions or territories that would establish the limits of the commercialization and consumption of grains in times of scarcity. In a 1770 petition to the viceroy, Francisco Maturana (who at that time rented the right to collect tithes in the jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, Zacualpa, Tixtla, and Chilapa; and who in 1776 was the representative of the *vecinos y labradores* of the province of Iguala) admitted that in times of scarcity jurisdictions had the legal right to prohibit that grain be sold elsewhere "leaving without provisions the same one [jurisdiction] that produces it."[85] "Elsewhere," obviously referred to places outside the jurisdictional boundaries of the grain-producing region. But having recognized the principle Maturana proceeded to dispute the facts: that Taxco and Iguala were now a single jurisdiction. If there were a scarcity of provisions in Iguala, he admitted, a prohibition would be valid. But this was not the case in regard to Taxco "because this is a distinct jurisdiction *despite the fact that both one and the other are governed by a single alcalde mayor according to the new ruling*" (emphasis added)."[86] The pragmatics of this argument should be clear: by denying that Taxco and

85. AGN-Alh 1/5.

86. Ibid., fols. 3f–3v.

Iguala were a single jurisdiction, Maturana implicitly denied the right of Taxco authorities to invoke the principle of territorial market controls (which Maturana in fact recognized as valid) to gain access to Iguala Valley maize. Left unsaid, however, were the criteria according to which Maturana could assert that despite a single administrative and political structure, Taxco and Iguala were "distinct" jurisdictions.

Whatever these criteria might have been, they clearly formed part of a covert sense of space that previously had underlain a more public and political identity encapsulated in administrative structures and territorial boundaries. This veneer was ripped away when the state (prodded by consumer and mining interests in Taxco) obliterated the jurisdictional status of Iguala; Maturana then groped for the intangibles of spatial delimitation and definition—historical, social, and cultural—that would lend support to his self-interested concern for control over the commercialization of grain. At the very least, the history of the political geography of New Spain, according to which Iguala had been separate from Taxco, was believed sufficient to justify claims to separate status even though Iguala no longer governed itself. Distinct cultural patterns (at the very least the concomitants to urban versus rural living) and relatively bounded social networks might well have added to the historical foundations of difference. Time and prescription contributed their own weight in creating a territorial tradition that could not be obliterated by administrative fiat. But equally significant in underpinning the sense of regional identity were the clear divergences in interests—a grain-producing hinterland that sought market freedom and a grain-deficient urban center that sought market closure—that separated Taxco from Iguala. This public manifestation of difference and distinct identity occurred at the precise moment it was so forcefully challenged by the newly constituted political authorities in Taxco. In short, the public expression of a regional identity not anchored in politico-administration boundaries occurred at the precise moment when the "relation between political boundaries and

the *natural* divisions of the country" became conflictive.[87]

Rural entrepreneurs from the Iguala Valley also utilized the potential of sales outside the newly constructed jurisdiction to challenge urban-based definitions of market structure and price. Thus, in 1770 Maturana noted that in the first year after restructuring (and now again in 1770) the alcalde mayor of Taxco had issued an edict prohibiting the sale of maize from the Iguala Valley outside the jurisdiction.[88] This was particularly problematic given that because of its fertility and high production, the province of Iguala generally supplied various *partidos.*[89] Tithe collection alone from the valley yielded between 3,000 and 4,000 cargas per year (thus even a small variation of 2 reales per carga would alter the tithe income by 750 to 1,000 pesos). Maturana accused Taxco buyers of trying to force lower prices by eliminating outside competition and requiring Iguala Valley farmers to store maize until it was needed in Taxco. Moreover, the urban authorities tried to force sales at a low prices when, Maturana claimed, he could easily sell maize to outside buyers at its "current price." This recourse to *current price* has a long history in normative economics and appears repeatedly in the Taxco-Iguala litigation over markets and sales.[90] However, Maturana failed to articulate a facet of economic integration that was at the core of the problem: market expansion and the presence of outside buyers affected local and "current prices," which became, with market expansion and changes in the effective area of potential sales, a spatial phenomenon. In closing the Taxco-Iguala region to visiting

87. See chapter 10, n. 59.

88. See AGN-Alh 1/5. At this time Maturana was the tithe collector for the jurisdictions of Taxco, Iguala, Zacualpa, Tixtla, and Chilapa; ibid.

89. AGN-Alh 1/5. For a brief mention of the province of Iguala's role in supplying maize to various central provinces during the famine year of 1785, see Ouweneel (1996:35).

90. For discussions of the "current price" in normative economics, see particularly Baldwin (1959), Cahn (1969), and de Roover (1951, 1955, 1958).

agents commissioned to buy maize in Iguala, Taxco authorities limited the options of commercial endeavors and, in so doing, the degree to which local price would reflect competitive forces.[91] Taxco's aggrandizement and a regression to provincial control mechanisms in New Spain was a response to the increasing penetration of grain merchants and commissioned agents into the hinterland. In other words, the consolidation of regional boundaries and boundaries to marketing patterns was not a preservation of historical states, but rather an effort to stem the tide of the nationalization of market mechanisms and structures.

By 1773 the *vecinos y labradores* (non-indigenous citizens and farmers) of the Iguala Valley had hired a legal representative and refined their demands: they were willing to supply maize to meet the consumption and production needs of Taxco. But, they added, this obligation should be based on an official estimate of urban requirements prorated on the registered yields of individual farmers; and it should be at the "current price," taking into account the cost of transport. In August 1772 a *bando* was issued in Taxco that set a cuota of 200 cargas per week for the Taxco market and 100 per week for the adjoining market in the mining camp of Tehuilotepec (a total of 15,600 cargas per year, or the subsistence requirements of about 1,500 families).[92] The farmers's representatives noted that maize production in the valley (apparently not including that of Indian villages) was regularly upward of 40,000 cargas and often, as in 1772, reached 60,000. They insisted that once an arrangement had been made to meet Taxco's

91. The effect of extraregional commerce in grains on forcing local maize prices upward was clearly noted in 1750, when Taxco miners were required to pay 3 pesos/carga, the price "paid by the [mining] deputies of Guanajuato" (AGN-I 56/29).

92. Subsistence requirements of a family have been estimated at anywhere from about 8 to 12 cargas/year. The estimate I give is based on a figure of 10 cargas. Note that in 1794, when Taxco was in decline, it had a population of 892 free *negro* and *mulato* tributaries (Gerhard 1972:254). In the 1770s, a period of greater prosperity, the population was undoubtedly higher and including Indian laborios and others who might need to buy maize, the requirement of 1,500 cargas was probably a fair estimate of consumption requirements. But fodder for mules used in mining and transport might well be outside the 1,5600 carga figure that the Iguala farmers gave. Of course, some of the maize assigned in cuotas might have been used as fodder.

and Tehuilotepec's weekly demand, farmers and merchants be completely free to market the grain where they best saw fit. This proposition suggests that the problem was not one of supply (for the Iguala agriculturalists were willing to obligated themselves to meet the consumption needs of Taxco) but rather of price (whereby Taxco authorities had tried to artificially create oversupply in Iguala in order to promote lower prices).

On 1 April 1773 viceroy Bucareli expedited a dispatch that heavily favored the Taxco miners; in passing he approvingly noted that the *reales de minas* were favored by both law and state.[93] But more significantly, the language of the edict, as compared to previous ones, had changed to reflect the 1768 transformation in territorial jurisdictions. Previous orders concerning efforts to ensure maize supply in the mining camp had empowered Taxco officials to enter the province of Iguala and buy (at *precios corrientes*) the necessary grain.[94] Now, in 1773, instead of adjudicating a dispute between two neighboring and contentious jurisdictions, the viceroy could simply license the mining and other authorities of the *real de minas* to retain "*all the maize* of *their province* in the said province, *without exception* of farmers or store owners who speculate (*hacen negociación*) in this grain and others" emphasis added.[95] In terms of the political economy of provisioning, Bucareli's edict represented a return to what Vassberg has called "municipal mercantilism" and a retreat from both mercantilist arbitration of interjurisdictional disputes and, obviously, from the liberal economics of open markets and deregulated exchange. In effect, then, it represented a return to the spatial arrangement of power and provisioning that had characterized Europe and the Americas before market expansion and shifts in the political

93. His precise words were, "atendiendo a los recomendados que son los Reales de Minas por las Leyes y por el Estado" (AGN-Alh 10/3).

94. See, e.g., AGN-GP 36/11; AGN-GP 36/63; AGN-I 56/17; and AGN-I 56/29; all dated in 1750.

95. AGN-Alh 10/3 fols. 240f–241v.

economy of subsistence had called into question the territorial prerogatives of exchange relations that had previously characterized regional systems.

For the next five years the disputes continued. The farmers were willing to admit a solution that hearkened back to the policies of Colbertism, with its emphasis on agrarian mercantilism and the state's informed arbitration of disputes over the exchange of provisions; miners patterned their demands on a more ancient principle of regional autonomy and relatively strict closure of grain markets. Still in 1776, and despite an abundant harvest, the Taxco authorities were policing the roads and prohibiting export. Those who managed to evade the barriers as they transported their maize to Mexico City were then stopped as they passed through the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca, where they were forced to sell at extremely low prices to overstocked stores and bargain-hunting regraters.[96] In response, the *vecinos y labradores* requested a viceregal edict enjoining the justices of Iguala, Taxco, and Cuernavaca from preventing the free sale of maize from the Iguala Valley.

Required to explain his actions, the *teniente* of the alcalde mayor of Cuernavaca noted that maize from other jurisdictions that was transported through Cuernavaca was not stopped—provided the proper papers were presented. Nevertheless, despite an abundant local harvest the jurisdictional authorities had seen fit to issue an edict prohibiting the extraction of maize from the province of Cuernavaca. An oversupply of maize at the regional level had first driven prices down to 1 peso/carga. But with the continual ("día y noche") transport of maize out of the jurisdiction, its price had steadily increased; by June 1776 maize sold in the plaza of Cuernavaca had shot up to 3 pesos/carga. The viceroy ordered that no further prohibitions to trade be issued by the alcalde mayor unless a license had previously been granted at the viceregal level.

96. The brief mention of grain requisitions and barriers to commerce in the Cuernavaca jurisdiction are found in AGN-Al 1/5 fols. 73f–79v).

Unfortunately little work has been done for colonial New Spain on the dynamics of provisioning markets viewed not in the sense of the centralization of supply to a single food-deficient urban area, but in regard to interregional competition and conflicts over barriers to trade. The example from Cuernavaca illustrates a quite simple point: in times of *scarcity* regional authorities sought to prohibit export in order to assure supplies and, by eliminating all other potential markets, facilitate price regulation; in times of *abundance* regional authorities sought to prohibit export in order to maintain low prices against the effects of "classic" market mechanisms that tended to equalize (and often raise) prices across regional boundaries.[97] As happened all over Europe, regional responses to the potentially damaging effects of market integration tended to stress the historical prerogatives of control. Though not unique in this regard, the dispute in Taxco and Iguala is distinct in that the debate flowed beyond questions of localized provisioning structures, liberal economics, and a national trend to favor agricultural production. Rather, it manifested a much more basic problem of the nature of wealth in a colonial setting and the impact of silver mining on public policy.

One of the most notable aspects of Bourbon fiscal policy in New Spain were the actions taken to promote mining. Direct measures—elimination of taxes on the refined silver of selected enterprises, a significant reduction in the cost of mercury, and alcabala exemptions for materials used in mining—were instrumental in increasing the potential profit margin of mining. Indirect measures, particularly free trade after 1789, lowered the costs of imported goods and cut into the profits of merchants who had previously enjoyed monopoly control. The result was an increase

97. That is, precisely because national market integration tended (at least ideally) to equilibrate prices across jurisdictions and regionalized marketing structures, in times of local abundance and low prices, provincial authorities would also erect barriers to long-distance commerce in an effort to maintain low prices in the areas under their control.

in the relative value of silver and a flow of capital from commerce to mining.[98] Within this framework of state intervention in the dominant sector of the colonial economy, the laissez-faire trends in exchange relations proved an awkward fit. This was particularly true in regard to maize (as opposed to wheat), which as fodder and food functioned both as a necessary factor of production and the staple of provisioning for mineworkers often pushed to the margins of subsistence.[99] The incorporation of the province of Iguala into the jurisdiction of Taxco was a clear statement that the crown prioritized mining interests over the implementation in a colonial setting of the new political economy that had motivated King Charles III's *pragmática* of 11 July 1765.

In 1787 the underlying tension between Taxco miners and Iguala Valley farmers and merchants once again surged to the surface. The conflict was undoubtedly provoked by the wave of outside buyers who streamed into the valley during the famine years of 1785 and 1786, providing a stark reminder to consumers of grain in Taxco that they could not rely on the high cost of transport to serve as a sort of natural barrier to the export of grains to distant markets. As already noted, maize was a factor of production—it constituted the basis of workers' rations and the primary feed for animals that provided traction and transport. As such, miners would constantly pressure for lower prices. Thus, rather than assuming that distance and topography worked to isolate markets, it is more relevant to ask how certain miners and their representatives could afford to acquire maize in distant hinterlands. One reason, and undoubtedly that which allowed Guanajuato mining deputies to travel some 400 kilometers and take back maize from

98. See Brading (1971).

99. For wheat in New Spain see Artis Espriu (1986), García Acosta (1988a, 1988b), Miller (1994), Suárez Argüello (1985, 1988), and Super (1980, 1982, 1988). Miller (1992:231) has noted that "physiocratic reforms spared the bakery" and that the possibility of regulating wheat bread in effect took some of the pressure off liberalizing the grain trade.

Iguala, was the greater productivity of labor (indicative of richer ore and a higher degree of capitalization) in those mining regions that could afford to institute an aggressive strategy of grain acquisition. Whether or not this was always the motive, it would appear that interregional variations in the productive structure (including in particular ore quality and labor efficiency) of mining enterprises, and not variations in wage scales or general cost of living in urban centers, was the primary stimulus to long-distance forays to acquire grains. Thus, although Taxco miners first utilized a strategy that was based on regional rights to local provisions, the underlying motive was to increase the profit margin of mining and the role of cheap grain in furthering this goal. In late 1787 this was forcibly stated by don Ignacio Menocal, the alcalde mayor of Taxco, in a response to a petition that Iguala Valley farmers had presented to the viceroy. The rural petitioners, Menocal declared, hoped to prevail over the rights of the *real de minas* by claiming that as cultivators they were due more privileges than miners, who descended into the bowels of the earth to extract silver, the precious material so necessary to the colonial economy.[100] In support of Taxco's rights to provisions, he cited viceregal dispatches of 21 March 1770, 1 April 1773, and 3 January 1787 all of which, to differing degrees, prioritized regional provisioning over freedom of trade in grain.

With this argument, in October 1788 the alcalde mayor of Taxco secured the partial reversal of a viceregal order of the previous year. The *vecinos y labradores* based in Tepecuacuilco, the major merchant town of the province of Iguala, had litigated against restrictions that the Taxco alcalde mayor, either under his own volition or under pressure from miners, had imposed on extraregional trade in grain. Vividly noting that "man does not live by bread alone" (*no sólo con pan vive el hombre*), the legal representative of the farmers and rural

100. See AGN-Alh 10/3.

merchants went on to assert that despite an abundance of grain, because of the restrictions on trade, his clients lacked everything else. In early November 1787, the viceroy ordered that trade in foodstuffs and produce be free. The following year this order was appended so that the quantity of maize estimated necessary to supply the *real de minas* of Taxco be excluded from the grain that could be freely sold anywhere.

The first twenty years after the administrative boundaries of the Taxco and Iguala jurisdictions were restructured, therefore, witnessed continuous conflict over the distribution of grain. Although the characteristics of the dispute reflected local patterns of social organization, politics, and economics, the terms of debate reflected more general disagreements that were then dividing the emergent philosophies of political economy in Western Europe. When Taxco miners objected that the *vecinos y labradores* of the Iguala Valley were demanding more privileges for cultivating the earth than they were receiving for extracting its mineral riches, they situated the strife between miners and agriculturalists within prevailing arguments over whether the basis of national wealth was more dependent on the quantity of silver coined (a mercantilist perspective) or the relative productivity of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors of the national economy (a physiocratic perspective). And despite the fact that ever since the period of the early *arbitristas* (political economists concerned with remedying Spain's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century economic woes) the potential dangers of mineral wealth to a national economy had been recognized, Bourbon fiscal and economic reforms favored mining production and stressed the remission of coined silver to the metropolis. Miners continued to feel privileged and although their claims to exemptions from the alcabala were highly contested (given that such exemptions directly struck at the fiscal base of the colonial system, as well as the salaries of the tax administrators, who adamantly opposed such corporate privileges) the crown was more favorably inclined to their demands for labor drafts (including in particular that provided by vagabonds)

and guaranteed provisions. Nevertheless, in regard to provisions, miners grasped onto a popular discourse on the right of society to regulate and order the sale of grain. In order to strengthen their position as elite producers of a coveted material, miners resuscitated waning theories of distributive justice and privileged sectors, regional rights to regulate market structure and economic exchange, and the moral obligation of legitimately constituted authority to assure adequate provisioning. However, all these arguments were articulated not to favor provisioning itself, but to increase the profit margin of a favored sector of the colonial economy: mining. Agriculturalists, on the other hand, stated their case in terms that were more closely attuned to the redefinitions of market space, property rights, and national wealth then prevalent in Western Europe, as one state after another gradually disengaged itself from an ethos of social regulation and provisioning in favor of a market philosophy and economy extended to cover all items, including grain.[101] But whereas in Europe the physiocratic-influenced political economy of France and Spain perceived an integral relationship between agriculture and manufacturing, the political economy of New Spain had unique pressures. Not only was it affected by the prioritization of mining, but it was dogged by its colonial function as an assured market outlet for metropolitan manufactures and as a dependable source of fiscal support for the metropolitan state. There was a pervasive reluctance to promote colonial manufactures that could compete with Spanish goods, and even those theorists most inclined to favor free markets in the colonies refrained from attacking the privileges associated with mining.[102]

It is not clear whether a solution to the conflict in central Guerrero would have ever been

101. See Appleby (1978:chap. 3).

102. The examples are numerous. To cite one: despite his efforts to promote smallholdings among Indians and assert their right to economic freedom, Campillo was silent on the question of forced mine labor (*mita*); se Tiryakian (1978:250).

found, or if the state would have continued to oscillate, first favoring the agriculturalists and their arguments, and then the miners and theirs. In theory both parties were willing to compromise. In their legal briefs each stated a willingness to accept a bifurcated market—restrictions on the quantity of maize estimated to be necessary to satisfy the needs of Taxco and Tehuilotepec, and freedom of trade for the remaining grain. Many problems were endemic to such a solution (hidden storage facilities, contraband sales, difficulties of policing), but the principal difficulties remained the price of the grain and the intrinsic conflict of interests between agriculturalists and miners. Over the last quarter-century before independence an effort to solve this problem emerged through closer ties among the rural and urban elite of central Guerrero.

ELITE ALLIANCES AND INCIPIENT CLASS CONFLICT: THE FINAL RESOLUTION OF SPATIAL CONFLICT OVER PROVISIONING AND MARKETS

One individual who exemplified this development was don Juan Ignacio de la Cuesta, a Spaniard by origin whose activities and career spanned both jurisdictions. As husband of doña Josefa Xacinta Martínez de Maturana, de la Cuesta was the son-in-law of Francisco Maturana, who had dominated the valley and regional politics up to the mid-1770s. Upon Maturana's death, de la Cuesta took over as the tithe collector in the province of Iguala, acting for his mother-in-law, doña Teresa Caparros, who held the actual lease. Soon thereafter, in 1785, he was given power of attorney by the major farmers and merchants of the Iguala Valley, and in 1788 he was *teniente general* of the province of Iguala.[103] Little is known of his activities over the following 18 years. But by 1806, when he was the *administrador general de la Real Renta del Tabacco,* he was also the legal representative of the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, the confraternity that had

103. AGN-Alh 10/3. For additional information on de la Cuesta, see AGN-Indif-Alc, Taxco cajas 5, exp. 2; caja 6, exp. 5; caja 13, exp. 2; caja 14, exp. 4; and caja 15, exp. 3; see also AGN-BN 1814/13; AGN-I 70/140; AGN-In 1192/3; AGN-T 3576/1 and 4; and AGN-Tab 401/s.n.

acquired the immense properties of don Joseph Martínez de Viedma and don José de la Borda in the Iguala Valley. Hanging in the vestry of the church of Santa Prisca in Taxco is a portrait of de la Cuesta with a text praising him for having defended church lands against the expropriation decreed by the Junta Superior de Consolidación.[104] A broad view of the career of de la Cuesta suggests that from an individual closely tied to the landed and commercial interests of the Iguala Valley, he had become a principal protagonist, as its legal representative, of the land-rich *archicofradía* in Taxco. Nevertheless, he had maintained strong ties to his Tepecuacuilco-based in-laws; he was the principal executor of the estate of don Manuel Sañudo and the tutor of his children. These relations (e.g., at different times he was the legal representative of both the major valley farmers and merchants and of the *archicofradía* in Taxco) placed him in an intermediate position, able to broker a relationship between the rural and urban economies of north-central Guerrero.

Similar contacts between the Taxco elite and the powerful agrarian merchants in Iguala are conspicuous in the personal history of don Antonio del Corral y Velasco, a leading miner of Taxco.[105] In 1809 he was both a member (*vocal*) of the board of the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento and the administrator of alcabalas in the province of Iguala. But, in what would appear to be a clear "conflict of interest," he had also been the legal representative of don Manuel Sañudo, the Tepecuacuilco-based entrepreneur who rented the vast *archicofradía* lands in the Iguala Valley. It was Corral y Velasco who was reported to have convinced Sañudo to accept a contractual obligation to send the maize he perceived in rent to Taxco, something which

104. For a discussion of the *consolidación*, see the articles by Flores Caballero (1969) and Hamnett (1969).

105. For information on Corral y Velasco, see Indif-Alc, Taxco caja 2, exp. 7; AGN-BN 1604/1; AGN-Con 105/3; AGN-I 88/229f-236v; AGN-Sub 47/5; AGN-T 3576/1.

previously had not been done.[106] At the time of his death, Sañudo owed Corral several thousand pesos for the collection of money due for the *repartimiento* de mulas in the jurisdiction of Taxco in 1799, 1804, and 1806, a clear indication of a long-term association between these two individuals.[107] Finally, Corral y Velasco maintained close contact with captain don Pedro Antonio Quijano y Cordero, who was not only the executor of Sañudo's estate, but had promptly married Sañudo's widow and took over the administration of his rental agreement with the *archicofradía.*

The previous paragraphs suggest that rural-urban tension over the maize market was at least partially resolved through an accommodation of elites; miners who were both members of the *archicofradía* board and relatives or associates of Sañudo were able to convince him to guarantee that Taxco be adequately supplied with maize sold at reasonable prices. And many of the late colonial bondsmen (*fiadores*) of subdelegados in Taxco were agrarian entrepreneurs and merchants based in the northern Iguala Valley, suggesting again that accommodation had replaced strife.[108] Yet while this might have led to a relative calm after what had been decades of conflict between agrarian and mining entrepreneurs, it seems to have exacerbated tensions between the rich and the poor, both in the urban and rural environments.

An anonymous complaint of 1809 from the *naturales* "and the rest of the mineworkers in Taxco" (*naturales y demás común de operarios de el Real y Minas de Taxco*) gives a distinct perspective on provisioning and the roles of individuals such as Sañudo and Corral y Velasco.[109] According to this document, it was precisely the latter's role as a member of the governing board

106. AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v.

107. AGN-T 3576/1, an inventory of Sañudo's estate in 1807.

108. See, for example, the lists provided in AGN-Sub 47/5, fols. 105–200.

109. The document is in AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v. What follows is taken from this source.

of the *archicofradía* and as the legal representative of Sañudo that provided the means and the motive whereby Sañudo was able to avoid his responsibility for provisioning the mines and urban settlement of Taxco with maize. As to the public granary, the plaintiffs mentioned the sexual abuse of poor women who in their attempts to acquire maize at regulated prices wound up, "in the majority of cases, leaving their blouses or slips behind" (*y casi de ordinario dejan nuestras mugeres la camisa o naguas en ella*). The colonial authorities in Taxco responded by attacking the veracity of the complaint. They pointed out that the document was anonymous and unsigned; that Quijano (Sañudo's successor) did indeed bring maize to the Taxco market (where much remained unsold, a clear indication to the authorities that there was no shortage); that Corral y Velasco, far from collusion with Sañudo enabling him to avoid any responsibility for provisioning, was in fact the person responsible for originally convincing Sañudo to accept the obligation to send maize charged in rent to Taxco; and that the leasing of *archicofradía* land produced only about 1,000 cargas of maize in rent, not the 14–20,000 cargas claimed in the document.

Although the truth of the respective claims presented in this document is difficult to determine, the class nature of the rifts and alliances expressed is clear: rural and urban elites had seemingly come together. Either, as claimed by the plebeian plaintiffs, this was to circumvent the obligation to supply the mining town with maize (a legacy of José de la Borda's activities and Manuel de la Borda's donation); or, as the authorities asserted, it functioned to establish a compromise solution and basis upon which the needs of rural and urban entrepreneurs, of town and country, could both be met. Yet whatever perspective one takes, it is clear that by the first decade of the nineteenth century the situation was quite different from the decades of struggle that had characterized rural-urban relations through the last half of the nineteenth century, when the politico-administrative status of the province of Iguala had been in dispute and when rural

and urban interests had been in conflict, overtly manifested in the eruption of violent factional politics within the community of Iguala and in the underlying culture of suspicion and slander toward the powerful men of the valley.

Finally, one other case, from the same year of 1809, suggests another facet of late colonial realignment of political and social forces around the question of maize and markets: the petition by the *governador* and *oficiales de república* of Cocula for protection against the activities of merchants and resellers who bought maize cheaply and sold it dear, often in Cocula well after harvest at prices that ranged from two to six times the original cost of acquisition.[110] The regraters had such "rotten hearts" (*podridos corazones*), the officials of Cocula complained, that rather than sell the maize within the community, they preferred to send it to outside markets or feed it to their pigs and mules. The priest supported the allegations, certifying that buyers often paid in advance (at times even before the maize was planted) and at harvest forcibly took the maize they were owed; as a result each buyer could accumulate 500, 800, or even 1,000 cargas of maize, which they then used to fatten pigs, even in the face of public scarcity. In this way the Iguala Valley, despite being noted as a grain producing region, often suffered from high prices and a dearth of maize. Yet perhaps the most interesting aspect of this dispute is the identify of a series of witnesses that the *governador* of Cocula called to testify on behalf of the indigenous community. All of them were migrant peasants (and most were not Indian) who had been renting land in Cocula. They included individuals such as don Vicente Ruano of Chilpancingo, who had been living in Cocula for 16 years; Juan Andrés, a mestizo of Coatepec who had been residing in Cocula for 14 years; and Sebastián Carranza, a mulato from Zumpango del Río who had been renting land in Cocula for 6 years. Whether these individuals represented a

110. AGN-Cv 189/2. The folloiwng information is taken from this document.

specific interest group within Cocula (perhaps farmers who were more susceptible to the machinations of the grain merchants), or whether the indigenous authorities simply felt that their testimony (as non-Indians) would be more valuable in a court of law, is not clear. Nevertheless, the litigation does suggest not only a redefinition of the ethnic identity of Cocula (a process affecting most of the northern valley communities), but that the major lines of conflict were drawn between rich and poor, and not between members of different castes residing within a single community.

This final document, then, adds evidence to the impact of the late colonial transformation of the agrarian and commercial sectors on the social configuration of rural and urban societies in north-central Guerrero. The dispute in Cocula, which was structurally and socially much different from the conflict that had raged through Iguala forty years previously, suggests that speculators and entrepreneurs were attempting to secure monopolistic access to grain, hoping to profit either by speculation (withholding of maize until prices rose or transporting the grain to more lucrative outside markets) or by reinvestment (transferring maize from human consumption to the pig-fattening industry that had apparently been growing in the major towns of Iguala, Tepecuacuilco, and Taxco, as well as in smaller villages such as Cocula).[111] As with the alliance that emerged between rural and urban elites, between miners and merchant agriculturalists, there also seems to have been a bond, at least in terms of a common enemy, between urban laborers and peasant farmers. Both the anonymous complaint from laborers in the Taxco mines and the formal petition by indigenous authorities of Cocula targeted sectors of society that were profiting from the privatization of grain and the expansion of increasing open markets organized around liberal political economy. In Cocula the representation of witnesses suggests that at least at some

111. See the reference in chapter 9 to Juan José del Corral's investments in the Iguala Valley, particularly pig-fattening in Cocula.

level a common bond had been formed among peasants residing in this village, be they indigenous or non-indigenous. The emergence of such ties is certainly not unusual, however what is interesting in late colonial north-central Guerrero is the rapid transformation of the struggle over grain from a situation in which rural-urban or caste divisions were predominant, to one in which at least incipient polarization of class tensions and alliances seems to have occurred.

CONCLUSION: JUSTICE, POLITICS, AND THE SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF GRAIN MARKETS

This chapter began with a brief discussion of mid–eighteenth century shifts in the Bourbon political economic practice of provisioning, directly manifested by the 1765 *prágmatica* of King Charles III that ended the price controls traditionally governing the commercialization of grain in Spain. This decree reflected a growing acceptance of the liberal theory of self-governing markets and an increasing reluctance to let social and moral considerations directly affect the nature of property rights over items of primary necessity. Moreover, the freeing of prices from state control represented a final step in a process that had begun with Colbertian mercantilism, which had marked the initiation of efforts to break down regional barriers and create the political, administrative, and economic foundation of national market integration.

Throughout the colonial period there were constant clashes between metropolitan theory and colonial practice—and the issue of grain markets was no exception. Part of the reason was undoubtedly related to differences in the New World and Old World "food chains," the means whereby maize (the basis of colonial subsistence) and wheat (the basis of European diet) reached the final consumer.[112] Wheat passed through millers and bakers, and these provided a sort of weak link, or final safety valve, where the state could apply provisioning controls while

112. See Miller (1992)

maintaining some level of commitment to open markets. With maize, however, there were no such intermediate links susceptible to administrative or price control. Another important difference was the multiplicity of consumption possibilities for maize. Unlike wheat, the New World crop was used as feed for pigs as well as fodder for mules and horses, which were used both as pack animals and to power mills. Thus for miners, who were heavily dependent on animal traction, maize was not only food for workers but fuel for their industry, and lower grain prices meant higher profits. The sum effect of these differences was greater competition and a more diverse market for maize than for wheat, the key importance of the former item as a factor of production (particularly in mining and in long-distance transport, both booming in the late eighteenth century) whose high cost would adversely affect profits, and fewer pressure points that would allow the state to continue to influence the patterns and costs of provisioning maize. Nevertheless, as occurred in the case of Taxco miners, even those for whom maize represented a cost of production continued to have recourse to a paternalistic rhetoric of provisioning that although less and less representative of official state policy was still well ingrained in traditional culture. Indeed, even at the height of the dispute over grain markets in north-central Guerrero, Iguala Valley agrarian entrepreneurs such as the tithe collector Maturana recognized the rights of provincial authorities to prohibit the exportation of grain outside their jurisdictions during times of scarcity.

Given the dependency of the mining industry on maize, as silver production increased over the course of the eighteenth century, Taxco miners continually sought to assure themselves an inexpensive and steady supply of this grain. Their effort began in 1724 with one of a series of attempts by the urban elite to gain direct jurisdiction over the agrarian hinterland in the Iguala Valley. This initiative was followed by the acquisition of valley land by wealthy miners, the expulsion of major ranchers from the northern valley, and the periodic blockage of roads leading

from the Iguala Valley to extraregional grain markets, all of which constituted measures aimed at vertically integrating rural production to urban consumption. Apparently supply problems persisted and Taxco authorities continued to seek jurisdictional control over their agrarian hinterland, which they were finally granted in 1768. Yet far from resolving the tension between rural and urban interests, the late colonial realignment of political and economic forces in north-central Guerrero initiated a period of exacerbated strife that reflected the deep-rooted nature of rural-urban conflict and the impossibility of a simple politico-administrative solution to the problems of regional integration of grain markets.

One researcher has pointed to how in the eighteenth century urban areas increased the size of their supply zones; another scholar has suggested a tendency for consumption centers to increase the percentage of produce that was regionally marketed.[113] Both perspectives share an interest in the spatial repercussions of increased demand for grain during the final decades of the colonial period. Indeed, in New Spain, like in Europe, there seems to have been two types of regional responses to market expansion and national economic integration. Provinces either embraced these developments as an opportunity to expand their zones of potential supply, or they sought to erect barriers that would hinder the free flow of grain beyond their borders and thus protect circumscribed provisioning systems. The classic model of such tactics suggests that in times of dearth provincial authorities would prohibit export from the region under their control while at the same time commissioning agents to scour nearby jurisdictions for provisions; in times of plenty, provincial barriers would be dismantled and "excess" grain allowed to flow to extraregional markets. However, one caveat to this model was suggested by data from Cuernavaca: after an abundant harvest prices dropped and local agrarian entrepreneurs sought

113. For the former perspective, see Garner (1993), for the latter, see Van Young (1981),

more lucrative external markets; regional authorities, more interested in low local prices than in an equilibrated market beyond their borders, tightened controls over export.

Another caveat is suggested by the data offered in this present thesis: the nature of regional responses to the national integration of grain markets was closely related to the nature of local productive relations, the size of profit margins, and the degree of capitalization (or the ability to use economic incentives to achieve integration). The fact that expenditures for maize were such a significant factor in mining enterprises, that Taxco was apparently dominated by a high percentage of poor and undercapitalized mines, and that Taxco was one of the two mines able to eliminate profit-sharing (*partidos*) for pickmen suggests an environment dominated by pressures to keep maize prices low: this would increase profit margins, allow undercapitalized mines to remain in operation, and lower living costs and hence the cost of "reproducing" labor. Competition from more highly capitalized and productive northern mines, or from urban centers such as Mexico City where maize was almost exclusively used for human consumption, probably made it difficult, if not impossible, for Taxco to compete for grain through economic incentives. Nor does it seem that they could rely solely on the high transport costs to hinder the export of grain from the Iguala Valley to extraregional markets. Rather, the solution adopted to protect urban access to regionally produced grain seems to have been (as occurred with Zacualpa and Ixcateopan) jurisdictional restructuring and politico-administrative control over markets. In this case the regionalization of exchange represented not simply the survival of past systems of spatialized exchange but rather the response of Taxco miners to the nationalization of commerce, a nationalization favored by the hinterland grain entrepreneurs.

Eventually, toward the very end of the colonial period and after several decades of strife that followed the incorporation of Iguala into the jurisdiction of Taxco, a compromise solution seems to have been reached between urban and rural interests, brokered by several individuals,

such as de la Cuesta, who had ties in both areas. At the same time the rural and urban poor were finding themselves in a shared structural position, both confronted by elites from whom they sought protection—in the valley agrarian entrepreneurs exploited their ability to advance cash and credit in exchange for guaranteed access to cheap maize at harvest; in the town urban authorities manipulated the public grain markets for their own benefit. The denouement of the colonial system, therefore, might well have been marked by nascent class divisions.

Conclusion

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the history and political economy of space in central Guerrero during the colonial period. The significance of such a study was suggested in the opening chapter. Spatial politics comprehends the complex interaction of structure and process, of institutional domination and individual agency; it also comprises a sphere of contention that affects all levels of society, from the individual and his or her household to the nation-state and its mechanisms for control and coercion. Colonialism, moreover, offers a particularly unique situation, for it invariably involves a determined effort on the part of an invading society to redefine politico-administrative units, to redirect the flow of commodities and cash, and, ultimately, to foster and construct new patterns of allegiance and identity to communities, regions, and country. A spatial history, therefore, addresses issues important to social theory and to the understanding of the processes affecting the colonialization of non-Western societies.

The complexity of the processes involved in the diachronic transformation of space has been illustrated by an exploration of land tenure, migration, and commercial exchange in central Guerrero, Mexico. These facets of colonial society have been chosen because they represent three of the most salient and contested aspects of the political economy of hispanic conquest. The struggle over land emerged at a time of intense debate within the European arena, both over the moral obligations of those who owned land to make it productive and over the rights to dominion (property and sovereignty) of infidel societies. The conquest of the Americas also brought into play a conflict between property regimes in the old and new worlds although, as was stressed in chapter 3, it is erroneous to assume that a single distinct system dominated each of these two worlds. Rather there was a complex weave of contending visions and regionalized patterns. In

Spain this involved the consecration of particular sets of rights in *fueros* (sets of codified laws applied to specific regions or social groups) and the gradual shift from Patristic, to scholastic, and then to more secularized visions of property rights and relations. In prehispanic New Spain, variation in land law and property rights is much more poorly documented. Nevertheless, to assume a single "pan-Indian" system would be to ignore the cultural particularities of distinct indigenous societies. And to deny (implicitly or explicitly) that autochthonous property rights responded to local demographic patterns or productive systems (e.g., slash-and-burn versus rotational planting) would be to negate the potential effects of certain universal situations, such as population pressure or localized variation in the productive capacity of the land, on almost any system of agrarian rights and law. In effect, a "pan-Indian" and non-sociological perspective would "over-culturalize" indigenous societies of the Americas while placing them beyond the pale of processes that at some basic level are generally valid for the development of "land-man relations" across human societies.

A study of migration in central Guerrero brings to the fore other key issues in the historical study of spatial processes that are significant to social theory and the anthropology of colonial societies. At a most basic level, such a study focuses on the general problem of what I have called *place making* and *place breaking*: the structures of feeling and patterns of identity that crystallize and melt away as individuals move beyond community boundaries, either stretching these limits as they travel or severing primordial allegiances as they seek new identities (and often freedom from the fiscal and social obligations they suffered as members of a closely administered community) elsewhere. In hispanic America migration posed a more specific problem, for it threatened to expose the inherent contradictions in a society that offered freedom of movement for its citizens while establishing a two-republic system that not only separated Indians from colonists but fixed political and fiscal obligations at the community level. In

addition, colonial New Spain was covered by numerous overlapping jurisdictional units (parishes, indigenous *a:ltepe:meh*, *corrigimientos*, and *alcaldías mayores*) that created complex patterns of spatially localized rights and duties that were inevitably challenged by a geographically mobile population. In three case studies, this thesis has explored the manner in which mid-to-late eighteenth-century migration into Iguala Valley cuadrillas (from communities lying along the Balsas River, in the jurisdiction of Taxco, and in the jurisdiction of Tixtla) created a series of alliances and antagonisms that developed as a function of the spatialized interests (e.g., community, parochial, or administrative controls) that were threatened by a migrant population.

Finally there is the question of commerce and trade, and the patterns of social and economic relations that emerge as people move goods through space. In this domain the theoretical issues involved are mostly concerned with market structures and the economics of peddling in a society heavily dependent on credit and the over-exploitation of peasant labor during periods of low opportunity cost (i.e., the dry season). Yet at the same time, many issues unique to colonial Latin America are raised in a study of exchange during this period: the role of Indian merchants and indigenous society in the developing economy, the impact of mining on market systems and on the development of industrial and agrarian production, the effect on provisioning of enterprises (such as mining and inefficient transport) that absorbed vast quantities of maize, the general problems faced by a colonial venture undertaken when theories of political economy and property rights were rapidly changing, the effects on exchange of a controversial tax (the alcabala) exempting certain individuals and goods while creating fiscal structures that adversely affected middlemen and merchants, and a political economy geared mostly to the transfer of wealth to the metropole. Moreover, central Guerrero itself was characterized by a particular set of circumstances (a fertile plain in the Iguala Valley adjacent to a mining district in Taxco) and underwent a series of late colonial transformations (the opening up of trade to South

America and the influx of capital to the northern valley) that had a direct impact on the nature of commercial society in this area (i.e., on the patterns of exchange and social relations between different individuals and sectors in the urban and rural spheres).

These three general processes of regional political economy—land acquisition and hacienda formation, migration and settlement patterns, and commerce and trade—have been approached from a decidedly rural perspective. In regards to land tenure, this is certainly not unusual, for the major impact of land takeover in New Spain was that which resulted from activity in the agrarian sphere: hacienda development as it affected indigenous peasant society. However, in regard to migration and commerce, the approach taken in this thesis has been somewhat unique, for the general historiographic tendency has been to explore patterns of rural-to-urban migration and urban-centered commercial activity and market systems. In chapters 6 and 7, however, the central focus was on migration to the Iguala Valley agricultural hinterland from three distinct areas, and the effect this had both on the development of rural society and on the resultant conflicts that unfolded throughout central Guerrero. The following two chapters focused on the exchange of goods through rural space in the Taxco, Iguala, Tixtla, and Acapulco jurisdictions, and the emergence of a merchant entrepreneurial class in the northern Iguala Valley. Here the primary interest was not the development of a single marketing system centered on a dynamic urban core or mining complex, but rather the manner in which secondary concentrations of populations and dispersed rural settlements might have been articulated into an expanding web of exchange. The thesis concluded with two chapters on the problems of grain supply to the urban mining center of Taxco in north-central Guerrero. The emphasis here was on the rural-urban tensions that resulted from the consolidation of a rural commercial elite able to counter the centralizing tendencies of urban capital and consumer demand.

Central to the thematic structure of this thesis has been an interest in the ways in which one transformational process affecting regional society dovetailed into another, while at the same time creating increasingly complex patterns of social interaction, many of which pulled in contrary directions. In central Guerrero, land acquisition and the consolidation of rural estates in the Iguala Valley was followed by massive migration of indigenous peasants from more marginal or peripheral areas, which in turn motivated an influx of entrepreneurs who invested commercial capital to take advantage of an expanding yet dispersed rural market and the opportunities for profit offered by the rapidly increasing demand for transport between the Pacific Coast and the central highlands. Viewed in isolation, the pattern of land acquisition in the Iguala Valley, whereby ownership became increasingly centered in the urban mining town of Taxco, represents a trend that might be considered a classic representation of rural-urban integration: urban entrepreneurs and elite institutions (in this case the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento) acquired productive resources in an agrarian hinterland in an effort to consolidate a system of provisioning, particularly of grain. Moreover, the immigration of indigenous peasants into the hinterland was, at least nominally, not an impediment to this process, for they did produce significant amounts of surplus maize throughout the eighteenth century. Yet even so, the consolidation of a market system whereby this grain would find its way to the mines and urban center of Taxco was problematic. Most rural production was in the hands of tenant farmers, not the Taxco-based landowners, who at best had guaranteed access only to a small portion of grain paid in rent. After the *archicofradía* began to lease its land to a Tepecuacuilco entrepreneur, who in turn rented out small parcels to migrants and their families, not even the maize paid in rent would necessarily be sold in Taxco. The situation became even more dire when this same entrepreneur, Sañudo, built extensive storage facilities throughout the valley and invested in an impressive number of pack animals to profit from the booming commerce between the Pacific

coast and central highlands. Not only could he more easily speculate by withholding grain until prices rose or by transporting this product to more lucrative extra-regional markets, but he had a personal need for maize, which was used as fodder for the mules he used in his transport empire.

The last part of this thesis, chapters 10 and 11, explored rural-urban relations during the late colonial period and the struggle over the consolidation of a provisioning system centered on the *real de minas* of Taxco. During this period the integration of a system of grain supply centered on Taxco faced two major obstacles—one local and the other general. The first emerged from the growing political and economic power of commercial and agrarian entrepreneurs in the Iguala Valley and their ability to speculate with maize by either withholding it until prices rose or transporting it to external markets. This development reflects basic and inherent conflicts in rural-urban relations: whereas rural producers are interested in the highest prices for their agrarian goods, urban consumers desire the lowest prices; and although urban markets often do stimulate the emergence of a nearby hinterland economy, there is always the "danger" that as the latter becomes more dynamic its elites are more and more able to resist the political and economic pressures for direct integration into regional markets. There are means by which such conflict may be mitigated: direct or semi-direct exchange of (urban controlled) manufactured items for (rural controlled) agrarian produce; urban-based administrative control over regional market systems; natural physical barriers (including distance) that make export out of the region problematic; and vertically integrated rural-urban enterprises that assure urban control over the distribution and commercialization of grain. The failure of these mechanisms to operate in favor of provisioning in Taxco meant increased rural-urban conflict and the elaboration of other means (such as elite networks and alliances) to assure provisioning.

The second obstacle to the integration of a grain market in north-central Guerrero involved the general expansion of colonial markets, particularly of urban and mining centers able

to offer the economic incentives necessary to attract grain over long distances. The developments in Taxco and the Iguala Valley illustrate an inherent contradiction in the political economy of liberalized exchange during periods of national market formation: the fact that the expansion of long-distance trade and market integration at a national (or colonial) level often results in countering efforts by regional urban elites, who seek to circumvent their loss of control over grain markets through the activation and deployment of politico-administrative barriers to exchange. In the case of Taxco, these efforts were manifested at several levels: the physical blockage of trade routes; an ultimately successful attempt at administrative reorganization, which both facilitated political control over the commercialization of Iguala Valley grain and made an appeal to a fading medieval paradigm of regional control more attractive; and, finally, the emergence of a social network that linked rural and urban elites interested in finding a common ground.

In its entirety, then, the gestalt of this thesis has been conflicting patterns in the political economy of space as viewed in diachronic perspective. Colonization, in this framework, involves both the conquest of physical space and the ability to set the terms according to which space is defined, including the legal basis of boundaries, the geographical ascription of rights and duties, and the rules and regulations involving the mobility and settlement of colonial subjects. As the specific case studies presented here demonstrate, general trends in the colonization of space also produce their own countertrends—as old conflicts are resolved new ones are generated. Several examples of this have been discussed. One is the constant formation of new geographies of power as social groups break up and coalesce over issues that have an underlying geographical component. Another is the emergence of new communities, as identities coalesced around lines generated by the gradual development of structures of feelings anchored in recently settled spaces in the colonial landscape.

One of the greatest legacies of the spatial transformation of colonial central Guerrero was the establishment of new peasant villages throughout the Iguala Valley: the *cuadrillas de arrendamientos* (renters settlements) that were mostly formed during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Before independence the most prominent example of the emergence of community identity in the cuadrillas occurred in Palula (as discussed in chapter 6). After independence this process continued and expanded, as cuadrillas achieved a new political status within the "de-ethnicized" national state: *Indian* as a social category and *indigenous* as a community type disappeared from the official record and the difference between indigenous and non-indigenous villages was mitigated. The cuadrillas were not only incorporated into the new municipal structure, but within these settlements an increasingly independent social organization developed, headed by individual renters who were called *capitanes de cuadrilla*. By the late nineteenth century these officials, who originally acted as intermediaries between settlers and the individual or institution to whom they paid rent, had seemingly acquired a more prominent role, effectively controlling who would be allowed access to the lands and perhaps intervening in the cuadrilla's administrative and dispute-resolving apparatus. Sometime during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of the cuadrillas built churches and acquired other characteristics (obligatory community service, or a *cargo* system, for example) typical of indigenous villages.

The most recent development in the process of community formation within the cuadrillas occurred as a result of the changed legal status of rural property within the postrevolutionary agrarian reform. The vast majority of cuadrillas petitioned for ejidos (land expropriated from hacendados who held property in excess of permissible limits), although at least one, Maxela, was able to request the restitution of communal property (*reconocimiento y titulación de bienes comunales*), a regime typical of indigenous villages whose communal land rights had previously been recognized by the colonial state. With little variation the present-day

spatial extension of the major ejidos in the Iguala Valley reproduces the limits originally established by the late nineteenth-century cuadrillas. In effect the peasant farmers who now control land in the valley simply acquired usufruct rights (the basis of the ejido property regime) to parcels that they had previously rented. Yet at the same time, the major lines of tension shifted to the ex-cuadrillas, as ejido often battled ejido, first for rights to expropriate land and then for the favorable definition of boundaries that needed to be established as a result of expropriation.

In the end, then, the processes by which peasant communities are formed is shaped by a complex mix of historical, sociocultural, political, economic, and legal considerations. Perhaps the most marked transformations occurred as a result of dramatic changes in property regimes, many of which were coincident with major political upheavals. Yet at the same time, localized systems were embedded in complex webs of social, economic, and political relations that shaped the fields upon and within which individuals, groups, networks, and communities acted. Although these webs existed in space, they did not delimit any single geographical extension. Thus the impossibility of exploring these fields through a study that sets up as its unit of analysis a regionally defined space. Rather, it should be clear that an understanding of the contemporary landscapes and the transformations that constitute its past is best attained through a spatial history that reaches out toward the limits of historical structures and processes without perforce accepting, or seeking to define, a single regional field of action.

Glossary and Bibliography

GLOSSARY[1]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

ARROBA a unit of weight of about 25 lbs or 12 ½ kilograms.

CELEMÍN in Spain a dry measure of one-twelfth a fanega, or a unit of area equal to one-twelfth part of a fanega or 48 square *estadales.*

CUARTILLA Unit of dry measure equivalent to 1.892 liters or 1.72 dry quarts; one-fourth of an *almud.*

ALMUD A dry measure of one-twelfth a fanega, or an area measure equal to one-half a fanega of land.

FANEGA A unit of dry measure equivalent to just over 1½ bushels. A fanega comprises 4 cuartillas, or 12 almudes, or 48 cuartillos. As a unit of area, this is equivalent to the amount of tilled land necessary to sow a fanega of seed (see *fanega de sembradura*).

CARGA For most of the colonial period this was both an arid measure and a measure of weight. As an arid measure for grain it was equivalent to two fanegas, about 250 pounds; the carga comprised 4 medias, or 8 cuartillas, or 24 almudes, or 96 cuartillos. Carrera Stampa (1949) gives the carga of 96 cuartillos as comprising 181.63 liters, equivalent to 5.15 U.S. bushels. The Bourbon reforms introduced a carga of 3 fanegas of maize (totaling 138.1 kilos) and 4 fanegas of wheat (totaling 149.6 kilos); see Ouweneel (1996). In Spain it was also used to refer to an area measure equal to 4 fanegas (Vassberg 1984).

As a measure of weight it was often a mule load that apparently could vary as much as from 8 to 14 arrobas (approximately 25 lbs). Apparently a weight of 12 arrobas (300 lbs) was the most common; Carrera Stamp (1949) gives a carga as weighing 138 kilos, or 103.5 kilos when referring to grain; Riley (1976) gives 149 kilos as the weight of a carga.

PIEZA A unit of measure for cloth; sources vary as to the size. Perissinotto (1998: 49 n 3) states that a *pieza* of cloth generally measured 18 to 20 varas in late eighteenth century commerce in New Spain. However, note that in various entries for *manta* in alcabala records for Tepecuacuilco (Nov. 1788, June 1795, and Dec. 1795) various prices are given for a "pieza": 12 varas for 3 pesos, 15 varas for 3.75 pesos and half a pieza for 4 pesos. Apparently, therefore, half a *pieza* consisted in 16 varas, and thus one *pieza* comprised 32 varas.

In Sañudo's inventory a calculation of cloth measurements and prices suggests that for *pontivy* there were 40 varas in a *pieza*; with Bretaña there were 8 varas in a *pieza*; see AGN-Tierras 3576/fol. 2ff. There ws also *bajeta* that had 14 varas per pieza and manta blanca measuring 11 varas per pieza. Finally, one type of cloth, coleta, consisted of 8 varas.

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1. The definitions have been culled with the help of a wide range of sources, occasionally almost verbatim. The glossaries in the following texts were particularly helpful: Arcila Farías (1955), Barrett (1970), Borah (1983), Carrera Stampa (1949), de la Peña (1983), Gruzinski (1993), Kinsbrunner (1987), Konrad (1980), Ladd (1976), Larson (1988), Lockhart (1992), Perissinotto (1998), Riley (1976), Solano (1984), Van Young (1981), and Vassberg (1984).

PIPA A liquid measure equal to 6 *barriles* (456 liters or 120.5 U.S. gallons).

MONEY

PESO The common unit of exchange that was divided into 8 *reales*.

REAL A silver coin worth one-eighth part of a peso or 34 maravadís. Also short for *real de minas*.

GRANO One-twelfth part of a real.

DISTANCES

BRAZA A distance of 2 varas, or 1.67 meters.

LEAGUE For New Spain, a distance of 5,000 varas or 4,190 meters (about 2.6 miles), said to be roughly the distance a horse could travel in an hour.

VARA a distance of .838 meters; about 2.8 feet or 33 inches.

LAND AREAS

CABALLERÍA A land unit of 1,104 x 552 varas (or 925.152 x 462.576 mts). This yielded 43.80 hectares or about 105.7 acres. It was also equivalent to 60 *fanegas de sembradura*.

ESTANCIA DE GANADO MENOR (or SITIO DE GANADO MENOR) A unit of land granted for raising sheep or goats. The dimensions of sitio de ganado menor was 3,333 x 3,333 varas (of .838 meters). This comprised about 780 hectares or 1,928 acres. There were about 18¼ caballerías in an estancia de ganado menor.

ESTANCIA DE GANADO MAYOR (or SITIO DE GANADO MAYOR) A unit of land granted for raising cattle, horses, or mules. The dimensions of a sitio de ganado mayor were 5,000 x 5,000 varas (of .838 meters, or 4,190 meters per side). This sitio comprised 1,755.61 hectares or about 4,338 acres.

FANEGA DE SEMBRADURA The area sown with one fanega of maize, about 276 x 184 varas or 35,662 square meters, equivalent to about 9 ½ acres or one-twelfth a caballería. For wheat, the area of a fanega was smaller, only about 0.6 hectares or 1.6 acres, given the greater amount of seed planted in a wheat field.

FUNDO LEGAL the minimum amount of land that each Indian village was allotted according to Spanish law. The land measured 1,200 x 1,200 varas, or just over 101 hectares.

SITIO DE VENTA A land unit that was designated for residences, mills, or post houses, measuring 0.36 hectares or 0.86 acres.

SOLAR PARA CASA, MOLINO O VENTA A land unit measuring 50 x 50 varas, about 1,755 square meters. The equivalent of 0.04 caballerías.

SUERTE DE TIERRA A land unit equivalent to about 6.6 acres.

TAREA A unit of land nominally equal to a day's work (either plowing or, in cane fields, to the area harvested. For cane fields a tarea was equivalent to 1.1 acres.

OTHER TERMS

ACASILLADO An Indian worker who has settled on the land of a hacienda, often in exchange for access to a plot of land.

AGUARDIENTE Distilled spirit made from a variety of plants or fruits. While in modern Mexico *aguardiente* is most often a sugar cane liquor, in these documents it is likely to mean liquor distilled from grapes, or brandy.

ALBACEA The executor of an estate, often a close relative.

ALCABALA A sales tax that was applied to the value of goods that were sold, usually at 6 or 8 percent. The tax was extremely unpopular both with the general population and with a wide range of European economists of the seventeenth and eighteenth century (including Adam Smith) who saw it as adversely affecting commerce (and hence manufacturing). Up to about 1776 the tax was collected either by a collective municipal organization or by individual tax-farmers who bid for the right to collect this tax and often maintained very antagonistic relationships with local merchants. With Gálvez's reforms the royal authorities assumed direct administration of this tax. Finally, in late-colonial New Spain two major struggles developed over the application of the alcabala. Miners sought exemptions for materials used in producing silver, and regional authorities fought the imposition of the alcabala on second sales (*reventas*) within a single jurisdiction.

ALCABALATORIA The tax district, headed by an ALCABALERO, within which a single individual or collective group had the right to collect the sales tax.

ALCALDE An indigenous officer often just below the *governador*, and one of the *oficiales de república*. In villages with no *governador*, the *alcalde* was often the highest official.

ALCALDE MAYOR The highest magistrate of a jurisdiction (which was appropriately named the *alcaldía mayor*); he was appointed from above. According to Borah (1983) he served as judge of appeals from town courts and as judge of first instance in more serious cases. Often this term was used interchangeably with *corregidor*.

ALCALDÍA MAYOR The administrative unit under the authority of an alcalde mayor. Often used interchangeably with *corregimiento*.

ALGUACIL MAYOR A bailiff usually responding to the authority of an alcalde mayor.

ALHÓNDIGA A public granary in major cities or towns, usually centralized and in which grain sales were required to take place.

AMPARO From the Spanish verb *amparar* 'to protect,' this was a writ that guaranteed its holder protection in some right (e.g., landholding) or against summary future execution of judicial or executive orders.

APARCERO Sharecropper.

ARANCEL An official list of charges; different *aranceles* would regulate things such as prices of goods (used to set tax schedules), rents, the cost of the sacraments, etc.

ARBITRISTA Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century peninsular writer on political economy interested in presenting reformist views to improve the economic position of Spain.

ARRENDATARIO Renter.

ASIENTO A written contract with the crown, usually given to individuals who acquired the right to monopolize the supply or exploitation of a given commodity (e.g., meat supply in a town).

AUTO A judicial document issued as part of a litigation process. Often the entire dossier is referred to collectively as the *autos.*

AVERÍA An import tax usually charged at the port of entry; when shipments were direct to Mexico City, the tax was charged there.

AVÍOS Working capital or goods, such as those supplied to a miner to exploit the shafts.

BALDÍO Common land of a village, often crown property.

BALSERO An individual who pulls rafts across rivers, taking goods and people from one side to another.

BARRIO A division within a town, often with its own church or chapel and patron saint. During the colonial period barrios were often located at some distance from the head towns (e.g., up to several leagues distant).

BAYETAS The equivalent of English baize, a variety of rough, often unbleached flannel-like cloth.

BENEFICIADO The holder of a religious benefice, that is, a priest who receives payment from an ecclesiastical office to which the revenue of an endowment is attached.

CABALLERO Knight, or member of the lesser nobility.

CABECERA Applied to the major, ruling settlement in a pueblo of multiple settlements. A cabecera had under it barrios and sujetos. Also used to refer to the seat of a parish.

CABILDO Municipal council.

CACIQUE (FEM. CACICA) Word of Caribbean origin, it was used as a title for indigenous nobles and former native rules of Spanish America. Caciques had rights to salaries and community revenues and could entail their estates as cacicazgos.

CAJA DE COMUNIDAD A community treasure chest with three keys used to store village funds.

CAMINO REAL Literally "royal road or highway" this referred to colonial toll roads; there were two principal caminos reales in central New Spain, one of which went from Mexico City to Acapulco, and the other from Mexico City to Veracruz.

CAPELLÁN The holder of an ecclesiastical benefice or chaplaincy (*capellanía*).

CAPELLANÍA An ecclesiastical chantry or benefice, the income (interest) from which was given in salary to a *capellán*.

CAPÍTULOS A series of numbered charges (organized in "chapters") presented against a priest or government official.

CASCALOTE A type of tree whose bark is used as a tanning agent.

CASTA A social group referring to those who were not Spaniards and not Indians.

CASTELLANO Castellan, a fort commander. This was the title given to the highest colonial officer in Acapulco.

CÉDULA REAL Royal order or decree.

CENSO In general this refers to a mortage or lien on a property, particular real property. There are various types. A *censo al quitar* is a redeemable mortgage; a *censo enfitéutico* is a lease contract, often held in perpetuity with no allowable increase in annual payments. Likewise, a *censo perpetuo* is a form of debt conversion, often against a landed estate, with principal that could not be paid off.

COFRADÍA A sodality, cofraternity, or lay religious brotherhood, often attached to a parish church and responsible for supporting a religious cult dedicated to one or more saints. Often these *cofradías* would have assets in cattle, land, or cash that would be administered to produce revenue that paid for the services of a priest (e.g., mass on a saint's day) and items such as wax and flowers. Officially *cofradías* required authorization by the church and there was much litigation in the late colonial period over whether the assets used to support religious functions were of a *cofradía* or of the community (*bienes comunales*).

COMPADRAZGO Fictive or ritual kinship (often between the parent of a godson or goddaughter and the godparent); male and female ritual kin are called *compadres* and *comandres*, respectively. In medieval English godsib, a relationship of religious brotherhood created by common participation as sponsors for someone in a religious ceremony, such as baptism, confirmation, etc.

COMPOSICIÓN or COMPOSICIÓN DE TIERRAS The process by which defective land titles (or any offense against the state) were condoned. With land this involved the inspection, regularization, and validation of titles by means of a fee paid to the crown. Composiciones were carried out when the viceregal authorities would dispatch a commissioned officer to an area (usually these campaigns were colonywide) with precise instructions to review all titles, establish the value of irregularly titled land, and assess a fee for the composición (which was often immediately lowered at the site). The landowner would then be required to deposit the fee in the colonial coffers in order to obtain a validated title. Composiciones usually functioned to legitimize colonial takeover of indigenous lands.

CONGREGACIÓN or REDUCCIÓN The nucleated settlement formed by forced resettlement of a dispersed population.

CONSOLIDACIÓN A late-colonial judicial process of the first decade of the nineteenth century whereby landowners have a church lien or *censo* on their land were required to lend the outstanding principal to the crown.

CONSULADO Merchants guild.

CONTRADICCIÓN A legal objection, particularly to a claim such as a land claim or an assertion of the positioning of boundaries. Thus during a perambulation around the borders of a land as a step in entitlement, neighboring landowners would often "contradict" (*contradecir*) at particular points. They would then be given a short amount of time (usually 30 days) to justify and document (*mejorar*) their objections in the viceregal courts.

CORREGIDOR The chief Spanish judicial and administrative office in an administrative unit referred to as a *corregimiento*. The term corregidor was often used interchangeably with alcalde mayor and both had similar powers.

CORREGIMIENTO the jurisdiction of a corregidor, or the office itself; often used interchangeably with alcaldía mayor.

CORTES The National Assembly of Castile, composed during the time of Philip II of delegates from eighteen major cities.

CUADRILLA (or CUADRILLA DE ARRENDATARIOS) A small settlement or hamlet that has been formed as an offshoot of another village. In the text the cuadrillas referred to are small settlements of migrant peasants who moved into the Iguala Valley and rented land from the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento in Taxco (or for entrepreneurs who rented and then subrented this same land). Most of the Iguala Valley cuadrillas slowly acquired their own identity (patron saint, authority structure, and even moral and legal claim to the lands. After the revolution many acquired ejido lands and some even reconstituted (or reinvented) themselves as indigenous villages with patrimonial rights to communal land.

DE OFICIO Official business or as an obligation of the states; *testigos de oficio* were witnesses called by the state official investigating a particular matter.

DE PARTE Business conducted on private initiative; *testigos de parte* were witnesses called by the individual party filing a complaint.

DEHESA In Spain, an enclosed plot usually used communally for pasturing.

DENUNCIA A formal legal complaint, often initiated against land that was claimed to be unoccupied and unused and thus crown property by right of eminent domain. The individual who made the *denuncia* would then request a grant (merced) to this land.

DERRAMAS a levy upon Indian commoners in the name of the town for extraordinary expenses (Borah 1983). These levies, however, were often the source of complaints by the commoners, who accused village officials of collecting in excess of the amount needed and keeping the surplus for themselves.

EJIDO Communal lands held by a village or township, used for various purposes but mostly for grazing and firewood.

ENCARGADO DE JUSTICIA An official who was designated by local authorities to administer justice, but who does not have formal viceregal confirmation.

ENCOMENDERO Holder of an encomienda grant.

ENCOMIENDA A grant given by the Spanish crown to rights to Indian tribute and, originally in the early colonial period, to labor from the indigenous inhabitants of an *a:ltepe:tl*, an Indian unit of village organization.

ENTREVERADA A clayed sugar that came from the middle of the sugar loaf. Clayed sugar is refined by using water to dissolve and remove molasses that coats the sugar crystals. Clayed sugar yielded three types of *entreverada*: *corriente*, *prieta*, and *blanca* (common, dark, and white); *corriente* and *prieta* accounted for 86% of the sugar produced by a loaf; entreverada blanca accounted for another 12%. Only 2% was blanca (white sugar). See Barrett (1970:130 and passim) for further details.

ESCRIBANO A notary or legal secretary.

ESTANCIA An estancia (also at times referred to as a barrio, although barrios are often divisions within a single settlement) refers to a small outlying settlement, normally associated in a subject relationship to a major town that may itself may be either a cabecera or a sujeto. An estancia is more closely linked to its mother village than a sujeto. Thus during the colonial period the Balsas River valley cabecera of Oapan had several estancias (Ameyaltepec, Ahuelicán, and San Marcos Oacacingo) and several sujetos (San Juan Tetelcingo, San Miguel Tecuiciapan, and San Francisco Ozomatlán). Whereas the cabecera was home to the *governador*, the sujetos had their own authorities at the level of *alcaldes*. The authority structure of the estancias is not clear, but seems to have been more closely articulated to, and dependent on, the cabecera.

The word *estancia* can also be used to refer to a livestock estancia; see *estancia de ganado mayor* and *estancia de ganado menor*.

ESTANCO A levy that was imposed to establish a royal monopoly, such as that on tabacco, playing cards, and ice, among other items.

EXPEDIENTE Docket.

FERIA A fair in which vast amounts of goods were traded free of the sale tax (alcabala). These were established near by major ports of New Spain (e.g., the feria de Jalapa near Veracruz and the feria de Acapulco at that Pacific port) as well as in the interior. At time regions (such as Acapulco) would petition for the right to hold ferias in an effort to increase commerce and thus stimulate the regional economy.

FISCAL The principal indigenous church steward charged with overseeing the religious duties and obligations of the community. Although now in many villages this is a "voluntary" position that is part of a civil-religious hierarchy of offices, during the colonial period *fiscales* were often obligated to serve and appointed by the parish priest.

Fiscal is also used to refer to advisory attorneys and is often simply a shortened form of fiscal protector.

FISCAL PROTECTOR Usually applied in reference to the crown attorney in each audiencia district who was specifically charged with the function of protecting the Indians.

FUERO A privilege or exemption granted to a certain province or social group (e.g., clergy, military) that has the right to be ruled by these laws, which usually provide for particular benefits.

GANADO MAYOR Term that collectively refers to horses, cattle, mules, or donkeys.

GANADO MENOR Term that collectively refers to sheep, goats, or pigs.

GAÑAN An agricultural laborer on an estate or hacienda.

GENTE DE RAZÓN A term used to apply to non-Indians in a general sense, but to whites and mestizos in a more restricted senses; literally "people of reason."

GOBERNADOR The highest holder of an indigenous office in an *a:ltepe:tl*; in the early colonial period *gobernadores* were often those in the line of preconquest rulers, *tla'toke'*.

GUÍA (also TORNAGUÍA) A legal document of remission that would be issued to merchants who would take goods to a different jurisdiction. Often these *guías* would indicate the final destination of the merchant and merchandise, although they would at times simply indicate "por donde convenga" (wherever is convenient), a terminology that was used with itinerant merchants having no single or fixed destination. Ideally these *guías* would be returned to their point of issuance in order to assure that the trade took the goods to the authorized destination. See also *pase*.

HACENDADO The owner of a hacienda or rural estate.

HACIENDA A large rural estate, often including both grain farming and livestock production activities. The term may also refer, in general, to property.

HACIENDA DE BENEFICIO An estate dedicated to processing and refining (*beneficiar*) a particular good, in general silver or sugar (e.g., *hacienda para beneficiar azúcar*). A *hacienda de beneficio* for silver receives the raw ore from a mine (it may be bought or mined by a person who also owns the *hacienda de beneficio*) and then crushes it and processes it, producing silver bars that are weighed, taxed, and minted.

HERIDO DE AGUA A spring.

HERIDO DE MOLINO A mill site powered hydraulically.

HERMANDAD A religious brotherhood.

HIDALGO A member of the lesser nobility.

HUERTA An orchard or small irrigated plot for garden crops.

INGENIO A sugar mill powered by water and producing clayed sugar; larger and more capitalized than a trapiche.

INTERROGATORIO A formal questionnaire proposed by one part in a suit to be asked of all witnesses, whether they be *de parte* or *de oficio*

JORNALERO Day laborer.

JUEZ Magistrate.

JUEZ PRIVATIVO A judge with exclusive jurisdiction in a special category or territorial jurisdiction.

JUZGADO A tribunal or court.

LABRADOR An independent peasant farmer.

MACEGUAL an indigenous commoner, in the early colonial period, especially, still under the rule of indigenous nobles.

MAYORAZGO An entailed state or its holder; this device (which needed crown approval on a case by case basis) was used by the nobility to keep their estates intact.

MAYORDOMO Majordomo or chief steward of a rural property; official in charge of the care and religious worship of a saint.

MERCED A colonial land grant given by the viceregal authorities and, at least ideally, confirmed by the Spanish crown. The most common mercedes were for sitios de ganado menor, sitios de ganado mayor, or caballerías. Some mercedes involved confirmation of Indian-Spanish land

sales while others involved the concession of crown lands (*realengas*) that had been judged to be unoccupied and unused, often after a *denuncia* presented by a colonist to the viceregal court. See also *denuncia* and *composición*.

MESTA A stockmen's association known for the privileges it had obtained for its transhumant flocks and herds.

MESTIZO Person of mixed European and Indian blood.

MILPA Cornfield, from the Nahuatl word for maize, *mi:hli*.

MONTE Mountain land, uncleared land used as pasture.

NATURAL native inhabitant, either of a particular indigenous village or of New Spain in general (pl. *naturales*).

OBRAJE A workshop, often used for small enterprises where wool cloth was woven.

OFICIALES DE REPÚBLICA used to refer to the entirety of village authorities, from the *governador* to the *topiles*. Depending on the governmental structure of the village, it would include *alcaldes*, *regidores*, *escribanos*, *alguaciles*, among others.

OIDOR A judge sitting on one of the *audiencias*.

PAGO A planted area that is well defined, often by natural features but occasionally also by fences.

PANOCHA (also *panela*, *piloncillo*, or *chancaca*) A non-clayed sugar which combines molasses with the sugar grains to produce a hard brown sugared mass with a molasses flavor, sold in cakes.

PARAJE A land site, usually inhabited and cultivated although at times not, particularly in the case of land that was abandoned through the disappearance or congregación of a sujeto. *Parajes* are often named and loosely defined, occasionally by natural features of the landscape.

PARDO A person of partial black descent in the colonial system of caste designations.

PEÓN Common laborer.

PILONCILLO See *panocha*.

PLAN A small flat area of land or clearing.

POSESIÓN Formal proceedings during which land ownership is transferred or confirmed. Often includes a perambulation of the land and some symbolic act such as uprooting plants or throwing sticks and stones.

PÓSITO A public granary, usually of maize, which was held by the town government for the purposes of controlling fluctuations in grain prices. The *pósito* authorities would attempt to acquire grain cheaply and sell during times of scarcity to keep prices down.

POTRERO A parcel of land used to keep colts and horses.

PRESURA Squatter's right to use unoccupied land.

PRINCIPAL an important indigenous person, often village elders, past office holders, or notables within the community who held some unofficial position of authority. During the early colonial period especially the *principales* were often equivalent to Nahuatl *pi:lli*.

PROCURADOR DE INDIOS An advisory attorney who represented Indians in the colonial courts.

PULPERÍA A small retail grocery store.

RANCHERÍA A small settlement.

RANCHERO A small agriculturalist or cattle owner who owned or rented a rancho.

RANCHO A small agricultural landholding mostly dedicated to livestock raising although most often also including some farming activity.

REAL DE MINAS An officially recognized administrative unit of a mining town, which brought with it certain rights, such as the election of mining deputies to represent the interests of miners from a particular *real de minas*, and duties, such as following royal ordinances on production.

REALENGO Under the direct authority of the crown, this often refers to unoccupied land (*tierra realenga*) that was crown property.

REGIDOR Municipal administrative official, or councilman.

REPARTIMIENTO A forced wage-labor draft that was issued by the viceregal authorities in favor a certain Spanish entrepreneurs. While the early colonial period (sixteenth-century) provided repartimiento labor for a wide range of economic activities, particularly agriculture and mining. However, the former was ended at the end of the century (though it did continue in the northern regions throughout most of the colonial period) and starting in the early seventeenth-century the repartimiento was limited to mining. It was operationalized by miners who would solicit labor from the viceroy, who would then assign it; there often developed a one-to-one relationship between a specific Indian village and a mining enterprise. Villages, however, often opposed these drafts either through legal challenges (attempting to ensure that they were effected within the legally established limits of percent of villagers subject to the draft, time to be spent in labor activities, and wages), false censuses, or emigration (fleeing). Finally, although much of the literature has claimed that mining enterprises rapidly came to depend on wage-labor, it appears that *repartimiento* was more widespread than previously thought.

REPARTIMIENTO DE MAÍZ The distribution of tribute maize to miners on credit. This system, instituted during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was a short-lived attempt to insure maize supply in the mines.

REPARTIMIENTO DE MERCANCÍAS The distribution of merchandise on credit, often to peasants, often forcibly, and often on unfavorable terms (high prices or interest), with later payment in goods (particularly indigenous-produced items such as cochineal) or specie. Often provincial officials were involved in the *repartimientos* given their ability to enforce payment.

SIETE PARTIDAS or CÓDIGO DE LAS PARTIDAS Famous codification of law carried out by the thirteenth-century king Alfonso X.

SUBDELEGADO A district magistrate of the late colonial period who succeeded the alcaldes mayores and corregidores, sometimes with a slightly changed jurisdictional area.

SUBDELEGACIÓN The administrative unit under the authority of a subdelegado.

SUJETO An indigenous town that was within the political jurisdiction of a larger village (*cabecera*). Usually the indigenous *governador* resided in the cabecera while alcaldes were the highest indigenous authorities in the *sujetos*. (This was not always the case, as cabeceras in the Taxco jurisdiction did not have *governadores* for much of the colonial period.) During the sixteenth century many sujetos either disappeared because of population lost or were congregated in ("reduced to") another village, most often the *CABECERA*. In the eighteenth century many surviving sujetos petitioned for the right to "separate" from the *cabecera*, which involved building their own church and electing their own *governador* (although they often claimed that by having a consecrated church and over 40 tributaries they were entitled to *cabecera* status).

TAMEME From Nahuatl *tlamama*, a porter, someone who is employed or used to carry heavy burdens.

TASA A maximum legal price for grain.

TENIENTE A deputy district magistrate.

TÉRMINO The territory under the jurisdiction of a town or municipality.

TIANGUIS A small weekly town market.

TIERRAS BALDÍAS Common or crown lands.

TIERRAS REALENGAS Crown lands.

TÍTULOS PRIMORDIALES Original written land titles of a village, supposedly based on the primordial rights of a pueblo.

TOPILE A minor religious or secular officer in indigenous villages (the word is derived from Nahuatl *to:pi:l-* (staff) and *-eh* (a possessive suffix meaning 's/he who owns NOUN').

TRAPICHE A sugar mill powered by animals and generally producing nonclayed sugars. These mills are usually smaller than the water-powered *ingenios*. *Trapiche* may also refer to the milling equipment of any sugar mill.

TIENDA MESTIZA A store that both supplied smaller stores such as *pulperías* and sold items, generally including dry goods, directly.

VAQUERO Cowboy or herdsman.

VECINO A citizen of a city or town, usually with some local rights.

VENTA A small site by the side of a road, particular a camino real, that served travelers by offering lodging, food, and fodder.

VISITA An official tour of inspection by a commissioned agent, such as a land judge. Also a subordinate town in a parish, so called because it is "visited" by the parish priest.

VISITADOR An official, investigator, who conducts a *visita.*

YUNTA A team of oxen (literally 'yoke').

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviation for archival sources and for *ramos* (branches), mostly in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City

AGI	Archivo General de las Indias
SRA	Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria, Mexico
AGN-AHH	Ramo Archivo Histórico de Hacienda
AGN-Alc	Ramo Alcabalas
AGN-Alh	Ramo Alhóndigas
AGN-Ay	Ramo Ayuntamiento
AGN-BN	Ramo Bienes Nacionales
AGN-BNz	Ramo Bienes Nacionalizados
AGN-Bus	Ramos Buscas
AGN-C	Ramo Congregaciones
AGN-CC	Ramo Caminos y Calzados
AGN-Cr	Ramo Criminal
AGN-CRS	Ramo Clero Regular y Secular
AGN-Cv	Ramo Civil
AGN-F	Ramo Filipinas
AGN-GP	Ramo General de Parte
AGN-H	Ramo Historia
AGN-I	Ramo Indios
AGN-ICom	Ramo Industria y Comercio
AGN-In	Ramo Inquisición
AGN-M	Ramo Mercedes
AGN-OG	Ramo Operaciones de Guerra
AGN-RC	Ramo Reales Cédulas
AGN-RCD	Ramo Reales Cédulas Duplicadas
AGN-Sub	Ramo Subdelegados
AGN-T	Ramo Tierras
AGN-Tab	Ramo Tabaco
AGN-Tr	Ramo Tributos
AGN-Vin	Ramo Vínculos
AGN Real Hacienda	Ramo Real Hacienda
Indif-Alc	Ramo Ex-Indiferente de Alcabalas, for Guerrero (followed by name of the *receptoría* and then numbers, which refer to cajas and expedientes)

Abbreviations in footnotes for sources

cuad.	*cuaderno* (notebook)
exp.	*expediente* (bound dossier)
f	recto

fol.	folio
leg.	*legajo* (bundled dossier)
s. fols.	folios not numbered
s.n.	*sin número* (without numbering of *expediente*)
v	verso

Documentary collections and original documents: abbreviations and citations

ENE	Epistolario de Nueva España (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, comp.)
PNE	Papeles de Nueva España (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, comp.)
ZyC	Silvio Zavala and María Castelo, eds. *Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en México*

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Appendices

Appendix 1a: Cabeceras and Sujetos in the Jurisdiction of Taxco Early Colonial Period[1]

San Martín Acamixtlahuacan: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
			ATOTOLCINGO: In 1568, mention that Isidro Moreno (encomendero of Huitzuco) had a cuadrilla in Atotolcingo, "términos del pueblo de Acamistla"; AGN-T 2719/13. It is not clear whether Atotolcingo was a subject village, or simply a *paraje* with a mining cuadrilla. It might also be an erroneous spelling of Tetelcingo; see below.
Aguacatenango, Sant Francisco	Ahuacatenamic, San Francisco	2.5 leagues between east and south	In 1569, there was 1 married *principal* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 37 married tributaries, 10 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 6 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. In the *Relación geográfica de Taxco* it is stated that this village derived its names from "unos árboles aguacatales, de donde se defendía a manera de fuerte."
Chapulititlan, Sant Gabriel	Chapulicxitla, Santa María	2 leagues between south and east	In 1569, there were 2 married *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 22 married tributaries, 6 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 5 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Vexotitlan, Sant Francisco		1 league between south and west	In 1569, there was 1 married *principal* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 23 married tributaries, 3 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 4 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Oztocapan, Sant Pedro		2 leagues between east and south	In 1569, there was 1 married *principal* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 28 married tributaries, 10 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 3 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Suchulan, Sant		1 league	In 1569, there was 1 married *principal* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is

1. Note that location from the cabecera and population statistics for all sujetos in the jurisdiction of Taxco are taken from the Ovando reports of ca. 1569. Sujetos not mentioned in any of the two basic primary sources (Ovando reports and the RG Taxco) are listed only in the rightmost column, with a note as to the documentary source. The data for the Ovando reports was taken directly from a photocopy of the original document in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville that Daniele Dèhouve kindly sent me.

Miguel		between south and west	given as 15 married tributaries, 7 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 3 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Teteltzinco, Sant Sebastián	Tenantzingo, San Sebastián	1 league between south and west	In 1569, there were 2 married *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 337 married tributaries, 6 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 14 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. See entry under Atotolcingo.
Teyyoapan, Sant Jhoan	Hueyapan, San Juan	.5 leagues to the south	In 1569, the governador along with 7 married *principales* lived here. At the same time, the population is given as 72 married tributaries, 19 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 20 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. In this chart I have equated García Pimentel's San Juan Teyoapam with the San Juan Hueyapan of the *Relación geográfica de Taxco.* In 1568 (AGN-T 2719/13) there is mention of an estancia named San Joan near Tehuilotepec. **Modern identification:** San Juan Naranjas de Dios (?)
Teyocolan, Los Reyes		2 leagues between east and south	In 1569, there was 1 married *principal* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 22 married tributaries, 1 *viudo*, and 5 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Tlamalinala, Santiago	Tlamalinala, Santiago	.5 leagues to the south	In 1569, there was 1 married *principal* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 55 married tributaries, 3 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 7 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. In 1744 the brothers Joachin Nicolas and Mathais de Estudillo were granted a composición to a hacienda de minas named Santiago Tlamanilala alias Juliantla, which included an estancia de ganado mayor as certified by the *juez de composición* in 1713; AGN-M 77/fols. 1v–2f. **Modern identification**: Juliantla
Zacatecolotl, Sant Miguel		.5 leagues to the north	In 1569, there were 4 married *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 19 married tributaries, the number of *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age) is not given,[2] and there are 8 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

2. García Pimentel (1897:179) gives the figure of three, although this is not in the original document.

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, the cabecera of Acamixtlavacan had a *governador* named don Pedro, and three *principales*. The population of the cabecera is given as 45 married tributaries, 14 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age) and 14 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.

In 1580, according to the *Relación de Taxco*, the population for the cabecera and 5 estancias, which are all said to be "de la cabecera, dentro de tres leguas" is 272 tributaries.

Nuestra Señora de la Asumpción Acuitlapan: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
San Gaspar	Atzumpan, San Gaspar	1 league to the east	In 1569, this estancia had 45 *tributantes enteros.*
Santiago	Popoyomatla, Santiago	1 league to the east	In 1569, this estancia had 50 *tributantes enteros.*
Sant Josep	Tepozonaltitlan, San José	1 league to the west	In 1569, this estancia had 28 *tributantes enteros.*
Sant Francisco	Texitlan, San Francisco	.5 league to the south	In 1569, this estancia had 40 *tributantes enteros.*
Sant Miguel		.5 league to the east	In 1569, this estancia had 16 *tributantes enteros.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES
In 1569 both Coatlán (listed separately below) and Acuitlapan had a *governador*.

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, Acuitlapan, with 38 tributaries, is stated to be a cabecera "sujeta al pueblo de Coatlán." In 1569 there were in Acuitlapan and its subject villages 350 "personas casadas y viudas y solteras de doce y catorce años para arriba."

Acuitlapan is mentioned in the *Relación geográfica de Taxco* along with Coatlán and its four estancias; the population of Acuitlapan and its four estancias, located "dentro de una legua, y de media y menos" of the cabecera, was 300 tributaries.

Asumpción de Nuestra Señora Atzala: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Aquipan, Sant Yerónimo	Aquiapan, San Jerónimo	.75 leagues between west and north	In 1563 Francisco Palomino submited a report on the congregación ordered by the corregidor of Teueistaca. Palomino stated that Aquiapa should not be relocated in the cabecera of Atzala. Rather both it and Payutla (probably Paintla), which was half a league from the cabecera, should be left in place and that Axoloc should be moved to Payutla; AGN-M 7/228f–228v. In 1569 there was one married *principal* in Aquipan. The population is given as 32 married tributaries, 3 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 16 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
			AXOLOC: In 1563 it is suggested that Axoloc be congregated in Payutla; see entry under Aquiapan and AGN-M 7/2228f–228v.
Payntlan, Los Reyes	Payntlan, Los Reyes	one-third of a league to the south	In 1563 the corregidor of Ichcateopan, Francisco Palomino, submited a report on the congregación of Atzala. He stated that Payutla (probably Paintla) was half a league from the cabecera and located in "tierra fértil e más abundosa e más sano abiento que el de la cavecera"; for this reason he suggested that it be be left in place; AGN-M 7/228f–228v; see entry under Aquiapan. In 1569 there is one married *principal* and the population is given as 39 married tributaries, 10 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 39 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. In 1789 the barrio of Paintla requested a license to separate from the cabecera of Atzala, citing the fact that they have more inhabitants (60 families) than the cabecera. They mention the distance to Atzala and the fact that they often miss Mass. Finally, they add that tribute collection would be facilitated if a *governador* were to be elected in Paintla; AGN-I 69/213.
Quauacan, Sant Jhoan		3 leagues to the north	In 1569 there was no *principal*. The population is given as 51 married tributaries, 4 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 7 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Tecomacueyecan, Señor Sant Miguel	Tecomahueyecan, San Miguel	2 leagues to the west	In 1569 there was no *principal*. The population is given as 85 married tributaries, 5 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 13 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
	Texcaltzingo, San		

	Juan		
Texoxolan, La Concepción de Nuestra Señora	Texuxula, La Concepción de Nuestra Señora	1 league to the west	In 1569 there was no *principal*. The population is given as 35 married tributaries, no *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 4 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Topatlan, Santiago	Tupatlan, Santiago	.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 there were 3 *principales*, only one of whom was married. The population is given as 35 married tributaries, 7 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 11 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Xaloztoc, Sant Grabiel	Xaloztoc, San Gabriel	.5 leagues between south and west	In 1569 there was no *principal*. The population is given as 30 married tributaries, 4 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 3 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, the *governador* had died and the pueblo was ruled only by the *alcaldes* and *principales*, who were six married Indians. The cabecera of Atzala is stated to have a population of 32 married tributaries, 9 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 21 persons (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years of age.

In 1580 the *Relación geográfica de Taxco* gives the population for the cabecera and 7 estancias, "las cuales están dentro de cuatro leguas, a media o a dos y más de la cabecera," as 289 tributaries.

Cacalotenango: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Auazuatepec, Señor Sant Esteban	Ahuazhuatepec, San Esteban	2 leagues to the west	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 75 married tributaries, 6 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 7 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Apango, Señor Sant Felipe	Apanco, San Felipe	1 league to the west	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 13 married tributaries, 4 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 2 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Chiyapan, Sant Sebastián	Chiapan, San Sebastián	.25 of a league to the north	In 1569 there was one unmarried *principal*. The population was 45 married tributaries, 5 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 25 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
	Chichilan, Ntra. Señora de la Concepción		
Ichpochquilan, Señor Sant Miguel	Ichpochiquilan, San Miguel	.75 of a league to the south	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 22 married tributaries, 4 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 7 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Quauhneuetzin-tlan, Señor San Francisco		1 league to the north	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 9 married tributaries, no *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 17 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Cuauhpalocan, La Concepción de Nuestra Señora	Quauhpalocan, San Mateo	1.5 leagues to the west	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 118 married tributaries, 13 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 51 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Quauhxomulco, Sant Marcos	Quauhxomolco, San Marcos	.5 league between east and north	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 15 married tributaries, 5 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 5 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. In 1656 Pedro Pérez del Río was granted a merced to found a trapiche near San Marcos Guaxumulco, sujeto of Tenango (i.e. it was probably still populated at this time; AGN-M 49/fols. 166f–167v).
Tenango, Señor Sant Simón y Judas	Tenango, San Simón	1 league to the north	In 1569 there was one married *principal*. The population was 36 married tributaries, 5 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 22 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.

Teteltitlan, Sant Martín	Teteltitlan, San Martín	1 league to the south	In 1569 there was a married *principal*. The population was 32 married tributaries, 6 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 14 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Texcali ixpan, Señor Santiago	Texalpan, Santiago	.75 of a league to the east	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 100 married tributaries, 9 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 30 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Texoxoco, Señor Sant Pedro	Texoxoco, San Pedro	.5 league to the west	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 11 married tributaries, 5 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 2 (apparently single and widowed women) over 8 years old.
Tlacomulco, Señor Sant Jhoan Baptista	Tlalcomulco, San Juan	.5 league to the north	In 1569 there were no *principales*. The population was 15 married tributaries, 4 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 2 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
	Tlatzontecpan, San Francisco		
Xoxocotla, Santo Tomás	Xoxotla, Santo Tomás	"muy cerca hacia el sur"	In 1569 there was a *principal*. The population was 41 married tributaries, 12 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 17 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In 1548 Tenango is said to have 15 barrios; their names are not given; see *Suma de Visitas* #671.

In 1563 the *principales* and *governador* of Tenango complained that after the congregación, lands had been taken over by others; AGN-M 5-6(2)/fols. 226f–226v.

In 1569, according to the Ovando reports, there was a married *governador* named Don Francisco and 4 married *principales*. The population of the cabecera was 67 married tributaries, 19 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 37 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. There are 13 estancias.

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, there were also, besides the estancias, two small settlements of newcomers, all Tarascan. One is called the "hospital de San Francisco" and the other "hospital de Santiago." They are within a quarter of a league of each other and 2 leagues north of Cacalotenango. The population of San Francisco was 22 married tributaries, no *viudos* or *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 5 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. Santiago had 26 married tributaries, 1 *viudo*, and 14 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old. There were no *principales* but instead 2 Indians that ruled them. They did not plant but rather sold charcoal and firewood in the mines; they paid tribute to the cabecera of Tenango. In the *Relación geográfica de Taxco* there is mention of Santiago in a place there is a *hospital* in the woods called Quauhtocayan. This is probably the Tarascan *hospital* mentioned in 1569.

In 1580, according to the *Relación geografica de Taxco*, the population of the cabecera and 15 estancias is 428 tributaries.

Sant Jhoan Baptista Coatlán: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Cacahuamilpa Santiago	Cacahuamillpan, Santiago	2 leagues to the east	In 1569 there were 35 tributaries. Also there were two small churches in the village, one dedicated to Santiago, the other to Los Reyes. In 1580, mention that the name derives from "una sementera de cacao que hay allí." In 1768, the barrio of Los Santos Reyes Cacahuamilpa request to separate from Acuitlapan (note, not Coatlán) where they were sujetos and where elections were held (AGN-I 60/191). **Modern identification**: Cacahuamilpa
Sant Sebastián	Mazaixtlahuacan, San Sebastián	1.5 leagues to the north	In 1569 there were 14 tributaries.
Nuestra Señora de la Asumpción		1 league to the south	In 1569 there were 32 tributaries.
	Quauhtenco, San Gregorio		
Sant Francisco		.5 league to the west	In 1569 there were 29 tributaries.
Sant Gaspar	Teteltitlan, San Gaspar	.5 league to the south	In 1569 there were 46 tributaries.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In 1548, it is mentioned that Coatlán had seven barrios and that the total population was 339 "casas"; *Suma de Visitas* #163.

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, there were 44 *tributarios enteros* in the cabecera of Coatlán alone, and 380 "personas casadas y viudas y solteras de doce y catorce años para arriba" in the cabecera and its subject villages. Acuitlapan is mentioned as a subject cabecera (cf. separate table above). Both Coatlán and Acuitlapan have "un gobernador, y un alcalde en cada pueblo destos, que son dos alcaldes, e por los regidores, que son dos, e por cuatro *principales*, y tiene cada estancia un tequitato, que tiene a su cargo cada uno los naturales." Finally, both mexicano and chontal are spoken; however, the majority of the residents know mexicano, particularly in regard to the Christian doctrine.

In 1580, according to the *Relación geográfica de Taxco*, the population of Coatlán and its four estancias, along with Acuitlapan and its four estancias, was 300 tributaries.

San Andrés Huistaca: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Acatzitzintla, San Miguel	Acacicintla, San Miguel	1 league to the west	There was an order in 1563 that a church be built for certain villages. The document includes mention of the following two villages, one of which was clearly the same as the sujeto listed in Ovando and the *Relación geográfica* "y para otros dos pueblos que también se juntaron llamados Acatiticintla y el otro Cacoapan cuya adboación es Santa Cruz otra yglesia"; AGN-M 7/168v. The Acatiticintla mentioned here is undoubtedly the same as the sujeto listed in the Ovando reports and the *Relación geográfica.* In 1569, there were no *principales,* the population is given as 31 married tributaries, 6 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 8 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. **Modern identification: Axixintla**
			CACATLAYPAXTLA, SAN JUAN BAUTISTA: Order in 1563 that a church be built for certain villages, these include one named Cacatlaypaxtla "cuya adbocación es San Juan Bautista"; AGN-M 7/168v.
Chimalacatlan, Sant Martín	Chimalacatla, San Martín	2 leagues to the west	In 1569, there were no *principales,* the population is given as 91 married tributaries, 4 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 15 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. For church construction in 1563, see entry under Temazcalapan.
	Cuixteliuhcan, San Felipe		Quistaluca, San Felipe: Order in 1563 that a church be built for certain villages. The document includes mention of the following two villages as follows: "... y para otros dos pueblos que se han juntado de nuevo llamados Quistaluca es la adboación de San Felipe (AGN-M 7/168v.). In 1597, three sujetos object to being congregated in the cabecera: San Francisco, San Phelipe and Tres Reyes. Nevertheless, the congregación is confirmed (AGN-I 6(2)/1195). **Modern identification:** Oculixtlahuacan (? probably not, given that a sujeto of Iguala appears to be this modern village; see appendix 1b).
	Petlacalapan, San Sebastián		
		San Francisco	In 1597, three sujetos object to being congregated in the cabecera: San Francisco, San Phelipe and Tres Reyes. Nevertheless, the congregación is confirmed; AGN-I 6(2)/1195).
Tlamazcalapan, Santiago	Temazcalapan, Santiago	2 leagues to the west	In 1569, there was one *principal,* the population is given as 69 married tributaries, 5 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 11 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. In 1563, an order was issued that a church be built in Santiago: "en otro peblo donde se

			juntaron los yndios de otros dos que se nombran Tamaxcalapa y Chimalacatlan."; AGN-M 7/168v. **Modern identification: Temazcalapa**
Santa Cruz	Tezapoapan, Santa Cruz	1 league to the west	Cacaoapan, Santa Cruz: Order in 1563 that a church be built for certain villages. The document includes mention of the following two villages as follows: "... y para otros dos pueblos que también se juntaron llamados Acatiticintla y el otro Cacoapan cuya adboación es Santa Cruz otra yglesia..." (AGN-M 7/168v.). In 1569, there were no *principales,* the population is given as 51 married tributaries, there are no *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), but there are 6 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old.
			TRES REYES: In 1597, three sujetos object to being congregated in the cabecera: San Francisco, San Phelipe and Tres Reyes. Nevertheless, the congregación is confirmed; AGN-I 6(2)/1195.
	Yancuican, San Simon		
	Yopitzinco, San Marcos		In the *Relación geográfica* this subject is stated to be so called "por nombre antiguo."
Zacatlan, Sant Jhoan	Zacatlan, San Juan	1 league to the south	In 1569, there was a woman widow *principal,* the population is given as 39 married tributaries, 2 *viudas* and no *solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 11 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. **Modern identification: San Juan Unión (?)**

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In 1548, the *Suma de Visitas* (#273) states that Gueyystaca has nine estancias, with a total population of 138 "casas."

In 1569, according to the Ovando reports, the cabecera was called Sant Andrés Ueiiztacan, the *governador* was named don Jhoan, and there were four married *principales.* The population was 160 married tributaries, 10 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 43 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old.

The *Relación geográfica de Taxco* gives no population figures; all the estancias are said to be located within two leagues of the cabecera.

In 1804, those of Huistaca petitioned for the right to be able to elect a *governador*, mentioning that to date they had been governed by an *alcalde de primer voto.* They state that their village is "muy grande y contiene un numerosos vecindario todo de puros indiso lo mismo con los demás barrios que le están anexos..."They again state that "[su] vecindario es grandisimo su república suget a muchos barrios y está bien lexos de la cabecera..." This suggests a dispersed settlement pattern and the existence of barrios and the absence of a *governador.*

Santiago Nochtepec: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Acuchapa, Sant Jhoan	Acochapan, San Juan	One-quarter of a league to the north	In 1569 there were 20 married tributaries. In 1687, the justicia of the jurisdiction of Taxco is ordered to determine the viability of giving a licence to the naturales of the barrio of San Juan Acuchiapa to have a "trapiche de moler caña" (AGN-I 29/251 [cite only from Guerrero index]).
Iztepeque, Sant Francisco[3]	Itztepec, San Andrés	1 league to the west	In 1569 there were 25 married tributaries.
	Mazaixtlahuacan, San Francisco		
Ololuca, Sant Gaspar	Ololiuhcan, Los Reyes	1 league to the north	In 1569 there were 40 married tributaries.
Sant Andrés		1 league to the south	In 1569 there were 43 married tributaries.
	Tetzicapan, San Gaspar		
Sant Pedro	Tuchtepec, San Pedro	1.5 leagues to the west	In 1569 there were 35 married tributaries.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The *Suma de Visitas* (#410) mentions Nochtepeque with 2 estancias and a total population of 194 "casas."

The *Libro de tasaciones* (pp. 272–73) refers to "Nochitepeque y Pilcayan y sus sujetos," which were held by "María de Herrera, viuda mujer que fue de Juan de Cabra, difunto, sy encomendero."

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3. García Pimentel (1897:123) combined the entries for San Francisco Iztepeque, which he said lay to the south with 43 tributaries, and Sant Andrés, which is not mentioned. I give the correct transcription of Ovando, but perhaps this is in error and San Francisco Iztepeque would correspond to San Francisco Mazaixtlahuacan of the *Relación geográfica,* and Sant Andrés (in the Ovando report) to Sant Andrés Iztepeque of the *Relación geográfica.*

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, Antonio Martínez was priest of Nochtepec, Pilcayan, Teticpac, Coatlán and Acuitlapan. The population figure for the cabecera in 1569 is not given directly. However, the five sujetos had 163 tributaries, and the total for the cabecera and the sujetos was 270. Thus, the cabecera would have had 107 tributaries. Of the population figure of 270 tributaries, the priest states: "y tengo entendido hay más gente, y que la encubren."
In 1569, Pilcayan is stated to be a sub-cabecera of Nochtepec. Nochtepec was governed by two *alcaldes* and *regidores*, given that the *govenador* had died a year previously. There were also four *principales* in the cabecera and each estancia had its *tequitato.* There were 70 men and women (married, single, widows and widowers) who confessed in mexicano, the others spoke chontal and did not confess because there was no minister who understood that language.

In the *Relación geográfica* of 1580 it is stated that the estancias of Nochtepec are located "dentro de tres leguas, a media y a más, y a legua" of the cabecera. The population figure, 705 tributaries, includes that for Pilcayan, cf. Pilcayan.

In 1796 the cuadrilla of Santa Cruz Cantos was stated to be joined to Noxtepec and paid its tax of the *real y medio* separately (AHH 405/4). Santa Cruz paid 8 pesos 2 tomines, which at 1½ reales per tributary would yield 44 tributaries. It is not clear whether Santa Cruz had been inhabited continuously since the sixteenth century, or if it had been more recently settled.

Nuestra Señora de la Concepción Pilcayan: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND OTHER MENTIONS
Sant Francisco		1 long league to the west	In 1569 there were 8 married tributaries (note that this might be the San Juan Tecolotzingo subject mentioned in the *Relaciones geográficas*).
	Tecolotzingo, San Juan		In 1569 there were 15 married tributaries.
Sant Marcos	Tecozauhyan, San Marcos	.5 league to the south	In 1569 there were 20 married tributaries.
Sant Gaspar	Tepoznechicoyan, San Gaspar	one-half small league to the west	In 1569 there were 15 married tributaries.
Santa Lucía	Tepuchiuhcan, Santa Lucía	1 small league to the east	In 1569 there were 20 married tributaries.
Sant Sebastián	Tizalipan, San Sebastián	1 long league to the west	In 1569 there were 20 married tributaries.
Santiago	Tlahuitlipan, Santiago	1 league to the west	In 1569 there were 20 married tributaries.
Santa Catalina	Yahualiuhcan, Santa Catarina	1 small league to the east	In 1569 there were 45 married tributaries.
Sant Andrés	Zapotitlan, San Andrés	.25 league to the west	In 1569 there were 35 married tributaries.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

For the mention of Pilcayan in the *Libro de las tasaciones,* see the table for Nochtepec.

In 1569, according to the Ovando reports, there were 110 married tributaries in the cabecera. The report also mentions that "el dicho pueblo de Pilcaya y sus estancias está subjeto al dicho pueblo de Mochtepeque, y hase hecho y alzado la obediencia por descuido de los que han gobernado los dichos pueblos, ha muchos años." There is a *principal* who has the title of *gobernador,* fifteen *principales,* two *alcaldes* and *regidores,* and each estancia has a *tequitato.* The population included both *mexicanos* and *chontales.*

In the 1580 *Relación geográfica de Taxco*, the population of Pilcayan is given along with that of Nochtepec. The eight estancias of Pilcayan were all within two leagues of the cabecera.

In 1798 a barrio named San Miguel, subject to Pilcayan, is mentioned in a dispute with neighboring *ranchos.* There is no sixteenth-century mention of a San Miguel barrio.

Señor San Francisco Taxco el Viejo: List of Sujetos[4]

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Acatepec, La Concepción de Nuestra Señora		2 leagues to the south	In 1569 there were two *principales* in Acatepec. The population was reported as 37 married tributares, 4 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 13 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. Don Jorge Zerón congregated Concepción de Nuestra Señora Ecatepeque in the cabecera of Taxco el Viejo, probably in the very late sixteenth century. At that time certain religious items had been taken to the church of Mexcaltepec. When Mexcaltepec, in turn, was congregated in 1603, an inventory of the church was taken just before it was destroyed, and this inventory mentions items from the previously congregated Ecatepec (see also entries for Pululuapan and Totolzapotlan); AGN-T 2754/3. **Modern identification: Icatepec (?)**
			ACAQUILPA: A 1603 document states that this village was located .25 leagues from the cabecera, although the direction from Taxco el Viejo is not indicated. In 1603, when it was congregated in the cabecera of Taxco el Viejo, Acaquilpa had a population of 8 tributaries; AGN-T 2754/3.
			AGUACATITLAN, SAN MATHEO: In 1599, this subject villages was stated to be "de lengua y nación mexicana y no hay otra ninguna [lengua allá]." It was located 1.5 leagues from its cabecera, Taxco el Viejo, though the direction is not indicated. It had a population of 18 tributaries; AGN-T 2723/8. In 1603, this same village is mentioned as being .25 leagues from the cabecera. At this time, during the congregación in Taxco el Viejo, the sujeto's 31 tributaries were given 31 *solares*; AGN-T 2754/3.
Ciuapoloyan, Los Reyes		2 small leagues to the south	In 1569 there were no *principales.* The population was reported as 25 married tributares, 12 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 16 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old.
Coatlán, Sant Jhoan		1 league to the south	In 1569 there was one *principal.* The population was reported as 49 married tributares, 8 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 30 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old.
Quentlalco, Sant Pablo		.25 of a league to the west	In 1569 there was one *principal.* The population is reported as 36 married tributares, 7 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 7 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old.

4. The congregación documents for this village are found in AGN-T 2723/exp. 8 (1599) and AGN-T 2754/exp. 3 (1603).

			In 1599, the 10 tributaries of Contlalco who spoke "mexicano" were ordered congregated in the cabecera; at the same time it was mentioned that "no hay otra lengua ni ncacióñ de indios entre ellos"; AGN-T 2723/8.
Mexcaltepec, Señor Sant Sebastián		1.5 leagues between the east and south	In 1569 there were two *principales.* The population was reported as 119 married tributares, 17 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 54 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. In 1599, Mexcaltepec, said to be 1 league from the cabecera, had 90 tributaries. They said that "son de lengua y nación mexicana y hay entre ellos diez indios chontales y buen mesclados y no hay otros indios ningunos"; AGN-T 2723/8. In 1603, Mexcaltepec was congregated in Taxco el Viejo where 84 *solares* were distributed to 84 tributaries. A census count is included; AGN-T 2754/3). See entries under Acatepec and Pululuapan. **Modern identification**: Mexcaltepec
Xuxulapa [Pululuapa], San Jhoan		3 leagues between east and south	In 1569 there were no *principales.* The population was reported as 60 married tributares, 8 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 7 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. In 1597, San Juan Pululuapan objects to being congregated in the cabecera (AGN-I 6(2)/1195). Apparently, like Acatepec and Totolzapotlan, Pululuapan was congregated by don Jorge Zerón. Religious objects and ornaments from the church of this village were moved to Mexcaltepec, which itself was congregated in 1603. At that time an inventory was carried out "de otros bienes que puso en esta iglesia don Jorge Zerón del pueblo de San Juan Pupuluapan subjeto de Tasco el Viejo"; AGN-T 2754/3.
San Sebastián		1 league to the north	In 1569, there were no *principales.* The population was reported as 46 married tributares, 11 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 21 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old.
Tecalpulco, Los Reyes		one-third league to the west	In 1569 there were three *principales.* The population was reported as 104 married tributares, 24 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 19 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old. In 1599, mention that Calpulco is .5 leagues from the cabecera, with 40 tributaries. They stated that "son de lengua y nación chontales y mexicanos y buen mesclados unos con otros y no hay otros indios"; AGN-T 2723/8. In the 1603 *congregación,* Tecalpulco was left as a *visita* of Taxco el Viejo; AGN-T 2754/3. **Modern identification**: Tecalpulco
			TOTOLZAPOTLAN, SAN FRANCISCO: Like Acatepec and Poluloapan, this was a sujeto of Taxco el Viejo that had been congregated by don Jorge Zerón. Religious objects from Totolzapotlan were first moved to Mexcaltepec, which itself was congregated in the cabecera in 1603; AGN-T 2754/3.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In the *Libro de las tasaciones* (357-359) Tamagazapa and Azala are listed as sujetos of Tasco el Viejo. Around 1555, there was a dispute about how much each should pay as their portion of the total tribute. The three villages came to an agreement. Note that apparently at this time Tlamacazapa and Atzala were sub-cabecera of Taxco el Viejo.

In 1569, according to the Ovando reports, the *governador* was named Don Lucas. The cabecera had two *principales* a population of 191 married tributaries, 40 *viudos y solteros* (undoubtedly men), and 100 (undoubtedly women) over 12 years old.

The *Relación Geográfica* simply states that Taxco el Viejo had 11 estancias in 1580 and that the population total is 997 tributaries. The estancias are all "dentro de un cuarto de legua, y de una, dos y tres leguas de la cabecera."

Nuestra Señora de la Concepción Teticpac: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
	Alpuyecan, San Felipe		In 1569 the population was 31 *tributarios enteros.*
Sant Francisco	Chichila, San Francisco	1.5 leagues to the north	In 1569 the population was 21 *tributarios enteros.*
Santa María	Chimaltitlan, Santa María	1 league to the east	In 1569 the population was 35 *tributarios enteros.* **Modern identification**: Chimaltitlan
Sant Sebastián	Huixiuhtiliuhcan, San Sebastián	1.5 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population was 20 *tributarios enteros.* **Modern identification**: Huixotitla
Sant Andrés	Ocotzco, San Andrés	1 league to the east	In 1569 the population was 31 *tributarios enteros.* **Modern identification**: San Andrés
			SAN DIONICIO: for 1591 information, see entry under San Lucas.
			SAN LUCAS: In 1591, the naturales of San Lucas and San Dionicio, estancias of Teticpac, request relief from their obligation to give service to the *mesón* (inn) in the cabecera, given that there is also a *mesón* in the estancias. The corregidor is ordered to investigate; AGN-I 3/675. In 1617 Sant Lucas is again mentioned as a subject village of Teticpac, this time in a complaint against a Spanish landowner; AGN-I 7/fols.93f–93v, published in ZyC VI:287–88.
Sant Miguel		1 league to the west	In 1569 the population was 10 *tributarios enteros.*
	Pezoltlipan Santa María de la Concepción		
Sant Jhoan Baptista	Texcaltitlan, San Juan	.5 league to the east	In 1569 the population was 26 *tributarios enteros.*
	Teyahualtipan, Los Reyes		In 1569 the population was 31 *tributarios enteros.*
Santiago	Tzontecomaixtlahuacan, Santiago	.5 league to the south	In 1569 the population was 45 *tributarios enteros.* **Modern identification**: Santiago

Sant Pedro	Xilotepec, San Pedro	1 league to the north	In 1569 the population was 52 *tributarios enteros.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the *Suma de Visitas* (#672), Teticpaque had two estancias. The total population of cabecera and these two estancias was 170 *casas.*

The Ovando report mentions that about two years previously (ca. 1567) the viceroy don Luis de Velasco had ordered that the Indians "se baxasen de la cabecera de onde estavan por ser tierra áspera e de sierras, e no acomodada, e se poblasen y se congregasen donde dizen Atengo solar tierra llana e de ríos y aguas, e tierras muy buenas y muy acomodadas para los naturales." In 1569 the cabecera had 228 *tributarios enteros*; the total including the estancias was of 468 tributaries. There were two *alcaldes,* two *regidores* and four *principales,* plus a *tequitato* in each estancia. However, at this time there was no *governador*, given that he had been suspended from office two years previously. The document adds that there were 520 individuals who confess ("indios e indias, casados y *solteros*: las mujeres de doce años para arriba, y los varones de catorce para arriba, y *viudos* y viudas") given that they understood *mexicano*; the remained are chontales and for this reason (i.e., that the priest did not understand this language) do not confess.

The *Relación geográfica* mentions that the cabecera had been "edificado en otra parte en mejor asiento." The population at this time, 1580, was 345 tributaries (apparently this included the cabecera and its ten estancias).

La Asumpción de Nuestra Señora Tlamacazapa: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG TAXCO (1580)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND OTHER MENTIONS
Chiltenango, Santiago		1.5 leagues to the south	In 1569, there were no *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 15 married tributaries, 1 viuda, and no persons (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Chimalacatlan, Los Reyes		1.5 leagues to the south	In 1569, there were no *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 35 married tributaries, 3 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 2 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Cuzcatan, Sant Jhoan	Cuzcatlan, San Juan	1 good league between east and south	In 1569, there were 2 married *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 100 married tributaries, 8 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 2 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
	Tetelco, San Gaspar		
Teteltzinco, Sant Martín	Teteltzingo, San Martín	1 league to the south	In 1569, there were no *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 16 married tributaries, 2 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 2 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Tlacotitlan, Sant Pedro	Tlacotitlan, San Pedro	1 good league to the south	In 1569, there were no *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 44 married tributaries, 2 *viudos* and *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 6 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.
Tzapotitlan, Sant Miguel	Zapotitlan, San Miguel	2 leagues to the south	In 1569, there were no married *principales* in this estancia. At the same time, the population is given as 42 married tributaries, 1 viuda, and 7 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.

ADDITIONAL NOTES
In 1569, according to the Ovando report, the *governador* was named don Domingo; at this time there were 5 married *principales*. The population is given as 85 married tributaries, no *viudos* or *solteros* (apparently over 14 years of age), and 13 (apparently single and widowed women) over 12 years old.

The *Relación geográfica* states that the estancias of Tlamagazapan were 1, 2, 3, and 4 leagues from the cabecera.

Appendix 1b: Cabeceras and Sujetos in the Jurisdiction of Iguala Early Colonial Period

Cocula: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG IGUALA (1582)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Apanco	Apango	.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 Apanco had a population of 27 married *tributarios*, 36 men over 14 years old, and 40 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification:** Apango
Ixtlahoacan	Ixtlahuacan	.5 leagues to the east	In 1569 Ixtlahuacan had a population of 18 married *tributarios*, 30 men over 14 years old, and 32 women over 12 years old.
Pipilulco	Pipihilco	.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 Pipilulco had a population of 42 married *tributarios*, 44 men over 14 years old, and 64 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification:** Apipilulco
Tlecomatlan	Tecomatlan	1.5 leagues to the west	In 1569 Tecomatlan had a population of 15 married *tributarios*, 20 men over 14 years old, and 20 women over 12 years old. In a documented dated 22 Mar. 1561, the naturales of Cocula complained that certain *principales* of Cuetzala and Coatepec "so color de cierto mandamiento que tienen para volver a los yndios que se obieren huido de dicho pueblo a otros por razón de no se querer junta" had gone to the estancias of Tecomatlan and Tepetepetlan and taken certain naturales by force; AGN-M 5(1)/fols. 261v.–262f.
Tequauhtzinco	Tecuatzingo	2 leagues to the west	In 1569 Tequauhtzinco had a population of 18 married tributarios, 24 men over 14 years old, and 32 women over 12 years old.
Tetepetlapan	Tepetlapan	2 leagues to the west	In 1569 Tepetlapan had a population of 21 married *tributarios*, 26 men over 14 years old, and 30 women over 12 years old. In a document dated dated 22 March 1561 the sujeto is named as Tepetepetlan (see entry under Tecomatlan); AGN-M 5(1)/fols. 261v.–262f.
Zoquiapa		1 league to the south	In 1569 Zoquiapan had a population of 14 married *tributarios*, 18 men over 14 years old, and 27 women over 12 years old.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the Ovando report of 1569, Cocula was held in encomienda by María de Espinosa, widow of Gonzalo de Cerezo. Cocula was a cabecera and had a *governador*, two *alcaldes* and seven *regidores*. The population was 193 married tributaries, 280 men over 14 years old, and 307 women over 12 years old. In each estancia there was an *alguacil* and a *tequitato* "que los manda." Two languages were spoken in Cocula and its sujetos: mexicano and chontal, with about one-third of the people speaking chontal. Almost all were able to understand at least some mexicano given that they "tratan con ellos en los tianguez vendiendo y comprando." In Cocula and its estancias there were eleven or twelve *principales,* there was no hospital nor *cofradía;* there was a church in each estancia. All residents of Cocula and its estancias are stated to be *labradores* (farmers).

According to the *Relación geográfica de Iguala*, dated 1582, the cabecera of Cocula was divided into 2 *parcialidades*, or barrios, one of *mexicanos* (San Francisco) and the other of *cuixcas* (La Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora).

Huitzuco: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG IGUALA (1582)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Ahuacatzinco, Sant Martín		1.5 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population of Ahuacatzinco in 1569 was given as 35 married tributaries, 10 widows, and 4 young men ("muchachos de confisión").[1] In 1583 two naturales of San Martín Aguacaucingo, sujeto of Huitzuco, complained against the ranching activities of their encomendero, Bernardino Casasola; AGN-I 2/767.
Aliztaca, Sant Andrés		1.5 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population of Atliztaca in 1569 was 40 married tributaries, 5 widows and 8 young men.
Amatitlan, Santa Luzía		1 league in a direction not indicated	Population of Amatitlan in 1569 was 22 married tributaries, 2 widows and 12 young men.
Axalpa, Santiago		2 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population of Axalpa in 1569 was 45 tributaries, 8 widows and 2 young men.
			Ixpoxapan: cf. entry under Quauhlotla. **Modern identification**: Escuchapa
			PALA[PA]: in a merced for 2 *caballerías* to Francisco Rodríguez in 1567, the location of the land grant is given as "en términos de los pueblos de Yzcuco y Santiago en la parte que nombran Pala." This might refer to Palapa, although it is not even clear that the site was a sujeto of Huitzuco; AGN-M 9/fol. 234v.
Pololtzinco, Sant Francisco		1 league in a direction not indicated	Population of Pololtzinco in 1569 was 50 married tributaries, 9 widows, and 6 young men. **Modern identification**: Pololcingo
Quauhlotla, Santo Domingo		2 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population in 1569 given as 14 married tributaries, 6 widows, and 2 young men. In 1613, the beneficiado of Atenango mentioned that Indians of the barrios of Huitzuco named Coahuilotlan and Ispuchapan had returned to their original sites. The viceroy ordered the *congregación* enforced. One of these barrios is undoubtedly Escuchapa, the other is

1. The young men are stated to be "muchachos de confisión" in all entries.

			probably that which García Pimentel lists as Santo Domingo Quauhlotla (AGN-C, exp. 271). **Modern identification:** Venta de Cuaulotal, a colonial settlement that was located just west of Santa Teresa.
Xuchapa, San Jhoan		1 league in a direction not indicated	Population in 1569 given as 42 married tributaries, 4 widows and 8 young men ("muchachos"). **Modern identification:** Perhaps this refers to Ichpochapan, the modern Escuchapa; cf. entry under Quauhlotla for mention of Indians returning to the *pueblos antiguos* of Coahuilotlan and Ispuchapan in 1613, several years after the congregación; AGN-C, exp. 271).
Tecolotlan, Santo Tomás		.5 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population of Tecolotlan in 1569 was 8 married tributaries and 2 young men. **Modern identification**: Tecolotla
Tepetlatitlan, Sant Agustín		1 league in a direction not indicated	Population of Tepetlatitlan in 1569 ws 7 tributaries. **Modern identification**: Tepetitlan
Tlalquetzalapa, Sant Mateo		.75 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population of Tlalquetzalapa in 1569 was 21 tributaries and 9 widows. **Modern identification:** Note that the location is apparently too close to Huitzuco to refer to modern Quetzalapa, though perhaps a miscalculation of the distance occurred.
Tlalxicoapa, Santiago		1 league in a direction not indicated	Population of Tlalxicoapa in 1569 was 10 married tributaries.
Tlaltexoco, Sant Jhoan		1.5 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population of Tlaltexoco in 1569 was 22 tributaries and 1 young man.
			TLAONIQUES: A document dated 1591 mentions "ciertos indios mexicanos" of a barrio of Huitzuco named Tlaoniques. The residents of this barrio complained that an Indian, son of a "mandoncillo," was trying to take land away from them. The implication is that when they settled in Huitzuco, either in preconquest or early colonial times, these "indios mexicanos" were given land and were expected to help with community obligations; AGN-I 5/483. The document reads: "ciertos indios mexicanos del pueblo de Huizuco del barrio de Tlaoniques... han hecho relación que al tiempo de que poblaron el dicho barrio se les dio y repartó ciertas suertes de tierras en los pagos que nombran Oteco, Omilotoc, Copalchuica, Onalco, Axaltzinco, Tlalcozco, Altepocan para que en ellas hiciesen sus sementers y

			acudiesen a pagar su tributo ... y ayudeasen todo lo demas que se ofreciese a la cabecera como lo han hecho con mucho quidado y que ahora un Juan Baptista indio y hijo de otro mandoncillo que les impide el beneficio de las dichas tierras y pretende quitarselas diciendo ser suyas en que reciben agrario"; the corregidor is ordered to look into the matter and protect property rights.
Xaltitlanalpa, Sant Lucas		2.25 leagues in a direction not indicated	Population of Xaltitlanalpa in 1569 was 10 tributaries and 2 young men.
Yetlan, Sant Miguel		1 league in a direction not indicated	Population of Yetlan in 1569 was 50 married tributaries, 5 widows, and 6 young men. This site is located on the map found in AGN-T 3514 (map 5f). It became a Spanish-owned trapiche around 1569 (AGN-I 23/321) after Huitzuco had previously requested a license to construct a trapiche there (AGN-I 24/133, dated 1667).
Coyquauhtla, Los Reyes		1 league in a direction not indicated	Population of Coyquauhtla in 1569 was 60 married tributaries, 4 widows, and 2 young men. **Modern identification**: Xoyacuautla

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the Ovando report in 1569 the cabecera of Huitzuco had 226 married tributaries, 92 widows and women over 12 years of age, and 18 boys over 12 years old. Note that for the subject villages the demographic categories listed are *tributarios casados, viudas* and *muchachos de 14 años arriba.*

The *Relación geográfica de Iguala*, dated 1582, states simply that Huitzuco at that time had 11 subject villages that were "aldeas de Castilla," suggesting that they had been redesigned according to the grid pattern. The *Relación geográfica* gives a total population of 520 tributaries for Huitzuco and its eleven sujetos.

In May 1583, there is a mention of "Huitzuco y sus sujetos," implying that at least some estancias or sujetos of Huitzuco existed at this time; AGN-I 2/832.

In 1662, those of Santa Ana Tasmalaca and Santiago Huichuco "y sus sujetos" petitioned the viceroy, suggesting that both villages still had outlying sujetos at this time and that settlement had not been completely nucleated.

Iguala: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG IGUALA (1582)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Ahuehuetla	Aguegueta	2 leagues to the west	Population of Ahuehuetla in 1569 was 103 married tributaries, 121 men over 14, and 123 women who are married, widows, or single over 12 years of age. In a *merced* petitioned for by Diego de Minerón in 1627, it is mentioned that 2 of the 4 sitios de ganado menor that he requested were "en el puesto que llaman Ahuehuetlan junto a un río que viene por mitad de dos cerros altos." Apparently this is Ahuehuetla, ex-sujeto of Iguala, suggesting that by 1627 it was depopulated, perhaps because of a *congregación.* This location became part of the hacienda de Oculixtlahuacan. **Modern identification**: Ahuehuepan
	Atecusljco		
	Causabapa		
Metlahapa	Metlapa	1 league to the south	Population of Metlapa in 1569 was 49 married tributaries, 59 men over 14 years, and 60 women over 12 years. In a merced petitioned for by Diego de Minerón in 1627, it is mentioned that 2 of the 4 sitios de ganado menor that he requested were "[en] el puesto que llaman Yametlapa que corre al de Huahuatlan." Apparently this is Metlapa, ex-sujeto of Iguala, suggesting that by 1627 it was depopulated, perhaps because of a *congregación.* This site became a *cuadrilla* in the hacienda de Palula. **Modern identification**: Metlapa
Ocuiliztlabaca	Oquilistla bacan	3 leagues to the north	Population of Oculiztlabaca in 1569 was 38 married tributaries, 50 men over 14, and 53 women over 12 years. This site became the center of the hacienda de Oculixtlahuacan. **Modern identification:** Oculixtlahuacan
Tenchinantla		.5 leagues to the north	Population of Tenchinantla in 1569 was 40 married tributaries, 49 men over 14 years old, and 44 women over 12 years.
Tuztla	Tustla	3 leagues to the west	Population of Tuztla in 1569 was 50 married tributaries and 70 women over 12 years. The number of men over 14 is not reported. This site became part of the hacienda de Oculixtlahuacan. **Modern identification**: Tuxtla
			SAN ANDRÉS: Mention of another sujeto of Iguala named San Andres "hacia la banda del

			sur" in a merced given to Pedro de Chavarría of 1 sitio de ganado menor near San Andrés "en un cerro alto pedregosos entre otros dos cerrillos donde están unos arbilillos secos abajo de una cieneguilla que se suelle anegar en tiempo de aguas." The implication is that San Andrés was populated at this time; AGN-M 32/fols. 129v.–130v. In the 1627 merced petitioned for by Diego de Mineron, 2 of the sitios are said to be near Iguala, "junto al de San Andres." See discussion under Ahuehuetla and Metlapa; AGN-M 6/fols. 44f.–44v. On the map included in AGN-T 3514, San Andrés is glossed as belonging to don Antonio de Ayala, and is located south of the road from Iguala to Ahuehuepa, above Metlapa (see map 5f).

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The Ovando report of 1569 mentions that Iguala is located in the province called Cuixca. Iguala is a cabecera, it has no *governador* but 11 *alguaziles*. There are 560 married tributaries, 620 men either married, single or widowers over 14 years old, and 840 women either married, widows or single over 12 years of age. In each estancia there is an "alguacil y un principalillo que los manda." About half of the people are chontales, who understand mexicano to a greater or lesser extent "porque vienen o van a los tianguez a los pueblos de alrrededor a vender sus granjerias y se entienden y tratan con los mexicanos. Son todos ellos y biven de labradores." However, later this document states that "en yohuala hay pocos labradores: son todos mercaderes y grandes holgazanes."

It is also mentioned that there is no *cofradía* nor *capellanía* in Iguala, while there are four or five Spaniards residing there, two of whom are married. There used to be a hospital, maintained by alms given by the Indians and Spaniards. It is implied that the cabecera of Iguala has barrios, though they are not specifically mentioned. Finally, the priest states that he has maintained a school for the children of the *principales* and *tepehuas* along with many children of *maceguales*. He adds that the dispersed population settlement is a great impedimento to proselytization. And, finally, he suggests that disputes be rapidly resolved, "porque en los pleitos hay grandes robos y echan derramas a los maceguales y los nahuatlatos escrivanos procuradores y juezes los roban y desuellan bivos y les ynsisten que armen pleitos y no ayan fin los comenzados y lo que mas es dolendun que facilmente anbs partes hallan y sobornan testigos falsos para provar lo que quieren y andan desasosegados."

The *Relación Geográfica* of Iguala, dated 1582, gives a population of 840 tributaries although "solía ser de mucha gente . . . [y el] Bachiller Moreno beneficiado deste pueblo [decía] que conoció habrá 30 años 6000 vecinos." There were 4 *hermitas* for each of the four *barrios* of the cabecera: Santiago, San Pedro, San Juan and San Miguel. The same *Relación geográfica* gives the population of the 6 *sujetos* as 200.

Mayanalán: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG IGUALA (1582)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
---- (name not given)		1 league to the east	In 1569 the population of this sujeto was 76 tributaries, 40 *mozos y mozas* and 192 *de confision.*
			CACATONAPA: In 1579, the *naturales* of Mayanalán complained that a certain Martín de Herrera kept goats on land of theirs at a sujeto named Cacatonapa; AGN-GP 2/194.
			SAN ANTONIO TLAPALAN: In 1579 the *naturales* of Mayanalán complained that the encomendero Bernardino de Casasola had numerous animals that he kept near a sujeto named San Antonio Tlapalan and that damaged their crops; AGN-GP 2/194. **Modern identification**: Tlapala
Sant Jhoan	San Juan	1 league to the south	In 1569 the population of San Juan was 22 tributaries, 12 *mozos y mozas,* and 68 [should be 56] *de confision.* In a land dispute in the late seventeenth century involving Mayanalán, the estancia de Palula, and the hacienda of Tlapala, it is mentioned that the land in litigation had belonged to two barrios and *pueblos viejos*, San Sebastián Alsesecan and San Juan Baptista (Tetelillla). These undoubtedly refer to the sixteenth-century sujetos of San Juan and San Sebastián; AGN-T 1667/1. **Modern identification**: Tetelilla (?)
Sant Martín		3 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of San Martín was 5 tributaries, 3 *mozos y mozas,* and 16 [should be 13] *de confision.*
Sant Pablo	San Pablo	.5 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of San Pablo was 15 casas and tributaries, 8 *mozos y mozas,* and 46 [should be 38] *de confision.*
Sant Sebastián	San Sebastián	1.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of San Sebastián was 21 tributaries, 12 *mozos y mozas,* and 53 *confesantes.* In a land dispute in the late seventeenth century involving Mayanalán, the estancia de Palula and the hacienda Tlapala, it is mentioned that the land in litigation belonged to two barrios and pueblos viejos, San Sebastian Alsesecan and San Juan Baptista (Tetelillla). These probably refer to the sixteenth-century subject villages of San Juan and San Sebastián; AGN-T 1667/1. **Modern identification**: Alsesecan (?)

Santiago	Santiago	1.5 leagues to the east	In 1569 the population of Santiago was 18 tributaries, 15 *mozos y mozas,* and 66 [should be 51] *de confision.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The Ovando report states the *principales* make all young men over 10 years of age pay tribute. In the cabecera there were 93 houses (*casas*) with 93 tributaries, 50 *mozos y mozas* over 14 years of age, and 296 *confesantes.* Note that in the Ovando report for the cabecera and most estancias there is an apparent error in that the number of young men and women was mistakenly doubled to determine the number of individuals above the age of confession, which should be 246. At the end of the Ovando report for Mayanalán, it is stated that there are 250 [married] tributaries in the cabecera and estancias, with 640 *de confision.*

The *Relación de Iguala*, dated 1582, first states that Mayanalán had 76 tributaries, then corrects this numer to 66. However, the total of 192 corresponds to the first figure.

Tepecuacuilco: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG IGUALA (1582)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Acatl mani	Aclalmane	About 8.5 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Acatl mani was 20 married tributaries, 25 men over 14 years old, and 27 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Acalmantlila (?). From the direction and distance given in the document, perhaps this refers to the Acalmantlila south of Cuetzala de la Reforma.
Acayahualco	Acayahualco	About 1 league to the south	In 1569 the population of Acayahualco was 101 married tributaries, 120 men over 14 years old, and 140 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Acayahualco
----	Agacuatitan		
Hahuatlan	Ahuatlan	About 12 leagues to the west and south	In 1569 the population of Ahuatlan was 65 married tributaries, 85 men over 14 years old, and 90 women over 12 years old.
Amecapalco	Amecapalco	6 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population is given as 40 married tributaries, 56 men over 14 years old, and 60 women over 12 years old.
Apazapan	Apasapan	About 2 leagues between west and south	In 1569 the population of Apasapan was 100 married tributaries, 112 men over 14 years old, and 127 women over 12 years old. This sujeto is present on the Mapa de Tepecuacuilco, as Apacypa.[2] In 1590, those of Tepecuacuilco requested a merced for a venta at a depopulated estancia of theirs called Apazapa. Note that this sujeto, therefore, was apparently already abandoned by 1590, perhaps the result of an earlier congregación; AGN-M 16/fol. 182v. **Modern identification**: Apasapan
----	Apitzahuacan		
----	Atemantlan		
Atentzinco	Atentzingo	About .5 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Atentzinco was 86 married tributaries, 108 men over 14 years old, and 102 women over 12 years old.

2. For documentation and analysis of the Mapa de Tepecuacuilco, see Bittmann Simons (1969) and Caso (1979).

Ateopan		6 leagues to the west and north	In 1569 the population of Ateopan was 13 married tributaries, 16 men over 14 years old, and 16 women over 12 years old.
Atlitzintla	Atutzintla	A little over a league to the north	In 1569 the population of Atlitzintla was 59 married tributaries and 69 men over 14 years old. The number of women over 12 years old is not given.
Atzcala	Ascala	About 10 leagues to the west and south	In 1569 the population of Atzcala was 33 married tributaries, 43 men over 14 years old, and 46 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Atzcala
Atzunpan	Atzunpan	About 1 league to the north	In 1569 the population of Atzumpan was 54 married tributaries, 66 men over 14 years old, and 62 women over 12 years of age.
Asuchitlan	Axochitlan	5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of Asuchitlan was 45 married tributaries, 55 men over 14 years old, and 73 women over 12 years old. This sujeto is visible on the Mapa of Tepecuacuilco as Asuchitlan "suzeto a Tepequaquilco." **Modern identification:** Perhaps this was the place later known as Carrizal. Note that the tree called *a:xo:chitl* in Nahuatl is also referred to as *carrizal*.
Caltzintla	----	7 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Caltzintla was 14 married tributaries, 22 men over 14 years old, and 30 women over 12 years old.
Camoxibtla (spelling uncertain)	Camotepeq	More or less 17 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Camoxiuhtla (?) was 32 married tributaries, 37 men over 14 years old, and 42 women over 12 years old. In the *Relación geográfica de Iguala* this sujeto (Camotepeq) is mentioned as being located south of the Balsas River.
----	Chalchitepeque		
Chichihualco	Chichihualco	About 12.5 to the west and south	In 1569 the population of Chichihualco was 66 married tributaries, 78 men over 14 years old, and 85 women over 12 years old. In 1591, Chichihualco is mentioned along with Suchipala as a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco (I 3/316). The same year the residents of this sujeto complain that a miner had built an *ingenio* near their pueblo, contaminating the water; AGN-I 3/527. In 1597, Chichigualco, a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco, requests relief from Taxco repartimento; AGN-I 6(2)/996). **Modern identification**: Chichihualco
Chimalacatlan	----	About 15 leagues to the	In 1569 the population of Chimalacatlan was 20 married tributaries, 30 men over 14 years old, and 31 women over 12 years old.

		west	
Cuahcoyula	Acuacuyula	About 6 leagues between the west and south	In 1569 the population of Cuauhcoyula was 41 married tributaries, 51 men over 14 years old, and 53 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Coacoyula
----	Colotlan		
Coamuchtitlan	Cuamuchititlan	4.5 leagues to to south	In 1569 the population of Coamuchitlan was 39 married tributaries, 45 men over 14 years old, and 60 women over 12 years old. This sujeto was probably located near Contlalco, between modern-day Tonalapa del Sur and Xalitla.
Quauhpana-huazco	Cuapanahuasco	A little under .5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of Quauhpanahuazco was 72 married tributaries, 82 men over 14 years old, and 93 women over 12 years old.
----	Hueytepeque		
Huizcuacingo	Itzcoatzingo	12 leagues to the west and south	In 1569 the population of Huizcuacingo was 70 married tributaries, 97 men over 14 years old, and 100 women over 12 years old. On the Mapa de Tepecuacuilco there is a mention of "la estancia de ... squabcango junto a chichihualco." This undoubtedly refers to Huizcuacingo and Itzcoatzingo; the location near Chichihualco (12.5 leagues from Tepecuacuilco) confirms this identification. In 1597, Huizcautzingo, sujeto to Tepecuacuilco, requested relief from repartimiento and other services; AGN-I 6(2)/996.
Yxtelolotlan	Istululuta	About 12 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Yxtelolotlan was 33 married tributaries, 44 men over 14 years old, and 50 women over 12 years old.
----	Itan..ni..ntan		Toussaint (1931) transcribes this as Tlanyaquatan, followed by a question mark.
----	Itzontepeque		
Yxtlahuacan	Ixtlahuacan	3 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of Yxtlahuacan was 50 married tributaries, 57 men over 14 years old, and 74 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Given the distance and the name (which means 'plain', perhaps this refers to present-day Sabana Grande.
Matzala	----	6 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Matzala was 9 married tributaries, 14 men over 14 years old, and 14 women over 12 years old.
Maxelan	----	7 leagues to the	In 1569 the population of Maxelan was 20 married tributaries, 25 men over 14 years old,

		west and south	and 30 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Maxela
Mexcala	Mezcala	More or less 7 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of Mexcala was 31 married tributaries, 39 men over 14 years old, and 44 women over 12 years old. On the Mapa de Tepecuacuilco there is an "estancia de Maxcala" located near the "Río Grande" (i.e., Balsas). In 1604, residents of Palula fled the congregación in Tepecuacuilco and settled in Mexcala; AGN-C/168. **Modern identification**: Mezcala
----	Oistitla		Toussaint transcribes Oistula, probably for Aistola. **Modern identification**: Estola
----	Otamentlan		
----	Oztotzintlan		
Palula	Palula	3.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of Palula was 119 married tributaries, 134 men over 14 years old, and 172 women over 12 years old. On the Mapa de Tepecuacuilco, there is a pueblo named Palula, a sujeto of Tepeqoacuilco. **Modern identification**: Palula
Xantlan	Pantlan	About 1 league to the west	In 1569 the population of Pantlan was 40 married tributaries, 46 men over 14 years old, and 46 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Pantla
Pochotzinco	Pochontzingo	About 10 leagues to the west and south	In 1569 the population of Pochotzinco was 18 married tributaries, 25 men over 14 years old, and 28 women over 12 years old.
----	Tzatzamilco		**Modern identification**: Sasamulco
Tecalco	----	10.5 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Tecalco was 32 married tributaries, 47 men over 14 years old, and 49 women over 12 years old.
Tecoma apan		About 12.5 leagues to the west and south	In 1569 the population of Tecomapan was 42 married tributaries, 62 men over 14 years old, and 65 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification:** Perhaps this is the same sujeto as that which follows, Tecoyametlan.

----	Tecoyametlan		**Modern identification**: Tecomatlan (?)
Tepozonalco	Tepozonalco	12 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Tepozonalco was 31 married tributaries, 41 men over 14 years old, and 48 women over 12 years old. **Modern identification**: Tepozonalco (?)
Teteltzingo	Teteltzingo	.5 leagues to the east	In 1569 the population of Teteltzingo was 62 married tributaries, 69 young men above 14 years of age, and 69 young women over 12 years of age. In 1616, a Tetelcingo "despoblado que fue de congregación" is mentioned; AGN-I 7/95.
----	Tetitzingo		
----	Tetozocan		
Tlalnecpatla	----	8 leagues to the west and north	In 1569 the population of Tlalnecpatlan was 11 married tributaries, 20 men over 14 years old, and 21 women over 12 years old. Perhaps this refers to the Tlalnepantla mentioned as near Cocula in many colonial documents, although if it were, one would expect the direction from Tepecuacuilco mentioned in the Ovando report as to have been southwest.
Tlitlan	Tlinlan	9 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Tlitlan was 35 married tributaries, 45 men over 14 years old, and 55 women over 12 years old. This probably refers to the Tlila (or Xila) that was south of Cococingo near Cocula, and which divided the lands of Cococingo from those of Tepozonalco.
----	Tochopan		Cf. comments under Tzinacantlan. **Modern identification**: Tuxpan
----	Totozintlan		
----	Tzinacantan		In 1619 a certain Juan Bautista Benenciano petitioned for a license to found a venta one league from Pololapa on the camino real to Acapulco at a place called Tzinacantlan, also known as Plantanar. The *naturales* of Tepecuacuilco objected, stating that it was "en términos del dicho nuestro pueblo junto a la laguna y no media legua de un sujeto llamado Atzumpa y de otro llamado Tuchpa donde viven y asisten muchos de los naturales del dicho pueblo"; AGN-T 2756/11. **Modern identification**: Platanillo
----	Xalapa		In 1580 an Indian cacique of Tepecuacuilco had rented lands to Indians at Xalapa; AGN-GP 2/935. In a 1615 merced to Francisco López for a sitio de ganado mayor and two caballerías, the land is stated to be in a "llano y sabana rasa" between two "poblaciones antiguas": Zacacoyoque and Xalapa. **Modern identification**: Xalapilla (?)
Suchipala	Suchipala	About 10 leagues to the	In 1569 the population of Suchipala was 80 married tributaries, 106 men over 14 years old, and 125 women over 12 years old.

		south	On the Mapa de Tepecuacuilco, there is a pueblo of Suchipala, sujeto of Tepecuacuilco. In 1591 Suchipala and Chichigualco are mentioned as sujetos of Tepecuacuilco; AGN-I 3/316. In 1597 Xochipala requested and was granted relief from *repartimiento* and other labor services demanded by the governador of Tepecuacuilco; AGN-I 6(2)/996. **Modern identification**: Xochipala
----	Xochitlan		
Xocotitlan	----	6 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of Xocotitlan was 31 married tributaries, 41 men over 14 years old, and 43 women over 12 years old. Perhaps this refers to the (Joya de) Xocotitlan, which divided the lands of Tepozonalco from those of Cococingo, forming the southeastern extreme of the latter. **Modern identification**: Xocotitlan
----	Yotlan	south of the Balsas River	
Zacacoyuc	Sacacuyoc	About 1 league between west and south	In 1569 the population of Zacacoyuc was 73 married tributaries, 80 men over 14 years old, and 82 women over 12 years old. Cf. entry under Xalapa. **Modern identification**: Zacacoyuca
----	Zacapalco		

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In 1551 there was a dispute over the estancias of Ucelotla and Tlitlogoales (perhaps still occupied at this time, the document is unclear on this point) between Tepecuacuilco and Zumpango. Perhaps these two estancias were sujetos of one of the other cabeceras, or perhaps they were trying to change political affiliation; Zavala (1982a:384–85; 403).

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, the population of the cabecera of Tepecuacuilco was 366 married tributaries, and "de confision casados y solteros 445 de catorce años arriba." There was 467, married and single women and widows over 12 years of age. Apparently here and for all the estancias the population is first given in married tributaries, and then for men above 14 years old (including married men, widowers and single men living separately), and then finally women above 12 years old (also including married women, widows, and single women living separately). The priest states (cf. to the situation in Mayanalán) that in the partido of Tepecuacuilco young men and women of ten years or less who are still under the dominion of their parents, pay tribute.There are 36 estancias mentioned in this report, each with an *alguacil* and a *tequitato* "que los manda." Each estancia had its church, which were ordered built by the Augustinians during the time of Fr. Joan de Zumárraga. In the cabecera there is a hospital and a *cofradía* maintained by alms from the Indians. They say that

"los frailes agustinos thenyendo a cargo este pueblo y los yndios los constituyeron no se cuyo es el patronazgo del ospital ni administracion del, ni tiene propio ninguno."

The Ovando report amentions that on the lands of Tepecuacuilco toward Zumpango there are some mines called Techichiquilco where 3 unmarried Spaniards, 11 blacks, and 25 married Indians lived at the time. The report also notes that there are five languages spoken in the sujetos of Tepecuacuilco, although the majority understand mexicana "por que en sus tianguez la tratan mas que la suya." The five languages are mexicana, chontal, matlame, tuzteca and texome.

Besides the estancias mentioned, there are other smaller settlements. The priest Joan Martínez who elaborated the Ovando report states that: "en las estancias deste pueblo y en el número de los vecinos junté algunos vecinos que están apartados y metidos en quebradas y cerros ásperos; y estos están sin iglesia y en guarda de sus mojoneras. Conviene que S.M. envie una provisión a este pueblo para que se junten todos estos indios en ciertos lugares cómodos para podellos visitar sin ningún trabajo, porque como ellos agora están mui divididos y apartados y en lugares sopechosos donde si no es el sacerdote no los ve otro" (fol. 9v).

In Zavala (1982:384-5, 403) there is a reference to a dispute between Tepecuacuilco and Zumpango over the estancias of Tlitlugoales and Ucelotla, probably sujetos of one or the other cabecera.

Tlaxmalaca: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	RG IGUALA (1582)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND OTHER MENTIONS
(name not given)		2 leagues to the west	In 1569 the population of this sujetos was 6 tributaries, 4 *mozos y mozas,* and 16 *de confision.*
La Asumpción		2.5 leagues to the east.	In 1569 population of La Asumpción was 15 tributaries, 12 *mozos y mozas,* and 42 *de confision.*
Los Tres Reyes	Los Tres Reyes Magos	almost 1 league to the west	In 1569 the population of Los Tres Reyes was 31 tributaries, 45 *mozos y mozas,* and 107 *de confision.*
Sant Andrés		1 league to the west	In 1569 the population of San Andrés was 12 tributaries, 8 *mozos y mozas,* and 32 *de confision.*
Sant Francisco	San Francisco	.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of San Francisco was 52 tributaries, 42 *mozos y mozas,* and 146 *de confision.*
Sant Jhoan	San Juan	2 leagues to the north	In 1569 the population of San Juan was 52 tributaries, 35 *mozos y mozas,* and 139 *de confision.*
San Lucas	San Lucas	1 league to the west	In 1569 the population of San Lucas was 65 tributaries, 56 *mozos y mozas,* and 186 *de confision.*
	San Lucas (otro)		
Sant Mateo	San Mateo	1.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of San Mateo was 9 tributaries, 7 *mozos y mozas,* and 25 *de confision.*
Sant Miguel		.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of San Miguel was 48 tributaries, 53 *mozos y mozas,* and 149 *de confision.*
Sant Miguel (otro)	San Miguel	2.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 the population of this second San Miguel was 75 tributaries, 64 *mozos y mozas,* and 214 *de confision.*
Sant Pedro	San Pedro	1 league to the south	In 1569 the population of San Pedro was 18 tributaries, 9 *mozos y mozas,* and 45 *de confision.*
Santiago	Santiago	3 leagues to the east	In 1569 the population of Santiago was 35 tributaries, 21 *mozos y mozas,* and 91 *de confision.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In 1569, according to the Ovando report, the cabecera had 12 estancias and the total population is 667 tributaries, it being understood that a man and his wife constitute one tributary, or two widows or widowers the same one tributary in total. In this village young men and women do not pay tribute while they serve their

parents, until they marry. The population of the cabecera was 152 married tributaries, 31 widows, and 112 young men ("muchachos") over 14 years of age and young women ("muchachas") over 12 years of age. There are a total of 447 *confesantes*. (Note that the The document once gives 110 of the latter instead of 112, but the total is derived from the figure of 112.) At the end of the report it is stated that in the cabecera and estancias there are 666 tributaries, which total 1,133 adults.

In 1579, the *naturales* of Tlaxmalac complain that the cattle of Bernardino de Casasola damage the fields of "ocho pueblos que distan de los unos y los otros a legua y a media legua y lo más desviado dos leguas." Apparently these villages were subject to Mayanalán. In the same document it is requested that he "sacase cierto ganado de bacas que tenía en sus términos en la estancia de Tlapala." This same document later mentions that the *naturales* had gone to the estancias of Miaguatamalco and Tlapala "donde ellos [i.e., those of Tlaxmalac] tenían maceguales poblados con sus casas y tierras de muchos años a esta parte"; AGN-T 3948/9.

The *Relación de Iguala* (1582) gives the population of the cabecera and its 10 sujetos as 400 tributaries. The location of the sujetos is given as follows: "corren estos sujetos hacia la parte del oriente."

In 1654, those of Tlaxmalac claim that "tienen por su sujeto al pueblo de Santiago Guitzuco el cual siempre ha estado sujeto al dicho pueblo de los dichos sus partes reconociéndole como a su cabecera y hoy los naturales del dicho pueblo de Guitzuco pretenden sustraerse del reconocimiento que siempre han tenido y deben tener solo a fin de causar pletiso e inquietudes"; AGN-I 17/143. Note that this may refer to ecclesiastical divisions, with Tlaxmalac as the parish seat. There is no other indication that Huitzuco was a sujeto of Tlaxmalac.

In 1662 a those of Santa Ana Tasmalaca and Santiago Huitzuco "y sus sujetos" presented a petition. The phrase "y sus sujetos" implies that each cabecera still had subject villages and that, therefore, nucleation had not been entirely effective; AGN-Tr 42/8 bis.

Appendix 1c: Cabeceras and Sujetos in the Jurisdiction of Tixtla
Early Colonial Period

Acapizatlan: List of Sujetos

PAPELES DE NUEVA ESPAÑA (1569?)[1]	LOCATION FROM CABECERA OF ACAPIZATLAN; AND FROM TIXTLA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Acautla	2 leagues from the "cabecera" (Tixtla?)	30 tributaries
Pipichohuaztepeque	1 league from Acapizatlan 3 leagues from Tixtla	5 tributaries
Quatiticatlan	1 league from Acapizatlan 3 leagues from Tixtla	15 tributaries

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the PNE document, Acapizatlan, with 105 tributaries, was an "estancia" of Tixtla, located at 2 leagues distance. Acapiztlan is often mentioned in the colonial documentation.

A document from 1583 mentions that Acapizatlan, with a population of 30 tributaries, was located 2½ leagues southwest of Tixtla; AGN-T 2723/4.

In June 1625, the *naturales* of Yacapizatlan returned to their original pueblo, 20 years after having been congregated in Tixtla. The priest of Tixtla requested an dispatch that those of Yacapizatlan be ordered to return to Tixtla; AGN-C 283 and 284.

In 1633, those of Tixtla complained that in a sujeto named Acapisatlan, "se han ido algunos espanoles, mestizos negros y mulatos sin tener en el casas ni vecindad alguna los cuales de hecho y contra desecho se les han entrado en sus tierras quitandoselas y sobre ello les han hecho yhacen muchos agravios y vejaciones"; AGN-I 10(3)/109. The reference to Acapisatlan as sujeto suggests that it was still inhabited at this time although suffering immigration by castas, probably related to its position on the camino real and the concomitant opportunities for trade and commerce (hence the interest in land acquisition by non-Indians).

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1. In his comments to the "Relación de Tistla y Muchitlán" (p. 265), René Acuña suggests that the PNE document (vol. 5, pp. 225–29) might date from 1569.

Apango: List of Sujetos

PAPELES DE NUEVA ESPAÑA (1569?)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA OF APANGO; AND FROM TIXTLA (ACCORDING TO PNE)	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Amula	2 leagues from Tixtla	30 tributaries **Modern identification**: Almolonga
Nexpalco	.5 leagues from Apango 4 leagues from Tixtla	9 tributaries
Queitali	3 leagues from Tixtla	10 tributaries
Tlaixquac	1 league from Apango 3 leagues from Tixtla	3 tributaries **Modern identification**: Tlaixcoac

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the PNE document, Apango, with 155 tributaries, was an "estancia" of Tixtla. Apango is the modern-day pueblo of the same name.

In a 1542 document that names an *alguacil* for Apango, it is noted that this refers to the "estancia de Apango sujeta a Tistla"; AGN-M 1/14.

Apparently Apango was a sub-cabecera of Tistla, with its own estancias. In AGN-C Exp. 77 (dated 1603) it is mentioned that Apango had 3 sujetos: Quauhlotlan, Nexpalco and Tlaixquaque, all of which are to be congregated in Apango.

For the separation of Apango from its "cabecera" of Tixtla, see the 1724 documentation in AGN-I 37/37 and AGN-I 49/37.

Atliacan: List of Sujetos

PAPELES DE NUEVA ESPAÑA (1569?)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA OF ATLIACA; AND FROM TIXTLA (ACCORDING TO PNE)	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Maquixtlan	.5 league from Atliaca 1.5 leagues from Tixtla	24 tributaries
Quatzintla	1.5 leagues from Tixtla	4 tributaries
Tepetitlanapan	2 leagues from Tixtla	7 tributaries
Tzemacatlan	2 leagues from Tixtla	5 tributaries

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the PNE document, Atliaca, with 195 tributaries, was an "estancia" of Tixtla. Atliaca is the modern-day pueblo of the same name.

Atliaca had originally been ordered congregated in Tixtla. They objected, citing their position on the camino real and the benefits to travelers that would result from their being allowed to remain in their original cite. the viceroy acceded and Atliaca was allowed to return and rebuild their destroyed pueblo; AGN-C exp. 142 (dated 1604).

Huitziltepec: List of Sujetos

OVANDO (1569)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA (ACCORDING TO OVANDO)	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
San Agustín	2 leagues to the east	In 1569 San Agustín had a publication of 5 tributaries, 3 *mozos y mozas*, and 13 *confesantes*.
San Pedro	1 league to the west	In 1569 San Pedro had a publication of 16 tributaries, 8 *mozos y mozas*, and 40 *confesantes*.
San Sebastián	1.5 leagues to the south	In 1569 San Sebastián had a publication of 18 tributaries, 12 *mozos y mozas*, and 13 *confesantes*.
		CHALCHIUITEPEC: In 1603 Apango and its sujetos petitioned to be congregated in Apango (not Tixtla) given the good lands and its location on the camino real. The viceroy granted this request and added to the congregación the cabecera of Huitziltepec and its sujetos of Chalhuitepec and Tzacualpan (along with Amula, whose cabecera was Tixtla); AGN-C/77. However, the following year Chalchihuitepec and Zacualpan protested that they had already been congregated in their cabecera of Zumpango, and petitioned to be allowed to remain; AGN-C/128. Thus it is not entirely clear if Chalchihuitepec and Tzacualpan were sujetos of Huitziltepec or Zumpango.
		TZACUALPAN: See previous entry.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The *Libro de las tasaciones* mentions that Huitziltepec had sujetos at the time (late first half of the sixteenth century). The wording of the entry is: "atento lo que por ella consta y parece y la cantidad de gente que hay y se halló en el dicho pueblo y sus sujetos dijeron."

According to the Ovando report published by García Pimentel (1897:104–12), the cabecera of Huitziltepec had 96 tributaries, 55 *mozos y mozas*, and 247 *confesantes*.

In the *Relación geográfica de Zumpango*, dated 1582, Huitziltepec is stated to be a "cabecera por si."

Mochitlán: List of Sujetos

PAPELES DE NUEVA ESPAÑA (1569?)	RELACIÓN DE TISTLA Y MUCHITLAN (MAP) (1582)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Ahuatlacontlan	San Francisco Ahuatlacotlan	1.5 leagues from Isquatzingo (?)	12 tributaries according to PNE; according to PNE, Ahuatlacontlan was a sujeto of Isquatzingo; 7 tributaries according to map
Chichila	Santa María Chichilan	2 leagues from Tixtla	11 tributaries according to PNE 19 tributaries according to map
Cintlanapa	San Agustín Citlanapan	7 leagues from Mochitlán	7 tributaries according to PNE 5 tributaries according to map **Modern identification**: Zintlanapa
Isquatzingo	San Miguel Huitzquauhtzinco	1 league from Mochitlán.	123 tributaries according to PNE, where it is also listed as having two sujetos: Ahuatlacontlan and Tepetitlanapa. 106 tributaries according to map
Mitlancingo	Santa María Mictlantzinco	3 leagues from Mochitlán	23 tributaries according to PNE 23 tributaries according to map
Nonotla		8 leagues from Mochitlán	3 tributaries according to PNE **Modern identification**: Nacaxtlan (?)
Quaistlahuacan	San Pedro Coa[ix]tlahuacan	2 leagues from Mochitlán	11 tributaries according to PNE 6 tributaries according to map **Modern identity**: Coaxtlahuacan
Quautamaltitlan	San Andrés Quauhtamaltitlan	.5 leagues from Isquatzingo (?)	12 tributaries according to PNE; according to PNE, Quatamaltitlan was a sujeto of Isquatzingo 19 tributaries according to map **Modern identity**: Cuatomatitlan
Quauxilotla	San Miguel Quauhxilotlan	7 leagues from Mochitlán	11 tributaries according to PNE 19 tributaries according to map **Modern identity**: Cuajilotla (apparently the small Cuajilotla near

			Chapalapa, not the one near Coaxtlahuacan)
Tepechochotla	San Lucas Tepe[x]ocotlan	.5 leagues from Mochitlán	22 tributaries according to PNE 6 tributaries according to map **Modern identification**: Tepechicotla
Tepetitlanapa		just over .5 leagues from Mochitlán	5 tributaries according to PNE
Tetlacanpan		.5 leagues from Mochitlán	3 tributaries according to PNE
Tiltzapoapan	San Juan Tliltzapoapan	6 leagues from Mochitlán	16 tributaries according to PNE 10 tributaries according to map
Tlacotitlanapa	San Pedro Tlacotintlanapan	1 league from Mochitlán	14 tributaries according to PNE 15 tributaries according to map **Modern identity**: Tlacotitlanapa
Tlapacholapa		2.5 leagues from Mochitlán	9 tributaries according to PNE
Tzacazonapa		.5 leagues from Mochitlán	2 tributaries according to PNE **Modern identity**: Zacazonapan
Yehualtianguizco	San Agustín Yohualtianquizco	2 leagues from Mochitlán	5 tributaries according to PNE 20 tributaries according to map

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the PNE document, Mochitlán, with 174 tributaries, was a "cabecera por si" (cabecera in and of itself). The map of the *Relación geográfica* gives the population of Mochitlán as 154 tributaries. Mochitlán is the modern-day pueblo of the same name.

Among the "estancias" of Mochitlán is Isquatzingo, located 1 league from Mochitlan. Isquatzingo is listed has having its own sujetos: Ahuatlacontlan and Tepetitlanapa. However, in the map of Mochitlán that is published with the "Relación de Tistla y Muchitlán" Isquatzingo is given (as are all minor towns on the map) as a sujeto of Mochitlán. Hence in the table above all sujetos that are given on the map are listed as sujetos of Mochitlán.

Finally, in García Pimental (1904:25), which reproduces a document dating from about 1570, Mochitlán is stated to have 15 subject estancias, with a total of 489 tributaries in the cabecera alone. This estancias are not given by name.

Oapan: List of Sujetos

PAPELES DE NUEVA ESPAÑA (1569?)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA (ACCORDING TO PNE)	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Sant Francisco	1 league to north	The population of this sujeto in 1569 was 47 tributaries. **Modern identification:** San Francisco Ahuelicán
Sant Francisco	2 leagues to east	The population of this sujeto in 1569 **Modern identification:** San Francisco Ozomatlán
Sant Joan	2 leagues to west	The population of this sujeto in 1569 was 150 tributaries. **Modern identification:** San Juan Tetelcingo
Sant Joan	3 leagues to the south	The population of this sujeto in 1569 was 82 tributaries.
San Marcos	1 league to the west	The population of this sujeto in 1569 was 32 tributaries. **Modern identification:** San Marcos Oacacingo
Sant Miguel	.5 leagues to the east	The population of this sujeto in 1569 was 150 tributaries. **Modern identification:** San Miguel Tecuiciapan.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

According to the *Relación geográfica de Iguala*, the cabecera of Oapan had a population of 400; no barrios are listed. In regard to sujetos, the document reads "tiene tres sujetos," with a population of another 400. However, Acuna notes in his commentary that the scribe had originally written "cinco," which he had crossed out and then written "tres"; the original number of five sujetos would be in accord with other documentation and the identified sujetos in the *Papeles de Nueva España*. Acuna transcribed [Ixco San Juan, San Francisco y Ozumatlan y otros menores." However, this is a reconstruction. The document actually reads "Esca: San Juan, San Franco Ozumatlan." Re: this document, Acuna states: "sugiriendo los dos puentos intermedios que se trata de dos pueblos distintos. Es posible. El pasaje no es claro, porque fue corregido y adicionado más tarde. Mi lectura "Ixco" "frente a" es meramente conjetural y enteramente acomodaticia: la fuente enuncia tres sujetos unicamente." He also notes that the phrase "y otros menores" was later added to the text.

Apparently what might have happened is that originally the scribe was going to write 5 sujetos (Ozomatlan, Tecuiciapan, Tetelcingo, Oacacingo and Ahuelican) but then, given the dispersed settlement pattern and the fact that the last two (like the "otro menor" Ameyaltepec) were barrios (not sujetos) of Oapan, he decided to eliminate the "cinco," and write in "tres" as well as adding "y otros menores," which would refer to the many small settlements mentioned in AGN-C/179. If this is correct, then one would expect that the three listed would be San Francisco Ozumatlán, San Juan (Tetelcingo), and San Miguel Tecuiciapan (and the two barrios of Oapan not included would have been Amayotepec and Oacacingo). Note that Acuna added the "y" between "San Franco" and "Ozumatlán" to obtain three sujetos; the conjunction is not present in the original. This editing chage seems to be incorrect. Also, perhaps the "Esca" is wrongly transcribed for "Smig" which would give the three major sujetos. Or it might well be "Ixco" (meaning 'in front of') referring to the sujeto that was "enfrente de" Oapan, i.e. San Miguel Tecuiciapan.

The version of the 1569 Ovando report published by García Pimental (1897:104–12) mentions a population of 200 tributaries and 155 *mozos y mozas*, yielding a total of 555 *confesantes*. The priest stated that Oapan "tiene seis estancias principales, sin otras muchas pequeñas, porque este pueblo nunca se junto como S.M. tiene mandado." Again, the "otras muchas pequeñas" obviously refers to the small settlements listed in the Congregación document of 1604. The priest then later states that there are 10 "estanzuelas" besides the principal ones. The statement "nunca se juntó como S.M. tiene mandado" implies that a congregacion had been ordered prior to 1569, but had not taken effect. This suggests the possibility that midcentury congregaciones might have been carried out in Tlaxmalaca, Mayanalán, and other cabeceras in the Iguala Valley. A midcentury congregación was definitely carried out in Cocula.

An early (1557) set of codexes from the *a:ltepe:tl* of Oapan is discussed in Barlow (1954) and Noguez (1986). The documents relate the tasación that is to be given to the officials of Oapan by its the citizen of the cabecera (codex of Oapan) and by those of the sujeto villages of Tetelcingo and Tecuiciapan. The codexes of Oapan and Tecuiciapan are housed on the Latin American Library of Tulane University; the codex of Tetelcingo is apparently in private hands.

An interesting document from 1595 refers to the obligations of the sujetos of Oapan to the cabecera: 1) that the sujetos go during Pascua and advocacion of the cabecera to "aderezar la iglesia y levar los ornamentos, musica y andas para el culto divino"; 2) that the election of the oficiales de republica be carried out in the cab. and not the sujetos (note political control of cab. over sujeto officers); 3) re: sementera de comunidad: 1/2 to be taken to cabecera and the other half to remain in the sujetos (cf. to similar arrangement for Tlalcozauhtitlan). At this time (1595) agreement reached between cab. and sujetos on the above points. However, it was also agreed that the cab. and sujetos "han de acudir a los tiempos que pasan los soldados para las Filipinas a darles recaudo al pueblo de San Francisco Ozumatlan". Note that in this obligation, cab. was obliged to send servicio to sujeto. Note also that the agreement is arrived at by the indians "de la cabecera de Oguapa y los de San Francisco Ozumatlan y San Miguel Tecuisiapa y sus sujetos". Not clear if the pueblos of Ozumatlan and Tecuisiapa also had sujetos; the document's wording implies that this was the case. It would seem then, that the dispersed settlement pattern noted in the AGN-Congregaciones document may be reflected here: in the fact that the sujetos of Tecuiciapan and Ozumatlan, in turn, also had their sujetos. See AGN-I 6(1)/1050.

In 1604 a congregación was ordered carried out in San Agustín Oapan (the cabecera) and San Francisco Ozomatlán, a sujeto to where many small villages were relocated in order to help with the passage over the Balsas River; AGN-C Exp. 179. Both villages were on the camino real to Acapulco, and both are on the banks of the river; but the river was crossed at Ozomatlán. Mention at this time that the factor and oficial real of Mexico, D. Francisco de Valverid, had in a letter of Jan. 24, informed of "la mala comodidad que ha quedado y queda en el rio de las balsas por haber quitado del pasaje de el el pueblo de San Francisco y otros que son blaseros." As a result the *juez congregador* D. Francisco de Figueroa is ordered to visit the pueblos of Oapan and San Miguel Tecuiciapan, which is to remain in its place as a *visita* of Oapan. To be congregated in Oapan were:

San Francisco Aguelican (Ahuelicán)
Santa Maria Comoyotec (present-day Ameyaltepec; Amayotepec during the colonial period)
San Marcos Guacacingo (Oacacingo)

To be congregated in San Francisco Ozomatlán were:

Totolla
Tecmila

San Lucas Quaquizquizingo
Santa Maria Alpulyeca
Tempisquitzingo
San Sebastián Guasquautzingo
Tlatzala
San Martín Quechutla
San Agustín Tempixquixtitlan
San Martín Tetetla
San Juan Tetelcingo
San Juan Tanspatla
Tecpipilco
Quauchila
Cacaconapan
San Martín Tototlan
Tepexuxuhca
Cocacalco
Santiago Zapotitlan
Ochpantipan
San Martín Tezcatzinca
San Agustín Ostempan sujeto de Chilapa
San Miguel Zacualpa sujeto a Tlalcozautitlan

Undoubtedly many of these remain identified to this day as "*parajes* in the region, e.g. Tepexoxohca where the lands of San Miguel meet those of Ozomatlan. The pueblos congregated in Oapan were apparently barrios of the cabecera, and they were shortly resettled thereafter (in 1604 or 1605) resettled by their original inhabitants. Those congregated in Ozomatlán might well have been small outlying barrios or estancias of other communities (e.g., San Miguel Tecuiciapan, San Juan Tetelcingo, San Francisco Ozomatlán) or sujetos of other cabeceras (Chilapa and Tlalcozauhtitlan, as was the case with the last two villages in the list. It is mentioned here that Ozomatlán had already been moved, perhaps to Totolcintla, and then obviously resettled.

Tixtla: List of Sujetos

PAPELES DE NUEVA ESPAÑA (1569?)	LOCATION FROM CABECERA (ACCORDING TO PNE)	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Acatlicahuilteco	.5 leagues	In 1569 Acatlicahuilteco had 6 tributaries.
Acatzintla	1 league	In 1569 Acatzintla had 11 tributaries.
Cochotlan	10 leagues	In 1569 Cochotlan had 4 tributaries. It is also, according to the PNE document, 2 leagues from Tzoyatepec.
		COAUGUINEA: Complaint by those of Tixtla in 1551 that Martin de Ircio had an estancia "en terminos del dicho pueblo a do dicen Coauguinea." Although here it is not certain that Coauguinea is a sujeto, later in the document, which is a ruling in favor of Ircio, the viceroy orders that the encomendero not be bothered "por los indios del pueblo de Tistla y su sujeto," suggesting that perhaps Coauguinea was indeed a sujeto of Tixtla; Zavala (1982a:68–69).
Ixcuitlayocan	1 league	In 1569 Ixcuitlayocan had 8 tributaries.
Matalapan	1.5 leagues	In 1569 Matalapan had 7 tributaries.
Metzontepec	9 leagues	In 1569 Metzontepec had 7 tributaries.
Mizquititlan	2 leagues	In 1569 Mizquititlan had 4 tributaries.
Tepalm[ie]can	1.5 leagues	In 1569 Tepalmiecan had 6 tributaries.
Tetzahuapan	.5 leagues	In 1569 Tetzahuapan had 29 tributaries. The *Relación geografica de Tixtla y Muchitlán* states that the cabecera was originally located in Tetzahuapan, but was moved to Tixtla some 70 years previously (i.e., around 1512).
Texaltzingo	1 league	In 1569 Texaltzingo had 50 tributaries.
Tzacatzonapa	1 league	In 569 Tzacatzonapa had 1 tributary (located near Acatzintla). **Modern identification:** Zacazonapan.
Tzoquiapan	2.5 leagues	In 1569 Tzoquiapan had 6 tributaries.
Tzoyaltepeque	8 leagues	In 1569 Tzoyaltepeque had 12 tributaries. **Modern identification:** Zoyatepec
Yotla	1 league	In 1569 Yotla had 12 tributaries.

ADDITIONAL NOTES
In a document dated 1542, Tixtla is stated to be a cabecera with estancias of Apango, Esquaucingo and Mochitlan; AGN-M 1/14.

According to the PNE, Tixtla had 394 tributaries, a tributary being either a married couple or a widow or widower counted together. This does not include the adolescent girls and boys ("sin contar los moços y moças"). Among the "estancias" of Tixtla are given Atliacan, Apango, and (Y)acapizatlan. Muchitlán is stated to be a "cabecera por si" (a cabecera in and of itself). Since Atliacan, Apango, and Acapizatlan all have their own sujetos, they are listed separately in this appendix.

Finally, in García Pimental (1904:25), which reproduces a document dated from about 1570, Tixtla is stated to have 30 subject estancias, up to 10 leagues distant, with a total of 901 tributaries. Mochitlán is separately listed, so the 30 estancias would not include those of Mochitlán.

The "Relación de Tistla y Muchitlán," also dated 1582, mentions only that Tixtla had 18 sujetos, without further elaboration. The population is given as 400 *vecinos*, "more or less," in the cabecera.

Zumpango: List of Sujetos

RG ZUMPANGO (MAP) (1582)[2]	LOCATION FROM CABECERA (ACCORDING TO INTERPRETATION OF RG MAP)	NOTES AND MODERN IDENTIFICATION
Amayxtlahuacan	12 leagues to southwest	In 1582 Amayxtlahuacan had 11 tributaries.
Apoecan	1 league to east	In 1582 Apoecan had 6 tributaries.
Ayotzinapan	3 leagues to northeast	In 1582 Ayotzinapan had 4 tributaries.
Chilpantzingo[3]	2 leagues to south	In 1582 Chilpantzingo had 102 tributaries.
Iztapan	1 league to south	In 1582 Iztapan had 26 tributaries.
Quaolotitlan	1 league to east	In 1582 Quaolotitlan had 31 tributaries.
Temetztla Tzonpango	5 leagues to southwest	In 1582 Temetztla Tzonpango had 42 tributaries.
Temotzinco	1 league to northeast	In 1582 Temotzinco had 22 tributaries.
Xilhuaztlan	1 league to north	In 1582 Xilhuaztlan had 20 tributaries.
Xiuh Amolla	2 leagues to northwest	In 1582 Xiuh Amolla had 7 tributaries.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In 1548, Zumpango is stated to be a cabecera with 5 estancias (not individually named) totaling 200 tributaries; *Suma de visitas,* #237.

For the estancias of Ucelotla and Tlitlugoales, see entry under additional notes for Tepecuacuilco in appendix 1b.

With death of encomendera of Zumpango, Cecilia Lucero, probably about 1561, 5 estancias of Zumpango were taken and adjudicated to Martín Dircio, encomendero of Tixtla. Unfortunately the names of these estancias are not given, but it might have been that they were the most southern ones (cf. Mapa de Zumpango). These five estancias paid total of 183-3 pesos de *oro común* in tribute (apparently at this time each tributary paid 1 peso de oro común), whereas it appears that before reassignment the cabecera of Zumpango and its sujetos paid a total of 600 pesos (there is some confusion re: this matter). Thus

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2. Note that in the text of the *Relación de Zumpango* it is stated that the cabecera had 7 sujetos. However, on the accompanying map, 10 are given.

3. For documentation on the separation of Chilpancingo from Zumpango, see AGN-I 26(1)/71 (1680), AGN-I 26(2)/21 (1681), AGN-I 27/328 (1683), and AGN-I 31/189 (dated 1693). An early sign of tension between the cabecera and sujeto occurred in 1639 (AGN-I 11/fols. 107v–108f). See the discussion on separation and the seventeenth-century growth of Chilpancingo in chapter 8, pp. 454ff.

about 30.5% of tributarios were re-assigned after the death of Lucero. Note that Zumpango was apparently not congregated at this time, although perhaps some minor estancias had already been relocated.; see *Libro de las tasaciones*.

Appendix 2a: Population Figures of Indigenous Villages in the Jurisdiction of Taxco

Acamixtla
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	375	The cabecera had 45 tributaries, 14 *viudos y solteros*, and 14 males over 12 years old. The ten sujetos had 330 tributaries, 68 *viudos y solteros*, and 70 males over 12 years old (not including Chapulititlan, for which no figure in the 12 year old category is given). The totals were 375 tributaries, 82 *viudos y solteros*, and 84 males over 12 years old.	G. Pimentel (1897:173–84)
1580	272	The population total is for the cabecera, here spelled Acamixtlahuacan, and five named estancias. The demographic division between the cabecera and the estancias is not given.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1591	163	The *naturales* of Acamixtla related that a new census had yielded a figure of 163 tributaries. In petitioning for a reduction in their *repartimiento* obligation, they noted that according to the 4 percent requirement they should be required to give only six Indians/week to the Taxco mines.	AGN-I 5/935
1592	130	The *naturales* of Acamixtla related that their most recent census had yielded a total of 130 tributaries.	AGN-I 6(2)/506
1643	62.5	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	35	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	30	The population is of 30 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1796	95	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* payment. It is probably too high.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	67.5	Divided into 60 *enteros* and 15 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	67.5	Divided into 60 *enteros* and 15 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Acuitlapan
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	217	Acuitlapan is stated to be a cabecera sujeta to Coatlán. The population of Acuitlapan is given as 38 married tributaries and its five sujetos had a total of 179. The population of Coatlán at this time was 200 tributaries. All demographic statistics for the Taxco area at this time list only the number of married tributaries.	G. Pimentel (1897:121–33)
1580	[150]	In this document a total of 300 tributaries is given for Coatlán and four estancias along with Acuitlapan and four estancias. Assuming that the relative proportion of tributaries in each cabecera is the same as it was in 1569 (i.e. 217:200), then the population for Acuitlapan and its estancias in 1592 would have been approximately 150 tributaries.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1643	129	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	108	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1796	284	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* payment. It is probably too high.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	260	Divided into 242 *enteros* and 36 *medios.*	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	260	Divided into 242 *enteros* and 36 *medios.*	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Atzala
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	48	One *tasación* (census) includes together Tasco el Viejo, Tlamacazapa, and Atzala, with the first being listed as the "cabecera." Atzala is stated to have 82 "casas"; there is no mention of any estancias (see entry under Taxco).	*Suma de visitas* #670
1569	339	The cabecera is recorded as having 32 tributaries, 9 *viudos y solteros*, and 21 males over 12 years old. The seven sujetos had 307 tributaries, 33 *viudos y solteros*, and 93 males over 12 years old. The totals were 339 tributaries, 42 *viudos y solteros*, and 114 males over 12 years old.	G. Pimentel (1897:173–84)
1580	289	This is the population for the cabecera of Atzala and 7 estancias. The demographic division among the cabecera and its sujetos is not given.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1643	35.5	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	49	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1726	38.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1732	34.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1739	47		AGN-Tr 61/6
1745	48		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	40	This population figure refers to 40 Indian families. In the document the village is spelled Azozalco, mentioned as being located 3 leagues SSE from the mines.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1750	56		AGN-Tr 61/6
1756	57	There were 57 paying tributaries, from a total of 59, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1761	74.5	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1765	71.5	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1772	77	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1777	81	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1783	88	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1796	97		AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	81.5	Divided into 78 *enteros* and 7 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8

1808	81.5	Divided into 78 *enteros* and 7 *medios.*	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Cacahuamilpa
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1602	45	Although Cacahuamilpa was ordered congregated in Acuitlapan, eight Indians were to be left in Cacahuamilpa to help in "el servicio de las haciendas de cacao y pasaje del dicho pueblo y aderezo de caminos." A *padrón* from 1602 gives 38 married tributaries, 4 solteros, 2 *viudos* and 8 *viudas*, which I have recorded as equivalent to 45 tributaries.	AGN-T 2/12
1768	20	In their petition for separation from the cabecera of Acuitlapan, those of the barrio of Los Santos Reyes Cacahuamilpa stated that their population comprised over 20 families.	AGN-I 60/191
1796	43.5	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1797	41	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	52.5	Divided into 52 *enteros* and 1 *medio.*	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	52.5	Divided into 52 *enteros* and 1 *medio.*	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Cacalotenango
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	599	The cabecera had 67 tributaries, 19 *viudos y solteros*, and 37 males over 12 years old. The thirteen sujetos had 532 tributaries, 78 *viudos y solteros*, and 207 males over 12 years old. The totals were 599 tributaries, 97 *viudos y solteros*, and 244 males over 12 years old. Besides its 13 sujetos, Cacalotenango had two additional "estanzuelas" of Tarascan newcomers, both located 2 leagues north of the cabecera. One was called the *hospital de San Francisco* with 22 married tributaries, no *viudos* and 5 males over 12 years old, and the other was called the *hospital de Santiago* with 26 married tributaries, 2 *viudos* and 14 males over 12 years old. The total number of Tarascans was therefore 48 married tributaries, 2 *viudos* and 19 males over 12 years old.	G. Pimentel (1897:173–84)
1580	428	This population figure is for the cabecera of Cacalotenango and 15 estancias. The demographic division among the cabecera and its sujetos is not given.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1643	77	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1653	48.5	This figure is given for the years 1653 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	57.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1726	76.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1732	75.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1739	87		AGN-Tr 61/6
1745	101		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	92	The population is of 92 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1750	115		AGN-Tr 61/6
1756	103	There were 103 paying tributaries, from a total of 115, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1761	119.5	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1765	121	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1772	104.5	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6

1777	94	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras.*	AGN-Tr 61/6
1783	102	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras.*	AGN-Tr 61/6
1796	84.5	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AHH 405/4
1806	82.5	Divided into 72 *enteros* and 21 *medios.*	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	82.5	Divided into 72 *enteros* and 21 *medios.*	AHH 405/6

Chontalcuatlan
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	339	Chontalcuatlan with its seven barrios had a total of 339 "casas." Its size (i.e., apparently of the village and its barrios along with their lands) was stated to be 7 leagues long and 2 leagues wide.	*Suma de visitas* #163
1569	200	The cabecera is recorded as having had 44 tributaries (*enteros*) and the five sujetos of having 156. For Chontalcuatlan, as well as Noxtepec, Pilcaya, Teticpac, and Acuitlapan, only the figure for married tributaries is given. There is no listing of either *viudos* nor *solteros*.	G. Pimentel (1897:121–33)
1580	[150]	In this document a total of 300 tributaries is given for Coatlán and four estancias along with Acuitlapan and four estancias. Assuming that the relative proportion of tributaries in each cabecera was the same as it was in 1569 (i.e. 217:200), then the population for Chontalcuatlan and its estancias in 1592 would have been approximately 150 tributaries.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1592	300	The *naturales* of Coatlán stated that they and their sujetos have suffered a great loss of population because of "servicio personal": "Coatlán y sus subjetos se me ha hecho relación que por los muchos trabajos y vejaciones que han recibido en los servicios personales han venido en tanta diminuición que tan solamente han quedado en 300 tributarios."	AGN-I 6(1)/247
1746	135	The population is of 135 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1796	116	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	87.5	Divided into 80 *enteros* and 15 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	87.5	Divided into 80 *enteros* and 15 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6

Coscatlán
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1746	200	The population figures was of 200 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1788	200	The vicar of Coscatlán certified that although there was a decent church in Coscatlán, he has found only about 200 families of the 1,000 he had been assured that there were in his flock. Many residents had gone "[a] otras doctrinas y la mayor parte en serranías y desiertos muy distantes."	AGN-T 1156/1
1796	234	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* contribution. It is undoubtedly too high.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	123.5	Divided into 104 *enteros* and 39 *medios.*	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	123.5	Divided into 104 *enteros* and 39 *medios.*	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9
1808	327	This document mentions that there were 327 individuals listed in the *matrícula* of Cozcatlán, although "los más están avecindados en los lugares referidos [Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, Iguala, Temaspalapa (?), hacienda of Tepantlan, Tomatal, and Copalxocotes] y aun matriculados nuevamente allí."	AGN-T 3667/3
1810	[362]	The priest of Acamistla stated that the vicarage of Coscatlán "tiene en su casco y Quadrilla de los Paxaritos 362 individuos." Most likely this included tributaries and adolescents.	AGN-T 3640/6

Huistac
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	138	"Gueyystaca" and its nine estancias are stated to have a total population of 138 "casas." Size is stated to be 2 leagues long and 1 league wide.	*Suma de visitas* #273
1569[1]	441	The cabecera had 160 tributaries, 10 *viudos y solteros*, and 43 males over 12 years old. The five sujetos had 281 tributaries, 17 *viudos y solteros*, and 51 males over 12 years old. The totals were 441 tributaries, 27 *viudos y solteros*, and 94 males over 12 years old.	G. Pimentel (1897:173–84)
1591	425	The naturales of Huistac related that they are required to give 17 Indians/week in repartimiento to Taxco, and request that these be assigned to miners who treat them well. They do not object to the size of the assignment which, at 4%, would reflect a tributary population of 425.	AGN-I 6(2)/70
1592	312.5	The *naturales* of Huistac related that their most recent census yielded a total of 312½ tributaries; they requested a corresponding reduction in their labor and maize *repartimiento* obligations.	AGN-I 6(1)/68
1643	50.5	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	37.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1726	53		AGN-Tr 61/6
1732	40.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1739	85.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1745	76.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	88	The population is of 88 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1750	93		AGN-Tr 61/6
1756	106	There were 106 paying tributaries, from a total of 110½ after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6

1. Note that the RG Taxco gives the names of the nine estancias of "Teuliztaca" but no population figures.

1761	142.5	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1765	152.5	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*. The last entry for Huistac is dated 1771, and gives this same figure of 152½ paying tributaries.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1796	311		AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	270	Divided into 223 *enteros* and 94 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	270	Divided into 223 *enteros* and 94 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6

Noxtepec
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	194	Noxtepec and its two estancias are stated to have 194 "casas." The size of these villages and their land is given as embracing an area 4 leagues wide and 2 leagues long.	*Suma de visitas* #410
1569	270	The cabecera had 133 married tributaries and its 4 sujetos 137. The author of the document added: "y tengo entendido hay más gente, y que la encubren."	G. Pimentel (1897:121–33)
1580	[337]	The population of both Noxtepec and Pilcaya is given together as 705 tributaries. Noxtepec had 6 estancias and Pilcaya 8. Note that in 1569, Pilcaya, sujeto to Noxtepec, had, along with its own sujetos, 293 tributaries. Noxtepec at this time had 270 tributaries. If the same general demographic proportion was maintained in 1580, then of the 705 tributaries for Noxtepec and Pilcaya approximately 337 would have been of Noxtepec.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1643	52	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	65	The population is of 65 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1797	47		AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	77	Divided into 66 *enteros* and 22 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	77	Divided into 66 *enteros* and 22 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6
1808	82	Divided into 66 *enteros* and 32 *medios* (perhaps mistakenly recorded for 22).	AGN-I 76/9

Paintla
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1789	60	In requesting separation from the cabecera of Atzala, the *naturales* of the barrio of Paintla stated that their population was over 60 families, which is more than the population of the cabecera of Atzala.	AGN-I 69/213

Pilcaya
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	293	The population of Pilcaya, a sujeto (subcabecera) of Noxtepec, is given as 110 married tributaries, and the sujetos of Pilcaya contained an additional 183 married tributaries.	G. Pimentel (1897:121–33)
1580	[368]	The population of both Noxtepec and Pilcaya together is here reported as 705 tributaries. Noxtepec had 6 estancias and Pilcaya 8. Note that in 1569, Pilcaya, sujeto to Noxtepec, had, along with its own sujetos, 293 tributaries. Noxtepec at this time had 270. If the same general demographic proportion was maintained in 1580, then of the 705 tributaries for Noxtepec and Pilcaya, approximately 368 would have been of Pilcaya.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1643	216	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1662	113.5	This figure is given for the years 1662 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	101.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1694	120		AGN-I 32/221
1746	92	Population is of 92 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1796	173		AHH 405/quad. 5
1806	175	Divided into 159 *enteros* and 32 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	175	Divided into 159 *enteros* and 32 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6

Taxco el Viejo
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	523	Taxco and its 10 estancias have 523 "vecinos." It was assigned tribute obligations along with Tlamacazapa and Atzala, villages that had 267 and 82 "casas" respectively. The areal size of Taxco (it is not clear whether this included Tlamacazapa and Atzala) was 4.5 leagues long and 3 leagues wide.	*Suma de visitas* #670
1569	563 [623]	The cabecera had 191 tributaries, 40 *viudos y solteros*, and 100 males over 12 years old. Seven of the eight sujetos had 372 tributaries (not including Tecalpulco, the figures for which were mistakenly omitted), 81 *viudos y solteros* (here including those of Tecalpulco), and 167 males over 12 years old (again, including Tecalpulco). The totals were 563 tributaries (not including Tecalpulco), 121 *viudos y solteros*, and 267 males over 12 years old. Perhaps another 60 tributaries should be added for the sujeto of Tecalpulco.	G. Pimentel (1897:121–33)
1580	997	The population figure given is for the cabecera and 11 estancias. The document adds that "en tiempos pasados este pueblo, y todos los demás, tuvieron muchos más que no he podido averiguar la cantidad que serían." The demographic division among the cabecera and sujetos is not given.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1643	143.5	This figure is given only for 1643.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1644	95	This figure is given for the years 1644 to 1659.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1660	16	This figure is given for the years 1660 to 1663, and the low population total is confirmed by the amount of the *real y medio* contribution. Part of the reason for the drastic drop in reported population at this time is related to the separation of Tecalpulco, which is hereafter listed separately. Nevertheless, the drastic increase from 16 tributaries (1660–63) to 111 tributaries (1688–92) is unexplained.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1660	16	The population figure is mentioned in a request for a *reserva* (exemption) from *repartimiento*.	AGN-I 24/79
1665	15	This figure is again contained in a request for a *reserva* from *repartimiento*. Of the fifteen tributaries "[cuatro están] muy impedidos y enfermos con que quedan solamente en 11 tributarios."	AGN-I 24/79

1688	111	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692. The high increase from previous data is confirmed by data on the amount of the *real y medio* contribution. Also, Tecalpulco continued to be listed separately from Taxco el Viejo during these years, thus the high figure would not appear to reflect the inclusion of this village in the count.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1726	32		AGN-Tr 61/6
1732	26		AGN-Tr 61/6
1739	29		AGN-Tr 61/6
1745	30.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	30	Population was of 30 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1750	47.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1756	51	There were 51 paying tributaries, from a total of 55½ , after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1761	57	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1765	64	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1772	62.5	Not entirely clear whether this refers to the total tributary population, or to that left after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1777	62	Not entirely clear whether this refers to the total tributary population, or to that left after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1783	69	Not entirely clear whether this refers to the total tributary population, or to that left after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1796	69	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* contribution. I record the approximate figure of 69 given that the contribution varied slightly from 1796 and 1797.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	56.5	Divided into 52 *enteros* and 9 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	56.5	Divided into 52 *enteros* and 9 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Tecalpulco
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1599	40		AGN-T 2723/8
1660	54	There is no data for previous dates. Probably it was in 1660 that Tecalpulco officially separated, at least in regard to tribute collection and population counts, from the cabecera of Taxco el Viejo.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	44	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1796	129		AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	104.5	Divided into 92 *enteros* and 25 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	104.5	Divided into 92 *enteros* and 25 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6

Teticpac
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	170	Teticpac is said to have 2 estancias and a total population of 170 "casas." Its size (i.e., apparently the land area of the cabecera and sujetos) is given as 2 leagues long and 1 league wide.	*Suma de visitas* #672
1569	468	The cabecera had 228 married tributaries and the eight sujetos had 240.	G. Pimentel (1897:173–84)
1580	345	Teticpac is stated to be "ahora . . . edificado en otra parte, en mejor asiento." The 345 tributaries were distributed in 10 estancias.	"Relación de las minas de Taxco"
1643	73	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	37.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	65	The population was of 65 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1796	29		AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	19	Divided into 12 *enteros* and 14 *medios*.	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	19	Divided into 12 *enteros* and 14 *medios*.	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Tlamacazapa
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	267	Tlamacazapa is stated to be "sugeto a Tasco." Its tribute obligations, as those of Atzala, are calculated along with those of Taxco. Tlamacazapa had 267 "casas" at this time; there is no mention of any estancias directly dependent on Tlamacazapa (see entry under Taxco).	*Suma de visitas* #670
1569	337	The cabecera had 85 tributaries, no *viudos y solteros*, and 13 males over 12 years old. The six sujetos had 252 tributaries, 17 *viudos y solteros*, and 19 males over 12 years old. The totals were 377 tributaries, 17 *viudos y solteros*, and 32 males over 12 years old.	G. Pimentel (1897:173–84)
1643	73	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	54	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1726	123		AGN-Tr 61/6
1732	111		AGN-Tr 61/6
1739	87		AGN-Tr 61/6
1745	82		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	90	Population is of 90 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:237–39)
1750	99		AGN-Tr 61/6
1756	105.5	There were 105½ paying tributaries, from a total of 121, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1761	114	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1765	99	Paying tributaries, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1772	123.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1777	114.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1783	135		AGN-Tr 61/6
1797	141	Estimated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AHH 405/quad. 4
1805	200	Those of Coscatlán stated that Tlamacazapa was a pueblo of "puros indios" that had a population of "más de 200 familias."	AGN-T 3640/6

1806	155.5	Divided into 147 *enteros* and 17 *medios.*	AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	155.5	Divided into 147 *enteros* and 17 *medios.*	AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Appendix 2b: Population Figures of Indigenous Villages in the Jurisdiction of Iguala

Cocula
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	326	Refers to number of families.	*Suma de visitas* #231
1569	348	Refers to total tributary population of Cocula, the cabecera (193), and its seven sujetos (155).	G. Pimentel (1897:96–101)
1579	250	The document states that "la cabecera y ellos [sujetos] no tienen más de 250 tributarios. Solía ser de 3,000 hombres, que la disminución ha sido la dicha de Iguala [causado por] las minas de Tasco y pestilencias generales."	*Relación de Iguala*
1644	58.5	This figure is given for the years 1644 to 1648.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1649	19.5	This figure is given for the years 1649 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1670	36	Those of Cocula state that their population is "más de 36 tributarios sin los muchachos que hay."	AGN-I 24/336 bis2
1688	29.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1725	34.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1730	49.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1739	37.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1745	53		AGN-Tr 61/6
1751	52		AGN-Tr 61/6
1756	62.5	There were 62½ paying tributaries, from an original figure of 67.5, after the "rebaja" of the *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1764	56.5	Refers to paying tributaries.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1769	62.5	Refers to paying tributaries after the "rebaja" of *viudas* and *solteras*.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1796	166	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* payment. It is undoubtedly too high (note that both *entero* and *medio* tributaries paid the complete *real y medio*).	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1799	167	This figure has been estimated from a *real y medio* payment of 31-2-6. However, the	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4

		tributary figure is undoubtedly too high.	
1806	98	Divided into 82 *enteros* and 32 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	98	Divided into 82 *enteros* and 32 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 6

Huituzuco
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	708	Population is for the cabecera of Huitzuco and 15 estancias. The cabecera had 226 married tributaries, 92 *viudas* and *muchachas* and 18 *muchachos*. The 15 estancias had 436 tributaries, 62 *viudas* and 56 *muchachos*.	G. Pimentel (1897:76–81)
1579	520	"Tienen once [sujetos] que son aldeas de Castilla, que todos con la cabecera, serán tributarios 520 aunque solían ser muchos."	*Relación de Iguala*
1598	315	Refers to the number of tributaries in the cabecera and sujetos, if any were still occupied at this time.	ENE 13:34–48.
1633	53	A census taken before 1633 (the date of the census is not given) had yielded 113 tributaries, including 47 *viudas y solteras*. In 1633 the Indians of Huitzuco mentioned that 60 tributaries had died since the census had been taking, implying a tributary population of only 53.	AGN-I 10(3)/134
1644	50	This figure is given for the years 1644 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	78.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	102	Population is of 102 Indian families. Village is misspelled as Santiago Thehuisnao.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:239–40)
1796	285	This figure has been estimated from the *real y medio* payment. It is undoubtedly too high.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	203.5	Divided into 167 *enteros* and 73 *medios*.	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	203.5	Divided into 167 *enteros* and 73 *medios*.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 6
1808	203.5	Divided into 167 *enteros* and 73 *medios*.	AGN-I 76/9

Iguala
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	5,400	Refers to number of tributaries. From a community field they harvested 1,000 fanegas of maize, which they took to Taxco to sell.	*Suma de visitas* #336
1553	700	This is calculated on the basis of a *tasación* of 700 pesos of *oro común* (along with 1400 *hanegas* of maize), which was established in 1553. In 1556 the Indians stated they could not pay that amount and the tribute was changed to 2 *reales de plata* every 90 days for married tributaries, and 1 real every 90 days for widows and widowers (i.e., 8 reales per year per married tributary). The maize was to be the yield of the fields they farmed to meet the tribute obligation.[1]	*Libro de las tasaciones*, pp. 572–73
1569	840	The cabecera had 560 tributaries (620 *hombres de confesión casados, solteros y viudos* and 840 *mujeres de confesión*) and the 5 sujetos had 280 married tributaries.	G. Pimentel (1897:96–101)
1579	1,040	The cabecera of Iguala had 840 tributaries and the six sujetos had a total of 200 tributaries, yielding 1,040. The document states: "Es [Iguala, the cabecera] poblazón de 840 tributarios, aunque solía ser de mucha gente, y oí decir al Bahciller Moreno, beneficiado deste pueblo que conoció habrá 30 años 6,000 vecinos. Y esta disminución la ha causado el servicio personal que hacen a las minas de Tasco y muchos que se pasaron a vivir en el, que se han acabado y los cocoliztes que hahabido y enfermedades."	*Relación de Iguala*
1590	569	At this time viceroy noted that the "última tasación," the date of which is not given, had yielded 569 tributaries.	AGN-I 4-767bis
1644	123		AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1645	51.5	This figure is given for the years 1645 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various

1. Note that this calculation provides only a rough estimate. By 1556 the indigenous village of Iguala could not meet its tribute obligation. For this reason their tribute was changed to the set amount recorded here.. Using this set amount to calculate how many full tributaries would be required to yield 700 pesos gives the population figure recorded in the second column. However, this method is problematic. For example, in 1565 Iguala was to pay 1,280 pesos and 2 tomines in tribute along with 546 *hanegas* of maize. Later it is stated that each married tributary paid 9½ reales and 1 *hanega* of maize, and the "viudo o viuda, soltero o soltera que viviere de por sí, fuera del poderío de sus padres y tuvieren tierras, la mitad." Clearly, to meet the maize requirement only 546 tributaries would have been needed, but at 9½ reales per tributary this number of tributaries would not have sufficed to yield the reported 1,280 pesos and 2 tomines.

			expedientes)
1648	51.5	The document states that this figures is for the "última tasación," the date of which is not given (though it is undoubtedly that of 1645). In 1648 the Indians of Iguala complainted that their population had decreased from 51½ tributaries because "después de haver sido contados se an muerto muchos de dichos naturales y otros se an ausentado de que a venido a muy grande diminuición."	AGN-I 15(1)/100
1688	53.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1725	80.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1730	87.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1739	86.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1745	76.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	90	Document refers to 90 "familias de indios."	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:239–40)
1751	99.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1756	137	Refers to the number of paying tributaries, from an original figure of 142½, after the "rebaja" of the viudas and solteras.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1764	167.5	Refers to paying tributaries after the "rebaja" of *viudas* and *solteras.*	AGN-Tr 61/6
1765	172.5	Refers to paying tributaries after the "rebaja" of *viudas* and *solteras.*	AGN-Tr 61/6
1799	311	Note that in another document from 1799 (AGN-I 71/40) there is a claim that Iguala had "más de 6,000 almas," a figure that undoubtedly included persons of all ages, and probably also the non-Indian population.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	297	Divided into 223 *enteros* and 148 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	297	Divided into 223 *enteros* and 148 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Mayanalán
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	250	The cabecera of Mayanalán had 93 tributaries, and the six estancias had 157 tributaries.	G. Pimentel (1897:104–12)
1579	200	The cabecera and four sujetos (the document states that there were five sujetos, although only four are listed) had a total of 200 tributaries. The RG mentions that "y estos sujetos con la cabecera, son los dichos 200 tributarios . . . solía ser [poblazón de] más de 2,000 indios que ha sido la causa [de su disminución] los cocoliztes y servicios personales."	*Relación de Iguala*
1591	200	In claiming that they needed help in meeting their obligations on the camino real, the Indians of Mayanalán claimed that they were "tan pocos que no son más de 200."	AGN-I 3/401
1598	195	This refers to the population of the cabecera and its sujetos, if any remained populated at this time.	ENE 13:34-48
1644	50.5	This figure is given for the years 1644 to 1648.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1649	12.5	This figure is given for the years 1649 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1649	12.5		AGN-I 15(2)/128
1688	42.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	51	Population is stated to be 51 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:239–40)
1796	164	This tributary population has been calculated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1799	164	This tributary population has been calculated from a *real y medio* contribution of 30-6-0.	AGN-AHH 405/Quad. 4
1806	186	Divided into 168 *enteros* and 36 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	186	Divided into 168 *enteros* and 36 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 406/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Tepecuacuilco
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1548	2299	The document reads: "Este pueblo [Tepecuacuilco] con sus estancias tiene 1,512 tributarios y más tiene seis pueblos cabeceras en que ay 787 tributarios." It is unclear to which villages the "seis pueblos cabeceras" refers to, but they might well be sujetos of Tepecuacuilco that had undergone initial congregation. Unfortunately, the names of the six villages are not given.	*Suma de visitas* #764
1569	2040	The cabecera had 363 married tributaries, 455 "hombres casados y solteros de 14 años arriba" and 467 "mujeres casadas ysolteras y viudas de 12 años arriba." The estancias had 1,677 married tributaries, along with 2,084 men and 2,799 women.	G. Pimentel (1897:192–99)
1579	1300	The cabecera of Tepecuacuilco had 200 tributaries, and the sujetos 1,100, for a total of 1300 tributaries.	*Relación de Iguala*
1598	940	This refers to the population of the cabecera and sujetos, if any remained populated at this time.	ENE 13:34–48
1644	43.5	This figure is given for the years 1644 to 1649.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1653	34.5	This figure is given for the years 1653 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	62.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	122	The population is stated to be 122 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:239–40)
1797	352	The tributary population has been calculated from the *real y medio* contribution. Note in general that for villages in the jurisdiction of Iguala there is a great discrepancy between tributary figures calculated from the *real y medio* contribution and direct figures; this variation is not present in the case of the tributary population calculated from the *real y medio* contribution for pueblos in the jurisdiction of Taxco.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	103.5	Divided into 89 *enteros* and 29 *medios*.	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	103.5	Divided into 89 *enteros* and 29 *medios*.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 6

Tlaxmalac
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	585.5	The cabecera had 152 married tributaries and 31 *viudas*, which yields a total of 167½ tributaries. There were also 112 *mozos* (over 14 years of age) and *mozas* (over 12 years of age), which gives a total of 447 *confesantes*. A total of 12 estancias had 418 married tributaries and 356 *mozos* and *mozas*. Note that in the document, the alcalde mayor mistakenly totaled the number of tributaries as 667, and the total number of *confesantes* as 1,133, instead of the correct figure of 1,639.	G. Pimentel 1897:104–12)
1579	400	The document reads: "Es poblazón la cabecera y diez sujetos que tiene, de 400 tributarios. . . . Fue poblazón de mucha gente, cuando se conquistó y encomendó, que se ha gastado como tengo muchas veces dicho"[2] (cf. comments under Iguala).	*Relación de Iguala*
1598	309	This refers to the population of the cabecera and sujetos, if any remained populated at this time.	ENE 13:34–48
1640	50.5	A *tasación* was conducted at this time.	AGN-Tr 42/8bis AGN-I 13/242
1641	32	The naturales of Tlaxmalac related that since the *tasación* of 1640, seven male tributaries had died and another 12 were absent.	AGN-I 13/242
1644	50.5	It is unclear whether this represents a demographic recuperation from the figures claimed in 1641, or whether this figure of 50½ is based on the 1640 census, apparently no longer accurate. The figure of 50½ was given for the years 1644 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1659	20	The decline from the 1640 census figure is stated to have been caused by death.	AGN-Tr 42/8bis
1659	15	A *tasación* carried out on 20 July 1659 counted 20 tributaries. By 23 November 1659, those of Tlaxmalac claimed that five tributaries had died, given the "grande enfermedad	AGN-I 23/422

2. Note that in 1576 both Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán were receiving a population boost from the immigration of tributaries from other Indian villages: "algunos naturales de otros pueblos de la comarca se han ido a vivir e poblar a los dichos pueblos por tener en ellos salud e buenas obras e ser buenas tierras e que estando poblados en quietud los van a sacar por la fuerza e contra su boluntad los de los otros pueblos en lo cual se les hace notorio agravio por que como personas libres e vasallos de su Magestad pueden vivir donde quieren." The two villages requested that if the migrants paid their tribute, they be allowed to live freely wherever they wished. In response, the viceroy ordered that "que hayan pagado e paguen el tributo por entero de un año a los pueblos donde primero vivían e con eso tengan libertad de vivir donde quisieren" (AGN-GP 1/595). Clearly this situation reveals both the high level of migration during the early colonial period and the willingness of Indian villages to accept immigrants within the community.

		que en dicho pueblo ha sobrevenido."	
1662	16.5	The *naturales* of Tlaxmalac claimed that eight people had died since the 1659 census had been conducted.	AGN-Tr 42/8bis
1688	30.3	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1720	53	According to a new *tasación*.	AGN-I 46/48 AGN-I 52/52
1720	64	Although in their petition for a *reserva* from *repartimiento* service the *naturales* of Tlaxmalac gave their population as 53 tributaries, the alcalde mayor reported that the population was 64 tributaries, although he added that a recent epidemic had killed some individuals.	T 2819/7
1722	44	The *naturales* of Tlaxmalac claimed that the demographic decline since the last census was due to death. Of the 44 tributaries at this time, only 40 were fit for mine *repartimento* labor.	AGN-I 52/52 AGN-I 46/58 T 2819/8
1746	58	The population was stated to be 58 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:239–40)
1806	137	Divided into 122 *enteros* and 30 *medios*.	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	137	Divided into 122 *enteros* and 30 *medios*.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9

Tuxpan
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1656	18.5	This figure is given only for 1656, the only entry for Tuxpan in this series of documents. At this time Tuspan was referred to as "San Andrés Tuspa, pueblo nuevamente congregado." Note that in 1654, the viceroy had ordered the *justicia* of Iguala to protect the naturales of Tuspa "en el sitio y tierras en que se han vuelto a recoger [i.e. after the congregación]" (AGN-T 3514/2).	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	72	The population was stated to be 72 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:239–40)
1796	129	The tributary population has been calculated from a *real y medio* contribution of 24-1-6.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1799	129	The tributary population has been calculated from a *real y medio* contribution of 24-1-6.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	133	Divided into 117 *enteros* and 32 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	133	Divided into 117 *enteros* and 32 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 6

Xochipala
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1710	10	In litigation with Xochipala for control over certain *realenga* land at a *paraje* called Atlapasalco, the naturales of Zumpango claimed that while their village comprised over 190 families, Xochipala had only 11. However, since it would have been in Zumpango's interest to understate Xochipala's population, this figure might well be quite low.	AGN-T 1430/2
1796	121	The tributary population has been calculated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 4
1806	170	Divided into 156 *enteros* and 22 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quads. 6, 7, 8
1808	170	Divided into 156 *enteros* and 22 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/quad. 6 AGN-I 76/9
1825	104	List of male *contribuyentes* for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given.	AGN-Ay 236

Appendix 2c: Population Figures of Indigenous Villages in the Jurisdiction of Tixtla

Ahuelicán
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1717	20	In a petition for separation from the cabecera of Oapan, those of Ahuelicán presented two certifications of their population size, one from the *cura ministro* of Oapan and the other from the alcalde mayor of Tixtla. The priest certified a population of 20 families of married Indians, along with "viudos mansebos y niños de doctrina cuyo número grandes y chicos arán más de 50 personas." The alcalde mayor repeated the figure of 50 "grandes y chicos."	AGN-T 343/4
1746	36	Population was stated to be 36 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1791	126.5	The source is an ecclesiastical census of 135 households that included 118 married couples and 17 widowers and widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries.	AGN-BN 403/27
1792	130	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure is reported up to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	130	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1798	133.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure is reported to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	142	This figure is given for the years 1802 to 1807. However, note that from 1897 to 1809 Ahuelicán was temporarily abandoned by its residents as a result of a land dispute with San Juan Tetelcingo.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1807	0	Mention that Ahuelicán had been abandoned in 1807, and for this reason no tribute had been collected. Note the rather swift and sudden depopulation: tribute had been collected in 1806. On 18 Sept. 1809 the priest of Oapan certified that "haviendo tomado posesión de este curato a principios del año pasado de 1808 me encontré vacío el pueblo de Ahuelicán y aún poco después me entregó el fiscal los ornamentos, vasos sagrados y demás alajas de la iglesia a cuya entrega condesendí por constarme el despueble de dicho Ahuelicán pues a la primera misa que fui a decir apenas huvo quien asistiera."	AGN-AHH 403/2
1809	12	The subdelegado asserted that he had not collected tribute from Ahuelicán given that from the time he assumed office (15 Nov. 1807) the pueblo had been abandoned. The present document is dated 1809.	AGN-Cv 214/3

		The fiscal suggested that the viceroy order the subdelegado so that "por todos los medios más suaves y oportunos procuren persuadir y hacer que vuelvan a su reducción los indios de Ahuelicán, ofreciéndoles su amparo y protección y que se les señalaren las tierras que necesitan como en efecto se las medirá y enterará." The priest certified, in 1809, that he had gone to Ahuelicán and found only 12 Indians in the village. He had asked them where the others (whom he had seen two months previously) were and was told that they were to be found "en los cerros y barrancos immediatos." He then sent a message to them "y en efecto ocurrieron 69 familias inclusos los anteriores." When informed by the priest that the viceroy had ordered that the 600 varas be measured and given to the village, the Indians responded that they were going to "traer sus trastos y a comenzar a reedificar sus casillas." Others, however, remained absent. The priest noted that "aún falta[ba] otra parte del pueblo e informado de que se hallaban casi todos en las cuadrillas y otros lugares pertenecientes a la jurisdicción del real de Tasco." The justicias were requested to persuade the Indians to return to Ahuelicán and, effectively, 30 married Indians returned and promised to "venirse immediatamente a su pueblo yendo sólo a recojer sus tratos, para pasarse a edificar sus casas y así estos como los anteriores me dicen estar prontos a satisfacer, como antes lo hacían, los Reales tributos de su Magestad."	
1808	142	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document. Note that this figure refers to the registered tributary population, not the resident population.	AGN-I 76/3
1810	100	The priest of Oapan certified that he had gone to Ahuelicán and found more than 100 families, from among those who had recently dispersed because of land problems with San Juan Tetelcingo.	AGN-T 1406/11
1825	84	List of male *contribuyentes* for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given.	AGN-Ay 236

Ameyaltepec
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1757	40	In their petition for separation from the cabecera of Oapan, Ameyaltepec presented various witnesses who stated that the "barrio Amayotepec" had over 40 families. The priest of Oapan reported simply that "es ya el número de los feligreses de dicho barrio bastantemente crecido de manera que hay suficiente concurso para que se puede erigir y fundar pueblo."	AGN-T 3213/1
1791	98.5	The source is an ecclesiastical census of 104 households that included 93 married couples and 11 widowers and widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries. Note that the difference between the residents here recorded and the registered tributary population might well be due to seasonal and temporary outmigration.	AGN-BN 403/27
1792	164	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure is given to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	164	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1802	181	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1803; the same figure is given to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	181	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1809	218		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	50	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. Another list for the same year, and in the same document, reports only 41 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236

Amula
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1603	20.5		AGN-C exp. 77
1717	4	A Spanish colonist offered the highest bid for two sitios de ganado mayor in Amula, where three married Indians and two viudos were living. They did not object to the land grant stating: "no tener que pedir ni demandar en manera alguna por no serles de útil las tierras de este paraje que sólo son cinco o seis y estos se bajan a vivir a la cabecera de Apango de esta Jurisdicción a cuya doctrina están sugetos."	AGN-T 2727/1

Apango
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1571	177	Under the cabecera of Tixtla are listed various estancias, including "Apango y sus estancias," with a total population of 207 (see appendix 1c).	PNE 5:225–29
1603	147	This population figure is for Apango and its three estancias.	AGN-C exp. 77
1746	352	Population of 352 represents Indian families in Apango "y en los barrios de su pertenencia."	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1792	451	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	451	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	440	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1798	787	This figure seems high, as does the data it reports for Mochitlán and Oapan. However, figures given in this document for other villages seems accurate.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	495	This figured is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	495	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	494		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	383	This is a list of *contribuyentes* for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. The total reported is of 318 married men and 16 widowers and widows. There were also 34 men who were soldiers and another 15 *solteros*. This yields a total of 383 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236

Atliaca
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1571	235	Under the cabecera of Tixtla are listed various estancias, including "Atliaca y sus estancias" with a total population of 235.	PNE 5:225–29
1746	180	The population is stated to be 180 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1792	335	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	335	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	345	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	395	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	395	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	409		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	164	This document is a list of male *contribuyentes* for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. Note that another list from the same document gives 163 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236

Chilpancingo
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1582	102	Of a total 434 tributaries of the cabecera of Zumpango and its ten sujetos, Zumpango had 163 tributaries, Chilpancingo 102, and the remaining sujetos only 169.	"Relación de las Minas de Zumpango"
1680		The justicia mayor of Tixtla, in regard to a petition by Chilpancingo to separate from the cabecera of Zumpango, stated simply that Santa María Asumpción Chilpancingo "[tiene] mayor número de tributarios que el de Zumpango su cabecera por cuya razón vivían y han vivido siempre vejados y molestados de los gobernadores del dicho pueblo de Zumpango."	AGN-I 26(1)/71
1729	325.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1735	334		AGN-Tr 61/6
1743	353		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	353	Population is stated to be 353 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1748	317		AGN-Tr 61/6
1753	370.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1759	442	The tributary population of 442 represents the total number, "rebajadas 8½ viudas y solteras de los 450 ½ que consta tener con tasación." Note that for 1764 and 1770, it is specifically stated that the figure given refers to paying tributarios, for 1776 and 1781 no such specific reference is made, although probably the same holds true and *viudas* and *solteras* had been deducted from the total.	AGN-Tr 61/6
1764	440.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1770	509		AGN-Tr 61/6
1776	478.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1781	501.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1792	606.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1794	607.5	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1798	586	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figures covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1798	606.5	This figure seems accurate, although this same document reports population data for other villages that seems high for Apango, Mochitlán, and Oapan.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	674	This figure is given for the years 1802 to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1807	674		AGN-AHH 403/9

1808	674	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1809	716		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	514	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. The total of 514 *contribuyentes* were divided into six *manzanas* (town blocks). Note that another list from the same document reports 495 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236

Dos Caminos
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1746	80	Population is stated to be 80 Indian families. Note that Villaseñor y Sánchez commented in reference to Dos Caminos: "y aunque por ser el más retirado de la cabecera principal, padece muchas incommodidades su vecindario, se hace precisa su permanencia en sitio tan indispuesto y estéril, por ser tan necesario para el tránsito de los pasageros y requas que con haveres de Real Hacienda, y de particulares del comercio trafican de México a Acapulco al tiempo de celebrar las ferias en aquel puerto al arribo de las Naos de China."	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1794	119.5	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	96	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same official figures covers to 1807. However, in 1797 there was a "fuerte epidemia . . . [de] fiebres putridas y contagiosas que no sólo consumieron la mayor parte de los naturales sino que otros que pudieron escapar se ausentaron de temor a otras tierras remotas."	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	109	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	109	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	171		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	67	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given.	AGN-Ay 236

Huitziltepec
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	135	Population is of the cabecera and three estancias. The cabecera had 96 tributaries and 55 *mozos* and *mozas*. The estancias totaled 39 tributaries and 78 *mozos* and *mozas*.	G. Pimentel (1897:104–12)
1598	107	This refers to the population of the cabecera and its sujetos, although it is not entirely clear which of these remained populated at this time.	ENE 13:34–48.
1603	153	Population is for Huitziltepec and the 2 estancias of Tzacualpan and Chalhuitepec.	AGN-C exp. 77
1643	47.7	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	86	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1709	88	In regards to a composition and adjudication of additional land for Huitziltepec, this document mentions that this was carried out "atendiendo Vuestra Merced a el crecido número de naturales que componen este dicho pueblo, pues pasan de 88 familias."	B Yr. 1926/1a. pt. exp. 28
1746	150	Population stated to be 150 families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1768	268.5	The source is an ecclesiastical census that reported 240 indigenous couples, and 21 widowers and 36 widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries.	AGN-BN 628/4
1792	421	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure is given to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	421	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	429.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure is given to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1798	421	This figure seems accurate, although this same document reports population data for Apango, Mochitlán, and Oapan that seems high.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	467	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure is given to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	467	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	553		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	335	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given.	AGN-Ay 236

Mezcala
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1796	141	The tributary population for Mezcala at this time has been calculated from the *real y medio* contribution. Note that in 1794 Mezcala was described as a "población corta de yndios" and as a "vicaria fija . . . población de solos yndios" (H 578b/fjs. 154f–162v).	AGN-AHH 405/Quad. 4
1797	211	The tributary population given here has been calculated from the *real y medio* contribution.	AGN-AHH 405/Quad. 4
1806	161.5	This total was divied among 147 *enteros* and 29 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/Quads. 6,7,8
1808	161.5	This total was divided among 147 *enteros* and 29 *medios.*	AGN-AHH 405/Quads. 6,7,8

Mochitlán
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1570	489	This figure is for the cabecera of Mochitlán and 15 estancias.	G. Pimentel 1904:26
1582	409	This figures is for the cabecera of Mochitlán (154 tributaries) and 12 estancias (255 tributaries (including one estancia, San Miguel Huitzquauhtzinco, with 108 tributaries). Note that the total tributary population on the map accompanying the *relación geográfica* was 409, although the text itself mentions 440 tributaries.	"Relación de Tistla y Mochitlán" (and the map of Mochitlán)
1598	440	This refers to the population of the cabecera and its sujetos, though it is not clear ow many remained populated at this time.	ENE 13:34–48.
1628	268	This figure is given for the years 1628 to 1633.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1634	222	This figure is given for the years 1634 to 1655.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1656	176.5	This figure is given for the years 1656 to 1668. Note that for a few years between 1656 and 1668 the population figure of 166½ is given, undoubtedly a mistake for 176½.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1671	147.5	This figure is given for the years 1671 to 1676.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1677	126.5 [185.5]	The figure of 126.5 is given for the years 1677 to 1679, after which time there is a gap in the documentation until 1687. Note, however, that the figure of 126½ might well be in error. From 1687 to 1694 the population total is given as 185½ tributaries, divided into 126½ in the encomienda of the marqués de San Román and then the duquesa de Astorga, and 59 tributaries belonging to the crown. Thus the 126½ figure for 1677 to 1679 might be an error, reporting only the encomienda tributaries and not the total, which would include an additional 59 crown tributaries.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1687	185.5	This figure is given for the years 1687 to 1694.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1695	199.5	This figure is given for the years 1695 to 1697.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1746	233	The population is stated to be 233 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1792	287.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	287.5	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN I 76/3

1797	315.5	This figure is reported in a *matricula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1798	687	This figure seems high, as does the data it reports for Apango and Oapan. However, figures given in this document for other villages seems accurate.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	367	This figure is reported in a *matricula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	367	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-Tr 76/3 AGN-Tr 76/2
1809	341		AGN-AHH 403/3
1821	260	The subdelegado of Tixtla mentioned that the population of Mochitlán "pasa de 260 familias de naturales y 120 de razón."	AGN-Ay 141/fols. 1–12
1825	317	This is a list of male contribuyentes recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. Another list for the same year, and in the same document, gives only 259 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236
1826	314	List of male contribuyentes for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. The figures vary slightly according to the trimestre. Generally, there were 314 contribuyentes although approximately 25 were absent, many having gone to the coast.	AGN-Ay 236

San Marcos Oacacingo
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1746	62	Population is stated to be 62 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1777	80	This is a a complaint against excessive sacramental fees and *raciones* charged by the priest of Oapan; the document states that San Marcos Oacacingo "está reducido a tan corto vecindario que apenas contendrá 80 familias, sumergidos en la mayor pobreza por el mal temperamento, escasez de fructos y otros arbitrios para subsistir: precisados a tomar en arrendamiento algunos pedasos de tierra, distante del pueblo, que no les alcanza aún para sembrar lo preciso."	AGN-CRS 67/10
1791	108	The source is an ecclesiastical census of 114 households that included 102 married couples and 8 widowers and widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries.	AGN-BN 403/27
1792	122.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	122.5	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	120.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; this same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	133	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	133	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	146		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	89	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. There is also a list of 16 females, all widows. Note that under the colonial system these widows would total another 8 tributaries.	AGN-AHH 403/3

San Agustín Oapan
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1569	703	This population figure is for the cabecera and "seis estancias principales sin otras muchas pequeñas, porque este pueblo nunca se juntó como S.M. tiene mandado." The principal estancias were Sant Miguel (Tecuiciapan), San Francisco (Ozomatlán), San Francisco (Ahuelicán), San Marcos (Oacacingo), Sant Joan (Tetelcingo) and Sant Joan (an unidentified village located 3 leagues south of Oapan). The cabecera of Oapan had 200 tributarios, and 155 *mozos* y mozas. The six large estancias had a total of 419 tributaries and 318 *mozos* y *mozas*. There were another 84 tributaries, and 82 *mozos* y *mozas* "repartidos en 10 estanzuelas, de 5 o 6 casas, entremetidas entre estas estancias dichas." Note the problem of changing jurisdictions, i.e. cabecera-sujeto relations, which affects the viability of determining long term population trends from tributary data.	G. Pimentel (1897:104–12)
1579	800	This is the population of the cabecera, three sujetos (probably San Francisco Ozomatlán, San Miguel Tecuiciapan, and San Juan Tetelcingo) and "otros menores." The population of the cabecera of Oapan itself was 400 tributaries.	"Relación de Iguala y su partido"
1591	400	This figure probably refers to the population of the cabecera of Oapan alone, though perhaps with its barrios and estancias of Amayotepec (Ameyaltepec), Ahuelicán, and Oacacingo. Cf. notes under Tecuiciapan, this document.	AGN-I 3/406
1598	773	This refers to the population of the cabecera and sujetos, whichever ones remained populated at this time.	ENE 13:34–48
1644	271	This figure is given for the years 1644 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1658	200	In a petition by Taxco miners for *repartimiento* labor they mentioned that in Oapan there were "más de 200 indios." It is not clear whether this refers simply to the cabecera, or whether it includes subject barrios and estancias. In 1659 there is mention of a "grave enfermedad" that had caused the death of more than 50 tributaries; AGN-I 23/415.	AGN-I 23/180
1683	50	This figure is given in a census taken in 1683. The demographic decline that it recorded was the result of epidemics and famine "que en los años antecedentes a dicha cuenta ha habido en dicho pueblo y hambres que han padecido por no haberse dado las cosechas de maíz así por las faltas de agua a sus tiempos como por no poder acudir los naturales a	AGN-I 29/26

		las dementeras que siembran y cultivan a mano por ser tal su necesidad que no tienen para bueyes." Finally, the document mentions the "gran diminuición de indios por el mal temple y muchos lociados, tullidos, mancos y cojos por haberse lastimado en las minas de Tasco."	
1688	115.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1692.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1695	71.5		AGN-I 32/317
1746	212	The population is stated to be 212 Indian families. This probably includes what was still the barrio of Amayotepec, which this source does not list separately.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1791	333	The source is an ecclesiastical census of 360 households that included 306 married couples and 54 widowers and widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries.	AGN-BN 403/27
1792	317.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	349	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	322.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1798	880	This figure seems high, as does the data it reports for Apango and Mochitlán. However, figures given in this document for other villages seems accurate. However, it might well be that the Oapan figure of 880 includes the barrios of Amayotepec and Oacacingo, as well as Ahuelicán. San Miguel Tecuiciapan has a separate entry.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	349	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	349	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	334		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	266	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. Another list for the same year, and in the same document, gives only 259 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236

Ostotipan
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1746	30	Population is stated to be 30 Indian families. Ostotipan is stated to be a sujeto of Totolzintla.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1792	40	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1797	34	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	40	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	40	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	32		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	9	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. The list gives 8 married men and 2 *solteros*, which under the colonial system would yield a total of 9 tributaries.	AGN-Ay 236

San Francisco Ozomatlán
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1598	13	Includes Indian *principales* and *maceguales* (commoners).	AGN-I 6(2)/936
1746	48	The population is stated to be 82 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1791	68.5	The source is an ecclesiastical census of 73 households, which included 64 married couples and 9 widowers and widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries.	AGN-BN 403/27
1792	78.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure is given to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	82	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	75	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure is given to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	82	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure is given to 1807. In 1807, of the 82 tributaries only 75 paid the *real y medio* contribution.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	78	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1808	82	In this year the subdelegado had remitted too little tribute for Ozomatlán, given that he had based his tribute assessment and remission on a population of 75 tributaries, whereas the figure should have been 82. The reason for the discrepancy is that the *matrícula* gave 75 tributaries although "debe entender que en ese número están reducidos a enteros los medio tributarios que entre dos forman uno para la quota del Real Tributo, lo que no sucede para el real y medio de comunidad que debe pagarlo todo indio matriculado pues sea entero o medio tributario." The true tributary population, therefore, was 68 *enteros* and 14 *medios*.	AGN-AHH 403/2
1809	78		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	52	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given.	AGN-Ay 236

Petaquillas
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1746	152	Population is stated to be 152 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1792	281	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	281	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	271.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	343	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	343	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	217		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	72	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given.	AGN-Ay 236

San Miguel Tecuiciapan
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1591	50	Those of San Miguel Tecuiciapan requested help from the cabecera of Oapan in meeting their service obligations on the camino real, which passed through Tecuiciapan. They stated that their population was only 50 "indios" (perhaps a reference to the number of tributaries) which that of Oapan was 400.	AGN-I 3/406
1638	40	A *padrón* taken in 1638 yielded only 40 tributaries.	AGN-T 2943/52
1653	15	Note that in 1649 the *naturales* of Tecuiciapan requested that their repartimiento obligation be reduced from the two Indians that they were required to give to Taxco. They mentioned that "fueron contados y visitados los naturales del dicho pueblo y sus sujetos con las muchas enfermedades que han padecido se han muerto y otros se han ausentado por cuya causa han venido a muy grande diminuición y sin embargo de haber quedado tan pocos naturales como al presente hay son obligados a dar cada semana dos indios de repartimiento para las minas de Tasco" (AGN-I 15(2)/49). Although a census of 1638 yielded 40 tributaries, in 1653 the *naturales* of Tecuiciapan mentioned that of these "con las muchas enfermedades que generalmente habían padecido le habían muerto casi la mayor parte de ellos con que han venido a tanta disminuición que hoy no hay más que tan solamente 15 tributarios." Finally, note that on 20 Oct. 1693 Tecuiciapan's *repartimiento* requirement was resuced to one Indian/month in the Taxco mines. In 1720 the miners tried to increase this to 1 Indian/week, suggesting a population of about 25 tributaries (AGN-T 2819/7).	AGN-T 2943/52
1746	82	The population is stated to be 82 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez 1952 1:182–86)
1785	115	In their request for separation from the cabecera of Oapan, those of Tecuiciapan mentioned that they had 115 "indios casados." The priest of Oapan certified that San Miguel Tecuiciapan had "más de 100 familias."	AGN-T 3330/8
1791	142.5	This source is an ecclesiastical census of 151 households, which includee 134 married couples and 17 widowers and widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries.	AGN-BN 403/27
1792	113.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure is given to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	113.5	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	115.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure is given to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6

1798	188	This figure seems accurate, although this same document reports population data for Apango, Mochitlán, and Oapan.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	126	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure is given to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	126	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1809	126		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	80	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. The total consists of 56 *casados* and 24 *milicianos*.	AGN-Ay 236

San Juan Tetelcingo
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1637	40	The document gives a total of 40 tributaries, including widows.	AGN-I 11/379
1661	20	The *justicia* and *ministro de doctrina* had informed in regard to the "muchas enfermedades que los naturales de dicho pueblo generalmente han padecido [que] han venido a tanta diminuición que no han quedado en le más que solos 20 indios en que se incluyen oficiales de república y cantores."	AGN-I 19/373
1675	13	The actual figure given is that of 7 *indios casados*, 3 *indios viudos* y 9 *indias viudas*. Population decline was the result of the "enfermedades y peste" of 1674. The reports certifying the epidemic are found in AGN-I 25/83.	AGN-I 25/58
1746	82	Population is stated to be 82 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez 1952 (1:182–86)
1791	151	The source is an ecclesiastical census of 163 households, which included 139 married couples and 24 widowers and widows, whom I have counted as half tributaries.	AGN-BN 403/27
1792	162	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure is given to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	162.5	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1797	172	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure is given to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1802	184	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure is given to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	184	Cf. comments under Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	209		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	154.5	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. Another list for the same year, and in the same document, gives only 154 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236

Tixtla
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1570	901	Population is for the cabecera and 30 estancias.	G. Pimentel 1904:25
1571	1,074	Under the cabecera of Tixtla are listed 17 estancias, two of which had further divisions: "Apango y sus estancias" (with 207 tributaries) and "Atliaca y sus estancias" (with 235 tributaries). By not including the population of these two units, nor of Yecapizatlan (which probably survived the congregation period) with its 155 tributaries (including its three estancias), the population of Tixtla and its other estancias would have been 557 (not 1,074), of which 394 lived in the cabecera.	PNE 5:225–29
1582	1,031	At this time the population of the cabecera was 400, and that of the "18 estanzuelas sujetas" was 631. Note that Mochitlán was a separate cabecera by this time. In regard to depopulation: "dicen los viejos que antiguamente había mucha más cantidad y que poco a poco han venido en disminuición, por enfermedades que ha habido y enfermedades de sarampión, del cual se curaban con slamuerta y hollín, untándose todo el cuerpo con ello."	"Relación de Tixtla y Muchitlán"
1598	1,120	This refers to the population of the cabecera and sujetos, although it is not clear how many, if any, remained populated at this time.	ENE 13:34–48
1628	731.5	This figure is given for the years 1628 to 1633.	AGN-RCD 9, 10, 12, 15, 28, 42, 48, 55 (various expedientes)
1634	618	This figure is given for the years 1634 to 1668.	AGN-RCD 9, 10, 12, 15, 28, 42, 48, 55 (various expedientes)
1671	589	This figure is given for the years 1671 to 1676.	AGN-RCD 9, 10, 12, 15, 28, 42, 48, 55 (various expedientes)
1677	491 [600]	The figure of 491 is given for the years 1677 to 1679, after which time there is a gap in the documentation until 1687. Note, however, that the figure of 491 might well be in error. From 1687 to 1694 the population total was 600 tributaries, divided into 491 pertaining to the encomienda of the marqués de San Román (followed by the duquesa de Astorga), and 109 tributaries that were of the crown. Thus the figure of 126½ for 1677 to 1679 might be an error, reporting only the encomienda tributaries and not the total, which would thus include an additional 109 crown tributaries.	AGN-RCD 9, 10, 12, 15, 28, 42, 48, 55 (various expedientes)
1687	600	This figure is given for the years 1687 to 1694.	AGN-RCD 9, 10, 12, 15, 28, 42, 48, 55

			(various expedientes)
1695	660.5	This figure is given for the years 1695 to 1696.	AGN-RCD 9, 10, 12, 15, 28, 42, 48, 55 (various expedientes)
1697	721.5	This figure covers only 1697, after which point the documentation ends.	AGN-RCD 9, 10, 12, 15, 28, 42, 48, 55 (various expedientes)
1792	520	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	520	The main text of this document is a subdelegado report of 1794. However, at the end of the *expediente* is a list of pueblos with tributary figures that differ from the ones in the text. Thus, I give two tributary totals taken from this same document: for 1794 (with numbers taken from the text itself) and from 1808 (with numbers taken from the final table).	AGN-I 76/3
1797	516.5	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1798	516	This figure seems accurate, although this same document reports population data for Apango, Mochitlán, and Oapan that seems high.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	591	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	591	The main text of this document is a 1794 subdelegado report. However, at the end of the expediente is a list of pueblos with tributary figures that differ from the ones in the text. Thus, I give two tributary totals taken from this same document: from 1794 (with numbers taken from the text) and from 1808 (with numbers taken from the final table).	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	580.5		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	921	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. The total of 921 *contribuyentes* is divided into six *calles* and 7 barrios. Note that another list from the same document gives 874 contribuyentes.	AGN-Ay 236
1826	857	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. The figure of 857 refers to the first four months of the year, 805 who paid and 52 who were absent. The figures for the following two four-month periods were 826 and 808, respectively.	AGN-Ay 236

San Juan Totolcintla
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1607	50	Totolcintla and the pueblos congregated there, San Miguel Zacualpa and San Agustín Ostoticpac, stated they their population totaled less than 50 tributaries was entirely occupied in the crossing of the Río de Ozomatlán (i.e., Balsas River) apart from the one Indian given in repartimiento to the Cuautla mines.	AGN-I 11/149
1746	120	Population is stated to be 120 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1792	130	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	132.5	Cf. comments fo Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1798	123	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-I 76/3
1798	168	This figure seems accurate, although this same document reports population data for Apango, Mochitlán, and Oapan that seems high.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	146	This same figure covers the years 1803 to 1806.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1807	146	Note that there were 146 tributaries listed on the *matrícula*, but only 123 paid. The others were absent:"por algunos tributarios que no se tubieron presentes para la exacción del real y medio." This was also the case with Ozomatlán. There is no indication of where the tributaries had gone.	AGN-AHH 403/9
1808	146	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3
1809	108		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	83	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given.	

Zumpango
Colonial Population Figures

YEAR	POPULATION	COMMENTARY	SOURCE
1561	600	Zumpango and its five estancias paid a total tribute of 600 pesos. With a tribute obligation of 1 peso/tributary this would yield 600 tributaries.	*Libro de las tasaciones*, pp. 654–57
1582	434	Although in the text Zumpango is stated to have seven sujetos in the accompanying map, from which the figure of 434 is taken, the map itself portrays ten sujetos (although three of them have only 4, 6 and 7 tributaries). Zumpango had 163 tributaries and its sujetos 271 (of which Chilpancingo alone had 102). The document: "dicen los viejos que, antiguamente, había mucha cantidad y poco a poco han venido en disminución por mortandes de sarampión y pujamientos de sangre y otras muchas enfermedades que han tenido de oridinario en esta provincia."	"Relación de las Minas de Zumpango"
1643	253.5	This figure is given for the years 1643 to 1663.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1688	330.5	This figure is given for the years 1688 to 1693.	AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, 39 (various expedientes)
1710	190	In litigation with Xochipala for control over certain *realenga* land at a *paraje* called Atlapasalco, the *naturales* of Zumpango claimed that while their village comprised over 190 families, Xochipala had only 11. However, it would be in Zumpango's interest to overstate their own population and thus the figures for Zumpango and Xochipala (see respective table in appendix 2b) might be a misrepresentation.	AGN-T 1430/2
1729	270		AGN-Tr 61/6
1735	243		AGN-Tr 61/6
1743	274		AGN-Tr 61/6
1746	264	Population is stated to be 264 Indian families.	Villaseñor y Sánchez (1952 1:182–86)
1748	241.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1753	254		AGN-Tr 61/6
1759	288.5	The tributary population of 288½ represents the total paying tributaries "con que hoy se hallan por haberse rebajado 11 tributarios de viudas y solteras de los 299.5 tributarios que consta tener por su tasación aprobada [en 26 de marzo de 1759]." Note that for both 1764 and 1770, it is specifically stated that the figure given refers to paying tributarios, for 1776 and 1781 no such specific reference is made, although	AGN-Tr 61/6

		probably the same holds true and thus *viudas* and *solteras* had been deducted from the total.	
1764	281.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1768	281.5	This document is an ecclesiastical census given according to household. The Indian population revealed 246 couples, 18 widowers, and 53 widows—yielding 281½ tributaries. This figure does not include mixed caste marriages: 12 Indian women married to non-Indian men, and 5 Indian men married to non-Indian women.	AGN-BN 628/4
1770	300		AGN-Tr 61/6
1776	280		AGN-Tr 61/6
1781	308.5		AGN-Tr 61/6
1792	346	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1792; the same figure covers to 1797.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1794	346	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 73/6
1797	352	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1797; the same figure covers to 1801.	AGN-AHH 403/6
1798	345	This figure seems accurate, although this same document reports population data for Apango, Mochitlán, and Oapan that seems high.	AGN-Tr 54/21
1802	406	This figure is reported in a *matrícula* of 1802; the same figure covers to 1807.	AGN-AHH 403/various expedientes
1808	406	Cf. comments for Tixtla, this document.	AGN-I 76/3 AGN-I 76/2
1809	365		AGN-AHH 403/3
1825	472	This is a list of male *contribuyentes* recorded for tax payments; neither marital status nor ethnicity is given. Another document from this same year lists 465 *contribuyentes*.	AGN-Ay 236

Appendix 3a

Land Status of Indigenous Villages in the Jurisdiction of Taxco

VILLAGE	LAND HISTORY: *MERCEDES*, COMPOSICIONES, AND LICENCES	LAND RENTALS, SALES, AND CONFLICTS
Santa María Acamixtla	**Congregación:** Commission to Gonzalo Hernández de Figueroa to congregate, in the province of Taxco, the following communities: Tezcaltitlan, Iztapa, Tzacoalpa, Pilcaya, Acamixtla, Tenango, Tasco, Iguala, Tlaxmalaca, Huitzuco, Tepecuacuilco, Cocula, Mayanala, Coacoyula, Aguatlan, Tetela, Calpolalco, Yololco, Otlatlan, Tlacotepec, Cuetzala, Apaztlan, Toltepec, Oxtoman, Teloloapa, Ixcateopan, Alahuiztlan, Amatepec, Tuztepec, Texupilco, Quentla, y Temazcaltepec. Note the vast aerial extent of the commission; AGN-I 6(2)/1027 (1598) **Composiciones and documentation of land size:** Re: merced to Juan de Morales at Zacapalco, mention that the villages most likely to be affected were Acamistla, Tlamacazapa, and Cozcatlán, all of which had "muchas tierras y augas de que se sirven los naturales de dichos pueblos y están distantes de dicho citio una legua más o menos"; AGN-M 58/fol. 95v (1665). For the 1773–74 composición of community lands, the titles were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did; AGN-T 3130/2.	**Conflicts:** The naturales of Cacahuamilpa, Chontalcuatlan, and Acuitlapan were jointly litigating against Acamixtlahuaca and neighboring haciendas, from 1783 to the date of the present document, 1793. Note that Acamixtla and the haciendas were in possession of the land, although in 1792 those of Cacahuamilpa obtained an decree ordering the review of the case, with witnesses; AGN-I 69/274 (1793). Those of Chontalcuatlan and Acuitlapan had abandoned the suit given that they had some land, although limited. Cacahuamilpa continued, however, given that they claimed to be lacking even "un palmo de tierra donde sembrar y con sus frutos pagar las obenciones, los 12 tributarios y mantenerse." They requested that they at least be given the 600 varas of land to which all indigenous villages were entitled. Note that Acuitlapan, Chontalcuatlan, and Cacahuamilpa were litigating jointly; AGN-I 69/274 (1793). In litigation between Coscatlán and the hacienda and trapiche of Zacapalco, one witness, don José Parral (owner of the rancho named Juliantla) mentions that those of Acamixtla had entered into the lands of Tlamacazapa and Coscatlán (which were litigating jointly) and also were in a dispute with don Pedro Zorrilla, owner of Zacapalco. Note also that at a border between Tlamacazapa and Coscatlán with Acamixtla, lands of this latter village were found to be farmed by Indians of Tlamacazapa and Coscatlán, who "en prueba de la buena fe con que se manejaban harían que los dueños de la milpa pagasen a Acamistla la correspondiente renta respectiva a la parte del terreno que ocupaba ubicada así al norte del lindero; AGN-T 3640/5 (1773

		to 1826) **Rentals:** Mention of migrant Indians living in cuadrillas of the encomendero of Acamixtla, Alonso Pérez, who requests that these migrants be ordered to pay tribute. The cuadrillas are Atotolcingo, Izcuetlan, estancia San Juan in Tehuilotepec, estancia of Luis Martín Locano, and the cuadrilla of don Nicolás Ruiz de Balderrama; AGN-T 2719/13 (1573). See also conflicts for rentals by Tlaxmalac and Coscatlán. For a dispute involving Tarascan migrants, see entry under Teticpac.
Acuitlapan	**Congregación:** For 1602 order to congregate, while leaving 8 Indians (of a total of 40) in the barrio of Cacahuamilpa "para el servicio de las haciendas del cacao y pasaje del dicho pueblo y aderezo de caminos." This document is a good and detailed example of the congregation process. The Indians of Cacahuamilpa objected to being congregated in Acuitlapan and, in 1603, instead requested transfer to (Chontal)Coatlán; see AGN-T 2/12. **Composiciones**: Acuitlapan, Chontalcuatlan, and the barrio of Cacahuamilpa had a single title to their land: "desde inmemorial tiempo . . . se hallan comprehendidas vajo un mismo título y en esta atención si alguna lid se origina con alguno de los dos ya a dichos pueblos pasa de uno a otro para la promosión, sequela y defensa de mohoneras y linderos como a la presente se nos ha ofresido un lis a los de Aquitlapan con los de el de Cuahintlan de la Jurisdicción de Quervabaca." During the 1773–74 composición, Acuitlapan officials stated that these joint titles had been taken to Mexico City for presentation in litigation with Cuahintlan in the Cuernavaca jurisdiction; AGN-T 3130/2.	**Conflicts**: See entry under Acamixtla; AGN-I 69/274 (1793)
Atzcala	**Congregación:** Order to the corregidor of Teulistaca (Huistac) to congregate the Tarascan Indians who lived in the mountains into the pueblos of Cacalotenango, Tlamacazapa, Atzala, and others; AGN-M 6(2)/fols 480f–480v (1563). For a complaint against how this corregidor was carrying out the congregación at this time, see also	**Separation:** The Indians of the barrio of Paintla request separation from their cabecera of Atzala based on the fact that they had a larger population, i.e., more than 60 families. Because of the distance and terrain they do not attend Mass in the cabecera, which except for one day of the year (that of the

	AGN-M 7/fols 228f–228v. For later congregaciones in the area, see AGN-I 6/1092 and AGN-I 6/1109 (both dated 1595). **Composiciones:** For the 1773–74 *composición*, the titles of Atzcala were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did; AGN-T 3130/2	patron saint, St. Martin) is given in barrio. The election of a governador in Paintla would also make tribute collection easier. The viceroy, in his response, ordered the subdelegado and requested the priest to report on the size of the two settlements, the distance between them, their possessions (in regards to *bienes de comunidad*), and the state of their respective churches; AGN-I 69/213 (1789). **Conflict:** In an early conflict between Huistac (Teulistaca) and Atzala, those of the former village offer an interrogatorio that claims that those of Atzala came to them about 130 years before the present ligation (i.e., 130 years before 1572) and requested that they be governed by a ruler from Teulistaca. Tecmani, the brother of the rule of Teulistaca went to Atzala, which had little land. For this reason Tecmani decided to take some land from Huistac, near the estancia of Sanct Miguel. The present document mentions *linderos* (boundary markers) dating from the prehispanic period. Several witnesses mentioned that Atzala had previously been an estancia and tributary of Taxco; AGN-T 33/7 (1572).
Cacahuamilpa	**Congregación:** Objection of Cacahuamilpa to a congregación planned for Acuitlapan; they instead request transfer to Coatlán; AGN-T 2/12 (1602). **Composiciones and land size:** Acuitlapan, Chontalcuatlan and the barrio of Cacahuamilpa had a single title to their land. During the 1773-74 *composición* Acuitlapan officials stated that the titles had been taken to Mexico City for presentation in litigation with Cuahintlan in the Cuernavaca jurisdiction; AGN-T 3130/2. For litigation by Chontalcuatlan, Acuitlapan, and Cacahuamilpa against Acamixtla and neighboring haciendas, see entry under Acamixtla; AGN-I 69/274 (1793). This document mentions litigation from 1783–93, with Chontalcuatlan and Acuitlapan having abandoned the suit. Cacahuamilpa continued, however, given that they claimed to	**Separation:** In their 1768 request for separation from their cabecera of Acuitlapan, the naturales of Cacahuamilpa mentioned that they collected tribute themselves, which they handed over to the alcalde mayor, they had a population of over 20 families, and that they had a decent church, a *cofradía*, and community lands. They complained of extortions by Acuitlapan and presented a certificate by the priest who stated that there was no benefit to Cacahuamilpa remaining a barrio of Accuitlapan. The request is granted; AGN-I 60/191 (1768). **Conflicts:** For mention of a conflict with Cuahintlan in the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca, see AGN-T 3130/2 (1773–74). See also entry under Acamixtla; AGN-I 69/274 (1793)

	not even possess "un palmo de tierra donde sembrar y con sus frutos pagar las obenciones." They request that the viceroy order, as he did, an investigation as to whether they were lacking the 600 varas of land that each Indian community was entitled to. In 1794, the viceroy ordered that the justice of Taxco measure and give Cacahuamilpa the land they were entitled to. The official reported that the village had "cantidad de tierras" but that they were sterile and good only for grazing cattle. However, these were also the lands in litigation, and thus the village possessed no lands on which they could plant. The justice then recommended that Cacahuamilpa be given their 600 varas of land in accord with royal decrees; AGN-I 69/308 (1794).	
Cacalotenango	**Congregación:** For mention of the beginning of a mid–sixteenth century congregación of Taxco (el Viejo) and (Cacalo)tenango, during which certain macehuales, particularly Tarascans, refused to be congregated; AGN-M 6(2)/fols. 417v–418f (1563). See also AGN-M 6(2)/480f–480v (1563; see discussion under Atzcala, this document). For late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century congregaciones, see the commission to Gonzalo Hernández mentioned under Acamixtla; AGN-I 6(2)/1027 (1598) **Composiciones:** For the 1773–74 *composición* the titles were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did; AGN-T 3130/2	**Conflict:** For early conflict over land with Teticpac, see discussion under Teticpac; AGN-T 18(1)/3 (1560).
Chontalcuatlan	**Congregación:** The naturales of Cacahuamilpa objected to being congregated in Acuitlapan and requested that they be moved to Coatlán; AGN-T 2/12 (1602). For a commission to Diego Jiménez to congregated several villages, including Chontalcuatlan, see AGN-I 6/1092 (1595) **Composición and land size:** Acuitlapan, Chontalcuatlan and the barrio of Cacahuamilpa had a single title to their land. During the 1773–74 composición Acuitlapan officials stated that the titles had been taken to Mexico City for presentation in litigation with Cuahintlan in the Cuernavaca jurisdiction. See entry under Acuitlapan; AGN-T 3130/2.	**Conflicts:** For conflict between Acamixtla, Chontalcuatlan, and Cacahuamilpa, which were jointly litigating against Acamixtla and neighboring haciendas, see entry under Acamixtla; AGN-I 69/274 (1793). For an account of a dispute over community cattle, see appendix 4a. **Rental:** The alcalde of San Juan Chontalcuatlan filed a complaint in regards to lands that they had been renting out for 20 pesos/year, first to don Christoval de Figueroa, a *vecino* of the Rancho del Llano belonging to the naturales of Teticpac, and then to his son D. Juan de Figueroa, who had not paid rent

	In a dispute between the parish priest and the village over whether certain cattle belonged to the cofradía or the community, the priest mentioned that funds that had been obtained from the sale of these cattle could be reinvested in acquiring new animals that could be grazed where they would not harm the Indians' fields, given "la extención de las tierras del pueblo que es de 8 leguas de norte a sur y poco menos de oriente a poniente"; AGN-I 66/101 (1778).	for 8 years, nor the interest on 100 pesos that he had been lent, "producto del ganado de la comunidad." Figueroa originally had 100 head of cattle, and now (1767) had over 400. These, along with the cattle of the community and those of other ranchers, caused severe damage to the crops. As a result the village had tried to sell all the community cattle and evict the ranchers from village lands. The community now requests that Figueroa pay the 100 pesos he borrowed, that all renters be required to liquidate their accounts and some be notified to withdraw their herds, and that the priest be enjoined from interfering with the sale of community cattle. Note the liquidation of community cattle and eviction of ranchers in order to free farmland from damage by cattle (perhaps indicating an expansion of farming activities); AGN-I 60/190 (1767). Shortly thereafter the viceroy orders the alcalde mayor of the *partido* of Chontalcuatlan to evaluate and sell off the community cattle and that of Figueroa, evicting him from the land. In 1769 those of Chontalcuatlan complain that because of interference from the priest (who claimed that the cattle belonged to the cofradía not the community), the alcalde mayor had not carried out the sale; AGN-I 62/50 (1769).
Cozcatlán	**Composiciones and land size:** In a merced to Juan de Morales for a license to found a trapiche or *ingenio* on his own lands at Zacapalco it is mentioned that the villages of Acamixtla, Tlamacazapa, and Cozcatlán border on this property and that they have "muchas tierras y aguas de que se sirven los naturales de dichos pueblos y están distantes de dicho citio una legua más o menos"; AGN-M 58/fol. 95v (1665). However, by the mid–eighteenth century Cozcatlán had suffered much emigration (see the discussion in chapter 7), probably related to population pressure on a limited land base. Thus in 1751, for example, the *alcalde* of San Juan Evangelista Cozcatlán mentioned that lack of lands, which were "eriazas y absolutamente infructíferas por su mala calidad y naturaleza." For this reason the citizens of this village had	**Conflicts:** In 1826, Cozcatlán stated that they had composed their land with D. Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio (which would have been about 1710). They claimed that they had lost these titles. However, when the viceroy solicited the original composición documents he was told that "no se halla ni parece haver autos algunos pertenecientes a la Jurisdicción de Taxco." Apparently there were no composiciones carried out in the Taxco jurisdiction at this time, or at least not any that left readily available documentation. Interestingly, the representatives of Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, which were litigating together against don Pedro Zorrilla, owner of Zacapalco, returned to their villages to look

	migration to other jurisdictions "a arrendar tierras laborias en que poder sembrar sus maizes para mantenerse con sus familias"; AGN-I 56/96 (for other documents regarding emigration, see the aforementioned chapter 7). Throughout the colonial period, Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa had their land under one title. For the 1773-74 *composición* these were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did (AGN-T 3130/2).	for the composición document "y no hallando uno ni otros sólo hallamos los papeles que con la devida solemnidad y juramento necesario presentamos por los que consta en ellos traducidos del idioma Mejicano al Castillano venir nuestra posesión continuada de más de dos siglos a esta parte pues en el año de 521 se les dió el amparo de posesión bajo los linderos incinuados en el que constan en los dichos papeles teniendo por título de justa prescripción los enunciados papeles." On 12 April 1774 Coscatlán and Tlamacazapa were given possession and a map drawn up. Taxco el Viejo, Acamixtla, and Buenavista had all objected but had not followed up. After 1782, they disputed borders with Zacapalco, Taxco el Viejo and Acamixtla. In 1826, possession was carried out in accord with the 1774 map, although at one point Coscatlán attempted to divert the party according to their 1521 map which the judge said "no merece este nombre [de mapa] porque más bien es un borrón en que herrándose los rumbos, se estamparon mil figuras muy ridículas de culebras, tecolotes y otros animales sin haberse guardado escala." Extensive documentation of land disputes involving Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa are found in AGN-T 3640/5. For dispute between Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa over location of the parish seat in the early nineteenth century, see Tlamacazapa, discussion over AGN-T 3667 (1805–8).
Huistac	**Congregación:** For early congregación of Huistac and its sujetos, and permissions for church construction at sites of congregaciones, see AGN-M 7/fol. 168v (1563). A congregación was also carried out by don Jorge Cerón Saavedra around 1597; for objections of several sujetos of Huistac (San Francisco, San Phelipe, and Tres Reyes), see AGN-I 6(2)/1195 (1597). **Mercedes: In** 1693 the *regidores* and other *oficiales de república* of Huistac obtained a merced to establish a horse-powered *trapichillo* to grind cane and make panocha; AGN-I 31/164.	**Conflicts:** During an 1804 litigation between Huistac and Oculixtlahuacan the indigenous village stated that the dispute was over land that belonged to them "por compra que de ellas hicieron a S.M. y se les arregló en la última composición del año de 1713." Mention is made of a "mapa antiguo que deslinda y señala sus tierras." Apparently, then, there was a composición in 1713. Huistac also claimed that the situation had worsened once don Nicolás Salgado had taken over renting Ocuilixtlahuacan; AGN-T 1870/2 (1804). The conflict had begun in the 1770s, if not before, when don Antonio Alvarez y

	Composiciones and land size: During a 1773–74 composición, the officials of Huistac stated that their titles were in Mexico City given that they were litigating a boundary dispute to the south with don Antonio Alvarez y Coria, who was then owner of Oculixtlahuacan; AGN-T 3130/2. In 1784 those of Huistac mentioned that they were litigating with don Antonio Alvarez y Coria, who had won the case. Now those of Huistac claimed that they had no lands on which to plant and requested a solution. However, in the same document it is mentioned that Huistac, "fuera de las tierras en cuestión [gozan] de la extensión de más de tres leguas en las que hay tierras de pan llevar"; AGN-T 1869/4 (1784–89). An 1804 document implies a dispersed settlement pattern. Huistac officials mention that their pueblo is "muy grande y contiene un numerosos vecindario todo de puros indios sucediendo lo mismo con los demás barrios que le están anexos"; AGN-I 71/118.	Coria, and then his heirs, had owned the hacienda; AGN-T 1870/2. See also AGN-T 1538/1 (1776). For the sixteenth-century dispute between Huistac and Atzala, see mention under Atzala; AGN-T 33/7 (1572).
Noxtepec	**Composiciones and land size:** There is little information on land size of this village. However, several times colonists requested and were granted mercedes near Noxtepec and in each case the officials of this village supported the grant: • petition by Antonio Velásquez for a "sitio para ingenio de agua en términos de Noxtepec"; AGN-T 2762/4 (1586); • peition by don Hernando de Ulloa "vecino y miner de las minas de Zaqualpa" for a merced of an "ingenio de agua . . . términos de Noxtepec"; AGN-T 2763/1 (1586); • peitition by Juan Alemán for a sitio de ganado menor where he had already bought land 1 league from Noxtepec, and where he already had 12 head of cattle, 100 sheep and 200 goats; AGN-T 3331/18 (1616); • license and merced to Miguel de Figueroa, vecino of the real y minas of Zacualpa to plant sugarcane and construct a trapiche in lands of his in the jurisdiction of Taxco; the villages of Noxtepec (2 leagues distant), Pilcayan (3 leagues distant), Xocotitlan (2	

	leagues distant), Teticpac (3 leagues distant) all supported the grant; AGN-M 53/fols. 71f–80v (1663). For the 1773–74 *composición* the titles were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did (AGN-T 3130/2).	
Pilcaya	**Composiciones and land size:** See the consent of Pilcaya to the merced to Miguel de Figueroa in the entry for Noxtepec. For the 1773-74 composición the titles were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did; AGN-T 3130/2. There is no mention of the land size of Pilcaya, but there is an extensive mention of their commercial activities. In a document dated 1780 Pilcaya is stated to be a pueblo of "puros indios" with a barrio likewise comprised solely of Indians. "Se exercitan en sembrar maís, frijol y algunos ban a la costa de Coyuca por algodón y otros comerciantes de ropa de la tierra y tal cual arriero; el consumo del maís es entre ellos, el de frijol regularmente lo venden los domingos en las plazas por menudeo, pues así se experimenta en este Real y Tehuilotepec, y el algodón lo venden en Zacualpan, Sultepec, Calimaya y Toluca y donde a ellos les tiene más cuenta y jusgo según en este Real me consta harán algunas mantas vastas, para su vestuario, la ropa de la tierra los domingos van a los tianguis más immediatos como es Zacoalpan y Sultepec"; AGN-T 3601/9. The extensive commercial activity suggests the possibility of limited land size.	**Conflict:** In 1798 the barrio of San Miguel, sujeto to Santa María Pilcaya, mentioned that they had lands in a deep barranca named Hayatenco, which bordered on a trapiche named El Bosque and the ranches of Santa María el Socabón and Chichila, where there was much ganado menor and mayor. They complained that the respective owners let the animals roam free and that they eat and trample the fields and therefore request that the viceroy order that the owners place sufficient guards to prevent these damages. If they continue to occur the Indians request license to kill the animals, as the law provides; AGN-I 71/18 (1798).
Taxco el Viejo	**Congregación:** There is extensive documentation on the congregación of this pueblo. For the midcentury effort (1563), see AGN-M 6(2)/417v–418v, which refers to the beginning of the congregación of Taxco el Viejo and Cacalotenango. Mention is made that certain *maceguales*, particularly the Tarascans, refused to be relocated. Very detailed accounts of the end-of-century congregación are available: AGN-I 6(2)/1195 (1597); AGN-T 2723/8 (1599); AGN-T 2754/3 (1603). Besides a detailed account of the process, and mention of the barrios that were relocated, these documents give precise population statistics, including mention of the languages spoken.	**Conflicts:** For a mention of border disputes with Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa, see summary data under Cozcatlán above; AGN-T 3640/5. **Separation:** Starting in 1660, Tecalpulco is mentioned as "sujeto que fue de Tasco"; AGN-RCD vols. 14, 20, 28, and 39 (various *expedientes*)

	Composición: For the 1773–74 composición, the titles were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did; AGN-T 3130/2.	
San Cruz Teticpac	**Composición:** For the 1773-74 *composición* the titles were inspected and returned to the village so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did (AGN-T 3130/2). There is little information on land size, but there is mention of the type of activity that villagers from Teticpac engaged in: "se exercitan en sembrar maís algún trigo, caña y algunos criadores de ganado de poca consideración: el maís lo consumen ellos, el trigo traen a este Real la arina que es muy corta cantidad, la caña la consumen los domingos menudeada en la Plaza de este Real y Tehuilotepec. No hacen pilonsillo, los chinchorritos de ganado mayor será[n] de 20 cabezas"; AGN-T 3601/9. This activity suggests land suitable for both cane and wheat, although only marginally so.	**Rental:** In a complaint by Chontalcuatlan against don Christoval de Figueroa, who rented land from this village, mention that Figueroa was a *vecino* of the Rancho del Llano belonging to the *naturales* of Teticpac, i.e., the document suggests that Teticpac was renting out the land of this rancho at this time, 1767; AGN-I 60/190. **Conflicts:** An interesting early colonial dispute (1560s) between Teticpac and Tenango (Cacalotenango) offers much information on the preconquest situation in the area. The dispute is over boundaries and over the fact that those of Tenango settled some Tarascans on Teticpac's land and convinced the Tarascans to pay them, not Teticpac, tribute. The Tarascans cause considerable harm to the interests of Teticpac, cutting community forests and selling the wood in Taxco. It is mentioned that the boundaries of Teticpac were set up by "señores de México" during the time of Ahuitzotl. Those of Tenango contradict the assertions and claim that they have rights to the disputed land. They also mention a previous suit ten years previously that they won, when bachiller Alonso Martínez was alcalde mayor; AGN-T 18(1)/3. Note that here, and with a case involving Tarascan settlements on the lands of Acamixtla, it would appear that Tarascans moved into the Taxco area ca. 1550, perhaps to reside in the cuadrillas of miners (such as Luis de Castilla who is mentioned as having cuadrillas both in this document and in that involving Acamixtla). Perhaps with the change to amalgamation of mercury more workers were needed (as mining production increased) and Tarascans were induced to immigrate onto the lands of indigenous villages near Taxco.
Tlamacazapa	**Congregación:** Order to the corregidor of Teulistaca (Huistac) to	**Conflicts:** Although not precisely a conflict over land, the

carry out the congregación of Cacalotenango, Tlamacazapa, Atzala, and other villages in the area; AGN-M 6(2)/fols. 480f–480v.

Composición and land size: Re: merced to Juan de Morales at Zacapalco, mention that the villages most likely to be affected were Acamistla, Tlamacazapa, and Cozcatlán, all of which had "muchas tierras y augas de que se sirven los naturales de dichos pueblos y están distantes de dicho citio una legua más o menos"; AGN-M 58/fol. 95v (1665).

Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa had their land under one title. For the 1773–74 composición these titles were inspected and returned to the villages so that they could seek approval and confirmation in Mexico City, which they did (AGN-T 3130/2). During the late colonial period mention is made of the fact that Tlamacazapa made petates and planted maize, selling the former in the *reales* of Taxco and Tehuilotepec and consuming the maize within the community.

For joint litigation with Cozcatlán against Zacapalco, cf. entry under Coscatlán.

Miscellaneous: for documentation of an election in Tlamacazapa, see AGN-I 71/77 (1801).

dispute between Cozcatlán and Tlamacazapa over the location of the parish seat is revealing. This document (AGN-T 3667) involves an attempt by Cozcatlán to regain control over the parish seat after it had been transferred to Tlamacazapa, probably because of the continual emigration out of Cozcatlán to cuadrillas in the northern Iguala Valley. Cozcatlán and a local hacendado joined forces to attempt to secure a viceregal order for the repatriation of the emigrants and the reestablishment of the parish seat in Cozcatlán. The document contains no information on the final resolution of the dispute; AGN-T 3667 (1805–9).

In 1826 those of Tlamacazapa were in litigation that had started in 1792 with the then owner of the hacienda of Zacapalco, don Juan José Castañeda, over lands called Yxtlahuacan (among others). Since that time Tlamacazapa and Cozcatlán have had disputes with the hacienda of Zacapalco, and with the villages of Taxco el Viejo and Acamixtla. In 1826 they were still litigating with Zacapalco, now under the ownership of don Nicolás Salgado. Note that at the border of Acamixtla, some land on the Acamixtla side were being farmed by Indians of Tlamacazapa and Cozcatlán who, "en prueba de la buena fe con que se manejaban haría que los dueños de la milpa pagasen a Acamistla la correspondiente renta respectiva a la parte del terreno que ocupaba ubicada asia el norte del linderos." For further discussion, see the entry under Acamixtla for AGN-T 3640/5.

Appendix 3b

Land Status of Indigenous Villages in the Jurisdiction of Iguala

VILLAGE	LAND HISTORY: *MERCEDES*, COMPOSICIONES AND LICENSES	LAND RENTALS, SALES, AND CONFLICTS
Cocula	**Mercedes:** On 5 May 1616, Sebastián Rivera was granted a merced for 2 sitios de estancia para ganado menor "en términos del pueblo de Cocula"; one sitio was next to the *pago* named Zoquiapan 1½ leagues from Cocula, and the other was "frontera de [el]la hacia la banda de levante y do sale el sol junto a unos arbolillos verdes y por la banda de abajo el llano de Zoquiapan como otra legua del dicho pueblo de Cocula." Although those of Cocula objected, the merced was given. On 18 July 1616, Rivera stated that the lands belonged to Capn. Juan García Ponce, to whom he ceded these lands; AGN-M 31/fols. 95f–96f. See also AGN-T 3514 where it is also mentioned that Juan García Ponce paid 1,300 pesos of *oro común* to acquire 4 sitios de estancia (1 of ganado mayor and 3 of ganado menor), two of which were in the plain (*llano*) of Cocula. Note that in the 1661 possession given to Padre Gaspar de Silva of the Companía de Jesús, included was "un sitio en un cerrillo que está entre otros dos altos que están hacia la parte de el poniente jnto al pago que llaman Zoquiapan legua y media del dicho pueblo de Cocula"; i.e., clearly the area given previously in merced to Rivera; AGN-T 3514. In 1659, the village of Cocula stated that they had been planting sugarcane on land of theirs at San Juan and Xonacatla along the Cocula river; they ask for a license to make panocha in their own trapiche; AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 143–196. **Composición and land size:** In 1710, Cocula petitions D. Juan de la Vega Cansio for composición of their lands. They complain that ten years previously Ortiz de Herrera, the previous *juez de tierras*, had sold part of their holdings to doña Micaela de Ojeda y Taboada: "en términos de Soquiapa y Atetetla y Atlistaca siendo estas las más	**Conflicts:** An extremely long and bitter dispute developed after the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo sold the hacienda of Tepantlan to Br. Lucas de Garay Villavicencio at the end of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits had grazed herds of sheep (about 3,000 head) near Cocula (see AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2). During the dispute that erupted when Garay Villavicencio claimed land near Cocula, many parties (i.e., Garay Villavicencio and don Antonio de Ayala, as well as the village of Cocula itself) disputed rights to lands at Zoquiapan and other areas close to Cocula. Finally, note that in making his claims to land in the vicinity of Cocula, don Antonio de Ayala described himself as acting "en representación de los derechos de Da. Gertrudis y Da. Michaela de Rivera y Ulloa mi légitima mujer y herederos de Da. Juliana de Salazar dueña de los sitios de estancia nombrados Palula, Acayagualco, Sacamulco, Coacoyula, Soquiapa, San Juan, Alpipilulco, Atlixtaca, Atetetla, San Andrés, Metlapa..."; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2. Note that many of these lands were historically of Cocula (e.g., Soquiapa, Alpipilulco, and Atlixtaca). **Land sales and rentals:** One of the most salient aspects of land transactions and disputes involving Cocula in the early eighteenth century was the 1717 sale of land at Atlixtac to don Juan de Soto y Acuña; see AGN-I 40/158; AGN-M 71/fols. 1v–3f; AGN-BN 670/8; AGN-M 73/fols. 42f–43f. See also AGN-T 3514 and AGN-T 3518 for extensive documentation on land disputes involving these and other lands of Cocula. Apparently

	necesarias para el beneficio, cultivo y pasto de los ganados así de la Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción en la iglesia de este pueblo como de la comunidad de el." Five years later Cocula had won the return of these lands and they gave the Crown 540 pesos. In 1710, they request the composición of these lands. In 1711, the avaluadores estimate the holdings at 6 sitios de ganado mayor plus the 600 *varas* of village land. Cocula offered 200 pesos for the composición which included lands at Soquiapan, Atlixtac and Atetela. Don Antonio de Ayala objected to the composición. In the October 1714, possession given to Cocula no objections were raised by parties cited for the event: D. Juan de Soto y Acuña (owner of the rancho de Cococingo and at one time mentioned as being the legal representative of the village); D. Antonio de Ayala (owner of Metlapa, Pantla, Palula and Pedernales); D. Francisco de Gama (owner of Oculixtlahuacan, Ahuehuepan and Tuxpan); and the naturales of Chilacachapa and Coatepec. The composición of 6 sitios was confirmed in 1715. On 10 Oct. 1716 Cocula obtained an *amparo* for their lands; AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 143–196; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2.	Soto y Acuña had previously obtained the composición for 2½ sitios para ganado mayor near Cocula at Cocozingo, Tlaniquitlapan, Tlila (or Xila), and Xocotitlan; AGN-BN 670/8 (dated 1710; note that Soto y Acuña also had 4 caballerías of land at Agua de Manteca which he bought as *realenga* from the juez de composiciones Ortiz de Herrera in 1697.
Huitzuco	**Congregación:** There is an commission (1598) to Gonzalo Hernández to congregate pueblos in the province of Taxco. The villages mentioned within this province were Tezcaltitlan, Iztapa, Tzacoalpa, Pilcaya, Acamixtla, Tenango, Taxco, Iguala, Tlaxmalaca, Huitzuco, Tepecuacuilco, Cocula, Mayanalá, Coacoyula, Aguatlan, Tetela, Calpolalco, Yololco, Otlatlan, Tlacotepec, Cuetzala, Apaztlan, Toltepec, Oxtoman, Teloloapa, Ixcateopan, Alahuiztlan, Amatepec, Tuztepec, Texupilco, Quentla, and Temazcaltepec. Note the extent of the area covered; AGN-6(2)/1027. Other documents on the congregación include an order to the *juez gobernador* (apparently an Indian from outside Huitzuco who had been given authority there, the result of strong factional fights) and beneficiado to inform on the congregación; AGN-I 6(1)/768 (1594). The encomendero of Huitzuco, Bernardino de Casasola had been commissioned to carry out the congregación of Huitzuco (along with	**Land sales and rentas:** In 1646 Huitzuco had received protection in certain lands called Yspuchapa, which they had previously rented to Bartolomé de Nava for 9 years. Huitzuco was to be paid for back rent owed and Nava's cattle was to be expelled from the land. However, Bartolomé de Nava had been renting the lands with legal authorization (*poder*) from Nicolás de Nava (who admitted that the lands belonged to Huitzuco). Nicolás de Nava had opposed these measures and along with another miner, don Gaspar de Tabura, sought to have the *amparo* revoked. Nevertheless, the previous *mandamiento* in favor of Huitzuco was upheld; AGN-I 15(1)/38 (1648). On 28 April 1667, those of Huitzuco mention they have planted sugarcane on lands called San Miguel Yestla. They request that the corregidor of Iguala not prevent them from planting the cane, and from making molasses and brown sugar

the beneficiado), but given certain problems, in 1593 he was ordered to abstain from this commission; AGN-I 6(1)/674 (1593). Note, finally, that in 1613 it was mentioned that some Indians from Huitzuco and Atenango had begun to return to their "pueblos antiguos of Ispuchapan and Coahuilotlan; AGN-C exp. 271 (1613).

Composiciones and land size: An early eighteenth century document mentions that the titles and land of Huitzuco had been composed (apparently before 1697) for 250 pesos and that a previous *juez subdelegado*, D. Fco. Antonio Ortis de Herrera, in 1697 had found no defect in the titles; AGN-T 3518/1.

in their trapiche; AGN-I 24/133.

Soon after, Huitzuco requests a license to sell Yestla "de que no han tenido ni podido tener aprovechamiento alguno por estar desierto, eriazo y pedregoso y ser muy corto y muy distante de su pueblo y si no les es desprovecho y tienen otras tierras que sembrar." The sale is approved to Francisco de Cabrera for 500 pesos (to be paid at 25 pesos/year, the standard interest rate); AGN-I 24/321 (1669).

Separation: There is no documentation on the separation of sujetos of Huitzuco from the cabecera. However, in 1654 those of Santa Ana Tlaxmalac charge that Huitzuco was attempting to "sustraerse del reconocimiento que siempre han tenido y deben tener [a Tlaxmalac]." Tlaxmalac petitioned that the customary relation be respected and this request is granted; AGN-I 17/143.

Land conflicts: Throughout the colonial period Huitzuco was characterized by extensive conflicts between indigenous factions of the community, though there is not much evidence of conflict with landowners. Of internal conflicts the most salient were the following: 1590–94 (AGN-I 3/67, AGN-I 3/75, AGN-I 3/132, AGN-I 5/483, AGN-I 4/484, AGN-I 5/717, AGN-I 6(1)/143,AGN-I 6(1)/855, AGN-I 6(1)/913, AGN-I 6(2)/912), 1639 (AGN-I 11/196, AGN-I 11/197, AGN-I 11/224, AGN-I 11/229), 1696 (AGN-I 32/337, AGN-I 32/350), 1714 (AGN-I 39/43).

However, there were numerous early land conflicts between the village of Huitzuco and their encomendero Bernardo de Casasola. In 1579, Casasola had been charged by Tlaxmalac with having caused damages to their fields with cattle he had in the estancia of Tlapala, which was within a league or a league and a half of other populated estancias of Tlaxmalac; AGN-T 2948/97. In 1583 two *naturales* of the estancia of San Martín Aguacaucingo, sujeto of Huitzuco, complained that Casasola had forced them to leave their homes and lands, which included

		fruit trees, in order that he might graze ganado mayor on this land; AGN-I 2/767. In 1589 he entered into conflict over his attempt to forcibly give money to Huitzco in exchange for *cascalote* trees; AGN-I 4/185. And in 1590 they accused him of having taken five *suertes* of land that were owned by the community at Axalpan, Tequanoxtitlan, Xalcatlan, Poloetzinca, and Tecolutla, and of having taken much maize from fields in these places; AGN-I 4/505. Later, apparently because of his many conflicts, Casasola was removed from his position as *juez congregador*.
Iguala	**Congregación:** Commission to Gonzalo Hernández de Figueroa to congregate villages in the province of Taxco, which included villages in the Iguala Valley and in Tierra Caliente around Ixcateopan; AGN-I 6(2)/1027 (1598). **Land size:** In 1712, Iguala noted that their lands, comprising 1 sitio de ganado mayor and 4 caballerías, had been admitted into composición for 280 pesos. Despite oppositoin and litigation by the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, the composición was confirmed by don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas on 31 Oct. 1715, along with many other composiciones; AGN-T 3514/2. In 1713 those of Iguala stated that they had "pocas las tierras que . . . tienen para poderlas cultibar y sembar el maiz preciso para su mantenimiento esto totalmente se les impide con el motivo de que los vezinos de dicho pueblo se hallan tan immediatos a el y las haciendas que estos poseen que es vastante para que sus ganados se entren a destrozar sus sembrados que se reduzen a una corta milpa." The principal offender was Lorenzo Rodriguez de Molina. Those of Iguala requested that the viceroy order that "odos los que tienen ganados en las tierras de [Iguala] los saquen dentro de tercero" and that if this is not complied with that they be granted the right to "lanzar dicho ganado de sus tierras" in accord with ley 10, tít. 10, lib. 4 of the *Recopilación*; AGN-I 38/208.	**Land conflict:** There is extensive documentation on the struggle of Iguala to retain possession and rights to lands at locations such as Metlapa, San Andrés, Tepochiuya, Agua de Manteca, and Tequiloya. On Nov. 12, 1697, Iguala asserted they peacefully possessed their land in accordance with their titles, maps and other documents. However, in June 1697, Capn. D. Francisco Antonio Ortiz de Herrera, *juez comisario para la medida y composición* required them to compose their land. He took 100 pesos for the *composición* and 300 pesos for the crown. He also took away some of their lands: "de las principales tierras que . . . estaban poseyendo y que eran las que sembraban los despojo y los dejó una laguna que no les puede aprovechar para cosa alguna haciendo venta de las dichas tierras que les quitó a diferentes personas quienes pretenden el día de hoy que [los de Iguala] les hayan de pagar y paguen renta de lo mismo que es suyo." One piece of land was sold to Joseph de Soto, another to Antonio Rodríguez (a parcel called El Caño). Other witnesses mention that Joseph Rivera was adjudged "los sitios donde están dos ranchos de los indios de este pueblo y a Metlapa y San Andrés." On Dec. 14, 1697, in response to their complaint, Iguala was given back the lands that had been sold to Rivera. However, in spite of their petition Iguala was not awarded Tepochiuya (cf. AGN-I 30/251) nor Ahuehuepa, given that these lands were

being litigated from well before Ortiz de Herrera came to compose lands in the Iguala jurisdiction. The settlement was finally reversed once again in 1699 when Rivera was given back the lands of San Andrés and Metlapa. The mention that Ahuehuepa and Tepochiuya were being litigated before this time suggests that Iguala had opposed the takeover of their lands to the west (near Ahuehuepa and Oculixtlahuacan) and to the south (near Tepochica).

The most extensive and complete documentation of these struggles is found in AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 96–142. See also other expedientes in this volume. There is, however, other documentation on land conflicts at this time.

In 1689, those of Iguala (along with those of Tepecuacuilco) contested the granting of three parcels of land (Pachiuca, Atopula and San Andrés) to don Alonso de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, land which they claimed to have peacefully possessed for many years up to that time. They request that Rivera be limited to rights to 1 *sitio de venta* and 6 caballerías near Palula, to which he did have legitimate title; AGN-I 30/251.

There were also earlier conflicts. In 1582 Iguala and Tepecuacuilco objected to miners grazing horses and mules near their villages; AGN-I 2/79. See also a similar complaint by Iguala, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, and Cocula against individuals of Pánuco who brought horses and mules to graze in the northern Iguala Valley; AGN-I 6(2)/912 (dated 1594). In 1619, those of Iguala and Tepecuacuilco objeced to the granting of a merced to Juan Bautista for a venta at Platanar (or Tzinacantlan); AGN-T 2756/11. In 1639 they opposed (along with the village of Tepecuacuilco and Juan García Ponce) a request by Juan Baptista Beneciano for a license to establish a trapiche at Tzinacantlan; AGN-M 41/fols. 25f–28f.

Internal conflict: Internal factionalism dominated Iguala during the late 1760s and early 1770s. This is discussed in chapter 11, where the appropriate documentation is cited.

Mayanalán	**Congregación and immigration:** In 1598 Gonzalo Hernández de Figueroa was commissioned to carry out congregaciones in various villages of central Guerrero, including Mayanalán (see entry under Huitzuco); AGN-I 6(2)/1027. There is no precise information on the congregación of Mayanalán. However, later those of Mayanalán contended that in 1655 both San Sebastián Alseseca and San Juan Juan Tetelilla had been congregated in the cabecera, and that then Francisco Solano and his father, Blas de Toledo, had taken over the lands with "cabalgaduras, vacas y toros." On 16 April 1687 those of Mayanalán obtained a provision that an auto of 1655 protecting them in their lands at Tetelilla and Alseseca be carried out. On 12 May Francisco Solano objected to the possession. Nevertheless, on the following day possession was given to the naturales. Note that perhaps both Alseseca and Tetelilla had been congregated, but that the residents had later returned to their home village. It was precisely over lands at these two sujetos that the most prolonged conflicts occurred; AGN-T 1667/1. **Composición and land size:** In litigation with Manuel de Chávez, the village of Mayanalán mentioned a composición and an *amparo* given to them in 1667, which included the sites of Alseseca and Tetelilla, later lost to Chávez and his widow; AGN-T 1667/1. In a document from 1715 it is mentioned that Mayanalán composed its village lands of 1.5 sitios de estancia de ganado mayor for 40 pesos with don Francisco Ortiz de Herrera (which would have been ca. 1697–1707); AGN-T 3514/2, see also AGN-T 3518/2.	**Land conflict:** There was extensive and bitter land conflict between several owners of the hacienda of Tlapala and the villages of Tlaxmalac (see below) and Mayanalán. The latter involved, in particular, disputes for the lands at Alseseca, Tetelilla, Xolocamotla, and Xochispalixtlahuacan. The most important documentation of these disputes is found in AGN-T 1667/1, AGN-T 3514, and AGN-T 3518/1. Tlapala had passed from the hands of Br. Agustín de Aguero and Francisco Zárate, to Blas de Toledo, then to his wife Antonia del Valle (and perhaps their son Francisco Solano de Toledo). Then on 6 Dec. 1686 she sold the land to Pedro Miranda Tenorio, who later sold it to Manuel Chávez. If later passed on to his widow, Da. Antonia González Thenorio. In 1643 the hacienda of Tlapala had been subject to a composición for 250 pesos. At this time it comprised 3 sitios de ganado mayor, 3 sitios de ganado menor, 1 potrero, and 11 caballerías. Several decades later, in the 1660s and 1670s, the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo grazed sheep on land at Alseseca and Tetelilla, which apparently still belonged to Mayanalán. On 13 May 1687 Mayanalán was given possession of Tetelilla and Alseseca despite the objections of Francisco Solano de Toledo. According to the documentation shortly thereafter Pedro de Miranda had desisted from pursuing litigation with Mayanalán over Tlalticsapan, Alseseca, Tetelilla, and Suchipalistlaguacan, and with Tlaxmalac over Palapa, Lagunillas, and Polosingo (AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2). Manuel Chávez, and then his wife, reinitiated the dispute over these lands, the Real Audiencia had first stated found in their favor (27 Sept. 1700) but shortly later the fiscal ruled, in 1702, that when Miranda did not object to the possession given to Mayanalán (and Tlaxmalac) he lost all rights to these lands "si alguna tenía y no pudiendo el sucesor tenerle mayor que el tuvo su causante, no puede hoy Manuel de Chávez . . . repetir propriedad de dichas tierras cuando Pedro de Miranda se

		desapropió de ellas si fueron suyas que no lo parece" (AGN-T 1667/1 fols. 176–77). On 5 June 1703 the Real Audiencia confirmed its decision of Sept. 1700 given the disputed land to Manuel Chávez. The appeal of Mayanalán is rejected. Finally, those of Mayanalán and Tlaxmalac, having lost the case with Chávez, complained that in going to cut firewood "y otros menesteres necesarios para sus alimentos y fomento y esto en tierras lugares e parajes realengas no comprehendidos en las tierras del litigio . . . el dicho Manuel de Chávez los maltrata." On 3 Nov. 1711, Da. Antonio González Tenorio was given a composición for the hacienda of Tlapala for 100 pesos. Note that the best account of the history of land grants to this hacienda is found in AGN-T 3518/1, fols. 1–16. Mayanalán also was involved in the lengthy litigation over the hacienda of Tepantlan that stretched from the 1690s to about 1720. Thus in 1719 the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo was still accusing some two dozen individual landowners and villages of invading their lands; AGN-T 3514. Note, finally, that although the major dispute of Mayanalán was with the owners of Tlapala, some early conflict with Bernardo de Casasola, encomendero of Huitzuco, is reported, particularly over damage that his cattle caused to fields planted by Indians of Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán (see AGN-GP 2/334, dated 1579).
Mezcala	**Congregación:** In 1604, shortly after the residents of Mezcala had been congregated in Tepecuacuilco, the sujeto was resettled by Indians from Santa María Concepción Palula, who sought to remain their "no embargante que los naturales de Mexcala han sido llevados a Tepequaquilco." The authorities of Tepecuacuilco then sought to force the return of the renegade Indians, leaving in Mezcala only those Indians "que están mandados asistir para el paso del río." The request is granted; AGN-C exp. 168.	**Community organization:** In 1788 the *alcalde de primer voto*, along with two *regidores* and the *alguacil mayor* were accused of taking 196 pesos 1½ reales from the community chest. They used 45 pesos to pay the priest of Chilpancingo for wax and other church expenses, and then took some 100 pesos for themselves ("para manutención"). The guilty parties were imprisoned. Shortly thereafter the other *oficiales de república* along with the village elders and offered to repay the money: "atendiendo todo el pueblo a su miseria y bien instruidos de que se cometieron este echo, aunque indevido fue estrechados de su

		necesidad y que no dieron otro destino al dinero que el de el socorro de sus pobres familias y pagaron algunos deudos que los urgían demasiado deliveramos de común acuerdo y con pleno general consentimiento de todo el pueblo pagar por los susodichos la indicada cantidad." The village representatives first went to the *teniente* in Iguala who refused to free the prisoners and instead remitted them to Taxco. In Taxco the representatives then again express the willingness of the pueblo to repay the money, half in 1788 and half in 1789. Moreover, witnesses are called who testify that apparently none of the prisoners except the *alcalde de primer voto* spent any of the money. The expediente is remitted to Mexico and at the end of 1788 the Junta Superior de Real Hacienda accepts the proposition of the community of Mezcala and orders all the Indians freed; AGN-Cr 442/4. There is no evidence of land conflicts involving Mezcala.
Tepecuacuilco	**Congregación:** The only direct information on Tepecuacuilco is the 1598 commission to don Gonzalo Hernández to congregated many villages in present-day Guerrero (see entry under Huitzuco); AGN-I 6(2)/1027. Given the wide geographical area covered by Tepecuacuilco's sujetos, it is quite possible, however, that some nucleation took place before the turn of the century (see appendix 1b for a list of Tepecuacuilco's sujetos). After the congregaciones of ca. 1598–1605, there was a rapid takeover of the lands of Tepecuacuilco's former sujetos. The most notable case was that involving the hacienda of Palula, first established by Tepecuacuilco's encomendero, don Melchor de Tornamira (see the extensive discussion in chapter 6). Another notable case of litigation over the lands of congregated sujetos occurred in relation to the 1619 petition for a merced by Juan Bautista, a mestizo living in the jurisdiction, for a license to found a venta at Pololapa, the lands of which he said were "baldías yeriazas y realengas y que no an sido tierras de congregación ni de las comprehendidas en el mandamiento general del amparo de los indios." The authorities of Tepecuacuilco	**Community organization:** An early account of community organization and the use of communal harvest to pay oficiales de república is found in AGN-I 1/199, dated 1579. There is also some documentation on the continuing power of local caciques up to the end of the sixteenth century; AGN-GP 2/597 and AGN-GP 2/935, both dated 1580. **Land conflicts:** Shortly after the congregaciones ended, there were numerous mercedes granted for land around Tepecuacuilco (see appendix 5b). Many of these were opposed by the Tepecuacuilco authorities. For examples, in 1616 they objected to a merced to Francisco de Zarate for 1 sitio de ganado menor and 4 caballerías near Tepecuacuilco and Pololcingo; AGN-M 31/fols. 244v–245v. For an early, 1619 objection to a land grant at Tzinacantlan, see AGN-T 2756/11, discussed in the column to the left. The Tepecuacuilco authorities also opposed, along with Juan García Ponce and the *naturales* of Iguala, a 1639 petition for a license to found a trapiche at Tzinacantlan presented by Juan Baptista Beneciano;

objected, stating that the lands in question had belonged to a congregated sujeto, and thus were protected by law; AGN-T 2756/11.

It appears that after the congregaciones only Xochipala and Mezcala (and here many of the residents were not originally from Mezcala but from another sujeto, Palula) were continually occupied throughout the colonial period. Palula was litigated but most of those who tried to establish rights to this land were not descendants of the original inhabitants (see chapter 6).

Composición and land size: In 1643 a commission was given to Capn. y Sargento Mayor don Francisco Ortuno de Villena to carry out, in the jurisdictions of Tepecuacuilco, Teloloapa, and Tixtla, "medida de todas las tierras que se poseen y averigue con que títulos y dela importancia que son y admitiendo a composición a los poseedors remita los autos"; AGN-M 45/fols. 161v–164f. There is no indication that Tepecuacuilco was issued a composición for its lands at this time.

On 13 June 1697, after the lands of Tepecuacuilco had been accepted in composición, "se hallaba unas tierras más allá de la que estén poseyendo los naturales de hacia la parte del poniente que llaman Tepatlastitlan que tendrían como una caballerías de tierras cuyos linderos son los siguientes= desde el poniente para el oriente lindan estas tierras por toda la loma viarreta que hace una uncrucijada del camino que sale de Tepequaquilco para Tesmalaca por el cerro que llaman el Puertosuelo y por el norte lindan con el paso que llaman Los Anonas que tambien es lindero a el río grande de Tepequacuilco y rio abajo a el lindero que llaman de Tepatlastitlan y las cuales dichas tierras se hallaron bandias y realengas y en virtud de dicha mi comisión las vendi como mayor ponehedor a Juan Rodríguez vecino de dicho pueblo de Tepequacuilco en precio de 40 pesos de oro comun." The 30-peso composición to Tepecuacuilco was formally recognized by the Real Audiencia on 31 Oct. 1715; AGN-T 3518/2.

Emigration and immigration: Tepecuacuilco seems to have quickly become a non-indigenous village. Evidence of emigration of Indians out of Tepecuacuilco is found in 1607, when the encomendera, doña

AGN-M 41/fols. 25f–28f.; see also AGN-T 3518/6 for a more detailed history of this objection.

One of the major disputes in the northern Iguala Valley evolved out of the efforts of Lucas de Garay Villavicencio to enlarge the hacienda of Tepantlan that he had bought from the Jesuits. This dispute is amply documented and discussed in chapter 5. A summary of the objections to Garay Villaviciencio's claims, including those of Tepecuacuilco, is found in appendix 8c.

	María de Godoy, petitioned for the forcible return of Indians who had fled to Iguala, Taxco, Tixtla, Huitziltepec, Zumpango, and other nearby villages; AGN-RCD 5/fol. 122v (publ. ZyC VI:129). At the same time, Spaniards seem to have been migrating into the village. When Tepecuacuilco authorities tried in 1632 to expell one Spaniard, he complained that there were more than 300 Spaniards (apparently referring to the jurisdiction); AGN-GP 7/256. A report of emigation of Indians out of Tepecuacuilco is also found for 1649 (AGN-I 15(2)/59; another effor to expel a Spaniard occurred in 1659; AGN-I 23/328. By the late colonial period Tepecuacuilco was home to the major colonial entrepreneurs of the Iguala Valley; see, for example, AGN-Alh 10/3, dated 1785, and the extensive discussion of commerce and politics in chaps. 8–11.	
Tlaxmalac	**Congregación:** The only information on a congregación is the commission to don Gonzalo Hernández to congregated many villages in present-day Guerrero (see entry under Huitzuco); AGN-I 6(2)/1027. **Composición and land size:** On 31 October 1715, the composición of the village lands of Tlaxmalac was confirmed: 1 sitio de ganado mayor and 4 caballerías; AGN-T 3518. Apparently this was the composición carried out by don Francisco Antonio Ortiz de Herrera for 60 pesos in June 1697; AGN-T 1667/1.	**Land conflicts:** There seem to have been three basic conflicts: minor, often early disputes, with neighboring villages and, particularly, Bernardo de Casasola; a dispute with the Garay Villavicencio involving the borders of Tepantlan, which he had bought from the Jesuits; and the lengthy dispute with the owners of Tlapala (cf. entry under Mayanalán), particularly don Manuel Chávez. Perhaps the earliest dispute involving Tlaxmalac occurred in 1560 when the naturales of this village attempted to reclaim lands that they said an Indian who rented land from Tlaxmalac had illegally sold to those of Iguala; AGN-M 5/fols. 178v–179f. Most early disputes, however, involved Bernardino de Casasola; see AGN-M 9/fols. 58f–58v (1567), AGN-T 2948/97 (1579), AGN-GP 2/194 (1579), AGN-GP 2/334 (1579), AGN-I 2/699 (1583), AGN-I 2/766 (1583), and AGN-I 2/859 (1583). Casasola, encomendero of Huitzuco, had been given at least one merced, for 1½ of the 3 caballerías he had originally requested *términos* Tepecuacuilco and Tlaxmalac (AGN-M 9/fols. 58f–58v). Casasola had established cattle ranches on various parcels of land around Tepecuacuilco, Tlaxmalac, Huitzuco, and Mayanalán and there were repeated complaints of the damage

his cattle caused (e.g., AGN-T 2948/97, AGN-2/699, AGN-I 2/859, AGN-I 2/766). Those of Tlaxmalac also complained that Casasola had gone to the estancias of Miaguatamalco and Tlapala "donde ellos tenían maceguales poblados con sus casas y tierras de muchos años a esta parte" and had burned down the houses there with all the Indians' possessions inside. Casasola and the corregidor of Iguala claimed that the former had license to destroy the houses. The Real Audiencia ordered that if Casasola had title to the estancias in question that this should be respected; the Indians then presented a viceregal order that Casasola return to live in the cabecera and abandon the estancias of Tlapala and Miaguatamalco, where the *naturales* had huertas and sementeras. The Real Audiencia then ordered Casasola to remove his cattle and that the Indians be alloed to rebuild their houses and live in them regardless of what the corregidor had ordered; see AGN-T 2948/97 (1579). Note that in another document those of Mayanalán complained that Casasola had established a rancho of cattle, horses, goats, and other animals on land of a sujeto of theirs named San Antonio Tlapalan; AGN-GP 2/194 (1579). Note that whatever the original status and political affiliation of Tlapala, it obviously came to form the center of a large hacienda of that name.

Finally, there were two another minor disputes. The first involved a 1594 complaint by Iguala, Tlaxmalac, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, and Cocula against individuals from Pánuco on the Gulf Coast who brought mules to graze in the northern Iguala Valley; AGN-I 6(2)/912. A second minor dispute occurred in the late colonial period (ca. 1742) with don Manuel Román, owner of the rancho named Yancuicapan over land at Astapa. The dispute seemed to revolve around whether Tlaxmalac paid Román rent for land they planted at Astapa; AGN-T 3542/17.

The dispute involving Garay Villavicencio occurred after he bought Tepantlan from the Jesuit Colegio. One key point of

		contention was whether when the Jesuits grazed animals of Sta. Lucía on land of Tlaxmalac whether they paid rent for this land or had bought it. One witness stated that the Jesuits grazed their animals on land rented from doña Juliana de Salazar except for the herds that were placed on land rented from Tlaxmalac and Huitzuco. The major dispute erupted with Garay Villavicencio who bought Tepantlan over land at the lake named Atezca "y otros parajes"; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2. The most major dispute involving Tlaxmalac was with the owners of Tlapala, particularly Manuel Chávez. The earliest dispute over this land was in 1631, when Tlaxmalac complained that they were "muy vejados y molestados de los ganados mayores del Licenciado Agustín de Aguero, Nicolás de Nava, Juan Bautista, and a woman named Doña Mariana. The viceroy granted the village an *amparo* against the cattle; AGN-I 10(2)/22. Two years later this order was confirmed; AGN-I 10(3)/180. The major dispute between Tlaxmalac and the hacienda of Tlapala involved lands at places called Tlilapa, Tlalnepantla, and Palapa. On 14 June 1610 Francsico de Zárate had received a merced to 1 sitiora g. menor and 2 cabs. terminos de Tlaxmalac, el dicho sitio en el paraje nombrado Tlamiquipatlan a la falda de una serrania grande y las dichas caballerias en la parte donde dicen Tlilapan" (see appendix 5b). The dispute with Tlaxmalac was closely associated with that involving Mayanalán (see entry above) over Alseseca, Tetelilla, and other nearby sites. Apparently the major point of litigation was whether a *paraje* that the naturales (as well as other witnesses) called Palapa was the Tlalnepantla of the merced. One witness, for example, said that the land in question is called Tlilapa, though the *naturales* called it Palapa and in the merced it appears as Tlalnepantla, where it is stated to be located "junto a Tlapala." The Real Audiencia recognized Chávez's rights to Tlilapa and Tlalnepantla, although the *naturales* of Tlaxmalac

		appealed. The fiscal's response (AGN-T 1667/1, fols. 176v–177v) is dated 19 Aug. 1702. He stated that in regard to Tlilapan and Tlalnepantla, even the witnesses of Chavez state that the land in question is called Palapa. Moreover, when Pedro Miranda (who owned Tlapala before Chávez) did not object to the possession he lost all right to these lands "si alguna tenía y no pudiendo el sucesor tenerle mayor que el tuvo su causante, no puede hoy Manuel de Chávez . . . repetir propriedad de dichas tierras cuando Pedro de Miranda se desaproprio de ellas si fueron suyas que no lo parece." The fiscal also suggested that the name of the hacienda, Tlapala, is a corruption of Tlilapa and that the argument that the etymology of Tlalnepantla (*tierra en medio*) is enough to identify it with Palapa simply because the latter was located between two rivers. Apparently, however, Chávez rights to Tlilapa and Tlalnepantla were upheld. However, those of Tlaxmalac later complained that when Chávez was given possession of Tlilapa and Tlalnepantla the alcalde mayor of Iguala erred in going beyond these sites to one called Palapa, which was property of the village. Several witnesses confirm that Palapa belonged to Tlaxmalac; one stated that Tlaxmalac had rented this land out to Pedro de Miranda, another reported that an Indian lived there who never paid rent to the owners of the hacienda of Tlapala. On 22 Jan. 1704 the alcalde mayor determined that Palapa belonged to Tlaxmalac and gave them formal possession of this land. Nevertheless, the dispute continued, and on 3 Sept. 1714 Da. Antonia González Tenorio, then owner of Tlapala, was given an amparo to the parajes at Palapa, Lagunillas, and Pololcingo. There were no objections at the time she was given possession. See particularly AGN-T 1667/1 and AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2.
Tuxpan	**Congregaciones and resettlement:** There is no direct evidence of a congregación, but it does seem clear that the land and sujeto of Tuxpan was congregated and then resettled. In the early seventeenth century Lic. Agustín Augero testified that since the Indians living in the sitio of	**Land sales and conflicts:** In 1619, Juan Bautista, mestizo of the jurisdiction of Iguala, required a license to found a venta at Tzinacantlan (also called Plantanar) one league from where he already had a venta (at Pololapa) given that there was no water

Tuxpan had been congregated, the lands had not been planted. At this time doña María González, cacica of Tepecuacuilco, had much land in this area, "todo lo cual heredó de sus padres y abuelos"; AGN-T 2756/11 (see other entries). Resettlement occurred in midcentury. Thus in 1654, those of Tuxpan obtained an decree ordering the justice of Iguala to protect them "en el sitio y tierras en que se han vuelto a recoger"; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2. Likewise, note that in a series of documents that gives seventeenth-century population statistics (AGN-RCD 14, 20, 28, and 39, various *expedientes*) San Andrés Tuxpan is listed only once, in 1656, when it identified as "San Andrés Tuspa, pueblo nuevamente congregado." Finally, in a 1719 letter of Br. Garay Villavicencio to Juan Nicolás of the Colegio de San Pedro y San Paboo, the former disputes the land claims of Tuxpan stating that "imponían ser del pueblo viejo de Toxpan lo que es falso, pues unos son del partido de Atenango del Río y del pueblo de Quatlazxochitlan otro del de Tequexquetongo doctrina de Tlaquiltenango"; AGN-T 3518/exp. s.n. and fols. s.n. Again and again throughout the colonial period, Tuxpan is referred to as Pueblo Nuevo, "el pueblo nuevo nombrado San Andrés Tuspan," etc.

Composición: On 11 Feb. 1707, Tuxpan composed its lands (no mention of their extension is given here) for 100 pesos; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2. Apparently the village lands were only the 600 varas to which it was entitled by law; in 1794 it is mentioned that Tuxpan had 600 varas of land, located to the south of the village and that ended at the hacienda of Tepantlan; AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v.

in the latter site. Thos of Tepecuacuilco objected stated that the requested venta in "en términos del dicho nuestro pueblo junto a la laguna y no media legua de un sujeto llamado Atzumpa y de otro llamado Tuchpa donde viven y asisten muchos de los naturales del dicho pueblo . . . en las dichas tierras, sitio y lugar tnemos mucha suma de plantanales y otros árboles de zapotes y cuyos frutos nos sustentamos y aprovechamos y hacemos en las dichas tierras las sementeras de nuestra comunidad." Apparently at this time the pueblo of Tuxpan had been congregated and not yet resettled. Despite the objections, the corregidor and *fiscal* recommend that the license be granted; AGN-T 2756/11.

In her will, dated 30 March 1623, doña María González, a cacica of Tepecuacuilco, left 4 *suertes* of land to her compadre and exector, Lic. Agustín Augero. One of these suertes was at a place called El Melonar (where melons were planted). In 1626 Aguero sold this land to the miner Martín de Chavarrieta, who then sold them to Juan Mas and Pedro Millán for 450 pesos; the 4 suertes were said to run "desde el arroyo que divide las tierras de tochpan hacia los cerrillos que están en el camino que va a Iguala." Finally, in 1645, Mas and Millán sold these lands and one caballería to Juan García Ponce (who later sold them to the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo). The caballería was located "en el pueblo viejo y llano que llaman de Tuspan junto a la dicha laguna." They had received a merced for this land and then composed it (apparently around 1643). The 4 *suertes* and 1 caballería were sold for 650 pesos; for the most complete account of these lands, see AGN-T 3514.

After obtaining the hacienda of Tepantlan from García Ponce, the Jesuits for a short time grazed several herds of sheep in the northern Iguala Valley. One herd was grazed "conturnos del pueblo de Yguala en los parajes de La Ciénaga, Metlapa, San Andrés y la orilla de la laguna de dicho pueblo de Tuspan." For the most complete account of the dispute involving the Jesuit sale of Tepantlan to Br. Lucas de Garay Villavicencio,

		see AGN-T 3518 and AGN-T 3514. **Land rental:** After the final settlement of the conflict involving the sale of Tepantlan to Garay Villavicencio, it appears that Tuxpan started to rent what was in the end left of the Jesuit estate. A letter of 4 May 1708 from Garay Villavicencio to Juan Nicolás, the *procurador* of Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, stated that Tuxpan rented Tepantlan "con un papel simple en mexicano que ellos llamaban escriptura y en esta buena fe corrieron cantidad de años con dicho rancho asta que entró una epidemia en el pueblo que barrió con los más de ellos y para cobrar yo dellos la renta me costaba bastante trabajo y por último me valí de su beneficiado para recaudar algo." Garay V. mentioned the problem of collecting the rent and the "pocos aperos" of the hacienda, and requested that the rancho be rented to him. From Sta. Lucia an administrator wrote to the Indians that they should pay the rent (which was 600 fanegas of maize every year) to Garay. The *naturales* of Tuxpan had planted some sugarcane on this land. Then, in 1732, there is mention of a rental contract for Tepantlan to Br. D. Miguel Matheo Adán de los Rios. He had previously requested a rental that was denied because Garay Villavicencio was still alive. Now the rental was given to Adán de los Ríos "no obstante a que los indios de Tuxpa lo pretendieron con grande instancia por carta que me escribieron en 20 de mayo próximo pasado"; AGN-T 3518/exp. s.n., fols. s.n.
Xochipala	**Congregación and resettlement:** There is little information on Xochipala during the early colonial period. It was a sujeto of Tepecuacuilco (see appendix 1b) although it may never have been congregated in the cabecera; it was clearly still an Indian village in 1580; AGN-GP 2/911. Apparently there were mines located in Xochipala, which was charged with providing services to the Spaniards who worked these. Thus in 1591 those of Xochipala and Chichihualco requested that they not be forced to give food and fodder to Spaniards	**Land conflict:** The most significant conflict was one that erupted in the early eighteenth century between Xochipala and Zumpango over land at Atlapasolco, which was eventually adjudicated to Zumpango. See entry under Zumpango in appendix 3c.

	who worked the mines of Tlalistaca; AGN-I 3/316. This same year the alcalde mayor of Chilapa was ordered to submit a report "que minas son las de Suchipala si son modernos o viejos." At the same time, a miner named Joan López Villamiel stated that he had certain mines in Suchipala "donde pretende fundar casas, yngenios y carboneros para su avío y beneficio y esto no lo puede hacer sin algunos indios." He requested the forced service of 25 Indians from the nearby villages of Chichihualco, Suchipala, Zumpango, and Huitziltepec. Finally, again in this year the *naturales* of Chilapa were exempted from giving service in the mines of Suchipila and Atlistaca. In 1591 the miners were requesting a renewal of this *repartimiento* service, to which the Indians of Chilapa were opposed. The viceroy ordered that the service not be allowed. Apparently, then, there were mines near or at Xochipala; if this village was not congregated in Tepecuacuilco, this might have been due to the importance of Xochipala to mining operations in south-central Guerrero during the early colonial period.	

Appendix 3c

Land Status of Indigenous Villages in the Jurisdiction of Tixtla

VILLAGE	LAND HISTORY: *MERCEDES*, COMPOSICIONES, AND LICENSES	LAND RENTALS, SALES, AND CONFLICTS
San Agustín Acapizatlan	**Congregación:** It appears that Acapizatlan was congregated in Tixtla during the early seventeenth century. By the middle of the second decade of this century, however, the naturales were returning to their original settlement. At that time (1625) the *beneficiado* of Tixtla had complained beneficiado Tixtla complained that although those of Yacapizatlan had been congregated in Tixtla "donde han estado quietos y pacíficos y bien administrados ahora han comenzado a mudarse a su puesto antiguo haciendo jacales y labrando las tierras sin licencia ni autoridad.." In response the viceroy ordered the alcalde mayor of Tixtla to investigate the reason for the emigration "y las convenencias o inconvenientes que se seguirán de hacerlo y lo que distan de su puesto antiguo al de Tistla"; AGN-C exp. 283. Note in general that there was much migration to Acapizatlan as a result of the benefits to commerce offered by its position along the camino real; see the complaint of Acapizatlan against the damages caused by travelers (AGN-GP 2/326, dated 1579). **Composición and land size:** In 1716, Acapizatlan obtained a composición for its lands, which extended to cover 3 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9.	**Land conflict:** There was a significant amount of conflict over Acapizatlan and surrounding land, undoubtedly given its location along the camino real. Early mercedes in this area were contested and challenged (see appendix 5c). Thus in 1583 Acapiztlan objected to the merced of 3 caballerías requested by Baltasar de la Serna, located ½ to 1 league from the village. One witness presented by Serna stated that Acapizatlan had 30 Indians "y que para estos indios hay muchas tierras donde siembran y aunque fueran muchos más, y que tienen muchas tierras como dico tiene baldías que no se siembra." Even Indian witnesses seem to agree; some are officials of Acapiztlan and all but one state that the village has much other land and that the property in question had not been farmed for over 2 years. The teniente de alcalde mayor visited the land and found no signs of planting and the ruins of only two houses; AGN-T 2723/34. Over the following years, particularly after the congregación, migrants moved into the area of Acapizatlan. For example, in 1633, those of Tixtla complained that españoles, mestizos, negros and mulatos had gone to live in a sujeto of theirs named Acapizatlan. Their request that those without title be expelled is granted; AGN-I 10(3)/109. By the early eighteenth century, an inn (mesón) had been established here. In 1702 Juan Hurtado de Mendoza was stated to be owner of many properties, including the Mesón de Acapizatlan; AGN-M 66/fols. 113f–113v. Shortly thereafter he was reported as being in litigation with the villages of Dos Caminos and Acapizatlan over certain lands. On 22 Aug. 1709 the Real Audiencia ordered that those of San Agustín

		Acapizatlan not interfere with don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza in rebuilding his inn; AGN-T 2899/49.
San Francisco Ahuelicán	**Congregación:** Along with two other barrios of Oapan (Amayotepec and Oacacingo), in 1604 Ahuelicán was ordered congregated in the cabecera. Its citizens were relocated but quickly reoccupied their original settlement; see entry under Oapan and Oacacingo; AGN-C exp. 179. **Land size and composición:** In 1717, after several years of litigation with San Juan Tetelcingo, Ahuelicán received and had measured the 600 varas of land that it was entitled to as an indigenous village. Given the sterility of the land to the south and west, the land was measured out 1,000 varas to the north (to the *paraje* named Tzicapan) and 1,400 to the east (to the *paraje* named Mecolapa); AGN-I 41/216. A discussion of the dispute and settlement, as well as subsequent developments, is found in the column to the right. Note that to this day Ahuelicán is part of the agrarian community of Oapan and shares in land considered part of the communal holdings of this village.	**Land conflict and emigration:** Ahuelicán suffered conflicts with San Juan Tetelcingo through the greater part of the second half of the colonial period. There were, however, two major moments of conflict: ca. 1717 and ca. 1808. The best account of the early dispute is found in AGN-I 41/216, which documents the objections of San Juan Tetelcingo to the granting and measurement of the 600 varas of land to Ahuelicán, requesting that "en cuanto a las 600 baras que dichos naturales [de Ahuelicán] pretendían, se declarase no deverselas dar en sus tierras, sino en las del Real Patrimonio pues la voluntad de S. Magestad no era quitar tierras alos que las tenían con justo y derecho dominio como ellos [de San Juan] y darselas a los que no las tenían." The fiscal then recommends that the alcalde mayor of Tixtla determine whether there are indeed 4 leagues distance between the two villages and whether Tetelcingo's interests were harmed by the grant, "y si y si ay la distancia de 4 leguas que se asienta haver de un pueblo a otro, y en caso de haver dicha distancia, aunque sea menos de ls referidas 4 leguas, mantendra en las 600 baras medidas a dichos naturales de Aguelican, y en caso de no haver mucha distancia del un pueblo a lotro, se las enterar por donde no sean perjuidicados los naturales de Totolcingo [*sic*]." The water in dispute should be adjudicated to Ahuelicán, given that they have no other source of water for their cattle. Finally, those of Tetelcingo should pay for any damage that their herds have caused. The diligencias were carried out on 12 Nov. 1717. Earlier in 1717 the alcalde mayor of Tixtla certified that Ahuelicán met the requirements for separation from its cabecera of Oapan: a population of 50 families, a decent church, and "las tierras que necesitan para sembrar maís." The priest of Oapan supports the petition, noting that Ahuelican had 20 families of married Indians apart from the widows and widowers and

		adolescents, yielding a population of over 50 persons; AGN-T 343/4. In 1719 the land grant was approved, as well as payment of 20 pesos for the 3½ fanegas of planted fields of Ahuelicán eaten by cattle from Tetelcingo; AGN-I 43/70. In the early nineteenth century conflict between the two villages apparently flared up again, although it might well have continued throughout the eighteenth century. There is evidence from 1836 that villagers from San Marcos, Amayotepec, San Juan Tetelcingo, and Ahuelicán had been key in establishing the cuadrillas of the southern Iguala Valley; AGN-BN 769/17. However, previously the village of Ahuelicán had in fact been completely abandoned. In 1799 the grant of the fundo legal was reaffirmed and ordered enforced. After some legal maneuvering, on 19 July 1802 the viceroy ordered that the lands be remeasured and possession confirmed; AGN-T 2951/59 (cf. AGN-T 2951/82, dated 1802, which documents the dispute between Oapan and Tecuiciapan that probably also affected lands planted on by Ahuelicán). Apparently conflict continued between Tetelcingo and Ahuelicán given that the latter was almost completely abandoned in 1809 (AGN-Cv 214/3) at which time the priest of Oapan went to convince its citizens to return, promising that their land holdings would be protected. At this time only 12 families were in the village; another 69 had fled. To resolve the land shortage the fiscal suggested that if the 600 varas proved to be insufficient "para fructificarles lo preciso para su cómoda subsistencia, les mida y señale las más que sean bastantes al efecto, con total arreglo a las Reales disposiciones de la materia"; AGN-Cv 214/3. In 1810 the litigation continued as San Juan Tetelcingo appealed and a dispute with a local hacendado, probably the owner of Tlapala, continued. By that time Ahuelicán's population was over 100 families; AGN-T 1406/11. For a brief mention of the conflict with Tlapala, see AGN-T 1287/6, dated 1797. For the involvement of Ahuelicán in the dispute between Oapan and Tecuiciapan, see entry under

		Oapan for AGN-T 3603/9.
Santa María de la Concepción Amayotepec	**Congregación:** Along with two other barrios of Oapan (Ahuelicán and Oacacingo), in 1604 "Comoyotepec (sic) was ordered congregated in the cabecera. Its citizens were relocated but quickly reoccupied their original settlement; ee entry under Oapan and Oacacingo; AGN-C exp. 179. **Composición and land size:** There is no evidence of a colonial composición involving this village. Rather, it seems to have fallen within the communal land of San Juan Tetelcingo. In the 1890s, shortly after Oapan and Tetelcingo divided the land they had been disputing, leaving Ameyaltepec in the middle of San Juan's communal land, a representative of Ameylatepec (Juan García, the schoolteacher) bought land from Tetelcingo, the land on which Ameyaltepec is presently situated (information from my fieldwork). In the 1790s Amayotepec was said to possess only the 600 varas "concedidas a los yndios"; AGN-I 76/3.	**Migration:** For a discussion of emigration from Ameyaltepec to the cuadrillas of Palula, Xalitla, Maxela, Las Mesas, and others in the southern Iguala Valley, see the discussion in chapter 6; AGN-I 71/13 (1798, which involves both San Marcos Oacacingo and Ameyaltepec; see entry under Oacacingo). **Separación:** In 1757 the barrio of Amayotepec, represented by their mayordomo and *fiscal*, request formal separation from the cabecera of Oapan. They complain of the 3 league distance to Oapan (and the inconvenience of burying their dead in Oapan), the extorsions they suffer to buy material for the parish church, and mistreatment; they add that they have a population of over 40 families. The petition appears to have been for separation of the church; the archbishop grants the request and authorizes the priest of Oapan to consecrate the church in Amayotepec; AGN-T 3213/1.
San Andrés Amula	**Congregación:** Amula was a sujeto of Apango (see appendix 1c); apparently it was never congregated in its cabecera, given the reports of occupation in the early eighteenth century. **Composición:** During the 1716 composición, San Andrés Amula claimed to be a barrio of the pueblo of San Francisco Apango. They said that they did not have title to the lands they possessed, nor did they know the precise size. However, they estimated that "tendrán de circunferencia según la voz como 8 leguas poco más o menos y la más parte lavorias"; AGN-T3603/9.	**Abandonment:** In 1717 Capn. don Francisco Fernández de Olais, a *vecino* of the jurisdiction of Chilapa, had been the highest bidder for the lands of San Andrés Amula, which comprised 2 sitios de ganado mayor. This sale was approved by the *juez privativo de composiciones* (apparently don Juan de la Vega Cansio), but was conditioned on viceregal approval. The viceroy ordered a copy of the order to be given to the naturales of Amula; at that time there were only 2 widowers and 3 married Indian men living there. They stated "no tener que pedir ni demandar en manera alguna por no serles de hútil las tierras de este paraje que sólo son 5 o 6 y estos se bajan a vivir a la cabecera de Apango de esta Jurisdicción a cuya doctrina están sugetos"; AGN-T 2727/1, AGN-GP 24/307, and AGN-M 70/fols. 53f–54v (all dated 1717).
San Francisco Apango	**Congregación:** In 1603 those of Apango, for themselves and their sujetos of Quauhlotlan, Nexpalco, and Tlaixquaque, objected to being congregated in Tixtla "alegando recibir de ello daño y agravio porque	**Separation:** Given their large popluation in 1724 those of Apango request formal separation from their cabecera of Tixtla and license to elect their own *oficiales de república.* The

	el pueblo de Apango tienen muchas y buenas tierras de riego y temporal donde cogen dos o tres veces al año y esta cerca de un rio muy caudaloso y peligros de pasar que sin su ayuda no se pase ni vadea puesto muy pasajero para el puerto de Acapulco." For this reason they request that their estancias be congregated in Apango, and that neither the estancias nor the cabecera be moved to Tixtla. The viceroy notes the urgent necessity of attending to the camino real and orders that Apango (which has 147.5 tribs. with its sujetos) not be moved. At the same time Huitziltepec and its sujetos named Tzaqualpa and Chalhuitepeque, which have 153 tributarios and had been ordered congregated in Zumpango, are now ordered moved to Apango; AGN-C exp. 77. Later, in 1604, the viceroy orders that those of Atliaca be allowed to return to and rebuild their village (from which they had been taken in the congregación program), and that they be a *visita* from the parish of Apango; AGN-C exp. 128. Much later, in 1717, the Indians of San Andrés Amula who still remained in this village agreed to move to their cabecera of Apango when don Francisco Fernández de Olaes, a vecino of the jurisdiction of Chilapa, denounced the land of Amula as realenga and acquired it in remate for 200 pesos; see entry under Amula. **Composición and land size:** In 1716, Atliaca was given a *composición* for its land of 6 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. In 1794 and 1808, its land was still of this size, which is said to include the 600 varas assigned to Indian villages; AGN-I 76/2 and 3.	authorities in Tixtla accede to the request without protest; AGN-I 49/37. **Land conflict:** There is no evidence of land conflict involving Apango. Apparently a 1615 merced to Alonso de la Torre of a "sitio de estancia para ganado menor y cuatro caballerías de tierra en términos del pueblo de Apango" was given without objection; AGN-T 3395/6 and 7.
Atliaca	**Congregación:** In 1604 the viceroy ordered that Atliaca not be congregated in Tixtla as had originally been ordered, but rather left in place as a *visita* of Apango. Those of Atliaca had protested the congregación asserting that they were located on a "camino pasajero de los caminantes soldados y recuas que van de esta ciudad al puerto de Acapulco donde reciben gran beneficio y socorro en su avío y de que si de allí se quitasen harran gran falta e daño." The congregación had, however, already been carried out, and now the juez congregador is ordered to allow those of Atliaca to return and rebuild their village "no embargante que con esto por el testimonio que enviastis haberlo todo	**Land conflict:** In 1794 and 1808, Atliaca was said to be involved in litigation over land with the villages of Tixtla, Huitziltepec, and Zumpango. No details are given; AGN-I 76/2 and 3.

	derribado y quemando, poniendo [ahora con el regreso] toda la dicha población en toda buena traza y pulicía"; AGN-C exp. 142. See also the brief mention of activities of the *juez congregador* don Francisco de Figueroa in the villages of Tixtla, Mochitlán, Zumpango, Apango, Oapan, and San Francisco Ozomatlán; AGN-T 2754/6 (1604). **Composición and land size:** In 1716, Atliaca was given a *composición* for its land of 2 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. In 1794 and 1808, its land was still of this size, which is said to include the 600 varas assigned to Indian villages; AGN-I 76/2 and 3.	

Santa María Chilpancingo	**Congregación:** In 1603 an order was issued that the pueblo of Santa María Chilpancingo be left in its place as a *visita* of the beneficiado of Zumpango. The implication of this document is that Chilpancingo had previously been ordered congregated in its cabecera of Zumpango, but that this order had been changed; AGN-C Exp. 99. For further details see the discussion below of congregaciones under Zumpango del Río. **Composición and land size:** In 1716, Chilpancingo, which by this time had its own legally constituted governador, obtained a composición for 4 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. However, in the "reglamento formado por los ministros de la Tesorería General de Exército y Real Hacienda para govierno de los bienes de comunidades de todos los pueblos de la jurisdicción de Tixtla" Chilpancingo was said to possess 8 sitios de ganado mayor. One document from this period noted that of these 8 sitios, and the 600 varas, the Indians "únicamente cultivan distintos lugares útiles para los productos de agricultura y no tienen sobrante alguno que produzca rédito a favor de la comunidad"; AGN-I 76/2 and 3, covering 1794–1808. There is some evidence of an earlier group of composiciones in the jurisdiction of Tixtla, although no evidence that indigenous villages were affected at this time. In a 1710 dispute over land involving doña María Rosa Franco y Villarubio, owner of the *trapiche* of Tepango and the hacienda of ganado mayor at Chichihualco, she mentions a title in her possession expedited on 31 Dec. 1643 in which several vecinos de razón of Chilpancingo had their lands composed; included was Joan Romero de los Santos, whose lands seem to have entually come into the possession of Franco y Villarubio; AGN-T 2725-21. It would seem probable, therefore, that in 1643 several composiciones were issued, although these may only have affected non-Indian landholders.	**Separación:** The formal separation of Chilpancingo from its cabecera of Zumpango was a lengthy and litigious process that was drawn through much of the 1680s and 1690s, and for which there is abundant documentation (e.g., AGN-I 26(1)/71, dated 1680; AGN-I 26(2)/21, dated 1681; AGN-I 27/328, dated 1683; AGN-I 31/167, dated 1693; and AGN-I 31/189, dated 1693). Early evidence of conflict between the cabecera and sujeto is found for 1639; AGN-I 11/fols. 107v–108f (publ. ZyC 7:154–55). For a more detailed exploration of the history of this separation, which reflected the rapidly increasing commercial and demographic importance of Chilpancingo, as well as its conversion to a pueblo with a large non-Indian population, see chap. 8. **Land conflict:** The position of Chilpancingo on the camino real between Mexico City and Acapulco at a point where another road split off to the Sierras de Ceutla (see AGN-Tab 410/exp. s.n.) was to have a dramatic effect on the colonial history of this village. Its location may have influenced the shift in congregación policy, allowing this sujeto of Zumpango to remain in its original location (although the relatively high population of Chilpancingo at this time may have also been a prime factor; see appendix 2c). There is also evidence of active indigenous participation in commerce during the mid–seventeenth century (see AGN-I 18/100, dated 1655 There were also numerous early mercedes in the area around Chilpancingo, particularly slightly to the south near Acapizatlan (see appendix 5c). Indeed, the location of Chilpancingo seems to have made it an area of rapid immigration of a non-indigenous population. The 1643 composiciones affected "algunos vecinos" of Chilpancingo, apparently refering to the non-indigenous population (AGN-T 2725/21). There is also evidence that a large Spanish population settled in Chilpancingo during the late seventeenth century, when the villagers attempted to expel a Spanish muleteer from Chilpancingo; see

		AGN-T 2904/1, dated 1668. By 1743 Chilpancingo, along with Zumpango and Acapulco, were described as comprised of "españoles, mestizos, mulatos, chinos, yndios y de todas calidades"; AGI-Indif 107(1)/fols. 141f–149f. The major conflicts involving Chilpancingo, therefore, seem to have been carried out at a level that did not involve major disputes with neighboring haciendas. Rather, many small non-indigenous landholders seem to have concentrated in Chilpancingo, and there was some effort to expel them. Another major dispute involved the eventually successful efforts to separate from the cabecera of Zumpango. Yet by the end of the eighteenth century two changes had seemingly occurred. First, there was some emigration of Indians out of Chilpancingo and into the Iguala Valley; AGN-M 83/fols. 19v–21f, dated 1794. There was also a major dispute with the hacienda of Tepango, then (1794 and 1808; see AGN-I 76/2 and 3), which had been simmering since at least the first decade of the century (for the late–eighteenth century litigation, see AGN-I 76/2 and 3; for the early dispute, see AGN-T 2725/21, ated 1710.
Santiago Dos Caminos	**Congregación:** There is no information on the congregación of this community. **Composición and land size:** In 1716, Dos Caminos obtained a composición for 1 sitio de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. However, note that in the 1790s this village was reported to possess "poco más de las 600 varas concedidas a los indios"; AGN-I 76/3.	**Land conflict:** Surprisingly for a village located on the camino real (and in fact at the place where tolls were collected) there is no evidence of land conflict.
San Joseph Huitziltepec	**Congregación:** In a 1603 viceregal order that the cabecera of Apango and its sujetosnot be moved to Tixtla, as originally decreed, the viceroy also changes the congregación of Huitziltepec. Originally Huitziltepec and its sujetos of Tzaqualpa and Chalhuitepec, which had 153 tributaries, had been ordered congregated in Zumpango. They are now ordered moved to Apango; AGN-C exp. 77. One year later the viceroy orders that Zaqualpan and Chalchuiytepec be left congregated in Zumpango. The naturales of these two villages had appeared and opposed being relocated to Apango, given that they had already been	**Land conflict:** The only reported conflict was between Huitziltepec and Atliaca in 1794 and 1808; Atliaca was also litigating at this time with Zumpango and Tixtla; AGN-I 76/3 and AGN-I 76/2.

	congregated in Zumpango, which they gave as their cabecera; AGN-C exp. 128. However, they were probably sujetos of Huitziltepec as reported in 1603; note also that they are not listed as sujetos of Zumpango in the *relación geográfica* of Zumpango (see appendix 1c). Note that the 1598 commission to don Juan de Saavedra to congregated Huitziltepec (along with Tlacozautitlan, Yoguapa, Olinalá, Guamustitlan, Ixcateopa, Tlanchinula (Tlapa), Alcuzantla, Yoguala, Aquilpa, Tenango, Atliztaca, Chilapa, Zumpango, Tixtla, Muchitlán, and Quechultenango (i.e., pueblos mostly in the jurisdictions of Tixtla and Chilapa), is found in AGN-I 6(2)/1029. **Composición and land size:** The primordial titles of Huitziltepec were donated by this village to the AGN and are found in Buscas, 3 June 1926 and AGN-T 3689. In 1709 the naturales of Huitziltepec appeared before the *juez comisario para bentas, composiziones de tierras y yndultos*, don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cancio and stated that they had neither title nor mercedes to their land. The request a composición and, in addition, adjudication of Tlaniquipatlan, which they need given the size of their community: 88 families. The boundaries of their land are documented; note that one is a *paraje* named Chalchiuhtepeque, perhaps the site of their old congregated sujeto. Tlaniquipatlan was judged to contain 1 caballería and a spring of one *limón*. De la Vega Cancio adjudicated this land to Huitziltepec given that it was *realenga*. Payment for the entire composición was 200 pesos. In 1773 the village was condoned from further composición given their 1710 documents, which they had also shown to the proper authorities in 1716; see AGN-T 3603/9. This same extension of 6 sitios de ganado mayor is reported in 1794 and 1808; AGN-I 76/3 and AGN-I 76/2. Apparently, however, Tlaniqupatlan was still possessed by Huitziltepec.	
Santa Ana Mochitlán	**Congregación:** There is no detailed information on the congregación of this village; although some of the sujetos still appear as modern-day pueblos, most likely all these were congregated and then resettled, probably after having passed into the hands of colonists. The order to congregate villages in southern Guerrero was given to don Juan de	**Land litigation and rental:** During the very early colonial period there were several mercedes granted to the Dircio and Velasco families around Mochitlán, Tixtla, and Acapizatlan (see appendix 5c for mercedes). In 1620 Mochitlán apparently required some of this land, buying 3 *pedazos de tierra y un*

Saavedra in 1598 and included many towns in addition to Mochitlán; see entry under Huitziltepec for AGN-I 6(2)/1029.

Land size and composición: In 1716 Mochitlán obtained a composición for 10 sitios de ganado mayor. Unlike the land of much of the other villages, that of was fertile: "y son la mayor parte de dichas tierras lavorias y debaxo de riego y se incluyen en el ámbito de ellas cinco trapiches de comunidad en los quales se hase panocha." Note particularly the existence of 5 trapiches owned by the community; the presence of this small-scale sugar industry in Mochitlán in effect adumbrates the late colonial disputes over water rights that plagued this village (see adjoining column). At this time (1716) Mochitlán also rented land. Don Francisco Varreda, vecino of Tixtla and owner of the hacienda and trapiche Tepango, of 2 sitios de ganado mayor and 2½ caballerías of fertile land also rented land of about 1 sitio de ganado maor at Tepechicotlan from the *naturales* of Mochitlán. According to a document dated 1712 the rental was for 9 years, although the price is not given; AGN-T 3603/9. In the 1790s and first decade of the nineteenth century the land size of Mochitlán was the same, although some lands were rented and others disputed. In the 1790s Mochitlán had 10 sitios de ganado mayor including the 600 varas, although "únicamente cultivan 1 legua de extensión en las imediaciones de su pueblo y aunque todas las restantes 9 leguas cuadradas o sitio son de tierra fertilísima con abundants y buenas aguas no quieren ni pueden cultivarlas ni menos ponerlas en arrendamiento"; AGN-I 76/3. Note here the reference to abundant uncultivated lands and water. In the following decade there is again reference to 10 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-I 76/2.

herido de molino from doña María de Ircio y Velasco, widow of don Juan Altamirano, for 300 pesos. In 1620 Mochitlán obtained an order that these lands be measured and boundary markers set by the *justicia* of Tixtla; AGN-I 9/261.

At the time of the earliest documented composición, of 10 sitios de ganado mayor in 1716, Mochitlán also rented land to don Francisco de Varreda, vecino of Tixtla. The earliest reference to this rental is a document from 1712 that mentions a 9-year rental of land of Tepechichotlán (rental price not given). The total amount of land rented was 1 sitio de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9.

There was other rental activity at this time. In 1716 the viceroy approved the *remate* (auction) of certain lands in rental to don Pedro Alvares de Puga for a period of 9 years at a price of 40 pesos/year. These lands were "un pedaso que componía de tres cavallerías poco más o menos nombrado San Miguel y confina con la jurisdicción de Chilapa distantes del pueblo de [Mochitlán] . . . como 3 leguas." They added that given that they had "otras tierras de pan llevar continguas a su pueblo muy suficientes para sus sementeras no había aprovechado las mencionadas tres cavallerías teniéndolas eriasas y baldías." The *justicia* of Tixtla, after receiving the necessary information and testimony, noted the benefit of the rental. The *pregones* (public announcements by a crier) were carried out and don Pedro Alvarez de Puga, *alferez* and a *vecino* of Tixtla offered the best bid at 40 pesos/year. The precise name of this land, if it had one, is not given; AGN-I 41/18.

Although Tepechicotlan was rented to don Francisco Varreda in 1716, in 1719 he bought this land. In this year the viceroy approved and confirmed a *remate* for 400 pesos (sale through auction) of ½ sitio de ganado mayor to don Francisco de Varreda, "vecino y dueño de trapiche del beneficio de hacer azucár en la jurisdicción de Tixtla." The land was called Tepechicotlan and the sale was approved because of the

		"dejación que de el hicieron en toda forma los naturales de Santa Ana Mochitlán en escripto que presentaron refiriendo en el no necesitarlo por la abundancia de tierras que poseen"; AGN-M 70/fols. 71f–71v. There is no evidence of litigation or disputes through the greater part of the eighteenth century. However, in 1792, those of Mochitlán presented a complaint against don José de Avila for having taken away water that ran into their village; AGN-T 1225/1. In a related document those of Mochitlán, led by the ex-*governador* Juan Bernardino complained that they were fugitives from their own village because don José de Avila had blocked the inflow of water to their village. They complain that Avila (*teniente* in Mochitlán), Rivas (the subdelegado of Tixtla), the present *governador* of Mochitlán (don Sebastián Ximénez), and the vicar (don Juan Valeriano) are in league to take possession of the water. They request that don José Larumbe, who rented land at Chapolapa, be commissioned to hand over the water to the village of Mochitlán. There is other evidence of litigation at this time. In the mid-1790s Mochitlán was involved in litigation with the hacienda of Nexapa, belonging to don Francisco de Guevara. Although the subdelegado, in commenting on the abundant land and water belonging to Mochitlán mentioned their reluctance to rent land "ni pueden cultivarlas ni menos ponerlas en arrendamiento," the village did rent the *paraje* of Chapolapa, planted in sugarcane, to don José Larumbe for 30 pesos/year, in a 9-year contract, which had begun in 1803; AGN-I 76/2 and AGN-I 76/3. Note in general that although there was much activity in regards to land transactions around Mochitlán (rentals, conflicts, sales), the village still retained a remarkably extensive land base (10 sitios) throughout the colonial period.
San Marcos Oacacingo	**Congregación:** In 1604 there was a massive congregación of many outlying settlements in the Balsas River valley. At this time most hamlets were moved to Ozomatlán although a few were relocated to	**Migration:** During the mid- and late eighteenth century there was great movement out of the western Balsas River valley community (Tetelcingo, Oacacingo, Ameyaltepec, and

	the cabecera of Oapan: San Francisco Ahuelicán, Santa María Comoyotepec (*sic*), and San Marcos Guacacingo. For a full account, see discussion under Oapan; AGN-C exp. 179. It seems clear that most of the villagers congregated in Oapan moved back to their original settlements shortly thereafter; those moved to Ozomatlán apparently did not. See discussion under Oapan above. Note that the importance of Ozomatlán was manifested in the great many villages that were ordered to send workers there to help with transport over the Balsas River (see discussion under Ozomatlán); AGN-I 28/201 (1685). **Land size:** In 1716, Oacacingo reported that their land titles were in Mexico City and that they did not remember the boundaries; AGN-T 3609/3. In 1794 and 1808 it was reported that Oacacingo only had the 600 varas of land conceded to all Indian village. This report states that "solo las 600 varas concedidas a los yndios quienes unicamente cultivan distintos lugares útiles para los productos de agricultura y no tienen sobrante alguno que produzca rédito a favor de la comunidad"; AGN-I 76/3. It might well be that the extensive migration was prompted by a relative lack of land.	Ahuelicán) to Palula and other cuadrillas in the Iguala Valley. See the following documents (which mention this migration and the participation of Indians from Oacacingo): AGN-CRS 67/10 (1776–77); AGN-I 71/13 (1798); and AGN-BN 769/17 (1836). For documentation of litigation between officials of Tetelcingo, Ameyaltepec, and Oacacingo against the priest of Oapan, indicative of conflict that might have promoted migration, see AGN-CRS 183/3 (1779–87).
San Agustín Oapan	**Congregación:** In 1604 the Balsas River valley communities were still quite dispersed, and it seems clear that they had not undergone a congregación program at any time in the past. Shortly before 1604 it appears that Ozomatlán was moved from its original location on the northern bank of the Balsas River. On 24 January 1604 the *factor* and *oficial real* of Mexico City, don Francisco de Valverdi reported on "la mala comodidad que ha quedado y queda en el río de las balsas por haber quitado del pasaje de el el pueblo de San Francisco y otros que son balseros." As a result the *juez congregador* don Francisco de Figueroa is ordered to visit the pueblos of Oapan and San Miguel, which is to remain in its place as a *visita* of Oapan. To be congregated in Oapan were San Francisco Ahuelicán, Santa María Comoyotepec (*sic*, for Amayotepec), and San Marcos Guacacingo. To be congregated in San Francisco Ozomatlán were Totolla, Tecmila, San Lucas Quaquizquizingo, Santa María Alpulyeca, Tempisquitzingo, San Sebastián Guasquautzingo, Tlatzala, San Martín Quechutla, San	**Land conflict:** Oapan suffered land conflict with both of its immediate neighbors: San Miguel Tecuiciapan to the east and San Juan Tetelcingo to the west; see the entries under each of these villages. The conflict with San Miguel Tecuiciapan commenced, at least in terms of documented litigation, after the visit by the *juez de tierras* don Juan de la Vega Cansio, whom those of Tecuiciapan accused of favoring Oapan. The dispute seems to have continued through the century and in 1802 those of Oapan accused the subdelegado of Tixtla of giving some of their land to Tecuiciapan. As mentioned in the column to the left, the dispute was over land at Ahuelicán and other land next to the village of Oapan (perhaps on the plain between the two villages). The conflict continued through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and still has not been resolved. It is amply documented in the archives of the Secretaría de la Reforma

Agustín Tempixquixtitlan, San Martín Tetetla, San Juan Tetelcingo, San Juan Tanspatla, Tecpipilco, Quauchila, Cacaconapan, San Martín Tototlan, Tepexuxuhca, Cocacalco, Santiago Zapotitlan, Ochpantipan, San Martín Tezcatzinca, San Agustín Ostempan sujeto de Chilapa, and San Miguel Zacualpa sujeto a Tlalcozautitlan; AGN-C exp. 179.

The preceding congregación apparently took place in early 1604; in August of that year the *juez congregador* don Francisco de Figueroa arrived in Oapan and then visited the congregaciones that he had carried out in Tixtla, Mochitlán, Zumpango, Apango, Ozomatlán., San Miguel Tecuiciapan, and Atliaca. The priest of Oapan then certifies that Oapan and San Miguel are peacefully settled. Apparently, however, the congregación in Oapan soon dispersed, with Amayotepec, Ahuelicán, and Oacacingo returning to their original sites. The congregación in Ozomatlán was more successful. Some villages that had been moved to Ozomatlán, such as San Juan Tetelcingo and Ostempan (perhaps Ostotipan) returned to their original homes. Others seem to be identifiable with parajes that still carry the original names. Thus Tepexoxohca is still the name of the place where the lands of Tecuiciapan meet those of Ozomatlán; Tlatzala is a site west of Oapan along the Balsas, which has today visible ruins.

Land size and composición: The earliest evidence of the size of Oapan's landholdings is from 1716, when they were granted a composición for 1 sitio de ganado mayor. However, in this same document the officials of Oapan are reported as saying that "an tenido y tienen más a de 4 años pleito pendiente con los naturales del pueblo de San Juan Teteltzingo y con los del pueblo de San Miguel sobre un pedaso de tierra que llaman Ahuelicán y otro pequeño junto a dicho su pueblo de los quales les dió posesión don Juan Peres de la Vea Cansio comisario del Sr. Juez Privativo que fue y que entonces hubo contradisión y que han gastado en dicho pleito como 1,000 pesos de que han quedado pobres por lo corto de sus pueblos y no tener trato alguno y que asimismo por sus tierras se han yndultado con su Magestad y que los títulos de dichas tierras están en la ciudad de México"; AGN-T 3603/9.

Agraria pertaining to both these villages.

The conflict with San Juan Tetelcingo also apparently began with the visit of don Juan de la Vega Cansio. It came to a head in the mid–eighteenth century and is documented by the *títulos primordiales* of Oapan and an accompanying map dated 1746 (AGN-T 3688/4; these were donated to the AGN on 4 Mar. 1925 and a typewritten copy is found in AGN-Bus 1925, 1a. parte). In essence Tetelcingo claimed land up to Ahuelicán to the east and Oapan claimed land up to Amayotepec to its west. Thus the land in a parabolic area north of the Balsas River, the line of which passed through Ahuelicán and Amayotepec, was disputed by Tetelcingo and Oapan. In mid–eighteenth century those of Amayotepec complained that Indians from Tetelcingo had invaded their lands and destroyed irrigated crops near the well that supplied Amayotepec. The dispute was not settled under a compromise was agreed upon in the 1880s, with the two villages (Oapan and Tetelcingo) agreeing to divide the disputed land in half, with Oapan getting the eastern half and Tetelcingo the western half. Tetelcingo and Ahuelicán also directly litigated over land and the petition for a grant of 600 varas by the latter represents an effort to secure an independent land base. The dispute between Tetelcingo and Oapan was settled in 1881 through a comprise that divided the land in dispute. An excellent account of the land measurements carried out to divide the contested land, along with an accompanying map, is found in the SRA archives for Ahuehuepan, Bienes Comunales, 276.1/507. For an account of this dispute, and the history of land in the area, see Amith (1995).

Separation: During the course of the eighteenth century the villages of Ahuelicán (1717), Amayotepec (1757), and San Miguel Tecuciapan (1786) separated from the cabecera of Oapan. See the corresponding entries under each of these dependent villages. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of separation is the manner in which the petitions for land by

	The report of landsize of 1 sitio de ganado mayor may be in error, for later in the colonial period holdings of 6 sitios de ganado mayor are cited (see righthand column). Thus in the 1790s and first decade of the nineteenth century, Oapan is documented as holding land comprising 6 sitios de ganado mayor, including the 600 varas that are by law conceded to Indian villages; AGN-I 76/2 and AGN-I 76/3. In 1716, a *composición* is given for 1 *sitio de ganado mayor* (AGN-T 3603/9).	Ahuelicán and for independence by Amayotepec coincided with moments of great tension and conflict between Oapan and both Tecuiciapan and Tetelcingo. **Factions and other conflicts:** Oapan suffered many conflicts during the colonial period. The most heavily documented one is that among caciques and other principales (and heavily involving the village priest) at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century (AGN-I 6(2)/806 and AGN-I 6(2)/881, both dated 1593, and AGN-BN 443, dated ca. 1610). There were also numerous conflicts involving the village priest. In the 1770s and 1780s the villages of Tetelcingo, Amayotepec, and Oacacingo all complained about the tariffs charged by the priest of Oapan; AGN-CRS 183/3. Much later, in the early and mid–nineteenth century, a conflict developed between the vicar of Palula and the priest of Oapan over rights to administer the "souls" of migrants from the western Balsas River region to the southern Iguala Valley cuadrillas around Palula. This dispute is documented and analyzed in chapter 6. **Emigration:** There was extensive emigration from the Balsas River valley to the Iguala Valley cuadrillas around Palula; see chapter 6. Apparently most of the migration, particularly in the late colonial period, was from the villages of Amayotepec, Ahuelicán, and Tetelcingo. However, in the earliest dispute over Palula between the hacienda owners and the settlers (recent migrants) the colonial landowner stated that the Indians living in Palula were emigrants from Oapan; AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f.
San Agustín Ostotipan	**Congregación:** For the 1604 congregacion order moving San Agustín Ostempan, sujeto of Chilapa (probably for Ostotipan) to Ozomatlán, see discussion under Oapan; AGN-C exp. 179. **Land size:** In a 1716 document on composiciones in the jurisdiction of Tixtla, San Agustín Ostotipan is listed as having holdings of 1½ sitios of ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. **Note:** In the majority of documents, San Agustín Ostotipan (also	

	apparently called Ostoticpac and Ostotempan) is placed, along with Totolcintla of the Balsas Valley, within the jurisdiction of Chilapa. Nevertheless it is often listed under Tixtla (e.g., AGN-3603/9 on composiciones from 1716). See entry under Totolcintla.	
San Francisco Ozomatlán	**Congregación:** Although Ozomatlán was a sujeto of Oapan, because of its position along the camino real from Mexico City to Acapulco, the major congregación in the Balsas River valley of Guerrero took place in the former village. For a discussion of this congregación carried out by don Francisco de Figueroa, see entry under Oapan. For the importance of Ozomatlán on the camino real and their request to receive payment for their services, see AGN-I 5/52 bis (1590). In 1595 there is mention of an agreement between Oapan, Tecuiciapan, and Ozomatlán that the two sujetos, Tecuiciapan and Ozomatlán, go to the cabecera of Oapan during Holy Week and the day of the patrón saint, San Agustín, to help with ornaments, music, and beautifying the church. The elections of *oficiales de república* should also all be carried out in the cabecera. And half the yield from communal fields in the sujetos should be taken to the cabecera, with the other half remaining in the sujetos. In return the naturales of Oapan and Tecuiciapan (the only non-congregated sujeto besides Ozomatlán) should go to Ozomatlán "en tiempos que pasan los soldados para las Filipinas a darles recaudo"; AGN-I 6(1)/1050. Finally, 1598 those of Ozomatlán request an exemption from *servicio personal* given that they have only 13 tributaries and are located on the camino real where it crosses the Balsas River, with the obligation to transport travelers and goods across the river on rafts (*balsas*). Despite this they are still required to give *repartimiento* labor to Taxco. They request, and are granted, an exemption from both personal service and *repartimiento*; AGN-I 6(2)/936. (Cf. to the exemption granted to Totolcintla, Zacualpa, and Ostoticpac from repartimiento labor in the Cuautla mines; see entry under Totolcintla, AGN-I 11/149 and AGN-I 28/201.) **Land size and composición:** In 1716, a composición is given to Ozomatlán for 1.5 sitios de ganado mayor, "y la más parte de ellas son montuosas y fragosas"; AGN-	**Land conflict:** The major land conflict of Ozomatlán involved Totolcintla, a village located across the Balsas River on the southern bank. The first evidence of conflict is in 1688 when the alcalde mayor of Tixtla is ordered (on 22 June 1688) to inspect the titles and maps of the Indians of Totolcintla and adjust them with the claims of the Indians of Ozomatlán. He should draw up a written document of the arrangement (*composición*) they arrive at. Totolcintla claimed a parcel of land that they said was lent to Ozomatlán, with the latter pueblo giving a calf each year in recognition of Totolcintla's ownership; AGN-I 30/112. A few months later, on 22 Oct. 1688, the alcalde mayor reports that he had viewed the titles and maps and found the litigated land to fall within both maps. He was unable to have the pueblos reach an agreement; AGN-I 30/152. In 1709, when asked by the juez de tierras don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio to present their titles, the *naturales* of San Francisco Ozomatlán stated that they had neither title nor merced to their land and that they had had "pleitos" with Totolcintla, with whom they were now willing to exchange land: "esta[mos] ajustados y convenidos en largarles unos pedazos de tierras en el pago nombrado Cuanacastitlan y Ohuatla y por otras dos que se hallan en el pago nombrado Alpulleca y Atepula por obiar pleitos, disturbios y enemistades nos hemos convenido en la forma dicha . . . " A witness then gives the borders of Ozomatlán: Tephuistle to Osomachi, along the river to Atoyacingo and then north to Cuanolchi, turning east to Tepehuistle. Apparently these borders are the ones that resulted after the two villages had come to an agreement. Note that Ozomatlán had no lands south of the border. The *vista de ojos* was carried out on 2 Dec. 1709 and a composición for 1½ sitios

3603/9. This land was original entered into composición in 1709 after the *vista de ojos* of the juez de tierras don Juan de la Vega Cansio, carried out on 2 Dec. 1709. The experts called in to evaluate the land estimated it as 1½ sitios de ganado mayor plus the 600 varas "por cada viento." They added that "por ser la mayor parte de dichas tierras pedregosas y montuosas baldías la cantidad [de su valor para la composición era] 140 pesos poco más o menos." This was reduced to 30 pesos, paid on 20 May 1710; AGN-T 3569/1. In the early nineteenth century the land size of Ozomatlán was given as "solo las 600 varas . . . [que] únicamente cultivan distintos lugares para los productos de agricultura y no tienen sobrante alguno que produzca rédito a favor de la comunidad"; AGN-I 76/3 (note that in AGN-I 76/2 there is no mention of the land size of Ozomatlán).

de ganado mayor plus the 600 varas "por cada viento"; AGN-T 3569/1 (1709).

Finally, in mid–eighteenth century the dispute flared up again. The *alcaldes*, *regidores*, and other *oficiales de república* of Ozomatlán complain that those of Totolcintla "andan siempre con los alcaldes mayores dando el dinero que se les pide por eso les dan y miden las tierras a su contento y a nosotros por ser pobres no nos atienden lo que decimos." On 26 May 1757 the Real Audiencia orders the *justicia* of Tixtla, Bernardo Hurtado de Balmazeda, to receive information from both parties. He later reports that "los dichos naturales de San Francisco; los que pretenden que en el intermedio de un lindero nombrado Cuiztepec, que va derecho a otro llamado Ozoniachin, tener parte de donde dimanan sus repetidos pleitos cuyos linderos inspeccionados, dar en satisfacción a su pertinaz pretensa todo lo cual le ha sido preciso hacer patente a V.A."

The officials of Ozomatlán then complain that Totolzintla "por falsos y siniestros informes . . . nos han despojado violentamente de nuestras linderos que se nombran Cuachichipico y Tepehuisco, han quemado tres casas y cuatro corrales y han destrosado veinte arboles frutales de siruelos y estas tierras hemos tenido y gozado por la posesión de immemorial tiempo." They add that the alcalde mayor of Tixtla "por el empeño de el señor cura de Totoltzingo [sic]" helps those of Totolcintla. For this reason they recuse him from hearing and conducting the case. The Real Audiencia then orders the *justicia* to remit the case in its present state to Mexico. This he does on 22 Aug. 1757, sending one *expediente* of 19 folios and another of 35 folios "de los naturales de San Juan Totolsintla de las diligencias ejecutadas por mi en virtud de superior despacho de su altesa"; AGN-T 2856/20.

Conflict over commerce: In 1753 an "indio principal" and *fiscal* of Ozomatlán complained that the alcalde mayor of tixtla, don Pedro Joseph Alvares de Cienfuegos, prevented Indians

		from using a potrero for keeping horses and mares, raising cattle, and scraping magueyes. The alcalde mayor and priest later were accused by the Indians of having imprisoned Lucas Martín. Apparently the conflict involved prohibitions on Indian involvement in commerce and commercial activities; AGN-I 56/146, AGN-I 56/154 and AGN-I 56/176 (all dated 1753).
San Agustín Petaquillas	**Land size:** In 1794 and 1808 the village of Petaquillas is said to have 343 tributaries and have land extending to 3 sitios of ganado mayor, including the 600 varas conceded by right to Indian villages; AGN-I 76/2 and 76/3. Note that unfortunately there is little information on this community during the colonial period.	
San Miguel Tecuiciapan	**Congregación:** When the villages of the Balsas River valley were congregated in the cabecera of San Agustín Oapan and the sujeto village of San Francisco Ozomatlán (selected as a site for a congregación because of its location on the camino real), San Miguel Tecuiciapan was left as a visita of Oapan, located ½ league away; AGN-C exp. 179. In 1604 the *juez congregador* visited San Miguel Tecuiciapan and found "la gente congregada en este dicho pueblo de San Miguel quieta y sin haber hecho nadie ausencia y lo mismo en la cabecera de Oapan"; AGN-T 2754/6. San Miguel was left in place because of its closeness to the cabecera, Oapan, and because of its importance in providing services along the camino real, which apparently passed not through the cabecera but directly through Tecuiciapan (east of Oapan) and then went east along the river. In 1591, before the congregación, those of Tecuiciapan requested that the cabecera help them "a los tiempos que pasaren por el los soldados con bastimentos e caballos e otras cosas para su avío"; AGN-I 3/406. For a 1595 agreement between Tecuiciapan, Oapan, and Totolcintla regarding the camino real, see entry under Totolcintla for AGN-I 6(1)/1050. For an agreement of 1685, see entry under Totolcintla for AGN-I 28/201. Tecuiciapan also used the fact that they provided services along the camino real to argue for an exemption from repartimiento labor in the Taxco mines; AGN-T 2943/52 (dated 1653).	**Land conflict:** The major conflict involving Tecuiciapan was a long litigation with San Agustín Oapan that dates to the early eighteenth century. In 1712 those of San Miguel stated that they were "sumamente vejados y molestados del Gobernador de Guapan en razón de quererles formar pleitos quitándoles las mojoneras no obstante de los repetidos despachos que se les han librado, valiéndose de pretextos frívolos." They request protection against these actions and that those of Oapan be enjoined from destroying the boundary markers between the villages. The request is granted; AGN-T 2958/180. In the same year Tecuiciapan complains that they were "sumamente vejados y agraviados de don Juan Pérez Cansio, comisario de medidas de tierras, quien hace que los naturales del pueblo de San Agustín Guapa y otros molesten [a ellos] . . . en la posesión de sus tierras." They request that Pérez Cansio be ordered to prevent other villages from disturbing the land possession of Tecuiciapan; the request is granted; AGN-T 2958/165. The dispute between the two villages is mentioned again in 1786, when Tecuiciapan requests formal separation from the cabecera of Oapan; AGN-T 3330/8. In the late colonial period (1790s to 1808) mention again is made of the size of Tecuiciapan's holdings (6 sitios de ganado

	Composición and land size: In 1716, a composición is given for 6 sitios de ganado mayor. In this document those of San Miguel Tecuiciapan stated that "se hallavan amparados en las tierras que poseen por varias diligencias que executó el comisario don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio y otras que siguió Manuel Mexía de León escribano receptor que por dos veces vino despachado por los señores de la Real Audiencia de México a restituirles a la posesión de tierras de que avían sido despoxados de las que antes se les avían adjudicado por dico comisario"; AGN-T 3603/9. In the 1790s it is again stated that the village contains 6 sitios of ganado mayor including the 600 varas and that the Indians "únicamente cultivan distintos lugares útiles para los productos de agricultura y no tienen sobrante alguno que produzca rédito a favor de la comunidad"; AGN-I 76/3.	mayor including the 600 varas conceded to Indian villages). In 1802 those of Oapan state that they were in quiet and peaceful possession of their lands but that the subdelegado had given part of these holdings to San Miguel Tecuiciapan "con tal rigor que les hizo quitar algunos almacigos y pacholes que en ellas tenían sembrados de chile para trasplantarlos." They complain of the "despojo" and "en haberseles privado de las tierras más útiles para labor de maíz y chile y para los pastos de sus ganados." They add that they do not know the reason for the despojo and request that the subdelegado be ordered to receive testimony that that they are ready to present and then, on the basis of this, given the land back to them. On 5 July 1802 the viceroy orders that the subdelegado hear the agrieved party and receive the documents that they wish to present; AGN-T2951/82. See also entry under Oapan; AGN-T 3603/9. Note that the dispute between these two villages continues to the present day in the offices of the Agrarian Reform. **Separación:** In 1786 those of Tecuiciapan request formal separation from the cabecera of Oapan, mentioning the continuing litigation between the two villages over land "y otros asumptos que no han hecho compatible reconocimiento alguno al gobierno de Guapa." After a transcript is given to the cabecera, those of Oapan respond that "no tienen motivo alguno que exponer en contra de lo pedido y pretendido." They add that San Miguel is responsible for providing services on the camino real and that they hand in their tribute directly to the alcalde mayor of Tixtla. Both the priest of Oapan and the justice of Tixtla recommend that the request be granted, as does the fiscal. The viceroy then grants the request on 16 Feb. 1787; AGN-T 3330/8.
San Juan Tetelcingo	**Congregación:** When the villages and hamlets of the Balsas River valley were congregated only the barrios of Amayotepec, Oacacingo, and Ahuelicán were moved to the cabecera of Oapan. All other settlements were moved to Ozomatlán to help in giving service on the	**Land conflict:** The major conflict of Tetelcingo involved Oapan and Ahuelicán; see entry under these pueblos. Litigation with both villages apparently began with the visita of the *juez de composiciones de tierras*, don Juan de la Vega Cansio. The

	camino real where it crossed the Balsas River. Tetelcingo, even though far to the west of Oapan, and thus even further to the west of Ozomatlán (itself some 3–4 leagues east of Oapan) was ordered moved to Ozomatlán. Like the three barrios mentioned above, however, Tetelcingo also survived the congregación period, either it was never relocated or it was quickly resettled. See entry under Oapan; AGN-C exp. 179 (dated 1604). **Land size and composición:** In 1716 San Juan Tetelcingo obtained a composición for 3 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. They maintained this size holding throughout the colonial period and were reported as having these 3 sitios de ganado mayor in the mid-1790s and first decade of the nineteenth century; AGN-I 76/2 and AGN-I 76/3.	dispute with Oapan was not settled until the late nineteenth century when the two villages agreed to divide the litigated land in half. For further details, see entry under Oapan. **Emigration:** Like other villages in the western section of the Balsas River valley (Amayotepec, San Marcos Oacacingo, and Ahuelicán), those of Tetelcingo migrated to the cuadrillas of the Iguala Valley, particularly the southern settlements of Palula, Xalitla, Maxela, and Las Mesas; see the discussion in chapter 6 and the documentation cited there (e.g., AGN-BN 769/17, dated 1836).

San Martín Tixtla	**Congregación:** In 1598 don Juan de Saavedra was commissioned to congregate a series of villages in southern Guerrero: Tlalcozautitlen, Yoguapa, Olinalá, Guamustitlan, Ixcateopa, Tlanchinula, Aluzantla, Yoguala, Aquilpa, Tenango, Atliztaca, Chilapa, Guitziltepec, Zumpango, Tiztla, Muchitlán, and Quechultenango; AGN-I 6(2)/1029. Apparently some time afterward, before 1603, don Francisco de Figueroa had been named *juez congregador* of the partido of Tixtla; AGN-C exp. 55 In 1603, the *naturales* of Apango for themselves and their estancias of Quauhlotlan, Nexpalco and Tlaixquaque objected to the congregación in Tixtla "alegando recibir de ello daño y agravio porque el pueblo de Apango tienen muchas y buenas tierras de riego y temporal donde cogen dos o tres veces al año y esta cerca de un rio muy caudaloso y peligros de pasar que sin su ayuda no se pase ni vadea puesto muy pasajero para el puerto de Acapulco." For this reason they request that their estancias be congregated in Apango, and that neither the estancias nor the cabecera be moved to Tixtla. The Viceroy notes the urgent necessity of attending to the camino real. He orders that Apango (which has 147.5 tribs. with its sujetos) not be moved. Moreover, Huitziltepec and its sujetos named Tzaqualpa, Chalhuitepeque which have 153 tributarios had been ordered congregated in Zumpango and are now ordered moved to Apango. Amula, with 20.5 tribs. which is sujeto to Tixtla is also ordered reduced to Apango. The total population of Apango would thus be 320.5 tribs. See AGN-C exp. 77. The following year, 1604, Atliaca also wins a concession to be left in its original location and to be assigned as a *visita* of Apango. The officials of Atliaca had argued that they were on a "camio pasajero de los caminantes soldados y recuas que van de esta ciudad al puerto de Acapulco donde recibien gran beneficio y socorro en su avio y de que si de alli se quitasen harran gran falta e daño." They had been ordered congregated in Tixtla and request that they be allowed to remain in their present location as *visita* of Apango. Even though the congregación had already been carried out, the *juez congregador* is	**Land conflict:** Early land activity around Tixtla was characterized by two major, and conflicting trends. The first was a fair number of sales between the indigenous elite and the Dircio and Velasco families (see appendix 5c, e.g., the sale of 3 pieces of land by Martín Mayaque, cacique of Tixtla, and other *principales*, to Martín Dircio; AGN-M 3/491, dated 1550, and also the alleged transfer of lands by the governador of Tixtla, don Baltasár de Sandoval, who in the first or second decade of the seventeenth century left land at Tecolomula in his will to Antonio Domínguez, beneficiado of Tixtla; AGN-T 3395/9. Yet there were also many disputes at this time (see appendix 5c). In this regard note the early dispute with Zumpango; AGN-M 2/469, dated 1543, as well as continuing tension with the Jesuits for the damage caused by their cattle; AGN-T 2725/22, dated 1619; and AGN-I 10(3)/110, dated 1633). A particularly conflictive relation was that of non-indigenous migrants to Tixtla. Early efforts to expel "castas" from Tixtla are documented for 1633 (AGN-I 10(3)/109), in which the complaint is about non-Indians having gone to live in Acapizatlan, and for 1665 in reference to non-Indians living near Tixtla (AGN-I 24/52). However, the major dispute involved efforts by non-Indians (*españoles, mestizos y mulatos*) to obtain composición of house sites in Tixtla (see the discussion in the column to the left). After the composición was given, however, there is little documentation of internal conflict between Indians and non-Indians. Indeed, in 1771 a Spanish resident of Tixtla bought land at Tecolomulan from the indigenous community, with the funds being destined to pay for the construction of an alterpiece (*retablo*); AGN-I 63/62. Some of the later conflicts with don Francisco Mendoza, owner of Zacazonapa, and with the village of Atliaca are mentioned in the column to the left. However, inter-ethnic dispute within Tixtla seems to have declined and both Indians and non-Indians held village land (hence the absence of rental

ordered to allow those of Atliaca to return and rebuild their houses and church "no embargante que con esto por el testimonio que enviastis haberlo todo derribado y quemado poneindo toda la dicha poblacion en toda buena traza y pulicia"; AGN-C exp. 142.

Another pueblo congregated in Tixtla was Acapizatlan. In 1625, however, the beneficiado of Tixtla complained that the *naturales* of Acapizatlan had begun to return to their home village. The viceroy ordered the alcalde mayor of Tixtla to investigated the reason for the emigration and whether it was convenient or not to have the site resettled; AGN-C exp. 283. Note in general the great amount of land acquisition by colonists in the area of Acapizatlan (see appendix 5c).

Although Apango was not congregated in Tixtla, itapparently did not achieve full independence until 1724, when it petitoins for formal separation from Tixtla and a license to elect its own governador. This was granted, without any objection from the Tixtla authorities; AGN-I 37/37 and AGN-I 49/37, both dated 1724.

Land composición: An early commission to carry out composiciones was issued to Capn. y Sargento Mayor don Francisco Ortuno de Villena, for the jurisdictions of Tepecuacuilco, Teloloapa, and Tixtla. However, there is no documentary evidence of his activity in the Tixtla jurisdiction.

In 1691 a dispute emerged between the "vecinos españoles, mulatos y mestizos" living in Tixtla and the indigenous community objected to the presence of these non-Indians, particularly because of the damages that their cattle caused. The non-Indians responded that they were not recent immigrants, but that their parents, grandparents, and antecestors had lived in Tixtla since time immemorial, "casi desde su fundación sin contradicción ni repugnancia de dichos indios porque era constante y notoria la utilidad que les avía resultado y resultaron dello así en el adorno de sus yglesias y cofradías." They also mentioned their service to the crown in the defense of Acapulco. The crown recognized the right of the "vecinos españoles, mulatos y mestizos" to live in Tixtla. Note particularly how these non-Indians wanted the measured 600 varas given to Tixtla so that they would have rights to graze their

income mentioned in the left column).

Intravillage conflict: There is some evidence of fairly intensive factional disputes within Tixtla. One "flare-up" occurs in the mid-1650s (see AGN-I 20/205, dated 1656; AGN-I 21/70 and 71, dated 1657) and in the period from 1692 to 1708 (see AGN-I 31/fols. 79f–80v, dated 1692; AGN-I 33/346, dated 1698; and AGN-I 36/34 and 40, dated 1703).

animals on the land outside this small area. They were not successful in this tactic; AGN-T 2772/18.

A full composición to Tixtla was given in to the naturales in 1716, when their land size was delimited at 3 sitios de ganado mayor, in addition to the 600 varas. At the same time the lands of the other indigenous villages and of the Spanish landholds were also composed; AGN-T 3603/9.

However, previous to this, in 1710, the "españoles, mulatos y mestizos" living in Tixtla had obtained a composición for their house sites (*solares*). In Aug. 1710, three representatives appeared before the land judge don Juan Pérez de la Vega Canzio in response to a "convocatoria" and requested composición of the lands of the non-indigenous residents. They stated that they did not have legitimate title and that the Indians were trying to dispossess them. They argued for their rights on the basis of possession from time immemorial and the fact that they had acquired most of the land through sales and verbal contracts with Indians. They also noted how they were invaluable in the defense of Acapulco and in helping in the transit and custody of soldiers and silver to Acapulco. They were granted the composición for 30 pesos; AGN-T 2725/22. The composición was soon accepted by the Real Audiencia (in Aug. 1710). The documentation of this final approval contains a very detailed and useful house by house census of the size, boundaries, and inhabitants of each house site in Tixtla not held by a Indians; AGN-T 2732/23.

Finally, in 1794 and 1808 the composición of the 3 sitios de ganado mayor was confirmed. However, at this time it was also stated that the land was divided between Indians and non-Indians: "[los tres sitios] no producía ningún arrendamiento respecto a ser comprada por mitad entre ambos vezindarios de razón e indios y en esta virtud aunque se cultivaban por los vezinos era sin sujeción a ningún arrendamiento." Note that the land sales precluded any charging of rent to non-indigenous landholders. At this time, between 1794 and 1808, Tixtla was litigating with its neighbor don Francisco Muñoz, owner of the rancho of Zacazonapa, and with the village of Atliaca; AGN-I 76/2 and

	3.	
San Juan Totolcintla	**Congregación:** For an account of congregación in the Balsas River valley, see the entry under Oapan. Note that Totolcintla, like Ozomatlán, a village on the northern bank of the Balsas right across from Totolcintla, was maintained in its place because of its importance in aiding travelers to cross the river. Totolcintla was not mentioned as having been congregated in Ozomatlán; apparently it was left on the south bank of the Balsas. In 1639 there is mention of the importance of Totolcintla in the passage over the river. At this time the villages of San Juan Totolcintla, San Miguel Zacualpa, and San Agustín Ostoticpac (for Ostotipan) mention that because of their role in helping in the fording of the Balsas, the viceroy marqués de Montesclaros (on 29 Jan. 1607) had exempted them from *repartimiento* in the Cuautla mines. The document refers to the villages (apparently Zacualpa and Ostoticpac) being moved to the "otra banda" (other side) of the river: they (apparently here referring to Zacualpa and Ostoticpac) were first congregated in Ozomatlán and then ordered moved to Totolcintla because of the necessity of having help on the south bank; AGN-I 11/149. In 1685 those of Totolcintla request the enforcement of a mandamiento of 28 March 1653 which ordered that the custom be followed according to which the *naturales* of the pueblos of "San Miguel Tecuicilapa, San Agustín Tulimán, San Juan Teguatzingo [siic, unidentified], San Juan Tetetzingo, San Marcos Guacatzingo, San Agustín Guapa, San Francisco Sumatlán y San Agustín Ostotitlan todos sujetos a [Totolcintla] les ayudasen al tiempo del pasaje del Río de las Balsas a los tiempos de las condusiones de los soldados y forzados." Given the depopulation of Totolcintla and the flight of many Indians of the aforementioned villages to other jurisdictions, those of Totolcintla request that the previous decree be ordered enforced, as it is; AGN-I 28/201. **Land size and composición:** In 1716, a composición is given for 6 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. During the late colonial period (mid-1790s to the end of the first decade of the nineteenth	**Land conflict:** The most several land conflict involving Totolcintla was that with Ozomatlán; see entry under this latter village. **Tumult:** In 1723 the naturales of Totolcintla complained that even though they have permission to celebrate their patron saint and drink and get drunk, during their fiesta titular the teniente of Chilapa had gone to their village and found and destroyed a pot of mezcal, taking the house owners prisoners. The teniente reported a rebellion (sublevación) to the alcalde mayor, who sent 100 soldiers to the village and took the governador, alcaldes and scribe prisoners on 14 July 1723. On 27 October 1723 they were released in order that they might attend to their fields; AGN-T 3570/10. In 1725 those of Totolcintla appeal the 150 pesos that were charged in fines and request the freeing of all prisoners. A new investigation is ordered; AGN-I 49/92. **Separation:** Throughout the colonial period it is unclear to what jurisdiction Totolcintla (as well as Ostotipan) belongs: at times it is listed as subject to Chilapa, at other times it appears in lists of pueblos in the jurisdiction of Tixtla. One document, dated 1743, mentions that although Tulimán should have been part of the parish of Tlalcozauhtitlan in the jurisdiction of Chilapa, it had been added to the vicarage of Totolcintla; AGI-Indiferente 107(1)/fols. 120f–133f. In 1791 Tulimán requested separation of church and government from their cabecera of Totolcintla, citing "los graves perjuicios y suma incomodidad que se les siguede estar sugetos al govierno de Totolcintla, su cabecera." They complain of a distance of over 5 leagues, of bad terrain, and of mistreatment. Tribute payment will not suffer because they already pay directly to the subdelegado. Their request that the subdelegado be ordered to certify their claims and give this certification to them is granted; AGN-I 69/243.

	century) Totolcintla was reported as having the same size land: 6 sitios of ganado mayor including the 600 varas. One document continues: "quienes [los de Totolcintla] cultivan distintos lugares útiles para los productos de agricultura y no tienen sobrante alguno que produzca rédito a favor de la comunidad"; AGN-I 76/2 and AGN-I 76/3 (the citation is from the latter document).	
Zumpango	**Congregación:** In 1598 don Juan de Saavedra was commissioned to congregate a series of villages in southern Guerrero, including Zumpango (see entry under Tixtla). In November 1603 the viceroy ordered that Apango with its sujetos not be congregated (in order that they might continue to provide service along the camino real). Moreover, Huitziltepec and its sujetos named Tzaqualpa and Chalhuitepeque, both of which had been congregated in Zumpango, are now ordered to be moved to Apango; AGN-C exp. 77. One month later, 15 Dec. 1603, the viceroy ordered that Santa María Chilpancingo not be congregated in the cabecera of Zumpango (apparently Chilpancingo had previously been ordered congregated in its cabecera, Zumpango); AGN-C exp. 99. In 1604 the viceroy ordered that Zaqualpan and Chalchiuytepec be left congregated in Zumpango. These two sujetos (here they are stated to be sujetos of Zumpango, not Huitziltepec, as had been the case in a previous document) had appeared and requested that they not be moved to Apango, as had been ordered, but instead be allowed to remain in Zumpango, where they had already been congregated. The request is granted; AGN-C exp. 128. Finally, there is a 1604 report by the priest of Zumpango, Br. Agustín de Aguero, that this village had been successfully congregated; AGN-T 2754/6. **Composición and land size:** In 1716, Zumpango obtained a composición for its land, estimated to comprise 7 sitios de ganado mayor; AGN-T 3603/9. A few years previously (1710) the *juez de tierras* don Juan de la Vega Cansio had visited Zumpango and ordered a *vista de ojos* of its lands, which was found to contain 7 sitios de ganado mayor in addition to the 600 varas allotted to all Indian	**Land conflict:** In 1710 the officials of Zumpango requested title (composición) to their lands. They offered to present testimony as to their holdings. They also mentioned a dispute with Xochipala over some lands called Atlapasolco. In defense of their rights, Zumpango argues that they have 190 families to only 11 in Xochipala. They also argued that they needed the land "atento a estar nuestro pueblo en el camino real y tener por precisas dichas tierras para poder tener la caballada necesaria para los pasajeros desavobados que llegan a este dicho." The *linderos* of Atlapasolco are given and one is Chachultepeque, located to the north, a name that corresponds to a sujeto of Zumpango (see appendix 1c). The juez de composiciones, don Juan de la Vega Cansio, visited the lands, which were estimated to comprise 1½ caballerías, and adjudicated them to Zumpango; AGN-T 1430/2. Although there was a report (perhaps submitted by de la Vega Cansio) that Xochipala had certified before de la Vega Cansio that "no tiene que pedir ni demandar cosa alguna en la venta que pretenden se les haga por su Magestad los naturales del pueblo de Zumpango . . . por hallarse muy distantes de este dicho pueblo [de Xochipala]" this was apparently not the case. In 1717 the vicar of Oapan called officials of Xochipala who asserted that "de ningún modo se han desistido del derecho que tienen a las tierras que mensiona de Atlapasulco, ni que aora se desisten que el ynforme que se ha hecho es falso porque por dichas tierras pagan de encomienda 11 pesos y 2 tomines cada un año y que protestan seguir su derecho." The vicar of Oapan adds that he is unaware that those of Xochipala have desisted from their claims to Atlapasolco;

	pueblos, "y por ser algunas de dichas tierras montuosas, pedregosas y estériles valdrán la cantidad de 1,000 pesos más o menos"; AGN-T 1430/2. The composición was admitted for 250 pesos; AGN-T 1874/12. Note that at this time a dispute arose between Zumpango and Xochipala for lands at Atlapasolco (see column to the right). At the end of the colonial period (mid-1790s to 1808) Zumpango still possessed land estimated at 7 sitios de ganado mayor. In one of the two reports for the period it is stated that the Indians of Zumpango only cultivate "distintos lugares útiles para los productos de agricultura y no tienen sobrante alguno que produzca rédito a favor de la comunidad"; AGN-I 76/2 and 3 (the citation is from the latter).	AGN-T 1874/12 (12 in index, in expediente marked as 11). Besides the conflict with Xochipala, there were other conflicts. In 1543 an Indian from Xochimilco was commissioned to report on the differences over land between those of Tixtla and those of Zumpango; AGN-M 2/469. In 1590, Zumpango objected to a merced for a sitio de estancia de ganado menor, "términos Zumpango" requested by Pedro Sánchez Moreno. Nevertheless, after new "diligencias" were carried out the merced was still granted. Another dispute occurred in 1790, when Zumpango was litigating with don Miguel Bravo, owner of the hacienda of Chichihualco, over rights to Atlapezulco and Zitlaltepeque (which suggests that Zumpango had won rights to the former over the objections of Xochipala). Bravo's request that the case be tried before a military tribunal (given his *fuero*) was denied; AGN-T 3600/5. **Land rental:** During the late colonial period Zumpango rented out land at the Venta del Zopilote. In 1615 the community had requested a merced for a sitio de venta at a place called Zopiloquautitlan, 3 leagues from Zumpango along the camino real. This is probably the Venta/Cañon del Zopilote; AGN-M 30/fol. 92f. In the mid-1790s up to at least 1808, Zumpango was renting out this venta. Don Alverto Ruiz del Pielago rented this paraje for 35 pesos/year in a three-year contract (probably in the mid-1790s); AGN-I 76/3. The rent varied over the years. Thus from 1797 to 1801 it was 52 pesos/year, and 40 pesos/year from 1802 to 1806. At this time the subdelegado is instructed to increase the rent "por ceder en beneficio de la comunidad. The result was a rental to don Alberto Ruiz del Pielago for 3 years beginning in 1805; no rental price is given (AGN-I 76/2). Finally, note that in 1785 the castellan of Acapulco authorized those of Zumpango to take 100 pesos from their community chest to rebuild the Venta del Zopilote. He had favored this expenditure because Zumpango earned a minimum of 30 pesos/year for renting these lands.

		Finally, note also that the Indians of Zumpango planted illegal tobacco in a ranch of theirs at Xalapilla. In 1797 a total of 20,000 plants were destroyed here; AGN-Tab 410/exp. s.n. **Internal conflict:** There exists a series of documents on what seems to have been an internal factional struggle and contested elections in the final years of the seventeenth century; AGN-I 33/253, AGN-I 33/281, AGN-I 33/304, AGN-I 33/346, AGN-I 34/6 (all dated 1698 to 1699). Interethnic conflict apparently flared up in about 1791, when those of Zumpango attempted to expel Spaniards and other colonists from their community. Apparently at this time the goal of the Zumpango Indians was not precisely to expel the Spaniards and other castas, but instead wanted them to contribute with rent or other means to the community funds; AGN-I 67/295 (dated 1791). In 1797 a certain don Francisco Vello, a merchant, became the legal representative (*apoderado*) of Zumpango and was accused of inciting them to expel Spaniards and other non-Indians; AGN-ICom 38/9.

Appendix 4a

Indigenous Villages: Cofradías and *Obras Pías*
Jurisdiction of Taxco

VILLAGE	COFRADÍAS
San Martín Acamixtla	This community had a cofradía to Ntra. Sra. de la Natividad with 130 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/9 (1780)
Acuitlapan	Smo. Sacramento: the document simply mentions an *obra pía* with 60 reses belonging to the Smo. Sacramento; AGN-T 3601/9 (1780)
Atzala	No cofradía: in 1780 there is a specific mention of the fact that there was no cofradía in Atzala, which is stated to be a pueblo of *puros indios*. It is unclear whether this also means a lack of *obras pías* or *bienes comunales* in cattle; AGN-T 3601/9
Cacahuamilpa	In their 1768 request for separation from their cabecera of Acuitlapan, the naturales of Cacahuamilpa mentioned that they collected tribute themselves, which they handed over to the alcalde mayor, they had a population of over 20 families, and that they had a decent church, a cofradía, and community lands; AGN-I 60/191 (1768). However, in a document from 1780 there is a specific mention of the fact that there was no cofradía in Cacahuamilpa, which is stated to be a pueblo of *puros indios*. It is unclear whether this also means a lack of *obras pías* or *bienes comunales* in cattle (see preceding paragraph); AGN-T 3601/9
Cacalotenango (at times Tenango)	A document from 1780 specifically mentions that there was no cofradía in Cacalotenango, which is stated to be a pueblo of *puros indios*. It is unclear whether this also means a lack of *obras pías* or *bienes comunales* in cattle (see preceding paragraph); AGN-T 3601/9
Chontalcuatlan (at times (Coatlán)	On 14 Dec. 1771, the *visitador* Gálvez issued an order concerning the status of communal versus cofradía cattle. Within six years (the precise date is not clear), the justice sold 203 head of community cattle of Chontalcuatlan for 4 pesos/head "entre chicos y grandes," yielding 838 pesos 1 real; after expenses of 78 pesos 1 real were deducted, 770 pesos were left over. These were lent out at interest. The priest later objected that the cattle had originally been of a cofradía and that therefore either the interest be used to pay for church "obvenciones" or to buy new cattle. In order to avoid the damage to the crops, which was one of the reasons that the cattle had been sold, the newly acquired head could be grazed in distant areas, "como lo permitía la extención de las tierras del pueblo, que es de ocho leguas de norte a sur y poco menos de oriente a poniente." The alcalde mayor suggests that with back rental and interest payments 8 team of oxen (*yuntas*) could be bought and lent to the same Indians of Chontalcuatlan for 15 fanegas of

	maize per year, yielding 120. Deducting 20 fanegas of loss (*merma*). This would yield at least 100 pesos, from which the 63 obvenciones could be paid. The rest could be used for church construction, added to the interest from 647 pesos that existed separately. This document, in general, mentions litigation by the naturales of Chontalcuatlan and other Indians of the same jurisdiction with their ex-priesta don Antonio Gio y Andrade "sobre si cierta porción de ganados mayor que tenían era de cofradía o comunidad y del escribto producido en mi superior govierno en 4 de septiembre del año pasado de 775 AGN-I 66/101 (1778). For the opposition of the parish priest to the sale of cattle that he claimed did not belong to the community but rather to a cofradía, see AGN-I 60/190 (1767) and AGN-I 62/50 (1769); see also appendix 3a entry under rentals for Chontalcuatlan. In a document from 1780, there is specific mention that Chontalcuatlan did not have a cofradía at this time; AGN-3601/9.
Cozcatlán	In 1780 Cozcatlán is mentioned as being a pueblo composed entirely of Indians who dedicate themselves to planting maize and making petates that they sell in the reales of Taxco and Tehuilotepec in the Sunday markets; they had no cofradía; AGN-T 3601/9.
Huistac	In 1780 Huistac is stated to have no cofradía.
Noxtepec	In 1780 Noxtepec was stated to be an Indian pueblo with about 10 families of *gente de razón*. The Indians planted some maize and some had "sus chinchorritos de ganado de poca concideración cuyos productos la consumen para si." There is a cofradía for Las Animas, with 100 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/9.
Pilcaya	In 1780 Pilcaya is stated to have a *hermandad* "instituida para dos fiestas de pie de altar que son los días de la Sna. Trinidad y los Santos Apostoles San Felipe y Santiago." There were a total of 31 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/9.
Taxco el Viejo (and Tecalpulco)	In 1780 mention that Taxco el Viejo is a pueblo composed entirely of Indians "[quienes] hacen ollas, ladrillo, cal y algunas siembras cortas de maíz y el consumo de dicho biberes es en este Real y Tehuilotepec los domingos en las Plazas"; the same document mentions a cofradía of Ntra. Sra. de la Asumpción with 8 heads of cattle; AGN-T 3601/9. Tecalpulco is also composed entirely of Indians: "son arrieros y otros sembradores de maíz del que traen tal cual carga a este Real y el demás lo consumen para si"; they have a cofradía of Ntra. Sra. de la Asumpción with 137 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/9.
Teticpac	In 1780 Teticpac had two obras pías, one to Las Animas and the other for the Santísimo Sacramento, the first with 70 and the latter with 100 head of cattle. At this time Teticpac was stated to be a pueblo of Indians with 10–12 families of *gente de razón*; AGN-T 3601/9.
Tlamacazapa	In 1780 Tlamacazapa was reported as having a cofradía to Nra. Stra. de la Asumpción, with 200 *reses*; AGN-T 3601/9. At the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, Tlamacazapa was reported as having "un rancho de cofradía

	para sufragar estos gastos [de la iglesia] y los del aciete de la lámpara. Y en una palabra, todo aquel vecindario que se compone de más de 200 familias no dispersas y si permanentes en su pueblo se sacrificaran en obsequio del culto del sagrado deposito para que permanezca siempre allí"; AGN-T 3667 (1805–9)

The major source on cofradías in the jurisdiction of Taxco is AGN-T 3601/9. According to this document, of 14 Indian pueblos there were 6 without cofradías (Atzala, Huistac, Cacahuamilpa, Cacalotenango, Chontalcuatlan, and Cozcatlán) and 7 with a cofradía or *obra pía* (Acamixtla, 130; Acuitlapan, 60; Noxtepec, 100; Pilcayan, 31; Taxco el Viejo, 8; Tecalpulco, 137; Tlamacazapa, 200; and Teticpac, 170). There were a total of 836 head of cattle.

Appendix 4b

Indigenous Villages: Cofradías and *Obras Pías*
Jurisdiction of Iguala

VILLAGE	COFRADÍAS
Cocula	During the 1712 vista de ojos in a dispute between Garay Villavicencio and the majority of villages and landowners of the northern Iguala Valley it is mentioned that in Zoquiapan the naturales of Cocula had a rancho of ganado mayor; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2. There are other mentions of cofradías. One witness in a dispute between the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo and Coulca mentions in regard to the lands of Zoquiapan, Atetetla and Atlixtac that they were "las únicas que estos naturales [de Cocula] tienen para pagar los real tributos." Also mentioned is the fact that these lands are necessary "para el beneficio, cultivo y pasto de los ganados así de la cofradía de Ntra. Sra. de la Concepción en la Iglesia de este pueblo como de la comunidad de el, siendo las referidas parajes tan necesarios para el alimento de los naturales de este dicho pueblo y donde echan y tiene el corral de los referidos ganados no teniendo otras bienes para la mantención de la yglesia y cultivo divino de ella"; AGN-T 3518/2. In addition, the cattle grazed on these 3 sites "se compondrá a fiel de la cofradía como el de la comunidad de 800 reses más o menos y que no hay otras parajes más comodos para su crianza que los referidos por tener dichas tierras el agua suficiente para su manutención" (AGN-T 3518/2 fol. 154f).

Huitzuco	A 1777 document (AGN-BN 585/9) mentions that Huitzuco had 4 cofradías "solo con licencia de ordinaria"; however, only three are documented in this *expediente*: Cofradía del Santisimo Sacramento: Fund of 810 pesos and 6 reales, "los cuales se hallan repartidos entre various hermanos cofrades al redito correspondiente de un 5 por ciento." The document then adds: "Más tiene de fondo un pedazo de tierra en el rancho nombrado Tlatocan que importa 500 pesos y otros 600 pesos que se hallan fincados al 5 por ciento en la hacienda de Tlapala cuyos dueños son los Chávez." They have 12 *yuntas de bueyes aperadas* "que anualmente se arriendan a la costumbre de la tierra." Also of the cofradía were 80 *reses de fierro para arriba* and 20 mares "cuyo rédito es el de 31 pesos cada año." There is some mention of costs, such as for Masses and various items for religious ceremonies. This *cofradia* was founded in 1759 by the priest Br. Don Juan Gonzalez de la Zarza "de sus bienes propios y aunque al principio concurrieron muchos devotos hermanos con 6 reales cada año a la presente hay muy pocos a los que en muriendo se les canta una misa con vigilia." The total value of the assets of this cofradía is 3,050 pesos 6 reales. Cofradía de N.S. del Rosario founded in 1733 "con un poco de ganado vacuno con que concurrieron varios rancheros de razon tiene de fondo 2,100 pesos repartidos entre los hermanos cofrades con el redito de un 5 por ciento." Cofradia de N.S. de la Asumpcion. Founded by D. Alonso de Alanis cura que fue de este partido con cierta cantidad de vacas y por el Br. D. Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón "cura que fue de Atenango del Río con cierta cantidad de árboles de cascalote que para este fin compro en este pueblo." The property now included 260 head of cattle, which is rented yearly yielding 97 pesos 4 reales per year (at 3 reales/head). The cofradía also owned 100 trees of *cascalote* that yield 36 pesos each year, and 10 *yuntas aperadas* "las que se arriendan cuando hay proporcion a los labradores vecinos segun el estilo de la tierra." There are 570 pesos "repartidos entre indios hermanos a 10 pesos cada uno con el rédito de 4 reales cada año." The revenue is 1,906 pesos per year. An account of expenses is included. In 1780 there is another mention of cofradías in Huitzuco (AGN-T 3601/8). At this time it is mentioned that Huitzuco had 2 ranches of ganado mayor which belonged to the cofradías of Santísimo Sacramento and Ntra. Señora del Rosario, with a total between them of 150 head of cattle. Note also that in 1774, those of Huitzuco requested a license to utilized income from their *bienes de comunidad* to help pay for church construction. This communal property was simply [un pedacito de tierra demaciadamente corto el que aunque lo sembraran los indios y se logren la cosecha el interés que se cogía no era suficiente a pagar los gastos que tenía la comunidad y se quedara la yglesia para el culto divino en la misma necesidad." To resolve this problem, each family of Huitzuco had been required to contribute 1 carga of maize at harvest, with the income left over to be added to the funds in the community chest. At this time there were 101 pesos in the community chest. The naturales had requested to use 95 pesos to pay for church expenses, but the alcalde mayor authorized only the expenditure of 20 pesos as authorized by law; AGN-I 64/155.

Iguala	There is little reference or mention of cofradías or *obras pías* in Iguala. However, in 1773 a certain don Salbador de Santiago, an Indian *principal* of Iguala, presented to the *juez comisario de tierras y aguas* "escriptos y títulos pertenecientes a las tierras nombradas de Tlatorana pertenecientes a la Cofradía de el Divísimo Señor Sacramentado," of which Santiago was mayordomo; AGN-3130/2.
Mayanalán	In 1780 Mayanalán was reported as being a pueblo composed entirely of Indians that had a rancho of ganado mayor belonging to the cofradía of Nuestra Señora del Rosario that had a total of 50 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/8.
Mezcala	In a 1780 document that gives information on cofradías, Mezcala is mentioned simply as a pueblo composed entirely of Indians engaged in transporting travelers across the Balsas River on rafts (*balsas*). There is no mention of a cofradía; AGN-T 3601/8. By 1794 there was a permanent vicarage (*vicaria fija*) in Mezcala to which Xochipala belonged, as well as the Real de Limón and Azcala, along with many mines in the area the most distant of which seems to have been San Pedro, 6 leagues southwest of Mezcala. The permanent vicarage might well have been established to administer to the many new mines that seemed to be emerging at this time.; AGN-H 578b/fols. 154f–162v, which lists these mines. (See also entry under Xochipala below for a dispute between the vicar in Mezcala and the community of Xochipala.)

Tepecuacuilco	In a 1780 document mention that Tepecuacuilco “se compone la mayor parte de gente de todas castas aunque su origen fue de yndios y el poco número que existe de estos en la actualidad está bajo su gobierno.” In regards to cofradías, there is mention of only 1, a rancho of ganado mayor that belonged to the Cofradía del Sr. San José, with 156 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/8. In 1797 the “cura coadjutor” of Tepecuacuilco, Br. Josef Mariano López petitioned for a license so that once having come to an agreement with the *vocales* of the parish cofradía, he be allowed to sell its cattle and properties. He noted that the parish cofradías had holdings in both cattle and real estate, but that the interest did not correspond to the value of the principal. The cattle was lent out at interest of 2 reales/head (note that this would yield a value of 5 pesos/head at 5%). However, certain individuals are willing to buy the cattle at 6 pesos/head. The houses cost more in upkeep that they yield: the previous year rent yielded 20 pesos, but 62 pesos were spent on repairs. D. Miguel Román donated another house that cost more in upkeep than its yield. In regards to cattle rental, the document continues noting that “los sujetos a quienes estos bueyes se arrendaban en tiempo de las siembras si alguno moría se les obligaba en los años sucesivos a la paga de las rentas lo mismo que si tuviera vida asta que lo remplazaba.” The request for a license to sell the cattle and houses is granted; AGN-BN 873/197. In 1848 in a response to a questionnaire, the priest of Tepecuacuilco submitted a report on the parish which include a response about the “fondos” that existed. There was no mention of cofradías, but the report mentioned that “los fondos de las obras pías están reducidos a tal extremo que sólo consisten en 3,659 pesos en fincas urbanas que algunas de ellas están en peligro de perderse. Los pocos réditos que se recogen con grande trabajo están consignados al culto de la iglesia. . . . Hasta el año de 1840 hay cuenta formada de la Parroquia y como es necesario hacer desembolsos de sus propios se escuran. Las cuentas anteriores sirven de reglamento para gobernarse a los que han servido de Mayordomos . . . La única obra pía que existe es administrada por un particular bajo el conocimiento de los Párrocos como rector de ella. . . . Este curato sus productos en un año común son de 2,971 pesos 4 reales”; AGN-BN 369/52.

<table>
<tr>
<td>Tlaxmalac</td>
<td>In 1777 Tlaxmalac had the following cofradías (AGN-BN 585/9):
a) Cofradía of Nuestra Señora de la Natividad founded by Br. don Alonso de Alanis “con cierta cantidad de ganado vacuno.” The holdings at this time were 315 head, which included cattle, horses, and mules. The animals are rented out at 3 reales/head and the previous year yielded an income of 118 pesos 1 real. Also, the cofradía has 783 pesos 7½ reales kept in a chest.
b) There is also an obra pía, “la que se compone de cierta cantidad de ganado mayor en que está a cargo y cuidado de los indios de los que han producido 10 yuntas de bueyes aperados los que anualmente se arriendan conforme el estilo de la tierra y de sus productos la mitad se asigna para misas a las almas del purgatorio y una misa cantad con su vigilia por el alma del buenechor y la otra mitad se guarda en una caja de dos llaves en la que se hallan 187 pesos 7 reales y medio.”
In 1780 Tlaxamalac was stated to be a pueblo of “puros indios naborios cyo tráfico consiste en extraer los maises que cosechan para el Real de Tasco.” There were two ranchos that belonged to the cofradías of Tlaxmalac: Nuestra Señora del Rosario and Señora Santa Ana, totaling between them 200 head of cattle. (Note that there was also another ranch with 100 head of cattle that belonged to an Indian from Tlaxmalac); AGN-T 3601/8.
In 1778 those of Tlaxamalac requested that excess funds from the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Natividad, founded in their village, be used to roof an drepair their church. they agree to contribute any additional funds that might be needed. Don Mariano Segura, owner of the hacienda of Yetla and a vecino of Tlaxmalac is named tesorero. They reuqest that 1,000 pesos from their caja de comunidad be allowed to be used for the church repair; AGN-BN 678, exp. s.n. (1778–84).
Note, however, that previously there is evidence of different types of arrangements to pay for church repair. In 1737 the justicia of Iguala was ordered to prorate the cost of repairing the parish church in Tlaxmalac among the gente de razón and then insure collection. The cura of the parish of Tlaxmalac had mentioned that pacted with the vecinos de razón that they should pay 12 reales every 80 days for the duration of the construction of the church (in 8 years, the estimated time of construction, the total contribution would be 46 pesos). In the original pact there were more individuals that at present by which time the number had been reduced to 62 because the priest excused some poor individuals. The viceroy noted that the flock is obligated to contribute in amounts prorrated in accordance with the faculties of each. However, in the pact celebrated with the priest “no se observa la igualdad y proporción correspondiente a los caudales.” The justicia of Iguala is ordered to proceed “sin la menor dilación a hacer con toda justificación prorrateo del costo de la Yglecia entre todos los vecinos de aquel partido según sus facultades y conveniencias apremiándolos a que contribuian a su cura con la cantidad que a cada uno tocare.” Note that apparently the vecinos de razón would contribute certain amounts of money while the community sought authorization for the expenditure of bienes de comunidad or cofradía assets; AGN-GP 31/169.</td>
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Tuxpan	In a document from 1780, it is mentioned that Tuxpan had a *ranchillo* of cattle that belonged to two cofradías: Ntra. Sra. del Rosario and San Andrés, with a total of 60 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/8.
Xochipala	In 1780 the "barrio de Xochipala" was composed entirely of Indians who, like those of Mezcala, worked in transporting travelers across the Balsas River. The community had a ranchillo of cattle belonging to the Cofradía de Ntra. Sra. del Rosario, with 40 head of cattle; AGN-T 3601/8. In 1781, a certain don José Nicolás Tajonar rented cattle that belonged to the church of Xochipala in the vicarage of Mezcala. Now, a vecino of Xochipala and their legal representative requested that they be allowed to rent the cattle, which was being held under the custody of the vicar of Mezcala. He made this request in order that the income from the cattle be used to support church expenses in Xochipala and to increase the size of the herd. The vicar supports the request, which is granted; AGN-BN 535/2. In 1790 those of Xochipala were attempting to rebuild their church, which had had a roof of *zacate* (straw) and had recently burned. They requested that they be allowed to use "900 pesos de la venta que se hizo con licencia de algunas bienes de la cofradía de el indicado pueblo de Xochipalan para los gastos de la yglecia que pretenden fabricar," particularly for the *colaterales* and other ornaments; AGN-I 69/234. Note the sale of cofradía cattle. Finally, in 1797 there was a dispute between Mezcala and Xochipala, as the former (the seat of the vicarage) tried to force those of Xochipala to help in construction of a house for the vicarage in Mezcala; when they refused, the vicar imprisoned an *alcalde* of Xochipala. Given that Xochipala has its own church and "todo lo necesario para quando va el vicario allí," the authorities of this village petition that all work be done by those of Mezcala and that the *alcalde* be freed. The request is granted; AGN-I 69/431.

Appendix 4c

Indigenous Villages: Cofradías and *Obras Pías*
Jurisdiction of Tixtla

VILLAGE	COFRADÍAS
San Agustín Acapizatlan	There is no evidence of any cofradía or *obra pía* in this village.
San Francisco Ahuelicán	In 1777 Ahuelicán had two Hermandades (AGN-BN 585/9): a) *Hermandad* dedicated to San Francisco de Assis, patron saint of the village, with 29 pesos, 43 cargas of maize, and (*sic*, cash listed again) 43 pesos 5 reales. It is added that "no tiene Misa por que el día de el Santo paga el común del S. Cura lo que se junta"; b) *Hermandad* dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria with 101 head of cattle, 104 cargas of maize, and 93 pesos 5 reales in cash. The expenses of this *hermandad* are given in the document.
Santa María de la Concepción Amayotepec	In 1777 Amayotepec (after independence called Ameyaltepec) had one *hermandad*, that dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Concepción with 77 head of cattle, 15 cargas of maize, and 86 pesos 3 reales in cash; AGN-BN 585/9.
San Andrés Amula	There is no evidence of any cofradía or *obra pía* in this village, which was abandoned in the early eighteenth century.
San Francisco Apango	There is no evidence of any cofradía or *obra pía* in this village. In 1776 the viceroy had expedited an order aimed to clarify the state of cofradías, aimed at determining the reason for the absence of *bienes de comunidad* in many villages. Reports were made for Apango, Totolzintla, Oapan, Chilpancingo, Zumpango, Tixtla, and Mochitlán. However, the priest in Apango was ill at the time. He stated that he would respond later, but this document has not been found; AGN-BN 585/5.
Atliaca	There is no evidence of any cofradía or *obra pía* in this village.

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<td>Chilpancingo</td>
<td>There is extensive documentation on cofradías and hermandades in Chilpancingo dating from 1777, contained in a report issued in response to a viceregal order inquiring about the state of cofradías in the jurisdiction of Tixtla in an effort to determine the reason for the absence of bienes de comunidad in many indigenous communities. Reports were issued for Apango, Totoltzintla, Oapan, Chilpancingo, Zumpango, Tixtla, and Mochitlán. Note that in pueblos of mixed ethnicity there was a general tendency for the cofradías and hermandades to be associated with gente de razón. In other pueblos the naturales contributed to found cofradías, apparently without employing communal property. Note in Chilpancingo a tendency for many of the religious fraternities to have been founded by the gente de razón. Note also how they often are used to alleviate problems of grain shortage and supply as well as provide other "safety-net" services.
In one report for Chilpancingo, the following cofradías and hermandades are mentioned (AGN-BN 585/5, dated 1777):
a) Cofradía dedicated to the SSmo Sacramento: originally founded by Capn. D. Francisco de la Barrera with 2000 pesos;
b) Cofradia dedicated to Sr. S. Nicolas with the approval (aprobacion) of the Sagrada Mitra": without fondos
c) Cofradia de Animas, dedicated to Sto Xpto y Animas de Purgatorio and approved by the Sagrada Mitra: possession of some parcels of land that produce up to 70 cargas of maize per year, which nevertheless is insufficient to cover the necessary expenses of wax and weekly Mass
d) Hermandad dedicated to Jesús Navarrro: funds totaling 150 pesos. The document continues stating that "está no tiene aprobación por la Mitra, se hizo de la devoción y contribución de cada individuo y se ha mantenido en los mismos terminos";
e) Hermandad dedicated to Sr. S. Jose, with the approval of the Sagrada Mitra: without funds;
f) Cofradia dedicated to N. Sra. de la Natividad and with the approval of the Sagrada Mitra; founded by the naturales of Chilpancingo with assets of a parcel of land that is planted with cane producing more or less 70 to 80 pesos/yr. and of 100 pesos held by the Mayordomo. Together these assets produce enough to cover the expenses of wax and Mass.

Slightly different information is given in a parallel document, also from 1777 (AGN-BN 595/9). Here it is stated that Chilpancingo had 3 cofradías con with "licencias del ordinario" along with 2 hermandades:
a) Cofradía dedicated to the Santisimo Sacramento: founded by Cap. Don Francisco de la Barrera, ex-alcalde mayor of Tixtla, who donated 2000 pesos. As of August 1777, the cofradía had 3000 pesos distributed as follows: "a réditos en las ventas del camino real de Acpaulco y 1,000 más que de alcanzes de mayordomos se aseguraron en la Hacienda de Thepango por su posedor que lo es Don Francisco Brabo vecino de este pueblo." This document gives a detailed list of expenses.
b) Cofradía dedicated to the Benditas Almas del Purgatorio: founded by the gentes de razón of Chilpancingo. Funds are limited to "unos pedazos de tierra de labor que ellos mismos voluntariamente han donado." The interest for these lands is paid to the mayordomo in maize, "que suele llegar su arrendamiento cuando se ocupan todas de 78 cargas; estas se venden a su tiempo a peso y cuando mas a 12 reales y si sucede hayga alguna escasez (como ha acontecido algunos años en imi</td>
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	tiempo) se suspende su venta hasta la mayor necesidad para distribuirlo entre los mismos del pueblo a dicho precio para así contener los que pretenden alternarle, por lo que han gozado en su mayor necesidad mucho beneficio de esta cofradía los gastos que tienen." A account of expenses is then given. c) Cofradía dedicated to Ntra. Sra. de la Asumpción: founded by the *naturales* of Chilpancingo. At present the assets of this cofradía include "su finca en un trapiche que prodce al año de 70 a 80 pesos beneficnado esta cofradía a 10 diputados que nombra el pueblo en pagar el tributo por ellos y otros préstamos que suele hacer dicha cofradía para el entero de sus tributos, no siendo mas que 294 pesos 4 tomines que para en poder del mayordomo que esto se ha ido aumentando de la sobrante que queda anual sacado los gastos precisos arreglados a sus constitutiones y por el beneficio que dicho es les ha sido y es muy utiliosa esta cofradia." d) Cofradía dedicated to San Nicolás Tolentino: founded by the *gente de razón* with "licencia de ordinario." At present there were no funds "y solo la devoción de los fieles la mantiene con la limosna que voluntariamente contribuyen." e) *Hermandad* dedicated to Jesús Nazareno: without approval of the Sagrada Mitra, it was founded by the *gente de razón* and is stated to be "muy necesaria para la devoción y solemnidad de las funciones de Quaresma." The assets include a fund of 126 pesos 4 tomines lent at interest. This, along with the voluntary contributions (*limosnas*) "suele alcanzar para los precisos gastos." f) *Hermandad* dedicated to the Patriarcha Sr. San Joseph: founded by the *vecinos de razón* in 1754 "por el terror que causó los temblores en el sobre dicho año lo juraron por patron.." At present it still has no funds and the Masses, held on the 19th of each month, are paid for solely by the voluntary *limosnas*.
Santiago Dos Caminos	In 1777 Dos Caminos is reported as having 2 *hermandades* (AGN-BN 585/5): a) Hermandad de Jesús Názarro with 55 head of ganado mayor "que se juntaron de limosna para el fundamento de dicha hermandad." b) Hermandad de la Santísima Virgen con el título de la Asumpación with 200 head of cattle "las cuales se juntaron de limosna en el principio de su fundación y dicho número se ha fomentado con la devoción de los naturales de dicho pueblo sin que para ella haya intervenido los bienes de comunidad."
S. Joseph Huitziltepec	There is no documentation that refers to any cofradía or *obra pía* in this community.
Santa Ana Mochitlán	In 1776 a viceregal order sought information on the state of the cofradías or *capillas* in the jurisdiction of Tixtla in order to determine the reason for the absence of *bienes de comunidad* in many communities. Reports were issued by priests in Apango, Totolcintla, Oapan, Chilpancingo, Zumpango, Tixtla, and Mochitlán. In Mochitlán there was only 1 *hermandad*, that of Jesús Nazarro with assets of 40 head of cattle, "las que ofrecieron espontáneamente los naturales de dicho pueblo de sus propios bienes y limosnas de otros bienhechores"; AGN-BN 585/5/
San Marcos Oacacingo	A 1777 report by the priest of Oapan, Br. don Juan Robles Becerra (*cura interino*) states that there were 8 Indian *hermandades* in his parish "que llaman ellos cofradías." Oacacingo at that time had a *hermandad* of Ntra. Sra. de la Asumpción with 68 *cabezas vacunos y caballares*, 2 lbs. of Spanish wax (*cera de castilla*), 45 cargas of maize, and no money. The document also gives the expenses and outlays of this *hermandad*; AGN-585/9.

San Agustín Oapan	In 1777 in the parish of Oapan diligencias were carried out in response to a viceregal order to investigate the state of the cofradías of the churches and chapels in the jurisdiction of Tixtla in order to clarify the state of cofradías in an effort to determine the reason for the absence of *bienes de comunidad* in many communities. Reports are issued for Apango, Totolcintla, Oapan, Chilpancingo, Zumpango, Tixtla, and Mochitlán. The report for Oapan, which apparently includes other villages of the parish (Amayotepec, Oacacingo, Ahuelicán, Ozomatlán, Tecuiciapan, and Tetelcingo) mentions that "sin embargo de que hay algunas hermandades estas son puramente a devoción de los naturales, sin títulos, ordinario ni Real, o erecciones, sino es por pura conformidad entre ellos de que pagan las obenciones de sus fiestas y surten las Iglesias"; AGN-BN 585/5. A related document (AGN-BN 585/9) also from 1777, contains the response of the interim priest of Oapan, Br. don Juan Robles Becerra. He states that there were "8 hermandades de indios que llaman ellos cofradías," of these 3 were in Tetelcingo, 1 in Amayotepec, 1 in San Marcos Oacacingo, 2 in Ahuelicán, and 1 in Oapan: the *hermandad* of the Virgen de la Asumpción with 18 head of cattle, 23 pesos 2 reales in plata común, 1 lb. of wax from Castile. Expenses for this *hermandad* are also given.
San Agustin Ostotipan	There is no information on any cofradía or *obra pía* in this community, nor of the communal holdings of any cattle. Note that although several times Ostotipan is listed as part of the jurisdiction of Tixtla, it is most often included in that of Chilapa.
S. Francisco Ozomatlán	There is no documentation that refers to any cofradía or *obra pía* in this community.
Petaquillas	There is no documentation that refers to any cofradía or *obra pía* in this community.
S. Miguel Tecuiciapan	There is no documentation for the colonial period that refers to any cofradía or *obra pía* in this community. However, in 1841 there is a reference to the priest of Oapan having destroyed all the documents in the archive of cofradías in Tecuiciapan. This document also mentions that a certain José Guadalupe bought two images "de bulto," one of San Antonio and the other of San Miguel, which the priest refused to bless, saying that they were "muñecos para que jugaran los muchachos"; AGN-BN 705/6.
San Juan Tetelcingo	In 1777 San Juan Tetelcingo was reported to have the following *hermandades*: a) *Hermandad* dedicated to San Sebastián with 93 head of cattle, 1 lb. of wax, 14 pesos in cash; b) *Hermandad* dedicated to San Miguel with 179 cattle and horses, 215 pesos in cash, 1½ lbs. of wax; c) *Hermandad* dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Concepción with 101 head of cattle, 2 lbs. of wax, and 18 pesos and 2½ reales in cash. For each *hermandad* the yearly expenses are given; AGN-BN 585/9.

<table>
<tr><td>San Martín Tixtla</td><td>In 1744 the naturales of Tixtla solicited the construction of an alterpiece (retablo). Of the 1,000 estimated cost of the constructions, the naturales were to pay 200 pesos and the vecinos (i.e., españoles, mestizos, and mulatos) were to pay 800. This type of arrangement, a division according to caste of obligations toward religious worship; AGN-I 55/248. In 1789, when the church had to be rebuilt at an estimated cost of 16,708 pesos, the vecinos de razón offered to “cortar las maderas necearias, y conducirlas por la tercia parte menos de su valor y concurrir además con otros auxilios según sus facultades.” The Indians were to contribute lime at half its market price. In addition, “que turnen los pueblos de la felibresia por semana, enteros y medios o por ellos en el trabaxo en los que sean real [?] y no en los días festivos pagándoseles a los casados a real y medio y a los solteros a un real.” Finally, in accord with the law, one-quarter of the budget would be met by the application of tribute collected; AGN-I 67/217. Note that this type of arrangement according to caste was common in matters such as church repair and was echoed in the division among cofradías, in which Indians and “gente de razón” often had different organizations.
In 1777, several priests responsed to a viceregal request for information on the cofradías and hermandades in the jurisdiction of Tixtla. Included was the priest of Tixtla, who noted the following (AGN-BN 585/5:
a) Cofradía dedicated to the Santísima Rosario: funds of 1,652 pesos in principal and 500 head of cattle, as well as a few horses;
b) Cofradía dedicated to La Purísima Concepción with 200 head of cattle, more or less, which were grazed on lands of the cofradía at a place called Amatlán;
c) Cofradía dedicated to Jesús Nazareno: with 90 head of cattle, more or less
d) Cofradía dedicated to La Santísima Virgen de los Dolores: this cofradía had with no funds, rather, “las misas mensales de dicha cofradía se dicen con las limosnas de los bienechos;
e) Hermandad dedicated to San Isidro Labrador: funds of 369 pesos 4 reales in principal;
f) Hermandad dedicated to Sr. S. Nicolás Tolentino: this cofradía had no principal; Masses were paid for with the “limosna colectiva del pueblo.”
Note that the priest ends his report by stating in reference to these cofradías and hermandades that “todas se hallan con la aprobación de la Sagrada Mitra establecidas erectas y fundadas por los vecinos de este pueblo de San Martín Tixtla sin tener en ellas parte los naturales de dicho pueblo ni menos los bienes de sus comunidades, siendo solo a expensas de la gente que llaman de razón, todo consta en los libros de las constituciones de cada una."</td></tr>
<tr><td>San Juan Totolcintla</td><td>There is no documentation that refers to any cofradía or obra pía in this community; the priest was said to be paid by “obención” that was gathered “entre si según su costumbre”; AGN-BN 585/5.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Zumpango</td><td>There are two documents that report on the cofradías and obras pías of Zumpango in 1777: AGN-BN 585/5 and AGN-BN 585/9. The first document gives the following:
a) Cofradía de la Advocación del Santísimo Christo: founded by the vecinos de razón with funds of about 1000 pesos;
b) Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Natividad founded by the naturales with about 1,300 pesos in funds and approved by the Sagrada Mitra: “y lo producido de sus réditos en misas mensales, cera y fiesta anual se consume”</td></tr>
</table>

c) A *hermandad* with the advocation of Señor Santiago, founded by the *naturales* and *gente de razón*

d) A *hermandad* founded by the *naturales* only with the advocation of San Sebastián.

In regard to the two *hermandades*, over the previous twenty years they had both been administered by the priest who had increased their funds to about 2,000 pesos.

e) Three *hermandades* with the *advocaciones* of Señor San José, San Miguel, and Las Animas, "sin fondos ningunos, pues aunque en su fundación por la contribución de los fieles tuvieron alguno como no se han querido sujetar a cuentas ni menos han tenido aprobación; entre ellas mismas se ha consumido y sólo si la de las Animas, por haber compelido el cura al Mayordomo a dar cuenta anualmente por hacerse está refundada nuevamente de 10 años a esta parte con la limosna de algunos fieles se halla con el fondo de unos 80 pesos que no alcanza para cumplir, con lo producido, a las Misas de cada un mes segun fue la intencion de los bienechores."

The second document reports that there were 3 cofradías "con licencia del ordinario" and 3 "hermandades sin licencia":

a) Cofradía del Santísimo Christo: Founded by the *vecinos de razón* of Zumpango: "el que se veneró con tanta devoción que tiene su capilla y título de Santuario y de partes muy distantes concurren por la devoción a esta soberano imagen." At this time (1777) it had the following funds: 1 trapiche rented out for 35 pesos/yr.; 114 pesos produced (apparently yearly) by the rental of cattle, although "es de advertir que nunca se llega a cobrar todo"; 32 *bueyes de rienda* rented at "la costumbre de la tierra"; 433 pesos in reales; and 970 pesos "en dependencias que de estos casi la mitad será imposible que paguen." This document also gives the yearly expenses of this cofradía.

b) Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Natividad: Founded by the *naturales* of Zumpango. In 1777 it had the following funds: 1 trapiche rented out for 41½ pesos/yr.; 67½ pesos produced by cattle rental; and "en reales y dependencias" 1,016 pesos 3½ reales." This document also gives the expenses of the cofradía and adds, "siendo esta cofradía de mucha utilidad para todo el común de Naturlaes pues se halla entre ellos la mayor parte de dichos fondos de lo que reciben un gran beneficio."

c) and d) Hermandades del Señor Santiago y del Señor San Sebastián. Of these two *hermandades*, the document reports the following: "siendo bienes espirituales pretender en parte hacerlo comunes, tomando cada uno cuando se les ofrece las cantidades que se han de menester y de estas algunas han vuelto y otras no, por lo que si no mediara el celo y eficacia de su cura, no hubiera ni memoria de ellas, como suceden con los bienes que ellos manipulan de comunidad, que si un gobernador cría alguna cosa en su año, el que sigue da cuenta con pago su fundación de estas *hermandades*, fue por los vecinos de razón y naturales que voluntariamente dieron algunas cabezas de ganado y estas en mi tiempo se han ido aumentando de manera que la del Sr. San Sebastian tiene de fondo en reales y dependencias 511 pesos 6 tomines y de ganado de fierro para arriba, caballar, y vacuno 353 cabezas y lo mismo con poca diferencia la del Sr. Santiago no siendo de consideracion los gastos que tienen pues sólo se reduce a sus títulos aniversario de difuntos y una misa mensal, un día de la octava." Note that for each *hermandad* the yearly expenses are given.

e) Hermandad de las Animas Benditas del Purgatorio: Founded by the *gente de razón* and the naturales of Zumpango.

	In 1777 its funds comprised 34 head of cattle "que se han aumentado de las pocas cabezas que en su fundación contribuyeron voluntariamente algunos vecinos." Alms (*limosna*) are also collected. Fiesta expenses for the year are given. Note the slight difference between each list, even for the same year, 1777.

Note: for an account of community expenses for religious functions, see AGN-I 76/2 and 3.

Appendix 5a

Mercedes, Acquisitions from Indians, Licenses, and *Remates* of *Realenga* Lands Private Holdings in the Jurisdiction of Taxco

DATE OF MERCED OR LICENSE	RECEIVED BY	NATURE OF GRANT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	SOURCE
22 Aug. 1542	Don Luis de Castilla (encomendero of Tututepec)	1 caballería	Located near Tasco and Tenango.	AGN-M 1/297
22 Aug. 1542	Pedro de Sandoval	1 caballería	Located near Taxco and Tenango.	AGN-M 1/298
6 Sept. 1542	Juan de Manzanilla (encomendero of Cicapuzalco)	1 sitio de ganado	The merced states simply that the land is in the "provincia de Taxco." It does not clarify as to whether the sitio was for ganado mayor or menor.	AGN-M 1/312
27 Sept. 1542	Pedro de Sandoval	estancia	The land is located near Taxco, at a place called Acamistlabaca. The grant is for an estancia where Sandoval already had a herd of cattle.	AGN-M 1/353 and 354
17 June 1543	Antonio de la Cadena ("vecino y alcalde ordinario de [la Ciudad de] México." He was also *contador*.	1 caballería	Having previously given information in regard to "los esclavos y gente que haya y tenía en estas minas," Cadena now requested land on which to plant maize and other grains for the "sustento de las dichas minas y gente que en ella tiene."	AGN-M 2/245
10 Oct. 1543	Don Luis de Castilla	2 *sitios heridos de ingenios para fundir e moler metales*	The land is located along a brook named Tenango, near the Taxco mines. The two sitios are adjacent, the highest just below the *ingenios* of Alonso de la Serna and Pedro de Ayala, and the second just below the first.	AGN-M 2/447

5 Nov. 1543	Juan Alonso de Sosa (*tesorero*; encomendero of Coatepec, Tonalá, Tenayuca, and Urapa and Guanaxo from about 1537 to 1544)	1 *sitio para ingenio de agua para fundir y moler metales*	The sitio is located along the Tenango River, just below the sitios and *ingenio* that had been given in merced to don Luis de Castilla (see previous entry).	AGN-M 2/496
8 Nov. 1543	Juan Jaramillo (probably encomendero of Xilotepec)	1.5 caballerías	Located near Taxco and "Talutla" [sic].	AGN-M 2/503
between 1568 and 1580	Julián Ybañes Morillas	1 sitio de ganado mayor	A 1676 composición to Joseph de Valle for a sitio de ganado mayor and another sitio de venta mentions that the land had belonged to Julián Ybañes Morillas and Martín de Herrera, who had been given their mercedes by the viceroys don Martín Enrríquez (1568–80) and the marqués de Salinas (1590–95). The sequence in which the mercedes are mentioned suggests that Ybañes was given his by Enrríquez and Herrera by the marqués de Salinas. In 1676 Joseph de Valle composed this land for 50 pesos.	AGN-M 59/fols. 190f–190v
before 1580	Pedro de Ledesma (*alcalde mayor* of Taxco)	1 sitio de ganado menor and other lands	Ledesma received permission to sell these lands, which he could not attend to because of his duties as alcalde mayor. The lands are "una labor y tierras de que le fue fecha merced en términos de Tenantzingo cerca de la estancia de San Pedro" and another estancia de ganado menor "que ansi mesmo le fue fecha merced en términos de Istapa en los llanos que dizen de Cohuca." These lands are probably near Istapa in the province of Zacualpa and Tenancingo in that of Malinalco, both to the northwest of Taxco. They have been included because of the position of the recipient as alcalde mayor of Taxco.	AGN-GP 2/1022
before 1586	Diego Juárez	1 *sitio para*	See the following entry, where it is mentioned that Antonio	AGN-T 2762/4

	Carrizales	*ingenio*	Velásquez's grant was just below a sitio (probably for an *ingenio de agua)* that had previously been given to Juárez Carrizales.	
1586	Antonio Velásquez *(vecino y minero* of Noxtepec; perhaps same person as the husband of the *encomendera* of Xumiltepec)	*1 sitio para ingenio de agua*	Velásquez petitioned for a "herido de molino para moler metales" near Noxtepec, located along the Río de los Cedros. It was below the small, depopulated estancia called Petlacalginga, and just below the sitio given in merced to Diego Juárez Carrizales (see previous entry). The petition was supported by the alcalde mayor of Taxco, and the viceroy ordered that the official visit the sitio and that neighboring miners be notified of the request. The Indian *alcalde* of Nochtepec also supported the petition, stating that the grant would help "los indios de esta comarca que tendrán donde trabajar [y ganar] dineros para su sustentar y pagar su tributo como lo hacen en las haciendas que ay en Zacualpa y otros."	AGN-T 2762/4
1586	Don Hernando de Ulloa (*vecino y minero* of Zacualpa)	1 *sitio para ingenio de agua*	Ulloa petitioned for a merced for an *ingenio* "en el Río de los Cedros términos de Nochtepeque entre uno que tomó Baltasar Pérez y el de Pipichauasco." The site is above the depopulated grant that had been given to Francisco Ramírez Bravo, now deceased, on the road from Pipichahuazco to the mines of San Josepe. The alcalde mayor of Taxco supported the petition and the viceroy ordered that the site be visited and that neighboring miners be informed of the request.	AGN-T 2763/1
????	Pedro Martír de Castro el Mozo	2 caballerías	The land is located perhaps one-quarter of a league from Taxco el Viejo; Martír contracted Indians from Taxco el Viejo to work on his land. When asked to present his titles during the congregación of Taxco el Viejo, Martír stated that he had bought the lands (both next to each other, one in the jurisdiction of Taxco el Viejo, the other in that of Acamistla) "y ambas . . . se vendieron por unos azoguese de su Magestad que se le debían con unas minas e ingenios y una huerta." In 1599, when asked to produce the corresponding titles, he said that they had been given to Rodrigo	AGN-T 2723/8

			de Zárate to take and present to the conde de Monterrey. There is no date given for the sales.	
4 Mar. 1589	Miguel de Perla (or perhaps Perea or Pérez)	1 sitio de ganado menor 1 caballería	The land is located about 1 league from Taxco el Viejo. In the early seventeenth century Perla had conflicts with Taxco el Viejo, which complained of damages caused by the goats Perla grazed.	AGN-T 2723/8
between 1590 and 1595	Martín de Herrera	1 *sitio de venta*	See above entry under Julián Ybañes Morillas. In 1676 Joseph de Valle composed this land for 50 pesos.	AGN-M 59/fols. 190f–190v
18 Apr. 1592	Bachiller Joan Rodríguez	1 *sitio para casas, quadrilla e ingenios de beneficio de metales*	Located near San Martín Teteltzingo, below the road that went to the "minas de la veta de San Miguel." The merced was also near the river and an *ojo de agua* "que baja de la cerca del dicho pueblo en una llanada que hace y hasta por parte del poniente el cerro alto del monte y corre allí el agua hacia el sur y el otro sitio para doña Isabel Pacheco con quien tiene compañía en los dichos términos en otro arroyo."	AGN-M 18/fol. 143v
28 May 1593	Heirs of don Luis de Castilla: don Lope de Sosa (son-in-law) and don Pedro Lorenzo de Castilla (son?)	new merced for an estancia	This merced was issued to replace a previous one which had been lost. It is for an estancia that don Luis de Castilla "tuvo pobladas con casas, corrales, ganados y aperos." The estancia was near Tasco and Tenango "en el monte para el servicio de las haciendas de minas que allí dejó y posee."	AGN-M 19/fol. 119f
27 Mar. 1601	Juan Domínguez de Mastache	1 *ingenio para moler metales*	Located near the Taxco mines at the estancia named Tenancingo, near the hill called Xocotlan.	AGN-GP 5/1381
10 July 1601	Luis de Barraza	1 sitio de ganado menor	Located four leagues from Taxco in an area called Pololopa (probably an abandoned sujeto; see appendix 1a, table of Taxco el Viejo, entry under Xuxulapa). The alcalde mayor of Iguala conducted the necessary steps to grant the license; he mentioned that the sitio was located in the direction of Iguala.	AGN-M 23/fols. 171v–172f
1616	Juan Alemán	1 sitio de ganado menor	Alemán petitioned for a license to keep 12 cows, 100 sheep, and 200 goats on land he had bought at Tepancalco, 1½ leagues from Nochtepec and over 1 league from the nearest *milpas*. Nochtepec	AGN-T 3331/18

			did not object; the *fiscal* recommended that the petition be granted, but only for sheep and goats.	
15 June 1616	Juan de Cabrera	1 sitio de ganado mayor 4 caballerías	The sitio was located near Tasco el Viejo, alongside the road to Iguala. To the west was a large hill, to the north the sierra of Tlamacazapa, to the south land belonging to Juan de Cabrera. The four caballerías were also near Taxco el Viejo, next to the hill called Tlaquatzintepec along the road from Taxco el Viejo. To the south was a bridge and to the north the village of of Taxco. From its location this grant was probably quite close to what later became known as Puente de Campuzano.	AGN-M 31/fols. 129f–130f
16 Nov. 1640	Pedro de Goyas (Taxco miner)	1 sitio for two *ingenios,* one water-powered and other horse- powered	This is a confirmation of a possession that had been given on 27 August 1638. The sitios are described as "junto a unos paredones que parecen aber sido de iglesia muy antigua en el paraje que llaman Santiago en el río de Tasco el Viejo yendo del dicho pueblo de Tasco el Biejo hazia el pueblo de Yguala a mano izquierda."	AGN-M 42/fols. 4v–6f
28 Feb. 1659	Pedro Pérez del Río	license to found a tannery	The tannery is on Pérez del Río's own land at a place called Atlicholoayan, near both Tenango and a subject village called San Marcos Guaxumulco. The document implies that Pérez del Río had acquired the land through inheritance.	AGN-M 49/fols. 166f–167v
22 Sept. 1663	Miguel de Figueroa	license to plant sugarcane and construct a trapiche	The license is in regards to two estancias owned by Figueroa: Juchimilpa for ganado mayor and Santiago for ganado menor, both located near Noxtepec. The license was given for 80 pesos. Figueroa had bought these lands from Catalina de Figueroa, a widow living in the Real y Minas de Zacualpa, for 300 pesos.	AGN-M 53/fols 71f–80v
18 Sept. 1665	Juan de Morales	license to found a trapiche or *ingenio*	The license is to found a trapiche or *ingenio* on Morales's lands at Zacapalco. Mention that the neighboring villages of Acamistla, Tlamacazapa, and Coscatlán had abundant land and water and that the villages were all about 1 league from Zacapalco.	AGN-M 58 fol. 95v
before 12 Aug.	Phelipe de Alemán	*amparo* and license	Phelipe de Alemán had previously received a merced of 1½	AGN-M 65/fols.

1699			caballerías to build a mill to process silver. The Indians of Huistac had destroyed the hacienda while it was being built. An *amparo* is now given, under the condition that Alemán not plant sugarcane.	42v–43f

Appendix 5b

Mercedes, Acquisitions from Indians, Licenses, and *Remates* of *Realenga* Lands Private Holdings in the Jurisdiction of Iguala

DATE OF MERCED OR LICENSE	RECEIVED BY	NATURE OF GRANT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	SOURCE
19 Oct. 1542	Antonio de Almaguer (encomendero of Tepecuacuilco)	1.5 caballerías and a *herido de agua*	Located on the Mexico-Iguala road at a site called Cinacantlan, next to a "cacaguatal viejo . . . [donde] hay tierras baldías e que no se labran." The land was granted to plant "árboles de castilla e otras cosas," and the "herido de agua" is for a mill.	AGN-M 1/405
5 Sept. 1543	Antonio de Almaguer	2 caballerías	Located going from Cinacantlan to Tepecuacuilco "la cañada abajo desde el cerro hasta dar en una laguna hay tierras baldías que no se labran."	AGN-M 2/366
20 Apr. 1567	Bernardino de Casasola	1.5 caballerías	Casasola originally petitioned for three caballerías and an estancia para ganado menor near Tepecuacuilco and Tlaxmalac. He was granted only half of the caballerías he requested (no mention of whether the sitio was also granted, though it probably was not). The land was located near the two villages mentioned "junto a una laguna del dicho pueblo de Tepecuacuilco."	AGN-M 9/fols. 58f–58v
17 Dec. 1567	Francisco Rodríguez	2 caballerías	The caballerías were situated "términos de los pueblos de Yzuco y Santiago en la parte que nombran Pala que por medio de ellas paṣa un arroyo."	AGN-M 9/fol. 234v
9 Jan. 1590	Domingo de Salcedo	1 sitio de ganado mayor 1 caballería	Originally for a sitio de ganado menor, this merced was later changed. The land granted was located near Huitzuco "junto en una cañada y valle que se dice de Petlacalco y Alpuyeca." This land became part of the hacienda of Tlapala.	AGN-M 14/fols. 431v–432f

between 1603–07 (granted by the conde de Montesclaros)	Melchor de Tornamira(?); name not given in the documentation, but recipient apparently was the first holder of lands that later became the base of the hacienda of Palula	1 sitio de venta 6 caballerías	In 1689 litigation with don Alfonso Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, indigenous villages claimed that the core of the expansive hacienda of Palula was a merced of 1 sitio de venta and 6 caballerías described as follows: "el sitio en un despoblado que llaman Palula en el cerro de la casería antiguo donde había algunas paredones y sementeras viejas y las dichas seis caballerías mirando desde dicho cerro al camino Real que va de dicho pueblo de Tepequaquilco las espaldas al sur, en una cañada pegada al dicho sitio de venta." By 1710 Ayala, the son-in-law of Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, had acquired land covered by nine mercedes, which were never precisely named.	AGN-I 30/251

5 Sept. 1605	Pedro de la Piedra Carranza	1 sitio de ganado menor 3 caballerías	Location of the merced was given as "es sobre una loma rasa que corre de norte a sur y así a la mano izquierda mirando al sur están dos cerros redondos el uno mayor que el otro desviao algún trecho el uno del otro y un arroyo que pasa por bajo del dicho sitio que corre de levante a poniente y un cerro muy grande que toma todo el arroyo y viene el camino del dicho pueblo de Iguala por el mismo arroyo y quebradilla que van por el a las colinas de Tetela." De la Piedra was given possession on 14 Oct. 1605 and then stated that he would be unable to work and improve the land. He requested and was granted permission to sell the land, on 2 Nov. 1605 stating that "no embargante que se le había hecho dicha merced del dicho sitio y caballerías de tierras y que se le había dado facultad para venderlo y disponer de ello por las causas que en el, se declara que había sacado el dicho sitio y tierras para Juan Esteban Gausino vecino de la ciudad de México y en su nombre y con su dinero . . . que por estas razones le pertenecía" (AGN-T 3514/2 fol. 41f). Elsewhere (AGN-T 3514/#60) it is stated that de la Piedra sold the land on 2 Nov. 1605 to Juan Esteban Guasino of Mexico City for 750 pesos. Finally, in 1660 (AGN-T 3514/#65) Juan García Ponce stated that his father had bought the land from de la Piedra on 5 Sept. 1614. Although the land undoubtedly passed through the hands of Estevan Guasino, it was clearly owned by García Ponce by the early seventeenth century. The merced was among the titles that the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo had copied in 1690. Nevertheless, it appears that the Colegio sold this land to Sebastián Brito Salgado before 1665, when he rented Oculixtlahuacan to Diego de Soto, keeping for himself access to Tuxtla, Totoapa, and Ahuehepan. In 1715 these lands were composed to don Jorge de Gama; apparently they constituted the base of the sugar hacienda of Oculixtlahuacan, Tuxtla, and Ahuehuepan. In 1714, the size of these holdings was estimated at 2 sitios de ganado mayor and 4 caballerías; the recommended charge for the composición was 50 pesos. Note that in the inventory carried out in 1801, the size of the hacienda Señor San José Oculixtlaguacan (including Totoapa and Agueguepa)was much larger, estimated at over 7.5 sitios.	AGN-T 3514/ #65

????	Juan Mas and Pedro Millán (??)	1 caballería	On 8 June 1645 Juan Mas and Pedro Millán sold Juan García Ponce one caballería "en el pueblo viejo y llano que llaman de Tuspan junto a la dicha laguna." They had received this land in merced (no date given) and it had later been composed (probably in 1643). On 8 June 1645 Mas and Millán also sold four *suertes de tierra* that had a separate history (see entry of 8 Apr. 1623 in this table). The caballería and 4 *suertes* became part of the hacienda of Tepantlan.	AGN-T 3514/#61
2 Oct. 1609	Lic. Agustín de Aguero	3 *suertes*	These three *suertes* were acquired by Aguero from Pablo de Robles, Indian cacique of Huitzuco, who had inherited them from his father. Robles obtained a license to transfer this land to Aguero. Previously, Pedro and Francisco Martínez, also Indians from Huitzuco, had obtained a license to sell Aguero 6 *cascalote* trees at the same site, located in a place called Pololcingo. These *suertes* became part of the hacienda of Tlapala that belonged to doña Antonia Taboada and later to don Manuel Chávez.	AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 1–16

25 May 1610	Nicolás de Nava	4 caballerías	The 4 caballerías were given in merced to Nicolás de Nava, but it was Lic. Agustín de Aguero who was given possession a short time later, on 16 July 1610. The caballerías were located in two different places: "las dos en términos de Tlaxmalaca en el valle de Pololcingo en el sitio nombrado Obstotitlan, y las otras dos en el paraje nombrado Xalapa a la falda de unos cerros que llaman Chilpetitlan desde los cuales solo parece pretenecen a dichas haciendas de Tlapala las dos de Pololcingo." On 5 July 1635, Nicolás de Nava de Tovar stated that Aguero had two caballerías in the Valle de Pololcingo "de que con otras dos en el de Jalapa pretendía se le hiciese merced." Apparently the 2 caballerías at Xalapa became part of the lands of Tlatocan. (See AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 1–16 where it is stated that the northwest edge of the hacienda of Tlapala bordered on lands of Joseph de Castrejón named Xalapa "alias Tlatocan.") The other 2 caballerías became part of the hacienda of Tlapala.	AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 1–16; AGN-T 3514/2
14 June 1610	Francisco Zárate	1 sitio de ganado menor 2 caballerías	The land granted by this merced was located near Tlaxmalac in the places called Tlilapa y Tlalnepantla, "el dicho sitio en el paraje nombrado Tlamiquipatlan a la falda de una serrania grande y las dichas caballerias en la parte donde dicen Tlilapan." During later litigation, witnesses from Mayanalán stated that the sitio was located at Tlanispatlan "a la falda de una serranía grande junto a una cañada y ojo de agua" and that the two caballerías were situated at Tlilapan "que es una cañada a la falda de un cerro alto junto a unos árboles silvestres de guamuchiles, cuyos parajes y tierras son distintas de las que pertenecen a los dichos pueblos." This land became part of the hacienda of Tlapala and, at the end of the seventeenth century, the focus of a bitter dispute between Tlaxmalac and don Manuel de Chávez.	AGN-T 3518/1; AGN-T 1667/1

21 Aug. 1610	Antonio de Nava	1 sitio de ganado mayor 1 sitio de ganado menor	Both these estancias were near Tlaxmalac "uno en pos de otro el de mayor en la parte donde llaman Almolonga y el de menor donde dicen Miagualtamalco." These sitios became part of the hacienda of Tlapala, later owned and litigated by don Manuel Chávez.	AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 1–16
30 June 1611	Antonio de Nava	1 sitio de ganado mayor 2 caballerías	This land is near Tlaxmalac, "en la parte y lugar que llaman Tepantlan a la falda de un cerro alto nombrado Metlaltepeque, y las dos caballerías de tierra en unas lomas frente a un arroyo llamado Achichipico Itzuiapoaloayan [o Achichipico y Siapaloay]." After receiving the merced, Nava immediately (8 July 1611) declared that the lands belonged to Gonzalo Gutierrez Gil, *vecino* of Mexico City, who thus took possession on 21 Jan. 1612. This land was later acquired by Gerónimo de Vera, who sold it to Juan de Campos and Andrés de Pérez. On 19 Feb. 1643, these two men subsequently sold the land to Juan and Alonso García Ponce. This merced formed the heart of the hacienda of Tepantlan bought by the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo and later sold to Br. Lucas de Garay Villavicencio. Eventually, when the litigation involving Tepantlan was settled in 1715, Tepantlan was reduced to the area of this merced alone.	AGN-T 3514/ Quad #59

12 Dec. 1615	Francisco López	1 sitio de ganado mayor 2 caballerías	This merced was located near Tepecuacuilco "en un llano y sabana rasa como una legua pequeña del dicho pueblo entre dos poblaciones antiguas llamadas la una Xalapa y la otra Zacacoyoque que están despobladas y de la una a la otra habrá como una legua, que el centro del dicho sitio ha de ser en medio de las dichas dos poblaciones antiguas que corren de norte a sur hacia el camino que va a Acapulco y pasa por el dicho pueblo de Tepequacuilco y va por el de Zumpango." Four days after receiving the merced, López obtained a license to sell this recently granted land, which undoubtedly came to form part of the holdings of don Antonio de Ayala. In May of 1616, however, López was granted permission to raise ganado menor on the estancia, even though the merced had specified ganado mayor. He had requested this change given the proximity of Indian villages and the greater damage caused to crops by ganado mayor than by ganado menor.	AGN-M 32/fols. 32f–33v; fols. 35v–36f; fols. 151v–152f
21 Mar. 1616	Juan Iturriaga	3 ganado menor	This land was located "en la falda de un cerro que llaman Acamaque y de allií al Tomatal corriendo de norte a sur y oriente a poniente hasta donde alcanzaren los dichos tres sitios lindando por el poniente con la raya de Tasco y por medio de los dichos sitios con el camino que va del dicho pueblo de Tasco al de Tepecuacuilco." The merced was granted over the objections of Iguala and Tepecuacuilco. On 19 July 1616, Iturriaga sold the 3 estancias to Juan García Ponce (father) for 600 pesos. These lands became part of the land litigated as included in the hacienda of Tepantlan. In the early 18th century, Br. Lucas de Garay presented a merced (recipient not named) for 3 sitios de estancias de ganado menor in which Tomatal and Acamac are mentioned; this probably refers to the same lands that had been given in merced to Iturriaga. Lucas de Garay claimed that don Joseph de Soto had encroached on these lands.	AGN-M 31/fols. 64f–65f

19 Apr. 1616	Pedro de Chavarría	1 sitio de ganado menor 1 sitio de ganado mayor	Located near San Andrés: "el dicho sitio de estancia de ganado mayor en términos del dicho pueblo de Tepecuacuilco en una sabanilla ancha en un llano que dicen de Cozomulco y Apazapa linde con tierras de don Melchor de Tornamira, que el dicho sitio corre de oriente a poniente y de norte a sur y el sitio de ganado menor en términos del pueblo de San Andrés sujeto del dicho pueblo de Iguala hacia la banda del sur en un cerro alto pedregoso entre otros dos cerrillos donde están unos arbolillos secos abajo de una cieneguilla que se suele anegar en tiempo de aguas hacia la parte del sur." This land undoubtedly came to form part of the holdings of don Antonio de Ayala.	AGN-M 32/fols. 129v–130v
28 Apr. 1616	Miguel Plano	1 sitio de ganado mayor	Located "junto a un camino real que va de Palula al puerto de Acapulco y río de Mexcala en un carrizal donde está un jacalillo pasando un arroyo seco que atraviesa el mismo camino que corre de norte a sur lindando con tierras de don Melchor Tornamira." This land, apparently located near present-day Xalitla, undoubtedly came to form part of the holdings of don Antonio de Ayala.	AGN-M 31/fols. 85v–86f
date unknown; but it was six years before a merced to Mas, Millán, Nava, and Bautista	????	4 caballerías	In 1711 Joseph Castrejón, owner of Tlatocan, demonstrated that his mercedes (which had probably been given to the original recipient of land that in 1711 belonged to Castrejón) predated those of Mas, Millán, Nava, and Bautista by six years, and that his land had also been admitted into composición. Therefore, his claim to this land should be honored over the pretensions of others. Undoubtedly this land became part of Tlatocan. Unfortunately, there is no clear information on the date of the merced to Mas, Millán, Nava, and Bautista. Castrejón might have been referring to a 1643 composición, or to their acquisition of 4 *suertes* from Chavarrieta. There might also have been some minor border conflict between Tlatocan and Tepantlan.	AGN-T 3514/ cuad. 2

5 May 1616	Sebastián de Rivera	2 sitio de ganado menor	Located near Cocula: "el [uno en] un sitio en un cerrillo que está entre otros dos altos que están así a la parte del poniente junto al pago que llama Zoquiapan legua y media poco más o menos del dicho pueblo de Cocula, y el otro sitio frontera de [el]la [y] hacia la banda de levante y dos a el sol junto a unos arbolillos verdes y por la banda de abajo el llano de Zoquiapan como otra legua del dicho pueblo de Cocula, y a un lado del dicho sitio están tres o cuatro jacalillos nuevos hacia la parte del sur cual parecen eran recién hechos." Despite Cocula's objection, the merced was granted. On 18 July 1616, Rivera declared that these lands belonged to Juan García Ponce (father), who's rights to the land were thus asserted.	AGN-M 31/fols. 95f–96f; AGN-T 3514/ #63
6 Sept. 1616	Francisco de Zárate (*vecino* of Mexico City)	1 ganado mayor	Located "en el puesto que llaman Tlalnepantla junto a Tlapala." [Note that this should not be confused with the 1610 merced given to Zárate by the marqués de Salinas.] This merced became part of the hacienda of Tlapala litigated by don Manuel de Chávez.	AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 1–16
6 Sept. 1616	Francisco de Zárate	1 *potrero*	In Zárate's name, Lic. Agustín de Aguero, *beneficiado* of Zumpango, petitioned for a merced "de un sitio de potrero en mucha cantidad de tierras que tiene suyas propias baldias sin provecho en el Valle de Ostotitlan y Pololcingo." The potrero was two leagues from both Tlaxmalac and Tepecuacuilco. About five years previously these lands had become Zárate's property; presently he had a hacienda and *labor de maíz* on this land. The merced was granted for 50 pesos. This *potrero* became part of the hacienda of Tlapala litigated by don Manuel de Chávez.	AGN-M 31/fols. 195v–196f; AGN-T 80/4

10 Dec. 1616	Francisco de Zárate	1 sitio de ganado menor 4 caballerías	On 15 June 1616 the justice of the partido de Tepecuacuilco was ordered to inspect a site that Zárate had requested in merced, located near Tepecuacuilco "en un llano y rinconada que llaman Cuezcontlan que por la parte del norte lindan con tierras de San Francisco Chiautzingo y por la de oriente con un valle que llaman de Polocingo y por la del poniente con el camino real que va [a] Acapulco." The merced was granted on 10 Dec. 1616. The *estancia* was "al pie de una cerranía alta junto a una abra que viene de Pololcingo en el dicho cerro que corre de oriente a poniente y norte a sur que linda con tierras de el licenciado Agustín de Aguero y las dichas cuatro caballerías de tierra desde el dicho cerro y estancia en un llano que corre hacia el camino real que va de esta ciudad al puerto de Acapulco, donde nace una lagunilla." These lands became part of the hacienda of Tlapala.	AGN-M 31/fol. 130f; AGN-M 31/fols. 244v–245v
22 Dec. 1617	Nicolás de Nava	1 sitio de ganado mayor	Located near Tlaxmalac "en un monte y joya que llaman Cocotlan y Apaxco en unas serranías muy altas y de muy grandes arboledas de robles y ensinales, y corre de oriente a poniente y por el pasa una senda que viene del dicho pueblo de Taxmalaca para la Villa de Cuernavaca."	AGN-M 34/fols. 1v–2f

4 May 1619	Juan Bautista Beneciano	1 *sitio de venta*	Juan Bautista already had a *venta* along the camino real "a la questa que llaman de Pololapa." Now, because of a lack of water there he requested a license to found another *venta* 1 league away at a site called Tzinacantlan or Plantanar. The corregidor of Iguala was ordered to investigate. Despite objections from Iguala, Tepecuacuilco, and Lic. Agustín Aguero, the corregidor and *fiscal* recommended that the license be granted for 50 pesos. Through inheritance, Popolapa eventually became the property of Alonso and Nicolás Mexía, whose sister, doña Ana Mexía Lobo was the wife and then widow of Capn. don Andrés de Cervantes, who bought El Plantanar from Bernardo Mexía Lobo on 27 Jan. 1693. Don Antonio de Ayala was doña Ana Mexía Lobo's nephew, *albacea*, and only heir; he acquired Plantanar. In the early eighteenth century Capn. don Alonso Adán de los Ríos (husband of Ayala's sister, doña Francisca Ayala) established a *capellanía* on this property, lending Ayala 3,000 pesos. In 1807, the *capellán* was don José Fulgencio Nuñez Adán de los Ríos and the owner of the trapiche was don Manuel Nuñez, who was renting it out to don José Batalla. The trapiche was evaluated at 4,134 pesos and publicly offered in auction, with no takers.	AGN-T 2756/11; AGN-Bn 34/10; AGN-BN 1545/45

8 Apr. 1623	Lic. Agustín de Aguero	4 *suertes*	Aguero was *albacea* and *compadre* of doña María González, *india principal* and cacica of Tepecuacuilco. She left him land that she described as follows: "en la laguna tengo cuatro suertes muy grandes de tierras que me dejaron mis padres y abuelos que comunican desde Tochpan." These lands, located just west of Tepantlan, are indicated on the ca. 1690 map accompanying AGN-T 3514. On 16 May 1626 Aguero sold the 4 *suertes* to Martín de Chavarrieta, a *vecino* and miner of Taxco, for 300 pesos. The lands were situated around the lake of Tuxpan; in one of them there was a "melonar." Their location was described as follows: "en una llanada que por la parte del sur están unos cerrillos y hacia la del norte unos sauces y por cerca dellos corre otra suerte de tierra todos las demás según y como las tuvo e poseía la dicha Doña María por patrimonio y herencia de sus antepasados." In 1630 Chavarrieta agreed to let a Pedro Rojas cultivate these lands (no price or time limit is mentioned). On 16 July 1643 Chavarrieta sold these same lands to Juan Mas and Pedro Millán, residents in the jurisdiction of Iguala, for 450 pesos. The 4 *suertes* ran from "el arroyo que divide las tierras de Tochpan hacia los cerrillos que están en el camino que va a Iguala." When they acquired a composición to these lands in 1643 the size was apparently 4 *suertes* and 1 caballería. On 8 June 1645 Mas and Millán sold these 4 *suertes* along with the 1 caballería, located "en el pueblo viejo y llano que llaman de Tuspan junto a la dicha laguna," that they had been given in merced and later composed, to Juan García Ponce for 650 pesos.	AGN-T 3514/ #61

27 July 1626	Manuela de Famallanes	4 caballerías and 51 *cascalote* trees	On 27 July 1626 Manuela de Famallanes, wife of Sebastián de Oya, sold these lands and trees, located in the "labor del Espíritu Santo," to the "causantes" (i.e., previous titleholders) of doña Antonia González Thenorio (the *causante* was probably Lic. Agustín de Aguero, who composed his landholdings in 1651 for 250 pesos). Unfortunately there is no mention of how Oya and Famallanes had acquired this holding. This land became part of the hacienda of Tlapala.	AGN-T 3518/2
26 Jan. 1627	Diego de Minerón (*vecino* of Mexico City)	4 sitios de ganado menor	The viceroy ordered the alcalde mayor of Iguala to investigate the viability of a merced requested by Diego de Minerón of 4 sitios "junto al de San Andrés que los dos de ellos son en el puesto que llaman Ahuehuetlan junto a un río que viene por mitad de dos cerros altos, y los otros dos sitios en el puesto que llaman Yametlapa que corre al de Huahuatlan junto al dicho pueblo de San Andrés sujeto al dicho de Yguala de la otra parte del arroyo como se va al pueblo de Cocula y corre hacia la cruz que llaman Yguala a lindar con la laguna grande que llaman asimismo de Yguala." There is no indication whether the merced was actually granted.	AGN-M 36/fols. 44f–44v
20 Feb. 1632	Don Tomás de Santa Fe	6 caballerías 1 *potrero*	The *potrero* (land for raising horses and mules) ran from "Zoquiapa hasta Quamustitlan por el camino viejo del puerto de Acapulco linde con sitio de estancia de don Melchor de Tornamira." The 6 caballerías bordered on the *potrero* "en dos cienagas que van desde Quacoyula a Aguatlan pasando un pedazo de malpaíz." The merced for the *potrero* was granted for 150 pesos, and that for the 6 caballerías for 100. This merced was found by don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio in the titles of don Antonio de Ayala, owner of the hacienda of Palula.	AGN-M 38/fols. 65f–66v

5 Nov. 1638	Juan Bautista Beneciano	license to found a trapiche	Bautista obtained a license to found a trapiche in Tzinacantlan, also known as El Plantanal, despite objections by Iguala and Tepecuacuilco, as well as by Juan García Ponce, who raised cattle and sheep in this area. However, Bautista's license was revoked on 5 Nov. 1639.	AGN-M 41/fols. 25f–28f
29 May 1659	Doña Juliana Salazar y Monroy vda. de Tornamira	license to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche	On 24 Oct. 1658 Salazar y Monroy requested a license to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche in the Iguala jurisdiction. The license was granted soon thereafter. Although the location of the trapiche is not given in the extant documentation, it was probably located at or near Acayahualco.	AGN-M 49/fols. 161f–161v and 169f–169v
2 Mar. 1660	Blas de Toledo Grimaldo	license to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche	The license is in regard to land near Tlaxmalac and Mayanalán "junto al pueblo de Almolonga, jurisdicción de Iguala, [donde] tenía cantidad de tierras propias y muchas aguas que le pertenecen y que pretendía sembrar en ellas caña dulce y fundar un trapiche para molerla y para hacer azucares y mieles y chancaca." This land became part of the hacienda of Tlapala. However, when Antonia del Valle, Blas de Toledo's widow, sold the hacienda of Tlapala to Pedro de Miranda Tenorio, the sitio of Almolonga was apparently not included. Instead it was given to Blas de Toledo's heirs.	AGN-M 53/fols. 1f–2v; AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 1–16
17 July 1669	Francisco de Cabrera	acquisition of San Miguel Yestla from Huitzuco	On 28 Apr. 1667 the *naturales* of Huitzuco asserted that they had planted sugarcane on lands called San Miguel Yestla. They requested that the corregidor of Iguala be ordered to not prevent them from planting the sugarcane and making molasses and brown sugar in their trapiche. Soon after, however, Huitzuco requested a license to sell Yestla "de que no han tenido ni podido tener aprovechamiento alguno por estar desierto, eriazo y pedregoso y ser muy corto y muy distante de su pueblo y si no les es desprovecho y tienen otras tierras que sembrar." The sale is approved to Francisco de Cabrera for 500 pesos (to be paid at 25 pesos/year).	AGN-I 24/133 and 321

1670-06-04	Dr. don Pedro de Soto	license to found a trapiche	The license was granted for 40 pesos to found a trapiche on lands called San Miguel, on which de Soto had already been planting sugarcane.	AGN-M 55/fols. 97v–98f
23 Mar. 1675	Matheo Vallejo	1 sitio de ganado mayor 4 caballerías	This land was located near Iguala and Tepecuacuilco "en el paraje que llaman de Tepoz[on]alco el Viejo," over 10 leagues from Iguala and Tepecuacuilco and 7 from the nearest village, Cocula. To the west the land bordered on the "aguas vertientes de la serranía de Quezalan," to the south with the Balsas River, to the east with "la joya que se nombra Xocotitlan," and to the north with the "paraje y cerros que llaman de Titla." The lands granted in merced had been "eriazo y despoblado" for over 80 years. The merced was issued for 200 pesos. On 14 Oct. 1679 the justice of Iguala was ordered to study whether a license to plant sugarcane and found a trapiche should be granted to Vallejo, who said he had 1 sitio de ganado mayor and 4 caballerías propitious to planting sugarcane and making sugar. By 1710, the trapiche of Tepozonalco belonged to Br. don Pedro de Soto y Acuña, who was also the beneficiary of a 4,000 pesos *capellanía* attached to this land. He rented the land out in part or whole.	AGN-M 58/fols. 46v–47v; AGN-M 59/fols. 285f–285v; AGN-GP 31/105; AGN-I 22/99
7 Apr. 1693	Don Joseph de Soto (*vecino* of the Real y Minas de Taxco)	2 caballerías	These 2 caballerías, located in a place called Cuautla, had the following borders: "por una parte las de la serranía del Plantanar, y por otra un cerro pelado que llaman El Reparo, y por otra la serranía del pueblo nuevo, y por otra con tierras del pueblo de Yguala." The merced was granted for 50 pesos and possession was given on 21 Apr. 1693. After the merced was granted, Bernardo Mexía Lobo protested, claiming that de Soto had been given a sitio named Cuitlacuachiapa, which belonged to Mexía Lobo. The protest is denied and on 30 Jan. 1694 the merced and possession to de Soto was upheld.	AGN-M 63/fols. 37v–39f; AGN-M 63/fols. 62f–66f

18 Sept. 1693	Capitán don Andrés de Cervantes (*vecino* of the Real y Minas de Taxco)	license for a trapiche (also included was a license to found a *venta* and to slaughter cattle)	Cervantes had 1 caballería at Cinacatlan (or El Plantanillo) that he had bought from Bernardo Mexía Lob. However, when Cervantes was given the papers by Mexía Lobo, he was only given the original merced to establish a trapiche along with two other licenses, one to found a *venta* and another to bring 20 cows to the trapiche and slaughter one steer each week. The other titles had been lost. The present document is a confirmation and approval of the licenses (one original license was dated 25 Oct. 1635). In addition, Cervantes requested that the caballería be entered into composición for 30 pesos. This request is granted. Probably this land had originally been acquired and composed by Juan Bautista Beneciano.	AGN-M 63/fols. 54f–55f
13 June 1697	Juan Rodríguez	1 caballería	After giving Tepecuacuilco its composición, the *juez de tierras* noted that "se hallaba unas tierras más allá de la que estén poseyendo los naturales de hacia la parte del poniente que llaman Tepatlastitlan que tenía como una caballería de tierras." The lands are *realengas* and were sold to the highest bidder, Juan Rodríguez, for 40 pesos. In 1711 Rodríguez stated that he had been farming land in the vicinity of Tepecuacuilco for 30 years and that he also had a small ranch named Tepatlastitlan that he had acquired in 1697, in a *remate* of *realenga* land. The land was estimated to include 1 sitio de ganado menor, for which Rodríguez obtained a composición in 1711.	AGN-T 3514/2; AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 36–95
3 July 1697 (date of possession)	Don Juan de Soto y Acuña	4 caballerías	The *juez de tierra* auctioned off *realenga* lands, in this case 4 caballerías at Agua de Manteca, to the highest bidder. The land was acquired by don Juan de Soto y Acuña in this *remate* of *realenga* land and came to form part of the de Soto y Acuña family's properties around Cocula.	AGN-T 3518/2 fols. 36–95

8 June 1697	Antonio Rodríguez de Molina	2.5 caballerías	After the lands of all concerned parties in the Iguala jurisdiction had been composed, the *juez de tierra,* Capn. don Francisco Antonio Ortiz de Herrera, auctioned off *realenga* lands to the highest bidder. Included were approximately 2.5 caballerías that ran from "el caño de Yguala donde están amojonados los indios de Tepequaquilco; por la parte del sur lindan con tierras que eran de doña Juliana de Salazar, por la parte del norte lindan con la laguna de Tuspa donde llaman las lagunillas, por la parte del oriente lindan con tierras de Tuspa que llaman los Cerritos, y por la parte del poniente lindan con el puesto que llaman los Quautecomates y desde esta tierra dan con tierras de Joseph de Soto." In 1697 these lands were sold to Antonio Rodríguez in this *remate* of *realenga* land for 100 pesos. In the 1711 composición, the aforementioned land was found to contain 3.5 caballerías, one more than the 2.5 expressed in the original titles. Described as "muy espinable [que] no poder servir sino para estancia de ganado mayor," the land was priced at 20 pesos. In 1719 the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo objected to the composición. The present document does not include a definitive solution to the case, although it appears certain that the Colegio lost their protest.	AGN-T 3514/1 fols. 146–215

16 Aug. 1712	Don Pedro de Ocampo	3 sitios de ganado mayor	This is an approval and composición of a *remate* given by the *juez comisionado de tierras* for the jurisdiction of Cuernavaca, don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio, to Pedro de Ocampo for two sitios de ganado mayor in depopulated land. The placenames of the land are: Cuauchititlan, Chiaucingo, El Potrero de Gallegos, Teocalgo [sic, probably for Teocalcingo], and Tlaquitalapa [sic, probably for Tlalquetzalapa or Quetzalapa], all located at the foothills of the Ocotlán sierra. This land bordered to the east with the Teocaltzingo river, to the west with the Ocotlán sierra, to the north with lands of the Temisco *ingenio*, and to the south with lands of Huitzuco. The land given to Ocampo had been depopulated for 40 years, although signs of previous settlement were still visible. Later Ocampo's land came to form part of the Chiaucingo hacienda of don Joseph and don Juan Marbán. Note that in this document (AGN-T 3566/5), three times between folios 8f and 10f either the number "3" or word "tres" has been written over and changed to "13" and "trece" in an obvious attempt by the Marbanes to provide (false) documentation for the additional land that they were attempting to take over.	AGN-T 3566/5
10 Mar. 1729	Bachiller don Thomás de Soto y Acuña	license to found a trapiche	A license was given to various members of the de Soto y Acuña family including Br. don Thomás de Soto y Acuña, his father don Juan de Soto y Acuña, and his uncles and aunts Br. don Joseph, doña Francisca, doña María, and doña Theresa de Soto y Acuña, all owners of the Atlixtac hacienda. The license was granted for 75 pesos.	AGN-M 73/fols. 42f–43f
7 June 1730	Matheo de Medina	Tecomapa	The *juez privativo de tierras* adjudged land at Tecomapa to Matheo de Medina; this was confirmed on 20 May 1734. Although the land was given by the *juez privativo de* composiciones this, as with similar cases, should probably be considered a *remate* of *realenga* land and not a composición.	AGN-M 73/fols. 98f–98v

9 Nov. 1795	Don Antonio Pérez (owner of a trapiche in the jurisdiction of Iguala)	denounces *realenga* land	Pérez requested *realenga* lands around Cocula, stating that the 1644 composición for 200 pesos gave them only the 600 *varas* they were legally entitled by virtue of being an indigenous village. He accused Cocula of renting their lands to outsiders and the *governadores* of enriching themselves with the rents. Finally, he also denounced other land that the indigenous village of Cuetzala possessed beyond the 600 *varas* of the *fundo legal* (the minimum land to which villages were entitled).	AGN-M 83/fols. 107f–108f

Appendix 5c

Mercedes, Acquisitions from Indians, Licenses and *Remates* of *Realenga* Lands Private Holdings in the Jurisdiction of Tixtla

DATE OF MERCED OR LICENSE	RECEIVED BY	NATURE OF GRANT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	SOURCE
4 Oct. 1550	Martín de Ircio	approval of previous Indian land sale to de Ircio	On 7 Jan. 1539 de Ircio had bought 3 parcels of land from Martín Mayaque, cacique of Tixtla, and other *principales.* The land is located near "Uchistlan" [sic, perhaps for Mochitlán]. In 1550 the crown confirmed the sale by granting a merced.	AGN-M 3/491
18 Mar. 1551	Martín de Ircio	confirmation of a previous merced	Dircio had been given a merced for land near Tixtla, "do[nde] dicen Coauquyula [donde] tenía asentadas unas estancias de ganado mayor y que demás de estas en su daño y perjuiciio les tenían ocupadas ciertas tierras con las dichas estancias." The *naturales* of Tixtla had recently tried to farm these lands; in response the viceroy confirmed a previous merced to de Ircio (no date given).	AGN-M 3/753
10 Dec. 1560	Doña María de Mendoza (wife of Martín de Ircio)	2 *sitios de* sitio de venta	Located "en los despoblados del camino de Acapulco el uno al remate de los llanos de Quacoyula junto a un cerro grande y la otra en Mazatlán en términos de los pueblos de Mochitlán y Atliaca y Tistla."	AGN-M 5/fol. 177f
11 July 1567	Don Luis de Velasco	1 sitio de venta	Located near Tixtla "junto a un arroyo al principio de un llano que se dice Coacoyula una legua poco más o menos de la estancia de Coacoyula sujeto al dicho pueblo de Tiztla o un poco más arriba por donde pasare el camino real que va e fuere al puerto de Acapulco." Note the implication that the camino real was being built at this time. Land speculation had begun.	AGN-M 9/fols. 119v–120f

11 July 1567	Don Luis de Velasco	1 sitio de venta	Located “en el camino real que va de esta ciudad al puerto de Acapulco de la una parte del río de Giquipila hacia el pueblo de Sutetepeque y en términos de un alto que está junto al camino real en donde fuere el paso o puente del dicho río y se mudare el dicho camino.”	AGN-M 9/fols. 120f–120v
12 July 1567	Baltasar de la Serna	1 sitio de ganado mayor	Located “junto a un arroyo cercado cerca de un llano que se dice Mazatlán media legua poco más o menos de una estancia de vacas que en los dichos llanos está poblada de doña María de Mendoza.”	AGN-M 9/fols. 122f–122v
1583	Joan de la Serna	3 caballerías	In 1580 Joan de la Serna requested land near Tixtla and Mochitlán “en unos llanos que hay entre unos cerros que llaman La Cabaña de Totolozticpan y otros cerros que llaman Milqueipan y Chichiquila.” The land was located near Acapizatlan, on the camino real to Acapulco. In 1583 Baltazar de la Serna, Joan’s brother, presented a viceregal dispatch to the alcalde mayor of Chilapa ordering him to carry out the necessary proceedings in regards to the merced request. The alcalde mayor recommended that the merced be granted.	AGN-T 2723/34
29 Oct. 1590	Pedro Sánchez Moreno	1 sitio de ganado menor	Located near Zumpango “como dos leguas de el junto a un arroyo y al camino que va al pueblo de Chichijualco en unos cerros.” The original request for the merced had been made by Pedro Sánchez Moreno’s father, Gaspar Moreno, deceased by 1590. Zumpango had objected and new proceedings had been carried out, resulting in the present merced.	AGN-M 15/fols. 274v–275f
2 June 1593	Antonio Gómez	1 sitio de venta 1.5 caballerías	Located near Tixtla “entre la estancia de Quacoyula y Mazatlán junto a un arroyo a el pie de una cuesta como van a la dicha estancia de Cuacoyula más caballería y media de tierra para el servisio de la dicha venta el arroyo abajo.”	AGN-M 18/fols. 251v–252v

2 Feb. 1615	Alonso de la Torre	1 sitio de ganado menor 4 caballerías	Located near Apango and Amula "que es en una vega llana sin árboles cuatro leguas poco más o menos del dicho pueblo de Apango sobre la mano izquierda del camino real que sale del dicho pueblo y por el se va un cuarto de legua camino de Acapulco y en una cruz se aparta una vereda a mano izquierda que va a dar a las dichas tierras y el dicho camino que da por lindero y una manantial que se dice Almolonga . . . linda con un cerro que llaman Tesquatepetl." On 11 Aug. 1618 Alonso de la Torre and his wife, María Bolaños, residents of Puebla, sold this land along with 15 steer, 40 fanegas of maize, some houses, and other equipment to the *beneficiado* of Tixtla "y los suyos" for 500 pesos. The land is then donated to the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo.	AGN-T 3395/6 and 7
21 Feb. 1615	Zumpango	1 sitio de venta	The viceroy ordered the justicia of Tixtla to carry out the necessary proceedings in regard to a request by Zumpango for a *sitio de venta* on the Acapulco camino real. The *sitio de venta* was "en la parte que dicen Zopiloquautitlan" (probably modern-day Cañon del Zopilote) located where pack animal trains pass by, 3 leagues from Zumpango.	AGN-M 30/fol. 92f

20 May 1616	Joan de Castro	4 caballerías	The 4 caballerías were located "en el paraje que llaman Tecolomola un cuarto de legua del dicho pueblo en el camino que va a Mochitlán pasada la última puente; por la parte del poniente linde un arroyo seco que sale de la quebrada nombrada Tecolomolan por donde los indios del dicho pueblo de Tistla ponen una cerca, y por parte del oriente un malpaís y cerros pequeños, y por la del norte está el dicho llano tomando la punta del dicho malpaís desde un árbol grande y una senda que va hasta dar al dicho arroyo seco, y por el medio del llano pasa el camino." On 2 Aug. 1622 Castro stated that the merced was on land belonging to Br. Antonio Domínguez, *beneficiado* of Tixtla "por haberlas sacado para el susodicho." On 4 Sept. 1624 Domínguez sold the 4 caballerías to the Compañía de Jesús for 650 pesos. He stated that the lands had belonged to the *governador* of Tixtla, don Baltasar de Sandoval, who left the property to Domínguez in his will (AGN-T 3395/9).	AGN-M 32/fols. 163v–165f
8 June 1616	Francisco Hernández Mellado	1 sitio de venta 2 caballerías	The merced was for land located near Tixtla, Acapizatlan, and Chilpancingo, "frontera de la heredad del dicho Francisco Hernández en la parte y lugar que dicen Atlamaxac en el camino real que viene del puerto de Acapulco a esta ciudad entre los dichos pueblos de Chilpancingo y Acapizatlan." The merced was granted under the condition that "dentro del dicho año tenga labrada y edificada la dicha venta con sus descargaderos para las requas y pasajeros que a ella llegaren y con condición que haya de guardar y guarde el arancel que le pusiera la justicia de la dicha provincia del precio como ha de vender los bastimentos."	AGN-M 32/fols. 181f–182v

7 July 1616	Martín López de Gavra	1 sitio de ganado menor 2 caballerías	Located near Acapizatlan "que empieza desde donde acaba la raya y término de Chilpancingo camino real del puerto de Acapulco como van a dar a la hacienda de Francisco Hernández a mano derecha." Gavra's land became part of the hacienda of Tepango; his title was included in the documents of the *causantes* of this hacienda.	AGN-T 2725/1
1619	Compañía de Jesús	grazing rights	On 3 Sept. 1619 the *naturales* of Tixtla presented a map showing that they owned "un pedazo de tierra términos de Tesalcingo y Socoatitlan en que hacen sus sementeras de chile y maíz de temporal y riego de que se aprovecha en algunos laderos de las dichas partes a pacentar sus caballos y mulas y los de los soldados y arrieros." They objected to a dispatch that the Jesuits recently obtained that allowed them to pasture their sheep and goats on this land; in response the *naturales* offered to give the Jesuits different land as pasture.	AGN-T 2725/22
13 Oct. 1620	———	3 pedazos de tierra y un herido de molino	Note that this document apparently refers to a reacquisition of land by the naturales of Mochitlán. In 1620 they received an *amparo* and an order that the *justicia* of Tixtla measure and set boundaries to their land. They had stated that they had bought 3 parcels of land and an *herido de molino* from doña María de Ircio y Velasco, widow of don Juan Altamirano, caballero de la orden de Santiago for 300 pesos. Their request (hereby granted) was that these lands be measured and they be protected (*amparado*) in their possession. Note that this process probably involved land previously granted in merced to Dircio or Velasco that was now reaquired by the *naturales* of Mochitlán.	AGN-I 9/261

27 July 1630	Don Pedro de Sosa y Torres (*factor* of Acapulco)	1 sitio de venta	The *naturales* of Tixtla, Tutepec, Cuacoyula, and Tlacotepec objected to Sosa y Torres' request for a merced for a *sitio de venta*. They claimed that the land requested ws "tierra propria de los dichos naturales heredada de sus antepasados desde la gentilidad y como dueños de ella averlo gozado, cultivado y coxido muchas fructas, cacao y caña dulze, plantanos, pinales, cemeteras de melones, algodón, chile, repita, tomates, calavaza y otras legumbres." The lands are said to be fertile, needed to meet tribute payments, and necessary to avoid the total ruin of the villages. The viceroy orders that the *juez* undertake the necessary investigation to determine if the merced should be granted. There is no clear indication whether or not it was.	AGN-I 10(1)/281
22 Dec. 1658	Capn. Diego Zorrilla de la Peña	License to plant sugarcane and found a *trapiche*	Zorrilla de la Peña, owner of the agricultural and cattle haciendas of Mazatlán and Quacoyula, reported that because his property was over 80 leagues distant from Mexico City and Puebla it was lacking "azúcares y mieles para su abasto que le es muy costoso por no haber en toda aquella jurisdicción ingenios donde comprarla." His petition for a license to plant and process sugarcane is granted.	AGN-M 49/fols. 160v–161v; AGN-M 49/fols. 163f–164f
16 Sept. 1694	Juan Hurtado de Mendoza	License to plant cacao trees on his own lands in the jurisdiction of Tixtla	Juan de Hurtado Mendoza states himself to be "vecino y dueño de hacienda en la jurisdicción de Tistla." He mentions that he bought 2 sitios de ganado mayor in the said jurisdiction where he presently has "algunos árboles cacaguatales antiguos." He has plans to plant additional trees and requests a license to do so. The viceroy grants the request; AGN-M 64/fols. 11v–12f.	

27 Nov. 1694	Capn. D. Gregorio de Ursua (*vecino* in the jurisdiction of Tixtla)	License granted for a trapiche to process sugarcane	Capn. don Gregorio de Ursua mentions that he owns some lands at a place called Soyatepec, located over 60 leagues from Mexico City. On these lands "tiene unos pedacillos de siembras de cañas dulces de castilla y un molino o trapiche en que hace mieles y panochas." Having understood now that he could not do this without a proper license, he submits his request for the granting of the required license. The fiscal is given the request and suggests that the composición be granted "en la misma cantidad con que han contribuido los demás de eta jurisdicción y debajo de las mismas calidades y condiciones." The composición is authoritized for 100 pesos; AGN-M 64/fols. 33v–34f.	
7 Oct. 1717	Capn. don Francisco Fernández de Olais	2 sitio de ganado mayor	This is a *remate* for San Andrés Amula's two sitios de ganado mayor. The handful of Indians living in Amula (four families and a few single and widowered men) did not object to the grant and offer to go live in their cabecera, Apango. The *remate* was granted for 200 pesos and confirmed on 17 Nov. 1717.	AGN-T 2727/1; AGN-GP 24/307; AGN-M 70/fols. 53f–54v
15 Mar. 1719	Don Francisco de Barreda *(vecino y dueño de trapiche* in the Tixtla jurisdiction)	½ sitio de ganado mayor	Approval and confirmation of a *remate* for a parcel named Tepechicotlan "por dejación que de él hicieron en toda forma los naturales de Santa Ana Mochitlán en escripto que presentaron refiriendo en él no necesitarlo por la abundancia de tierras que poseen." The *remate* was approved for 400 pesos.	AGN-M 70/fols. 71f–71v
14 Nov. 1771	Don Raphael Canales *(vecino* of Tixtla)		Approval of a *remate* of land named Tecolomulan, size not mentioned, for 110 pesos. The *naturales* of Tixtla had sought and obtained a license to sell the land in order to buy church ornaments.	AGN-I 63/62

1790	Bartolomé Rodríguez (*vecino* of Zumpango)	200 leagues in circumference	Rodríguez requested a merced of lands "de cañada barrancosa entre unos cerros nombrados Santa Bárbara que tendrán cerca de una caballería, los mas estériles con tal qual pedazo que puede ser útil beneficiándolo; que linda por el oriente con tierras de Mazatlán, por el norte con las mismas, por el poniente con el pueblo de Tlacotepec y Tixtlanzingo, y por el sur con la venta de Dos Arroyos; cuyas tierras se hallan desiertas y valdías y por consiguiente realengas." After the *subdelegado* noted that the land's circumference ran to 200 leagues, Rodríguez desisted from his petition, given the high cost of the necessary proceedings, including the salaries of armed guards.	AGN-T 1209/9

Appendix 5d

Composiciones of Private Land
Jurisdiction of Taxco

DATE	OWNER	PROPERTY NAME AND SIZE	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	SOURCE
4 July 1676	Joseph de Valle (*vecino* of the Real y Minas de Taxco)	1 sitio de ganado mayor 1 sitio de venta	The composición was given to this land, which had previously belonged to Julian Ybañes Morillas and Martín de Herrera, for 50 pesos. The location of the land is not mentioned.	AGN-M 59/fols. 190f–190v
6 Sept. 1713	Phelipe de Alemán	"rancho de temporal y las tierras de que se compone"	On 21 Jan. 1717 Alemán responded to an edict and requested confirmation of the 1713 composition. This was granted for an additional 25 pesos. The location of the land is not given.	AGN-M 71/fols. 5v–6f
31 Oct. 1715	Don Jorge de Gama	2 g. mayor 4 caballerías Oculixtlahuacan; Ahuehuepa; Tuxtla	Despite litigation by the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas confirmed the composición 31 Oct. 1715 (cf. entry under Lorenzo Rodríguez de Molina in the table of composiciones for the Iguala jurisdiction). Possession to this land was given by the judge carrying out a commission in the Iguala jurisdiction. The properties of Oculixtlahuacan, Ahuehuepa, and Tuxtla were acquired from the heirs of Bernardo Martínez.	AGN-T 3518/2 (fols. 36–95; and fols. 96–142)
28 Mar. 1744	Joachín Nicolás and Mathías de Estudillo (brothers)	*hacienda de minas* that included an estancia de ganado mayor Santiago Tlamanilala (alias Juliantla)	Approval and confirmation of a composición for 40 pesos. The *hacienda de minas* included an estancia de ganado mayor, as certified in a 14 Mar. 1713 dispatch issued by the *juez privativo de tierras*. This suggests that composiciones were carried out in the Taxco jurisdiction during the early eighteenth century.	AGN-M 77/fols. 1v–2f
1773–74	Don Miguel Leonardo de	Rancho Santa María	For all the composiciones that follow at this time, the	AGN-T 3130/2

	Figueroa		document (AGN-T 3130/2) states that information was received from the landowner; the titles and transcript were presented to the *juez privativo de tierras* for approval and confirmation. Unfortunately, in no case is the land size given.	
1773–74	Don Pablo Marquina	Rancho Ycatepec		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Manuel de Viedma	Lands named Toleda (alias Totolotla)		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Joachin de Espinaborros	Rancho Huistaca	Don Joachin de Espinaborros rented these lands; the owner's name is not given.	AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Joseph Baena	Rancho San Pedro		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Miguel Ruiz	Rancho El Bosque		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Joseph Parral	Rancho Juliantla		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Doña María Mónica Ramírez	Rancho El Cerro Gordo		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Doña María Marbán	Rancho San Phelipe		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Miguel de Figueroa	Lands called El Bosque		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Phelipe Alemán	Rancho Guuimatla		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Doña Gerónima de Ocampo y Nava	Trapiche La Puente		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Lic. Don Juan Roldán y Maldonado *(beneficiado* and ecclesiastical judge of Tepecuacuilco)	Hacienda Pantla		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Vicente Molina y	Rancho Acamapa		AGN-T 3130/2

	consortes			
1773–74	Don Miguel Ocampo	Lands of Tehuilotepec and Alquisuaya		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Gregorio de la Zota	House site and horticulture plot		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Joseph de la Borda	Lands in the cuadrilla of San Juan de la Cruz del Monte (alias Tenería)		AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Capitán Don Ygnacio Gemir	Rancho Ojo de Agua	Gemir did not present the titles to his ranch.	AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Francisco Salinas	Trapiche Tempantlan	Salinas did not present the titles to his trapiche.	AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Isidro Román (Spaniard, *vecino* of Teloloapan)		Román did not present the titles to his land, which is not named in this document.	AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Pedro Zorrilla (administrator)	Hacienda Zacapalco	Zorrilla did not present the titles to the land he administered.	AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Miguel and Don Salvador de Ocampo	*Rancho de laborio y ganado mayor* named Buenavista	The Ocampos did not present titles to their lands.	AGN-T 3130/2
1773–74	Don Antonio Alvarez	Rancho Oculixtlahuacan	Alvarez did not present the titles to his ranch.	AGN-T 3130/2

In regard to the composiciones of 1643, in AGN-M 46/fols. 202f–205f (dated 8 July 1643) there is a commission to don Alonso de Segura y Monroy to go to the jurisdictions of Tuchimilco and Taxco and "haga medida de todas las tierras que se poseen y aberigue con que títulos y de la importancia que son y admitiendo a composición a los poseedores remita los autos." He should "prosiga a las diligencias de medidas de tierras que se comensaron por el señora Marqués de Cadereyta [1635–40] y que admita a composición a los que poseyeren tierras y aguas sin títulos bastantes."

There is also documentation on composiciones for 1773 and 1774 in AGN-T 3130/2: "Autos formados por el juez comisario de composiciones de tierras y aguas a consecuencia de la publicación de la cédula relativa en el Real y Minas de Taxco." This document is divided into sections, one referring to Taxco and

the other to Iguala (see appendix 5e). The subjects listed is these two appendixes (5d and 5e) for these years presented their documents, titles, and mercedes; apparently in no case was additional money paid for a composition. Unfortunately, the size of the holdings is not given for either jurisdiction.

Appendix 5e

Composiciones of Private Land: Jurisdiction of Iguala, 1773

OWNER	LAND
Adame, don Manuel de (*vecino* of Chilpancingo)	Xuchipala (ranch and lands)
Alvarez, don Juan	Yetla (*trapichillo*)
Borda, don Jopseh de ("minero matriculado más antiguo del Real de Taxco")	Palula ("con escripto, título y mercedes de sus tierras y ranchos en esta provincia de Yguala nombrado Palula")
Días, don Juan	Tlatocan (ranch and lands)
Madrid, don Santiago de la ("español de los Reynos de Castilla, vecino y del comersio del pueblo y cabecera de Tepecuacuilco")	Tlapala (lands and ranches)
Marquina, don Pablo	Ycatepeque (lands and ranch; Note: listed as being in the jurisdiction of Taxco and province of Iguala)
Nava, don Francisco de (don Miguel de Figueroa appeared for the heirs of Nava)	Ocotlán del Monte and El Salitre (lands of)
Orduña, don Francisco	Tepastitlan (land and ranch)
Pilar de Soto y Acuña, *licenciado* don Juan de	Atiztaca ("con escripto, títulos y mercedes de su hacienda y teirras nombradas Atiztaca")
Raphael, don Simón Joseph	Tecomapa (ranch and lands)
Román, don Ysidro ("español vesino del pueblo y cabesera de Teloloapan")	No titles presented
Soto, don Miguel de	Ayuquilapa (lands of a ranch)
Uriosigui, don Joseph	"con escripto y unos papeles de capellanía de el Jusgado Esclesiástico de Capellanías y

	Obras Pías de el Arzobispado de México"
Viedma, don Joseph de ("minero matriculado en dicho Real de Taxco")	Xochiquetla y Carrisal (lands and ranches)
Zavaleta, don Andrés de (*vecino* of Tepecuacuilco)	Yanquicapa (ranch, near the lands of Tepantlan, a hacienda and trapiche belonging to don Francisco Salinas)

The following villages also presented their titles at this time: San Andrés Tuxpan, Santiago Huitzuco, Xochipala, Cocula, Tlaxmalac, Mayanalán, and Iguala.

Source: AGN-T 3130/2

Appendix 5f

Composiciones of Private Land
Jurisdiction of Tixtla

DATE	OWNER	PROPERTY NAME AND SIZE	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	SOURCE
14 Nov. 1643	Don Franco López del Castillo	1 sitio de ganado menor 2 caballerías	This land was located near Acapizatlan on the camino real to Acapulco. It ran from the hacienda of Francisco Hernández Mellado "por la falda de unos cerros nombrados de Ocotepec y Tecoanapa." The land was admitted in composición for 100 pesos. Apparently this land, called Jonacacingo and near Chilpancingo, later became property of Nicolás Romero and his mother María de los Ramos, who sold it to Diego Franco on 10 Jan. 1681 for 300 pesos. It came to form part of the hacienda of Tepango.	AGN-T 2725/21
31 Dec. 1643	Joan Romero de los Santos	1 fanega of land 1 caballería	On this date titles were expedited for 300 pesos that admitted into composición land of various *vecinos de razón* of Chilpancingo. This included property of Joan Romero de los Santos: "unos pedazos de tierras que tenía arrendadas a unos indios y junto a ellos otro pedazo en que cabía una fanega de sembradura y una caballería de tierra para pastar sus ganados de que les hizo merced y de los aguas que poseían y de las sobras y demasias que tenían y les suplió y despensó todos y cualesquier faltas y defectos." This land later became part of the hacienda of Tepango.	AGN-T 2725/21

19 Sept. 1702	Juan Hurtado de Mendoza	No size given Acahuizotla Acapizatlan Amaixtlahuacan Coacoyula Estotlatlauca Itzcuinatoyac Mazatlán Quaxiniquilapan Salinas Xaliaca Zoyatepec	This is an approval and confirmation of a composición. Of the entire landholding, defects were found only with the titles of Xaliaca and Estotlatlauca, two sitios de ganado mayor located "en partes remotas y despobladas distantes más de 20 leguas de las poblaciones más cercanas." Apparently Hurtado de Mendoza paid 200 pesos for these two additional *sitios*.	AGN-M 66/fols. 113f–113v; AGM-M 67/fols. 288v–289v
25 Oct. 1709	Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza	1 sitio de ganado mayor (additional) haciendas in the jurisdictions of Tixtla and Acapulco	Approval and confirmation of a composición. Having presented his titles, Hurtado de Mendoza was found to hold one sitio de ganado mayor of *realenga* land, which was admitted into composición.	AGN-M 68/fols. 52f–53f

15 Nov. 1709	Juan and Joseph Astudillo (*vecinos* of Tixtla)	1 caballería 1 *naranja de agua* rancho San Juan Osochinapa	Juan and Joseph Astudillo asked the *juez de tierras* don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio for composición of these lands. They presented their titles and requested possession of the water of a brook that ran down from a hill called Xaltepec. One parcel had originally belonged to Don Balthasar de Sandoval, a *natural y principal* of Tixtla, before passing to a relative, Nicolás de Armenta. Another belonged to Ana Francisco, Sandoval's widow. Sandoval had left both land and a house on the condition that the income they produced would be used to pay for masses. On 9 March 1689 the bishop had the land and house appraised; they were worth 30 and 40 pesos, respectively, and a censo was drawn up for the *beneficiado* of Tixtla for 3.5 pesos/year. Armenta and Francisco had ceded the property to Nicolás Benítez on the condition that he pay for the masses. On 4 May 1694 Benítez sold the two parcels to Nicolás de Acosta and Ana María de Villalobos for 70 pesos; they agreed to pay the 3.5 pesos interest, and guaranteed this with their trapiche of San Juan Osochinapa as collateral. On 11 Jan. 1703 Juan and Joseph Astudillo bought Osochinapa and the two parcels for 200 pesos from Ana María de Villalobos (the widow of Nicolás de Acosta), from her son Nicolás de Acosta, and from Juan de la Parra, husband of Ana de Acosta. In 1709 the land and brook were appraised for 250 pesos. The Astudillo brothers requested that a composición be accepted for 20 pesos. The land was located about one-half a league from Tixtla, bordering to the east and north with village lands and to the south and west with lands of the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo.	AGN-T 2720/11

11 Dec. 1709	Juan and Joseph Astudillo	1 caballería 1 *naranja de agua* trapiche of San Juan Ayosinapa	In 1714 Juan and Joseph Astudillo sold this land to don Diego Carlos Carbonera.	AGN-T 3603/9
29 Jan. 1710	Doña María Rosa Franco y Villarubio	2 sitio de ganado menor 2.5 caballerías Tepango	Don Juan de Arcos, from Tixtla, was married to doña María Rosa Franco y Villarubio, who had inherited this land from her father, Diego Franco. Arcos presented the titles to the hacienda, which comprised 2 sitios ganado menor and 2 caballerías. The land was valued at 600 pesos. Franco owned both the trapiche Tepango and the hacienda de ganado mayor Chichihualco. She complained to D. Juan de la Vega Cansio that despite her titles, the previous *juez* had tried to sell part of her land to the Indians of Chilpancingo and Acapizatlan. This land had previously been composed in 1643 for 100 pesos, apparently by its then owner, López del Castillo.	AGN-T 2725/21
2 Sept. 1710	Tixtla: *españoles, mestizos y mulatos*	147 individuals house sites	In early 1710 don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio granted the composición for 30 pesos. D. Francisco Valenzuela Benegas approved and confirmed it on 2 Sept. 1710. A study of the document reveals that although only 99 individuals and 101 house sites (*solalres*) are listed (and were "composed"), another 48 names appear as neighbors of the individuals who obtained composiciones. Twenty of these have their non-Indian ethnic status mentioned; the other 28 are probably mostly non-Indian as well. Thus it seems that the probable actual number of *vecinos de razón* was close to 147.	AGN-T 2725/22; AGN-T 2732/23

1716	Don Diego Carlos Carbonera	trapiche of San Juan Ayosinapa	Title was given in 1709, and apparently approved in 1716. The *juez privativo de tierras y aguas* for Tixtla was Lic. don Felix Suárez de Figueroa. The land of this composición was located south of Tixtla and bordered to the south and west with lands of the Companía de Jesus. The administrator was Capn. Don Francisco de Avila.	AGN-T 3603/9 (Buscas 8 June 1953)
1716	Joseph and Juan de Astudillo	Planted with 1 *suerte* of sugarcane a ranch annexed to the hacienda of Ayosinapa	Joseph and Juan de Astudillo, brothers, had bought this land from don Diego Carlos Carbonera.	AGN-T 3603/9
1716	Cristobal Sánchez Cabello (*vecino* of Tixtla, deceased by 1716)	Over 1 caballería and approx. 1 *limón de agua* Rancho Soconantitlan	The land had been bought from five Indians; Cavello had not previously composed it because of his ill health.	AGN-T 3603/9
1716	Capn. Don Juan Hurtado Mendoza	Aprox. 250 *sitios g. mayor* 20 caballerías Acahuizotla Agua Escondida Amaixtlahuacan Cacahuatla Dos Arroyos Mazatlan Peregrino Quaxiniquilapan Zoyatepec	The following were *ventas* along the camino real to Acapulco: Acahuizotla, Cacahuatla, Dos Arroyos, and Quaxinequilapan. Amixtlahuacan was a hacienda de ganado mayor; in Zoyatepec and Mazatlán sugarcane was planted, and on the former there was a mill. No mention of whether Agua Escondida was a hacienda or *venta*. The haciendas and *ventas* were said to comprise "250 sitios de ganado mayor, poco más o menos, y 20 caballerías de tierras." The boundaries ran from Brea to Chichihualco, bordering on Zumpango, Chilpancingo, and Petaquillas to the Omitlán River and then followed the Peregrino River to the lands of Cacahuatepec. The boundaries covered an estimated 70 leagues.	AGN-T 3603/9

1716	Francisco del Valle	1.5 caballerías 1 *limón agua* Isquiapan	Del Valle was an heir of Juan Pasqual, a previous owner. The rancho of Isquiapan was located near Chilpancingo.	AGN-T 3603/9
1716	Don Francisco de Varreda (*vecino* of Tixtla)	*2* sitio de ganado mayor 2.5 caballerías Hacienda and *trapiche* of Tepango	Varreda also rented 1 sitio de ganado mayor from Mochitlán at Tepechicotlan, according to a nine-year rental document dated 12 Aug. 1712.	AGN-T 3603/9
1716	Don Pedro Alvarez de Puga (*alferez* and *vecino* of Tixtla)	3 caballerías .5 *naranja de agua* San Miguel	According to a document dated 14 July 1716, this land of San Miguel, where Alvarez de Puga had a trapiche, was rented from Mochitlán. It is not clear why San Miguel was included with the composed land.	AGN-T 3603/9
1716	Salvador Romero (*vecino* of Chilpancingo)	4.5 caballerías without water	Romero owned these lands near Chilpancingo with his nephews Nicolás Díaz, Pedro de los Santos, Raphael Romero, and doña Rosa María Franco.	AGN-T 3603/9
17 Dec. 1716	Juan Hurtado de Mendoza	6 sitio de ganado mayor 20 caballerías 4 *ventas* Haciendas in the jurisdictions of Tixtla and Acapulco	This is an approval and confirmation of a composición for which the titles were in order: "por tener títulos radicales y composición del señor Doctor don Balthasar de Bovan aprovada por este superior Gobierno en que por los dos sitios de Jaliaca y Hoctitlatlauca constó haber servido con 200 pesos." Apparently there was also a previous composición of a sitio de ganado mayor for another 60 pesos.	AGN-M 67/fols. 288v–289v
1717	Juan López de Salazar (*vecino* of Chilpancingo)	Two land parcels, of 2 and 3 fanegas each, and a house solar Fields and a housesite	López de Salazar, mestizo, requested a composición for these lands, which was granted: 35 pesos for the house site and 50 pesos for the two fields. Note that most of the owners mentioned as having adjacent lands were not Indians. The *juez comisionado de tierras* was don Diego de Sandoval Rascón.	AGN-T 1873/6

10 Nov. 1747	Don Antonio de Adame (vecino of the Tixtla jurisdiction)	5.5 caballerías Xochipala	Approval and confirmation of a composición for 5.5 caballerías "en el partido de Juchipila." Adame resided in the Tixtla jurisdiction, but owned ganado mayor in the Iguala jurisdiction.	AGN-M 76/fols. 150v–151v
1773	Don Manuel de Adame (*vecino* of Chilpancingo)	Xochipala	Composición of "[el] rancho y tierras nombradas Xochipala."	AGN-T 3130/2

On 18 Aug. 1643, the following dispatch was issued: "Comisión al Capitán y Sargento Mayor Don Francisco Ortuno de Villena para que en las jurisdicciones de Tepequaquilco, Teloloapa y Tistla haga medida de todas las tierras que se poseen y averigue con que títulos y de la importancia que son y admitiendo a composición a los poseedores remita los autos"; AGN-M 45/fols. 161v-164f. Unfortunately, no documentation of these composiciones has been located.

Appendix 6a

Landholdings in the Taxco Jurisdiction: 1780

VILLAGES	*HACIENDAS DE BENEFICIO DE METALES*	HACIENDAS, RANCHOS AND TRAPICHES	CUADRILLAS	INDIAN *COFRADÍA* RANCHES
Taxco	El Chorrillo San Sebastian (both of the heirs of D. Antonio Alvares) Lo de Cuadra Lo de Ayala (both of D. Manuel Martínez de Viedma) Lo del Frayle (of D. Antonio Villanueva) Sr. San José (of D. Ygnacio Gemmir y Leonart) Tenancingo (of D. Juan Martín Darremoz) San Marcos Sochuta (both of D. Francisco Miguel Domínguez) Santa Rosa (of Br. don Felipe Alemán) Santa Prisca (in construction) (of D. José Domínguez) <u>In Tehuilotepec</u> Atlixtaca Alquisuaya Sra. Santa Ana La Trinidad (all of D. Pedro de Ansa)	Pochula: cattle (of D. José Martínez Orejón) Santa Rosa: small trapiche producing 300 to 400 pesos of panocha per year (of Br. Don Felipe Alemán)	La Thenería: all Indians, dedicated to selling wood and some *pulque* in the mines Lo de Landa: all Indians, dedicated to transporting ore to the refining haciendas and in working in the haciendas Lo de Arroyo: all Indians, dedicated to the transport of ore and wood Lo de Pedro Martín: all Indians, dedicated to the transport of ore and wood	
Acamixtla Tasco el Viejo		La Puente: produces *panocha* and brown sugar consumed in		*Acamixtla:* Ntra. Sra. de la

Tecalpulco Tlamacazapa Coscatlán		Taxco (of the heirs of don Antonio Alvares) Ycatepec: cattle ranch with just over 400 head of cattle (of Miguel José Epinosa) Zacapalco: trapiche: panocha and sugar sent to don José González Calderón, owner who lives in Mexico City Tepetlapa: trapiche of don Francisco Merino y Salinas, resident of Mexico City; produce is sold in the jurisdictions of Taxco and Zacualpa		Natividad with 130 head of cattle *Tasco el Viejo:* Archicofradía with 8 head of cattle *Tecalpulco:* Ntra. Sra. de la Asumpción with 137 head of cattle *Tlamacazapa:* Ntra. Sra. de la Asumpción with 200 head of cattle
Teticpac Chontalcuatlan Acuitlapan Cacahuamilpa	Los Cinco Señores (alias Los Pregones) (of don Luis Gonzáles Cosío who also owns a mine which supplies the ore) Nombre de Dios: presently not active given that the mines that supply it are inactive (owned by Dr. don Manuel de la Borda)	Sr. San José: *trapichillo* belonging to Martín de la Cruz, Indian of Teticpac, which produces 150 pesos per year Santa María: ranch owned by don Diego Millan, whose product is sold in the jurisdictions of Tetecala and Zacualpan Tlamumusco: ranch owned by don Mario de Figueroa whose product is sold in the jurisdiction of Taxco Corralejo: ranch of don Manuel		*Teticpac:* two *obras pías:* Las Animas with 70 head of cattle and Santísimo Sacramento with 100 head of cattle *Acuitlapa:* with an *obra pía* dedicated to Santísimo Sacramento with 60 head of cattle

		Tavera which produces cheese sold in Tehuilotepec on Sundays		
Pilcayan Noxtepec		El Bosque: trapiche of D. Miguel de Figueroa whose product is sold in Zacualpa		*Pilcayan:* a *hermandad* to celebrate Sta. Trinidad and Los Santos Apóstoles, San Felipe and Santiago, with 31 head of cattle *Noxtepec:* Las Animas with 100 head of cattle
Cacalotenango Huistaca Azala				

Note: Parish seats in bold

Source: AGN-T 3601/9

Appendix 6b

Landholdings in the Taxco Jurisdiction: 1794

VILLAGES	*HACIENDAS DE BENEFICIO DE METALES*	MINES	HACIENDAS AND RANCHOS	CUADRILLAS
Taxco	El Chorrillo De Ayala (inactive) Sichula (inactive) Tenancingo	Taxco Compaña Archuleta Bermeja El Pedregal La Huerta Sta. Carina El Milagro Analco Santa Rosalia La Zarza Guadalupe Tehuilotepec San Ignacio El Perdón Esperanza Regina		Tehuilotepec (with vicarage)
Acamixtla Tasco el Viejo Tecalpulco Tlamacazapa Coscatlán	Alquisuaya Santa Ana Santa Prisca Tenancingo San Sebastián Huimatla San Juan Baptista	Coscatlán (abandoned *mineral*) Juliantla San Miguel	La Puente (sugarcane) Zacapalco (sugarcane and cattle ranching)	San Juan Juliantla
Teticpac	Los Pregones	Mineral Los Pregones		

Chontalcuatlan Acuitlapan Cacahuamilpa	Pichaguasco	San Cayetano San Luis Gonzaga La Esperanza El Espíritu Santo El Mulato Guadalupe		
Pilcayan Noxtepec Xocotitlan	Nombre de Dios	Mineral del Poder de Dios El Poder de Dios Petlacaginga Guadalupe Xitinca El Encino La Encina El Puertezuelo Jesús del Monte La Calera	El Bosque (sugarcane) Juchimilpan (ranching of ganado mayor)	Santa Cruz
Cacalotenango Huistaca Azala	El Frayle San Joseph Santa Rosa (inactive) La Luz		Oculistlahuacan (sugarcane) San Pedro (rancho)	

Note: Parish seat in bold.

Source: AGN-H 578b/154f–162v

Appendix 6c

Landholdings in the Iguala Jurisdiction: 1780

VILLAGES	HACIENDAS	RANCHOS AND *RANCHERÍAS*	TRAPICHES	INDIAN *COFRADÍA* RANCHES
Tepecuacuilco Mayanalán Tuxpan Mexcala Barrio de Xochipala	Unnamed (property of Dr. don Manuel de la Borda)	6 ranches of ganado mayor rented from the hacienda of de la Borda 1 ranch of various owners with less than 100 head of cattle 1 ranch of ganado mayor "de poca consideración"	2 trapiches that are part of thehacienda of de la Borda (total 300 pesos of panocha produced per year) 2 trapiches with an annual production of 2,000 pesos of panocha	*Tepecuacuilco:* San José with 156 head of cattle *Mayanalán:* Ntra. Sra. del Rosario with 50 head of cattle *Tuxpan:* 1 small ranch with 60 head of cattle of the *cofradías* of Ntra. Sra. del Rosario and the patron San Andrés *Xochipala:* Ntra. Sra. del Rosario with 40 head of cattle
Iguala Cocula	2 sugarcane haciendas near Iguala that produce 4,000 pesos of panocha per year, sold in the jurisdictions of Iguala and Taxco	10 *ranchitos* with about 800 head of cattle owned by Indians and a few *gente de razón*	1 trapiche near Iguala which produces 2,000 pesos of panocha yearly, sold in the jurisdiction of Iguala	*Cocula:* Ntra. Sra. del Rosario with a ranch of 200 head of cattle
Huitzuco Tlaxmalac		6 ranches "de distintos dueños de mui corto número de reces" 1 ranch of an Indian from Tlaxmalac with 100 head of cattle		*Huitzuco:* Santísimo Sacramento and Ntra. Sra. del Rosario, each *cofradía* with its own ranch, totaling 150 head of cattle *Tlaxmalac:* Ntra. Sra. del Rosario and Sra. Sta. Anna, each with its ranch totaling 200 head of cattle

Note: Parish seat in bold.

Source: AGN-T 3601/8

Appendix 6d

Landholdings in the Iguala Jurisdiction: 1794

VILLAGES	HACIENDAS	RANCHOS AND *RANCHERÍAS*	CUADRILLAS	MINES
Tepecuacuilco Tuxpan Mayanalán	Tepantitlan	Pantla Xalapilla Cuaulotal Tranca Cieneguilla Rancho de la Virgen Quezala	Santa Teresa El Tomatal	
Iguala Cocula	Apango (sugarcane) Atlixtac (sugarcane)	Tonalapa Acamac Tecomatlan Tecomoca Coacoula Hila Xolocamotla Apipilulco Teposonalco Xocotitlan Quapanaguasco		
Huitzuco Tlaxmalaca		Pololcingo Metlapa Cocosingo Almolonga Tlapala Tlatocan		
Mezcala *(vicaría fija)* Xochipala	Xochicuetla (of ganado mayor)	Telquiloya Quajonotla Carrisal	Sacacoyuca Palula Huizagualoya	Mineral El Limon La Palma El Capire

		Sacamulco Sabana Grande		San Joseph San Miguel La Sangre de Cristo Santa Ana Guadalupe El Rosario <u>Mineral Ascala</u> (abandoned) <u>Mineral San Estevan</u> Santa Ana San Gerónimo La Preciosa Sangre <u>Mineral El Tenantle</u> (abandoned) <u>Mineral San Pedro</u> (abandoned)

Parish seat in bold.

Source: AGN-H 578b/154f–162v

Appendix 7a

Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores
Jurisdiction of Taxco

NAME OF OFFICIAL	TITLE	DATES DOCUMENTED	ADDITIONAL NOTES
Don Luis de Castilla	Alcalde mayor	1542[1] 10 Sept. 1542[2] 3 July 1543[3] 4 July 1543[4]	Nomination of D. Luis de Castilla as alcalde mayor "de las minas de Tasco y Tenango" on 10 Sept. 1542.
Br. don Alonso Martínez	Alcalde mayor	ca. 1552 [i.e., 10 years before 20 Oct. 1562] 1 Jan. 1569[5]	In litigation between Teticpac and Tenango, those of Tenango, in a petion of 20 October 1562, mention that those of Teticpac had offered testimony before bachiller Alonso Martínez, who had been alcalde mayor this is said to have occured about 10 years previously.[6] Because he was alcalde mayor in Taxco, Martínez declined nomination as an *alcalde ordinario* of Mexico City.
Antonio de Matienzo	Corregidor Teulistaca	18 Sept. 1563[7]	Matienzo was commissioned to protect *vecinos* of the mines of Taxco.
García de Castillo	Alcalde mayor	26 March 1568[8]	
Pedro López de Olivares	Alcalde mayor	16 March 1575[9] 22 March 1575[10] 29 Oct. 1575[11]	
Pedro de Ledesma	Alcalde mayor	23 Nov. 1575[12] 28 March 1576[13] 23 Sept. 1580[14] 1581[15] 1581–1583[16] 1582[17]	On 23 Sept. 1580, it is mentioned that Ledesma had extensive holdings. In 1581 he was alcalde mayor of the mines of Taxco and corregidor of Taxco and Tenango. In 1584 and 1592 he was alcalde mayor of Puebla (Toussaint 1931:238–39); on 16 Aug. 16 1599 he is mentioned as alcalde mayor of the mines of Pachuca; AGN-GP 5/315.
Cristóbal de Tapia	Alcalde mayor	31 Oct. 1586[18]	
Martín de Salinas	Alcalde mayor	1591[19]	In 1591 he gave out deposits of *azogue*; there is no indication of

			how long he had been alcalde mayor.
Hernando Altamirano	Alcalde mayor	22 March 1591[20] 24 April 1591[21]	
Juan de Segura	Teniente de alcalde mayor	1592[22]	
Pedro de Medenilla	Teniente de alcalde mayor	28 May 1593[23]	
Cristóbal de Vargas Valadés	Alcalde mayor	1595[24]	
Don Rodrigo de Vivero	Alcalde mayor	1597–1598[25] 9 June 1599[26]	In 1579 he had been alcalde mayor of Puebla. On 19 July 1599, *residencia* was being taken on Vivero for his term as alcalde mayor by Juan de Espinosa. For the duration of the *residencia* Espinosa was named *justicia mayor*.[27] Vivero was *juez repartidor;* on June 9, 1599 Hernando de Pedrosa is named *juez repartidor* to replace him.
Juan de Espinosa	Adminitrador de justicia	7 Aug. 1599[28]	Juan de Espinosa had been *alguacil mayor* and then had been named *lugarteniente* by Vivero on whom he conducted the *residencia.* During this time Espinosa was empowered to administer justice in Taxco.
Martín de Chavarrieta	Teniente de alcalde mayor	????[29]	Chavarrieta stated that he had been *teniente de alcalde mayor* to D. Francisco de Bribiesca, D. Cosme de Astudillo, and D. Gerónimo de Cervantes. Dates are not given, nor have any other references to these three alcaldes mayores been found.
Don Alonso de Guzmán	Alcalde mayor	13 March 1600[30] 26 May 1600[31] 10 Feb. 1601[32] 5 March 1601[33] 27 March 1601[34] 29 July 1602[35] 8 April 1603[36] 10 July 1603[37] 1604[38]	Guzmán had been alcalde mayor of Acapulco for 3 to 4 years before holding this same position in Taxco. In 1604 he was corregidor in Zacatecas and in charge of the military there, delegated by the marqués de Montesclaros; Porras Muñoz (1982:320) On 5 March 1601 he was also

			named to be *juez repartidor*, succeeding Hernando de Pedrosa. On 27 March 1601 he was alcalde mayor and *justicia mayor*. In 1619 he became alcalde mayor in Puebla; Toussaint (1931:238–39). In this same source he is referred to as El Maese de Campo Don Alonso de Guzmán.
Don Juan Ramírez de Arellano	Alcalde mayoddr	18 Feb. 1604[39]	
Luis Nuñez Pérez	Alcalde mayor	1606[40] 8 Aug. 1606[41] 22 Aug. 1606[42]	In Toussaint his name is given as Luis Pérez de Mañaca.
Don Fernando de Peralta y Navarra	Alcalde mayor	1610[43]	
Don Alonso Guajardo Mesia	Alcalde mayor	15 Oct. 1614[44] 13 Jan. 1616[45] 13 Nov. 1617[46]	
Don Melchior de Molina y Mesa	Teniente de alcalde mayor	15 June 1616[47]	
Don Sebastián Ruiz de Castro	Alcalde mayor	8 June 1618[48]	
Don Pedro Arias de Riva de Neira	Justicia mayor	31 March 1620[49] 16 July 1620[50]	For the second entry the document gave don Fernando Arias de Riva de Negra, probably an error.
Don Alfonso Ulloa y Castro	Alcalde mayor	1623–1627[51] 11 Jan. 1627[52]	Toussaint (1931: 238–39) states that Ulloa y Castro was alcalde mayor from 1623 to 1627.
Don Cosme de Astudillo y Mazuelo	Alcalde mayor	8 April 1623[53] 1630[54] 1630–1632[55] 14 Oct. 1630[56]	Perhaps the 1623 datum, where he is listed as corregidor, is an error, cf. previous entry. Toussaint (1931:238–39) gives the name as Don Cosme de Astudillo y Mazuelo; at times it appears as Lesmes. Finally, on 14 Oct. 1630, Astudillo is stated to be alcalde mayor and *juez repartidor*.
Agustín López de Zarate	Alcalde mayor	30 June 1631[57]	
Don Diego de Soto Cabezón	Justicia mayor	29 April 1633[58]	The regidor Soto Cabezón is given a license to go to Mexico

			City for 30 days.
Don Gerónimo de Cervantes	Alcalde mayor	1635[59] 27 Oct. 1635[60]	
Don Agustín Valdés y Portugal	Alcade mayor	27 Aug. 1638[61]	Valdés y Portugal was also *juez repartidor* at this time.
Don Diego López de Zarate	Alcalde mayor	27 April 1639[62]	López de Zarate was also *juez repartidor* of Taxco and "regidor de la muy noble y leal Ciudad de México."
Don Alonso Cerezedo Alvear	Alcalde mayor	1641–1642[63]	
Capn. Don Juan de Vargas	Alcalde mayor	1643[64] 9 Nov. 1643[65]	On 9 Nov. 1643 Vargas was also stated to be the *juez repartidor*.
Contador Don Francisco del Castillo	Alcalde mayor	1644–1645[66]	Perhaps this information is in error, cf. previous and following entry.
Capn. Juan de Vargas	Alcalde mayor	9 April 1644[67]	
Capn. Don Joseph de Castrejón	Alcalde mayor	1648–1650[68]	
Capn. Don Lucas de Taboada	Alcalde mayor	1653[69]	
Capn. Don Juan de Samano Salamanca	Alcalde mayor	11 May 1654[70] 1655[71]	
Don Diego Nuñez de Prada	Justicia or alcalde mayor	24 Aug. 1657[72]	
Don Andrés Fernández Navarro	Alcalde mayor	13 Dec. 1658[73]	Apparently Navarro was also the *juez repartidor* at this time.
Don Alonso de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada	Alcalde mayor	10 Oct. 1662[74]	Rivera was also the *juez repartidor* at this time.
Capn. Don Fernando Valdés y Portugal	Alcalde mayor	1663[75] 6 July 1663[76] 22 Sept. 1663[77]	
Francisco Nagera Gaviria	Teniente de alcalde mayor	22 Sept. 1663[78]	
Sebastian de la Peña y Mendoza	Alcalde mayor	6 Feb. 1665[79] 5 Nov. 1665[80] 1666[81]	Toussaint (1931:238–39) gives de la Peña y Mendoza's title as "Lic. y Mo." [*sic*].
Capn. Don Francisco Gomarra	Alcalde mayor	1666–1668[82] 15 Feb. 1667[83]	On 15 Feb. 1667 Gomarra was also listed as being the *juez repartidor*.

Don Antonio Rusco	Alcalde mayor	1670[84]	
Capn. Don Diego Manuel de Carvallido y Zurita	Alcalde mayor	26 Sept. 1671[85] 1672[86]	Carvallido y Zurita was a Caballero de la Orden de Santiago.[87]
Capn. Don Antonio Ramírez de Avellano	Alcalde mayor	1675[88]	Ramírez de Avellano was also *juez repartidor* in 1675.
Don Joseph de Quinones Moctezuma	Teniente de alcalde mayor	27 Aug. 1675[89]	
Don Simon Vásquez	Alcalde mayor	1677[90]	Vásquez was also *juez repartidor.*[91]
Capn. Don Agustín de Fierro	Alcalde mayor	1682[92]	
Capn. Don Carlos Tristan del Poso	Alcalde mayor	1683[93] 1 Sept. 1683[94]	Tristan del Poso was also *juez repartidor.*
Capn. Don Andrés de Cervantes	Alcalde mayor	1686[95]	
Capn. Don Alonso Cabañas Neira Puerto Carrero y Zúniga	Alcalde mayor	30 Oct. 1687[96] 26 Oct. 1688[97] 1692[98] 27 Nov. 1693[99]	Had named Pedro de Miranda Tenorio as *theniente general.*
Pedro de Miranda Tenorio	Teniente de alcalde mayor	1692[100] 27 Nov. 1693[101]	
Capn. Don Bernardo de Carballo	Alcalde mayor	1693; 1695[102]	
Capn. Don Francisco Antonio Bibanco	Alcalde mayor	1694[103]	
Capn. Don Lorenzo Saenez de Larrea	Alcalde mayor	1701[104] 17 Feb. 1701[105]	
Sargento Mayor Joseph Pérez de la Calle	Alcalde mayor	1701–1706[106] 1703[107] 19 Nov. 1705[108] 1704[109]	
Capn. Don Juan Cayetano Valdés	Teniente general	1704[110]	
Capn. de Corazas Don Nicolás de Laya	Alcalde mayor	1707[111]	
Don Secundino Francisco Romero de Ayala	Alcalde mayor	1708[112] 24 Dec. 1708[113] 1709–1713[114] 18 March 1709[115] 25 Aug. 1711[116]	Romero de Ayala was also *juez repartidor,* and in 1708 was instructed how to comply with this office, and notified that the Indian laborers should be paid 9

		20 March 1712[117] 17 Sept. 1712[118] 22 Sept. 1712[119]	reales/week.
Capn. Don Martín Verdugo Aragonés	Alcalde mayor	1714–1718[120] 14 Oct. 1714[121] 12 Aug. 1716[122] 3 June 1717[123] 1 Sept. 1717[124]	
Don Secundino Francisco Romero de Ayala	Teniente de alcalde mayor	24 July 1719[125]	
Capn. Don Miguel de la Cueva Dávalos y Luna	Alcalde mayor	1720[126] 6 Feb. 1721[127] 19 Aug. 1721[128]	
Capn. Don Thoribio del Campillo y Mier	Alcalde mayor	1724[129] 20 March 1724[130] 15 Jan. 1725[131] 25 March 1725[132]	
Don Pedro Pallares	Teniente de alcalde mayor	4 June 1725[133] 29 Aug. 1725[134]	
Capn. Don Victoriano Olivan	Alcalde mayor	1728[135]	
Don Nicolás Días Ydalgo	Alcalde mayor	23 Jan. 1736[136]	
Capn. Don Fernando Deza y Ulloa	Alcalde mayor	6 Dec. 1740[137] 1741[138]	
Lic. Don Juan Fernández de Velasco	Alcalde mayor	1742[139]	
Capn. Don Miguel de Rivera	Teniente general	1748–1751[140] 8 Jan. 1750[141] 20 Sept. 1751[142]	On 25 Sept. 1750 it is stated that Don Miguel de Rivera had been alcalde mayor in January (perhaps this is an error given that other sources mention that he was the *teniente general*).[143]
Capn. Don Manuel de Fraga	Alcalde mayor	1752[144] 7 Dec. 1752[145] 28 Sept. 1753[146]	
Capn. Don Secundino Francisco Romero de Ayala	Teniente de alcalde mayor	1755[147]	
Don José Benito Pardiñas	Alcalde mayor	1758 (?)[148]	The document simply mentions that Pardiñas had been alcalde mayor. However, the document is

			about a dispute ofer the use of a tax to repair waterworks according to an order of Aug. 11, 1758. Thus, it is possible that Pardiñas was alcalde mayor at this time.
Don Juan Ignacio Avedaño y Sotomayor	Teniente general	1759[149]	
Don Francisco Xavier Delgado	Alcalde mayor	1760–1762[150] 29 May 1760[151] 9 Sept. 1761[152] 17 Dec. 1761[153]	
Don Secundino Francisco Romero de Ayala	Alcalde mayor	1764–1765[154]	
Don Pedro Corvalán	Alcalde mayor interino	19 July 1766[155]	In real cedula dated 19 July 1766, mention of a petition by Corvalán, the interim alcalde mayor of Taxco. Corvalán undoubtedly served briefly between Romero de Ayala and Gemmir y Leonarte.
Don Ygnacio Gemmir y Leonarte	Alcalde mayor	16 Dec. 1765[156] 1768–1773[157] 6 March 1769[158] 5 Dec. 1769[159] 1770[160] 17 Aug. 1771[161] 19 Dec. 1771[162]	Toussaint (1931:238–39) gives his name as don Ygnacio Fermín y Leonarte. In a document dated 19 July 1766 it is mentioned that a petiton had been presented by the interim alcalde mayor of Taxco, don Pedro Corvalan.[163]
Don Secundino Francisco Romero de Ayala	Teniente general	5 May 1769[164]	
Doctor Don Damián Rodrigo de Carratalá	Alcalde mayor	22 Dec. 1773[165] 1774[166] 9 April 1774[167] 3 Dec. 1774[168]	Reference to the celebration of a contract for *repartimiento de mercancías* between D. Ygnacio Gemmir y Leonart and Rodrigo Carratalá whose five-year term as alcalde mayor of Taxco and its "agregado" of Iguala was about to begin. In AGN-Cv/único it is stated that Rodrigo Carratalá began a five-year term as alcalde mayor on 9 April 1774. However, by Nov. 1777 he had died and Covos Moxica was the provisional alcalde mayor. In Dec. 1774 Rodrigo Carratalá

			appears as Rodríguez Carratalá.
Don Cayetano de Ocampo	Teniente de alguacil mayor	12 April 1774[169]	
Don Vizente Joseph de los Covos Moxica	Alcalde mayor (at first, provisional)	25 Nov. 1777[170] 1778[171] 5 Aug. 1778[172] Sept. 1778[173]	Because of early death of Rodrigo Carratalá.
Lic. Don Francisco Josef de Urrutia y Montoya	Alcalde mayor	1780[174]	
Santa María (?)	Alcalde mayor	1781[175]	Toussaint (1931:238–39) comments that "parece ser alcalde un 'Santa María.'"
Don Mariano Menocal	Alcalde mayor	Aug. 1782–3 Aug. 1786[176] 1784[177]	Apparently Menocal was alcalde mayor from Aug. 1782 to Aug. 1786, during which time he collected and was responsible for tribute. However, cf. following entries.
Fernando Antonio de Revilla	Teniente	1784[178]	
D. Antonio Pasqual de Borja	Alcalde mayor	before 1786[179]	Toussaint (1931:238–39) mentions that Borja was alcalde mayor "antes de 1786." No further information is given.
Don Joaquín Patiño	Justicia mayor por vacante de alcalde mayor	1786[180]	
Don Ygnacio García Menocal	Alcalde mayor	1 Sept. 1786–31 Dec. 1788[181] 28 Nov. 1786[182] 1787–1788[183] 19 Dec. 1787[184] 1788[185]	García Menocal occopied the position of alcalde mayor at least from 1 Sept. 1786 to 31 Dec. 1788, if not longer. On Nov. 28, 1786, it is mentioned that he was also "ayudante mayor veterano de la Legión del Príncipe de Guanajuato."
Capn. Don Juan Ignacio Aristizaval	Subdelegado	31 Oct. 1789[186]	
Don Fernando Mendoza	Subdelegado	1790–1799[187] 30 Sept. 1790[188] 6 March 1792[189] 1792[190] 14 Feb. 1794[191] 1798[192]	

Capn. Don Miguel Pacheco Solis	Subdelegado	1799[193] 1799–1804 26 Feb. 1799[194] 17 April 1799[195] 26 April 1799[196] 24 Oct. 1799[197] 5 March 1801[198] 27 April 1804[199]	
Don Antonio del Corral Velasco	Encargado de justicia	21 July 1798 1805–1808[200] 12 July 1806[201] 29 Jan. 1807[202] 26 Aug. 1807[203] 16 Nov. 1809[204]	On July 21, 1798, del Corral is referred to as *justicia mayor.*[205] In AGN-AHH del Corral Velasco is stated to have been subdelegado from 1805 to 1808, at least. Again, on 12 July 1806, he is stated to also be *mayordomo* of the Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento. On 26 Aug. 1807 it is mentioned that he was "encargado general de la administración de justicia en esta jurisdicción con superior aprobación por ausencia del subdelegado de ella." Finally, on 16 Nov. 1809, del Corral Velasco is again stated to be *encargado de justicia.* The function of del Corral y Velasco in periodically taking over is made clear in a 2 Dec. 1809 report by Villegas de Bustamante who stated that del Corral y Velasco "es, y ha sido con superior aprobación, encargado por ausencias y enfermedades de mis antecesores, y mío."
Don Juan Dimas Abad	Subdelegado	1804–1809[206] 15 Nov. 1804[207] 27 June 1805[208]	On June 27, 1805, mention of "el señor subteniente Don Juan Dimas Habadn subdelegado de esta jurisdicción y juez de minas en su territorio."
Don Nicolás Salgado	Encargado de la administración de justicia	27 June 1805[209]	It is stated that Salgado was the "encargado de la administración de justicia por el señor subteniente Don Juan Dimas Habbad, subdelegado de esta jurisdicción y juez de minas en su territorio."
Don Manuel Villegas Bustamante	Subdelegado	1809[210] 2 Dec. 1809[211]	

		6 June 1810[212]	
Capn. Don Miguel Pacheco Solis	Subdelegado interino	28 Nov. 1810–1812[213]	Pacheco Solis had been subdelegado interino for two years before data given in a document dated 28 Nov. 1812, i.e., at least from 28 Nov. 1810. In 1812 he requested that he be paid his salary. At this time the subdelegado was Don Manuel Villegas.
Don Manuel Villegas Bustamente	Subdelegado	28 Nov. 1812[214]	Cf. entry above. Perhaps Villegas had been subdelegado in 1809 and 1810, at which time he was absent for two years (and during which time Pacheco Solis was the acting subdelegado) until he resumed office. In AGN-Tr 1/9 (28 Nov.1812) it is mentioned that Villegas was the subdelegado but that Pacheco Solis was the interim subdelegado.
Don Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi	Teniente de justicia	1811[215]	
Don Tomás Caxigal y Cordero	Subdelegado	9 Oct. 1812–Aug. 1817[216] 23 June 1817[217]	Caxigal y Cordero became subdelegado on 9 Oct. 1812; on 3 Sept. 1817 he was in the process of handing over accounts. Apparently he had been subdelegado until August of that year. On 23 June 1817 mention that he is "Capitán Comandante de Armas de la Jurisdicción de Taxco, Subdelegado del Partido y Juez de Minas en su territorio."
Don Manuel José de Guerendiayn	Subdelegado interino	1815[218]	
Don José de Avila	Subdelegado	1819[219]	
Teniente Coronel Don Tomás de Cagigal	Subdelegado	1821[220]	Cagigal was also "comandante de los Realistas Fieles y de las Armas de este punto."

Other official: note that in AGN-M 46/fjs. 202f–205f (dated 8 July 1643) there a commission was issued to Don Alonso de Segura y Monroy to go to the jurisdictions of Tuchimilco and Tasco and "haga medida de todas las tierras que se poseen y aberigue con que títulos y de la importancia que son y admitiendo a composición a los poseedores remita los autos." He should "prosiga a las diligencias de medidas de tierras que se comensaron por el señor marqués de Cadereyta [1635–40] y que admita a composición a los que

poseyeren tierras y aguas sin títulos bastantes." The viceroy had commissioned D. Juan Guillen Balles to act in the provinces of Guexocingo, Cholula, Chalco and the Valle de Atrisco.

Notes

1. Toussaint 1931:238–39.
2. AGN-M 1/320.
3. AGN-M 2/279.
4. AGN-M 2/283.
5. Martínez declined the nomination as alcalde ordinario of Mexico City, stating that he was alcalde mayor in Taxco; Porras Muñoz (1982:236–37).
6. Cf. AGN-Tierras 18(1)/3, fol. 165f. for first mention, then fol. 172f. for reference to fact that about 10 years previous to 1562, those of Teticpac had litigated against Tenango before the alcalde mayor Br. Alonso Martínez.
7. AGN-M 7/fols. 14v–15f.
8. AGN-T 2719/13.
9. Ibid.
10. AGN-T 2719/13.
11. AGN-GP 1/fols. 70v–76f (published in ZyC 1:28–44).
12. AGN-GP 1/331.
13. AGN-GP 1/fol. 152v (published in ZyC 1:89–90).
14. AGN-GP 2/1022.
15. "Relación de las minas de Taxco."
16. He was alcalde mayor of Taxco from 1581 to 1583; Toussaint (1931:238–39).
17. AGN-I 2/79.
18. AGN-T 2762/4.
19. AGN-GP 4/303 and 304.
20. AGN-GP 4/353.
21. AGN-GP 4/424.
22. AGN-In 182/2.
23. AGN-M 19/fol. 119f.
24. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
25. Ibid.
26. AGN-GP 5/171.
27. AGN-GP 5/225.
28. AGN-GP 5/290.
29. AGN-T 2778/1.
30. AGN-GP 5/766.
31. AGN-GP 5/fols. 186v–187f (published in ZyC IV:429–30).
32. AGN-GP 5/1320.
33. AGN-GP 5/fols. 286v–287f (published in ZyC IV:491–92).
34. AGN-GP 5/1381.
35. AGN-M 24/fols. 103v–204f.
36. AGN-T 2/12.
37. AGN-GP 6/fols. 298v–299f (published in ZyC 5:101-102).
38. Was alcalde mayor in Taxco up to 1604; Toussaint (1931:238–39).
39. AGN-GP 6/1036.
40. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
41. AGN-RCD 5/fols. 18v–19f (published in ZyC 6:18–20).

42. AGN-RCD 5/27 (published in ZyC 6:28–29).
43. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
44. AGN-T 79/7.
45. AGN-T 3331/18.
46. AGN-T 2717/20.
47. AGN-M 31/fols. 129–130f.
48. AGN-T 2717/20.
49. AGN-I 9/226.
50. AGN-I 9/246.
51. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
52. In a loose document copied from the archive in Santa Prisca about the rights of a cacique to ride a horse or mule and use spurs, it is mentioned that Don Alonso de Ulloa y Castro was alcalde mayor.
53. AGN-I 12(1)/138.
54. AGN-I 12(1)/52 and 138.
55. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
56. AGN-I 10(3)/34.
57. AGN-T 3514/s.n.
58. AGN-GP 7/592.
59. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
60. This information is from a loose document in the archive of Santa Prisca, copied on April 21, 1985. The date is difficult to read (it might be 1637) and the alcalde mayor appears to be Capitan Don Gerónimo de Cerva [...] bajal alcalde mayor." Perhaps his full name is Capitán don Gerónimo de Cervantes Carbajal.
61. AGN-M 42/fols. 4v–6f.
62. AGN-I 11/fols. 146f–147f (published in ZyC 7:169–72).
63. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
64. Ibid.
65. AGN-GP 9/fols. 129v–130f (published in ZyC 7:495–96).
66. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
67. AGN-RCD 48(Quad. 4)/fols. 56f–56v (published in ZyC 7:509–10).
68. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
69. Ibid.
70. AGN-M 49/fol. 58v.
71. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
72. AGN-M 49/fols. 166f–167v.
73. AGN-T 1874/10.
74. AGN-BNz 209-101/155.
75. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
76. AGN-Tr 42/8 bis.
77. AGN-M 53/fols. 71f–80v.
78. Ibid.
79. AGN-GP 12/23.
80. AGN-BN 469/6.
81. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
82. Ibid.
83. AGN-Tr 42/8 bis.
84. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
85. AGN-GP 14/fols. 98v–100f (published in ZyC 8:85–88).
86. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
87. For a brief biography, see Martínez Cosio (1946:60).
88. AGN-I 25/83, 95 and 128.

89. AGN-Tr 42/8 bis.
90. Toussaint (1931:238–39); he is also mentioned in AGN-Tr 42/8 bis.
91. AGN-Tr 42/8 bis.
92. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
93. Ibid.
94. AGN-Tr 42/8 bis.
95. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
96. AGN-I 29/285.
97. AGN-GP 16/154.
98. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
99. Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas, "Escrituras y instrumentos publicos, 1712."
100. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
101. Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas, "Escrituras y instrumentos publicos, 1712."
102. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. AGN-BN 34/10; here I have transcribed his last names as Saenes de Lesaia, probably an error. Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas, "Escrituras y instrumentos publicos, 1712" (last name is illegible).
106. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
107. AGN-I 50/52.
108. Archivo de la Familia Dominguez Islas, "Escrituras y instrumentos publicos, 1712," fol. 7v.
109. AGN-BN 34/10.
110. Ibid.
111. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
112. AGN-GP 25/fols. 227f–228v (published in ZyC 8:263–65).
113. AGN-Cv 1608/10, fol. 127f.
114. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
115. AGN-T 2819/6.
116. AGN-T 3518/2.
117. Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas, "Escrituras y instrumentos públicos 1712."
118. AGN-T 3514/2.
119. AGN-I 38/70.
120. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
121. AGN-T 3514/2.
122. AGN-I 40/71.
123. AGN-I 40/144.
124. AGN-GP 29/fols. 9v–14f.
125. AGN-I 42/157.
126. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
127. AGN-T 2953/147.
128. AGN-T 2915/1.
129. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
130. AGN-GP 25/fols. 49f–52f (published in ZyC 8:231–36).
131. AGN-Cv 1608/10.
132. AGN-GP 25/fols. 168f–172v (published in ZyC 8:247–56).
133. AGN-I 50/167.
134. AGN-GP 25/fols. 227f–228v (published in ZyC 8:263–65).
135. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
136. AGN-GP 31/6.
137. AGN-Tr 25/8.

138. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid.
141. AGN-GP 36/2.
142. License given to don Joseph de la Borda to build the parish church in Taxco; typewritten copy in the Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas.
143. AGN-GP 36/124.
144. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
145. López Miramontes (1975:31).
146. Ibid., p.32.
147. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
148. AGN-GP 53/fols. 73f–75f.
149. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
150. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
151. AGN-GP 44/17.
152. AGN-GP 43/fols. 160f–160v.
153. AGN-GP 43/183v-186f.
154. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
155. AGN-RC 89/141
156. AGN-Tr 2/1 and 2.
157. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
158. AGN-T 3640/6.
159. AGN-T 3640/6.
160. AGN-I 62/104.
161. AGN-GP 44/274.
162. AGN-I 66/101.
163. AGN-RC 89/141.
164. AGN-T 3640/6.
165. AGN-T 3640/5.
166. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
167. AGN-Cv 510/único.
168. AGN-I 64/190.
169. AGN-T 3640/5.
170. AGN-Cv 510/único.
171. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
172. AGN-Cv 510/único.
173. AGN-Real Hacienda Caja 134.
174. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
175. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
176. AGN-Tr 4/17 and AGN-Tr 59/14.
177. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
178. Ibid.
179. Ibid.
180. Ibid.
181. AGN-Tr 59/11.
182. AGN-T 2704/21.
183. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
184. AGN-Alh 10/3.
185. Indif-Alc Taxco caja 14, exp. 4.
186. AGN-T 3640/6.

187. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
188. AGN-AHH 405/2.
189. Bienes Nacionalizados 212 101/94, fol. 56f.
190. AGN-Tr 6/17.
191. AGN-Tr 56/23.
192. AGN-T 3535/1.
193. AGN-T 1535/1.
194. AGN-T 3576/quad. 2.
195. AGN-I 71/40.
196. AGN-T 3535/1.
197. AGN-H 122/2.
198. AGN-Cr 333/1.
199. AGN-T 2891/7.
200. AGN-AHH 405/6.
201. AGN-BN 1604/1.
202. AGN-BN 1545/45.
203. AGN-BN 1814/13.
204. AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v.
205. AGN-Tr 26/13.
206. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
207. AGN-I 71/158.
208. AGN-T 3667/3.
209. Ibid.
210. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
211. AGN-I 88/fols. 229f–236v.
212. AGN-T 2903/8.
213. AGN-Tr 1/9.
214. Ibid.
215. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
216. AGN-AHH 441/15.
217. AGN-Real Hacienda Alcabalas caja 2.
218. Toussaint (1931:238–39).
219. Ibid.
220. AGN-Real Hacienda Alcabalas caja 2.

Appendix 7b

Officials of the Jurisdiction of Taxco
Not Including Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores
(particular mention of mining deputies)

NAME OF OFFICIAL	TITLE	DATES	ADDITIONAL NOTES
Bartolome Aguilar	Diputado de minería	22 Nov. 1575[1]	
Gonzalo Fernández de Figueroa	Juez congregador para Taxco el Viejo	9 Feb. 1599[2]	Mention in this document of a previous congregación carried out in Taxco el Viejo by don Jorge Cerón.
Rodrigo de Vivero	Juez repartidor (also alcalde mayor)	before 9 June 1599[3]	See following entry.
Hernando de Pedrosa	Juez repartidor	9 June 1599[4]	On 9 June 1599, Pedrosa was named *juez repartidor,* to replace Rodrigo de Vivero who had also been alcalde mayor.
Rodrigo Zarate y Villegas	Apoderado de los mineros de Taxco	26 Feb. 1600[5]	
Don Alonso de Guzmán	Juez repartidor	5 March 1601[6]	He replaced Hernando de Pedrosa as *juez repartidor.*
Amador Pérez	Administrador de la sal y maíz	12 March 1601	On 17 Sept. 1603, he was referred to as a past *administrador* (AGN-GP 6/fol. 325; published in ZyC 5:128).
Don Pedro Maldonado Zapata	Juez congregador para Taxco el Viejo	1602[7] 8 Jan. 1603[8]	A previous congregación had been carried out shortly before. Another had been carried out a long time previously by D. Jorge Zerón.
Don Fernando Arias de Rivadeneyra	Juez repartidor	5 Aug. 1605[9] 23 Aug. 1608[10]	
Capn. Martín Gómez de la Justicia	Juez repartidor	5 Aug. 1605[11] 11 Aug. 1606[12]	
Don Francisco Alfonso de Sosa	Diputado de minería	14 Sept. 1606[13]	

Juan Domínguez Mastoche	Diputado de la república	13 Nov. 1617[14]	
Nicolás Arroyo	Diputado de minería	5 July 1631[15]	
Juan Velásquez de Quiros	Diputado de minería	5 July 1631[16]	
Martín de Chavarrieta	Diputado de minería	25 Jan. 1633[17]	Confirmation of his election.
Juan de Soto y Acuña	Diputado de minería	25 Jan. 1633[18]	Confirmation of his election.
Juan de la Cuadra	Diputado de minería	5 Nov. 1665[19]	Document simply mentions presentation of a rental contract for Oculixtlahuacan "por ante Juan de la Cuadra diputado."
Don Sebastián Delgado	Diputado de minería	16 May 1735[20] 17 Dec. 1735[21]	
Don Joseph Martínez de Viedma	Diputado de minería	16 May 1735[22] 17 Dec. 1735[23]	
Don Francisco Secundino Romero de Ayala	Diputado de minería	23 Jan. 1736[24]	Confirmation of election.
Don Pedro de Salabarría	Diputado de minería	23 Jan. 1736[25]	Confirmation of election.
Don Francisco Miguel Domínguez	Diputado de minería	9 Feb. 1737[26]	Confirmation of election.
Don Francisco Secundino Romero de Ayala	Diputado de minería	9 Feb. 1737[27]	Confirmation of election.
Don Francisco Secundino Romero de Ayala	Diputado de minería	21 Aug. 1739[28]	
Don Sebastián Martínez de Orejón	Diputado de minería	21 Aug. 1739[29]	Martínez de Orejón was also apparently a *diputado de minería* in Zacualpan (AGN-GP 32/404).
Don Secundino Francisco Romero de Ayala	Diputado de minería de primer voto	8 Jan. 1750[30]	Confirmation of election.
Don Miguel Ruiz de la Mota	Diputado de minería de	8 Jan. 1750[31]	Confirmation of election.

	segundo voto		
Francisco de Alamán	Diputado de minería	7 Dec. 1752[32]	
Nicolás Antonio de Juanes	Diputado de minería	1 Jan. 1753[33] 12 Jan. 1753[34]	Elected deputy.
Don Pedro Joseph de Indaburo	Diputado de minería	Jan. 12, 1753[35]	
Don Joseph Martínez de Viedma	Diputado de minería	9 Sept. 1761[36] 17 Dec. 1761[37]	Apparently was *diputado de primer voto*; his son was also a *diputado.*
Don Manuel Martínez de Viedma	Diputado de minería	9 Sept. 1761[38] 17 Dec. 1761[39]	Apparently was *diputado de segundo voto;* his father was also a *diputado.*
Don Juan Antonio de Otaiza	Diputado de minería	1771[40]	
Don Adrián de Abarrategui	Diputado de minería	1772[41]	
Don Manuel Martínez de Viedma	Diputado de minería	1772[42]	
Don Miguel Ruiz de la Mota	Diputado de minería	1773[43]	
Don Ygnacio Alvarez y Ayala	Diputado de minería	1773[44]	
Don Francico Damian de Fuentes	Diputado de minería	1774[45]	
Don Francisco Alemán	Diputado de minería	1774[46]	
Don Miguel Francisco Domínguez	Diputado de minería	1775[47]	
Don Xtobal Ruiz de la Mota	Diputado de minería	1775[48]	
Don Juan Baptista Doremoz	Diputado de minería	1776[49]	
Don Celedonio de Ascarate	Diputado de minería	1776[50]	
Don Juan de Villanueva y Aparicio	Administrador de alcabalas del Real de	22 March 1778[51] 1780–1782[52]	

	Tasco y su agregada provincia de Iguala		
Don Manuel Martínez de Viedma	Diputado de minería de primer voto	29 Jan. 1781[53]	
Don Dr. José Maria de los Covos Moxica	Diputado de minería	29 Jan. 1781[54]	
Don Antonio Villanueba	Diputado de el Real e importante cuerpo de Minería e Mayordomo de dicha Archicofradía de Tasco	18 May 1782[55]	
Don Vicente Moxica	Diputado	18 May 1782[56]	
Don Vicente de los Cobos Moxica	Diputado de minería	Nov. 1790[57]	
Don Miguel de la Cuesta	Administrador de alcabalas	March 1791 27 March 1793[58]	Apparently three years earlier de la Cuesta had been *administrador de alcabalas* and had attempted to start charging weavers for the alcabala.
Don Antonio Clavijo y Mora	Administrador del Real Renta de Tabaco	1793[59] 1795[60]	
Don José Nieto	Administrador del Real Renta de Tabaco	Jan. 1804[61]	
Don José Avila Sandoval	Diputado de minería	23 June 1817[62]	
Don José Joaquín de Zarate	Diputado de minería	23 June 1817[63]	
Don José Avila Sandoval	Diputado más antiguo de minería	1818[64]	Avila Sandoval's titles were "teniente de la 1a. Compania de Realistas fieles de este Real, encargado de la administración de justicia de esta jurisdicción, juez de minas y diputado más antiguo

			en su territorio."
Don José Antonio de Añorga	Diputado menos antiguo de minería	1818[65]	
Don José Manuel Mateos	Diputado de minería "substituto en turno"	1818[66]	
Don José Joaquín Zarate	Diputado de minería	1821[67]	
Teniente Don José de Avila	Diputado de minería	1821[68]	

Notes

1. AGN-GP 1/331; AGN-GP 1/fols. 70v–76v (published in ZyC I:28–44).
2. AGN-T 2723/8.
3. AGN-GP 5/171.
4. Ibid.
5. AGN-GP 5/719
6. AGN-GP 5/fols. 286v–287f (published in ZyC IV:491–92).
7. AGN-T 2/12.
8. AGN-T 2754/3.
9. AGN-GP 7/228f–230v (published in ZyC 6:599–603).
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. AGN-RCD 5/27 (published in ZyC 6:22–23).
13. AGN-RCD 5/fol. 42 (published in ZyC 6:53–54).
14. AGN-T 2717/20.
15. AGN-GP 7/254 (published in ZyC 6:583–585).
16. Ibid.
17. AGN-GP 7/500.
18. Ibid.
19. AGN-BN 469/6.
20. AGN-GP 30/263.
21. AGN-GP 30/262.
22. AGN-GP 30/263.
23. AGN-GP 30/262.
24. AGN-GP 31/6.
25. Ibid.
26. AGN-GP 31/126.
27. Ibid.
28. AGN-GP 31/335.

29. Ibid.
30. AGN-GP 36/2.
31. Ibid.
32. López Miramontes (1975:28).
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., p. 31.
35. Ibid.
36. AGN-GP 43/fols. 160f–160v.
37. AGN-GP 43/183v–186f.
38. AGN-GP 43/fols. 160f–160v.
39. AGN-GP 43/183v–186f.
40. AGN-GP 54/9 June 1773.
41. AGN-GP 53/fols. 73f–75f; AGN-GP 54/June 9, 1773.
42. AGN-GP 53/fols. 73f–75f; AGN-GP 54/June 9, 1773.
43. AGN-GP 53/fols. 73f–75f.
44. Ibid.
45. AGN-GP 57/fols. 106f–106v.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. AGN-GP 57/fols. 106f–106v and AGN-BN 469/6.
50. AGN-GP 57/fols. 106f–106v.
51. AGN-Inq 1192/3.
52. AGN-Inq 1258/7.
53. AGN-Min 214/fols 423–456.
54. Ibid.
55. Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas, "Escritura otorgada por el Sr. Dr. D. Manuel de la Borda," 18 May 1782.
56. Ibid.
57. AGN-T 3640/6.
58. AGN-Alc 37/s.n.
59. Indif-Alc Taxco caja 15, exp. 9.
60. Indif-Alc Taxco caja 10, exp. 1.
61. Indif-Alc Taxco caja 17, exp. 6.
62. AGN-Real Hacienda Alcabalas Caja 2.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.

Appendix 7c

Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores
Jurisdiction of Iguala
(including documentation of some late colonial fiscal authorities)

NAME OF OFFICIAL	TITLE	DATES DOCUMENTED	ADDITIONAL NOTES
... Lema	Corregidor	3 July 1543[1]	Mention that a certain "Lema" was corregidor of Iguala.
Alonso de Avila	Corregidor	6 March 1552[2] 17 March 1552[3]	
Sancho López de Agurto	Corregidor	12 May 1556[4]	Given jurisdiction over Tlaxmalac, Mayanalán, Tepecuacuilco, Huitzuco, Cocula, Coatepec and Quetzala.
Juan Nuñez del Castillo	Corregidor	14 Dec. 1560[5]	
Juan López Cacho	Corregidor	20 April 1567[6] 17 Dec. 1567[7]	
Capn. Fernando Alfonso de Estrada	Corregidor	September 1579[8]	Stated to be "corregidor del partido de Iguala y justicia mayor de Ohuapa."
Diego García	Corregidor	before 24 Nov. 1579[9]	Apparently he was corregidor before the date of a follow-up petition dated 24 Nov. 1579. However, the precise dates of his term as corregidor is unclear.
Balthasar de la Cadena	Corregidor	28 April 1587[10]	Apparently had only recently assumed the position.
Don Antonio de Luna	Corregidor	9 Jan. 1590[11]	*Mandamiento* is dated on 9 Jan. 1590 and mentions a recent report on the merced by the corregidor de Luna, probably during 1589. It is not clear whether de Luna continued as corregidor during 1590.
Antonio de Pedrasa	Corregidor	5 Feb. 1592[12]	Probably he had been corregidor during 1591.
Augustín de Quincoces[13]	Corregidor Justicia mayor	13 March 1601[14] 10 July 1601[15]	
Don Alonso de Villegas	Acting corregidor	25 July 1605[16]	Was acting as corregidor for Francisco de Villegas.
Francisco de Villegas	Corregidor	5 Sept. 1605[17]	

Alonso Palomino	Teniente de corregidor	2 Oct. 1609[18]	
Antonio de Solis	Alcalde mayor	9 Dec. 1609[19] 30 June 1611[20] 12 Jan. 1612[21]	Listed twice as alcalde mayor and once as corregidor.
Don Diego Mandones Baraona	Corregidor	26 March 1613[22]	
Almirante Andrés de Laris Durango	Corregidor	21 March 1616[23] 5 May 1616[24] 16 July 1616[25] 6 Sept. 1616[26] 10 Dec. 1616[27]	In the last entry, Laris is stated to be *justicia mayor*.
Juan de Melgar Orozco	Corregidor	22 Dec. 1617[28]	
Don Juan Antonio de Bohorquez	Justicia mayor	4 May 1619[29]	
Don Gerónimo de la Rua Villamisar	Corregidor	8 April 1623[30]	
Don Juan de Grado Soto[31]	Corregidor	16 May 1626[32]	
Don Alonso Suñiga y Arellano	Corregidor	23 June 1631[33]	
Don Baltazaar de Aguilar Cervantes	Alcalde mayor	1636[34]	
Don Martín López Osorio	Alcalde mayor	1639[35]	
Juan Ortiz de Sosa Perea	Corregidor	16 July 1643[36] 11 Feb. 1644[37]	
Diego Ortiz de Sosa Perea	Teniente del corregidor	18 Sept. 1643[38]	
Don Juan de Saavedra Guzmán	Corregidor	12 June 1645[39]	
Don Francisco López del Castillo[40]	Corregidor	17 June 1650[41] 26 June 1651[42]	On 26 June 1651, he was ordered imprisoned and brought to Mexico, apparently for engaging in *repartimiento de mercancías.*
Don Antonio de Andrada Montezuma	Corregidor	1655[43] 5 May 1655[44]	
Diego Rodríguez de Merlo	Teniente de corregidor	5 May 1655[45]	
Don Alonso Ruiz y	Corregidor	2 March 1660[47]	

Zamora[46]		9 Feb. 1661[48]	
Don Joseph de Salazar y Ferrer	Alcalde mayor	1661[49] 1670[50]	
Don Carlos Tristan del Pozo	Alcalde mayor y juez repartidor	1686[51]	
Don Diego de Soto Guzmán Bonifaz	Alcalde mayor	10 May 1687[52]	
Capitan Don Martín de Masia Vargas[53]	Alcalde mayor	24 July 1690[54] 1693[55]	
Don Francisco Galindo de Burgos	Alcalde Mayor	June 1693[56] 30 Nov. 1693[57]	
Joseph Domínguez	Teniente de alcalde mayor	30 Nov. 1693[58]	Domínguez is mentioned as a "mestizo y vecino de Iguala."
Don Phelipe de Vera Sevallos	Alcalde mayor	26 March 1696[59] 27 July 1696[60]	
Don Francisco Domínguez Basosabal	Alcalde mayor	27 Nov. 1697 March 1699 28 Sept. 1699[61]	
Don Miguel Manuel de Viana	Alcalde mayor	1702[62]	
Don Miguel Delgado	Teniente de alcalde mayor	1702[63]	
Don Cristóbal Escudero Fernández	Teniente de alcalde mayor	30 Sept. 1704[64]	
Sargento mayor Don Joseph Pérez de la Calle	Alcalde mayor	16 Oct. 1704[65] 8 Feb. 1705[66]	Note that in the document of 16 Oct. 1704 Pérez de la Calle is stated to be "[alcalde mayor] por su magestad de este pueblo [Iguala] su jurisdicción y Real Minas de Tasco."
Capn. Don Miguel Delgado	Alcalde Mayor	Dec. 1705[67]	
Capn. Don Secundino Francisco Romero de Ayala	Alcalde mayor	18 March 1712[68]	Perhaps mistaken data; Romero de Ayala has also been recorded as alcalde mayor of Taxco during these years.
Capn. Don Cristóbal Escudero	Alcalde mayor	16 Aug. 1712[69] 12 Sept. 1712[70]	
Don Julián Alvarez	Alcalde mayor	14 Oct. 1714[71]	
Capn. Don Juan de	Alcalde mayor	12 Aug. 1717	

Manzanal		4 Sept. 1717[72]	
Capn. Don Joseph de Robles y Morales	Alcalde mayor	18 July 1718[73] 30 July 1718[74] 19 Aug. 1718[75] 1 Sept. 1718[76] 9 June 1719[77]	Was also the *delegado* commissioned by Lic. Francisco Valenzuela Benegas.
Capn. Don Pedro Pallares	Alcalde mayor	1723[78]	Was also referred to as *teniente* in Taxco.
Don Antonio Leza y Guzmán	Alcalde mayor	1728[79]	Might also have been alcalde mayor in 1729.
Don Eustaquio Rodríguez de Aguero	Teniente general	30 Dec. 1728[80]	
Don Phelipe Antonio de Mier y Campillo	Alcalde mayor	19 Feb. 1734[81] 2 Aug. 1734[82]	Mier y Campillo was a *vecino* of Mexico; he owed 148 pesos to the Mexico City merchant don Juan de los Rios.
Don Francisco Calzado	Alcalde mayor	7 Nov. 1740[83]	Accused of committing excesses.
Don Joseph Rodríguez Vázquez	Alcalde mayor	9 July 1743[84] 17 June 1748[85]	Apparently he was still alcalde mayor in 1750, when the *naturales* of Huitzuco complained about an alcalde mayor who they stated had been in office for 6 years.[86]
Don Francisco Maturana	Alcalde mayor	11 Aug. 1752[87]	
Capn. Don Pablo Ambrisio Carrillo	Alcalde mayor	13 Jan. 1753[88]	
Don Santiago Gómez de la Madrid	Alcalde mayor	23 March 1757[89]	
Don Pedro de la Varreca	Alcalde mayor	11 Jan. 1759[90]	At this time he resided, at least occasionally, in Taxco. In February 1759, mention that the *juez de residencia* was D. Joseph Antonio de Lastres y Vermudes.[91]
Don Francisco Maturana	Alcalde mayor	18 May 1761[92] 23 June 1761[93] 27 March 1763[94]	
Don Ygnacio Olabarria	Alcalde mayor	18 June 1764[95]	
Don Juan Antonio Alvares	Teniente del partido	13 Dec. 1769[96] 1770[97] 5 Feb. 1771[98] 7 May 1771[99] 1772[100]	Note that Alvares is listed as the "teniente del partido" in the first document, "teniente del alcalde mayor" in the second, "teniente de Tepecuacuilco," in the third,

			and as "teniente general" in the fourth. In various other documents other officials are listed for 1770 (cf. following entries).
Don Manuel Rubes y Peña	Teniente de alcalde mayor	17 Aug. 1770[101]	
Don Francisco Maturana	Alcalde mayor	14 Dec. 1770[102]	
Don Santiago Gómes de la Madrid	Alcalde mayor	5 Feb. 1771[103]	Note that even though Iguala had been incorporated into Taxco by this time, Gómes de la Madrid was listed as alcalde mayor of Iguala and, in this same document, D. Juan Antonio Alvares as *teniente* in Iguala.
Don Francisco Maturana	Teniente general de la provincia de Iguala	1 March 1774[104] 11 Oct. 1774[105] 3 Dec. 1774[106] 21 Dec. 1774[107]	On 11 Oct. 1774, don Antonio de Estrada was the *administrador de los reales ramos de tabaco, pólvora y naipes.*
Don Manuel Ignacio Ruis de la Mota	Teniente general de la provincia de Iguala	1775[108] 25 Sept. 1775[109] 15 May 1778[110]	In a document dated 4 Sept. 1777 it is mentioned that D. Francisco Maturana had carried out a *repartimiento de mulas* for Ruiz de la Mota in 1775, when Ruiz de la Mota was *teniente general.* Note that Ruiz de la Mota was a Taxco miner and *diputado de minería* at this time. In Sept. 1776, don Antonio de Estrada was *teniente de la acordada* in Iguala.
Don José Antonio de Ocampo	Teniente general	2 June 1784[111] 6 Sept. 1784[112]	His *lugarteniente* in Huitzuco was D. Rafael Carrión.
Don Fernando Antonio de Revilla	Teniente general	24 Jan. 1785[113]	
Don José Antonio de Ocampo	Teniente general de la provincia de Iguala	1786[114]	
Don Rafael Carrión	Lugarteniente en Huitzuco	1786[115]	
Don Manuel Ruiz de la Mota	Teniente general	15 May 1776[116]	
Don Juan Ignacio de la	Teniente	1788[117]	De la Cuesta is referred to as

Cuesta	general		*teniente general de la provincia de Iguala*, and also as *teniente del pueblo de Tepecuacuilco.*
Don José Ferro Cabeiro	Teniente del subdelegado	17 Nov. 1794[118]	
Don Miguel Suárez de la Serna	Teniente de justicia	5 April 1796[119]	
Don Juan de la Rosa Vargas Machuca	Encargado general de la administración de justicia, provincia de Iguala	5 March 1801[120]	
Don Miguel de la Cuesta	Encargado general de la administración de justicia, provincia de Iguala	18 April 1804[121]	
Don Felipe de Estrada	Encargado general de la administración de justicia, provincia de Iguala	11 Sept. 1805[122]	
Don Juan de la Rosa Vargas Machuca	Teniente general, provincia de Iguala	11 Sept. 1806[123] 14 April 1807[124] 2 May 1808[125]	Rosa Vargas Machuca resided in Tepecuacuilco.
Don Juan Pablo Piniaga	Comandante y justicia de Tepecuacuilco	30 Jan. 1818[126]	

Other officials and positions

18 Aug. 1643 Capitán y sargento mayor don Francisco Ortuno de Villena was commissioned to carry out composiciones in Tepecoacuilco, Teloloapan and Tixtla; AGN-M 45/fols. 161v.–164f.

1779: Da. Tereza de Caparroz rented the collection of diezmos in Tepecuacuilco, 1779; the collector was don Juan de la Cuesta; Indif-Alc Taxco caja 5, exp. 2.

Collectors of the alcabala (all documentation from Indif-Alc Receptoría Taxco; cajas and expedientes vary)

1779 Administrator of the Real Aduana de Iguala y su comprehensión
Don Juan de Villanueva (caja 5, exp. 2)

Tepecuacuilco	1779	José Chavelas	Caja 5, exp. 2
	1782	José Chavelas	Caja 5, exp. 3
	1799	D. Miguel Cuesta	AGN-I 70/140
Huitzuco	1779	Rafael Carrión	Caja 5, exp. 3
	1782	Rafael Carrión	Caja 5, exp. 3
Iguala	1779	Lucas Pineda (Feb.–Nov.)	Caja 5, exp. 2
	1782	Anastacio Castañeda	Caja 5, exp. 3
	1782	D. Juan de Caxigal	Caja 5, exp. 3
	1807	D. Pedro Quijano	AGN-Con 33/4

In Jan. 1818, Capn. D. Pedro Antonio Quijano was the *administrador de rentas reales* in Iguala. In his absence at this time D. José Mariano Rivera was the *encargado.*

In 1798 and 1804 Don Manuel Sañudo is mentioned as *administrador de las rentas del tabaco, pólvora y naypes* (apparently in the Jur. Iguala); Indif-Alc Taxco caja 5, exp. 7 and caja 17, exp. 4.

Notes

1. AGN-M 2/278.
2. Zavala (1982a:124).
3. Zavala (1982a:440). Also mentioned in Zavala (1982a:50).
4. AGN-M 4/fol. 346f.
5. AGN-M 5/fols. 178v–179f.
6. AGN-M 5/fols. 58f–58v.
7. AGN-M 9/fol. 234v.
8. "Relación de Iguala."
9. AGN-T 2948/97.
10. AGN-GP 3/180.
11. AGN-M 14/fols. 431f–432v.
12. AGN-I 6(2)/512.
13. In the second document his name is given as Qualcozes.
14. AGN-GP 5/1367.
15. AGN-M 23/fols. 171v–172f.
16. AGN-T 3514/s.n.

17. Ibid.
18. AGN-T 3518/2.
19. Note that the reference here is for a Alonso de Solis; AGN-BN 443/1, fol. 269v.
20. AGN-T 3514/s.n. and exp. 2.
21. AGN-T 3514/s.n.
22. Ibid.
23. AGN-M 31/fols. 64f–65f. and AGN-T 3514/s.n.
24. AGN-M 31/fols. 95f-96v and AGN-T 3514/s.n.
25. AGN-T 80/4.
26. AGN-M 31/fols. 195v–196f.
27. AGN-M 31/fols. 244v–245v.
28. AGN-M 34/fols. 1v–2f.
29. AGN-T 2756/11.
30. AGN-T 3514/s.n.
31. Once his last name is given as Sotomayor.
32. AGN-T 3514/s.n.
33. Ibid.
34. AGN-I 11/197.
35. AGN-T 3514/s.n.
36. AGN-T 3514/2.
37. AGN-BN 34/10.
38. AGN-T 3514/s.n.
39. Ibid.
40. Note that in the first document is names is given as D. Francisco López de Carrisossa, alcalde mayor, and in the second as D. Francisco del Castillo, corregidor. I have merged these two into one entry.
41. AGN-BN 34/10.
42. AGN-I 16/84.
43. AGN-T 1667/1.
44. Both mentions are in AGN-T 3514/s.n. He is also mentioned as corregidor for 1655 in AGN-T 1667/1.
45. Both mentions are in AGN-T 3514/s.n. He is also mentioned as corregidor for 1655 in AGN-T 1667/1.
46. For the second date his name has been recorded as Rivas y Zamora.
47. AGN-M 53/fols. 1f–2v.
48. AGN-T 3514/1.
49. AGN-T 1667/1. The date might, however, be erroneous.
50. AGN-M 55/fols. 97v–98f.
51. AGN-T 1667/1.
52. Ibid.
53. In one entry I have recorded his name as Mafra, in the other as Masia.
54. AGN-I 30/363.
55. AGN-M 63/fols. 37v–39f.
56. AGN-M 63/fols. 54f–55f.
57. AGN-I 32/176.
58. Ibid.
59. AGN-I 32/350.
60. AGN-T 1667/1.
61. For all three dates cf. AGN-T 3518/2 also mentioned in AGN-T 1667/1.
62. AGN-T 1667/1.
63. Ibid.
64. AGN-T 3518/2, also mentioned for 1704 in AGN-T 1667/1.
65. AGN-T 3518/2.
66. Ibid.

67. AGN-BN 34/10; here I have transcribed his last names as Saenes de Lesaia, probably an error. Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas, "Escrituras y instrumentos publicos, 1712" (last name is illegible).
68. AGN-BN 1545/45.
69. AGN-T 3566/5.
70. AGN-T 3514/2.
71. Ibid.
72. Both dates are in AGN-BN 670/8.
73. Ibid.
74. AGN-T 3518/2.
75. Ibid.
76. AGN-T 3514/1.
77. Ibid.
78. AGN-BN 97/10.
79. AGN-M 73/fols. 42f–43f.
80. AGN-T 3518/2.
81. AGN-GP 30/19.
82. AGN-GP 30/71.
83. AGN-GP 31/450.
84. AGN-T 3542/17.
85. AGN-T 3566/5; at this time he stated that he had been alcalde mayor for five years.
86. AGN-GP 36/fols. 44f–45f (published in ZyC 8:276–78).
87. AGN-BN 721/3.
88. Ibid.
89. AGN-BN 1274/6.
90. AGN-I 48/134 and AGN-I 58/121.
91. AGN-Cr 622/7.
92. AGN-GP 44/s.n. and s. fols.
93. AGN-GP 43/fols. 135f–135v.
94. AGN-T 3541/6.
95. AGN-Tr 2/1 and 2.
96. AGN-BN 469/6.
97. AGN-I 62/104.
98. AGN-I 62/134.
99. AGN-GP 44/264.
100. AGN-M 82/fols. 52v–54v.
101. AGN-BN 431/7.
102. AGN-T 3541/6.
103. AGN-I 62/134.
104. AGN-Cv 510/único.
105. AGN-GP 53/11 Oct. 1774.
106. AGN-I 64/191.
107. AGN-I 64/199.
108. AGN-GP 57/fol. 86f.
109. AGN-Cv 510/único.
110. AGN-BN 435/3
111. AGN-T 2704/21 and 22.
112. AGN-T 2704/21.
113. AGN-Alh 10/3.
114. AGN-T 2704/21.
115. Ibid.
116. He was *teniente general de la provincia de Iguala* when the lands of don Manuel de la Borda were

given to him in possession; Archivo de la Familia Domínguez Islas, "Escritura otorgada por el Sr. Dr. D. Manuel de la Borda," 18 May 1782.

117. AGN-Cr 442/4.
118. AGN-Tr 56/23.
119. AGN-AHH 405/4.
120. AGN-Cr 333/1.
121. AGN-T 2891/7.
122. AGN-T 3667/3.
123. AGN-Con 33/1.
124. AGN-Con 33/4.
125. AGN-T 3576/1.
126. AGN-T 1421/5.

Appendix 7d

Alcaldes Mayores and Corregidores
Jurisdiction of Tixtla
(including documentation of some late colonial fiscal authorities)

NAME OF OFFICIAL	TITLE	DATES DOCUMENTED	ADDITIONAL NOTES
Don Joan de Guzán	Alcalde mayor	4 April 1583[1]	
Francisco de Armenta	Teniente de alcalde mayor de Zumpango	4 April 1583[2] 15 March 1602[3] 9 Feb. 1604[4]	Armenta was *teniente de alcalde mayor* "del pueblo de Zumpango y de este dicho pueblo de Tiztla y su jurisdicción por el Sr. Don Joan de Guzán alcalde mayor." In March 1602 and order was sent to the alcalde mayor of Acapulco, ordering Armenta to desist from exercising the office of *teniente de alcalde mayor.*
Joan de Sandoval	Alcalde mayor	2 June 1593[5]	
Diego de Mendoza	Teniente de alcalde mayor	20 Aug. 1604[6]	
Pedro Anas de Avila	Teniente de alcalde mayor	20 June 1607[7]	
Alonso de Zamudio	Corregidor	20 May 1616[8]	In one document Zamudio is listed as Alonso Camacho; AGN-T 3395/9 (dated 31 May 1616).
Don Pedro de Torres y Sosa	Corregidor	23 Oct. 1619[9] 11 Jan. 1620[10]	In October 1619, Torres y Sosa is stated to be "corregidor por su Magestad del pueblo y minas de Tonipango, tixola, Muchtean, Apango y Hoapa."
Don Luis de Monte	Corregidor	2 Jan. 1632[11]	
Capitán don Diego Godines de Torres	Alcalde mayor	25 Aug. 1668[12]	
Capitán don Pedro de Lisa y Lastanosa	Corregidor	1672[13]	
Capitán don Manuel Contreras Alvarado	Alcalde mayor y capitán de guerra	1675[14] 1680[15] 27 Jan. 1681[16]	In 1680 and 1681, Alvarado is listed as *justicia mayor.*
Don Sebastián de Mendoza	Teniente general de Tixtla	10 Jan. 1681[17]	
Capitán don Phelipe Dávila y Castro	Alcalde mayor	24 June 1691[18]	
Don Francisco Hernández de Olais	Alcalde mayor	9 April 1698[19]	
Don Francisco del Pozo	Teniente de alcalde mayor	16 June 1698[20]	
Don Francisco Sánchez	Alcalde mayor	16 Jan. 1699[21]	In 1699, Pozo is mentioned as

del Pozo		11 Jan. 1703[22]	alcalde mayor and Varreda as *teniente de alcalde mayor.*
Don Francisco de la Varreda	Teniente de alcalde mayor	16 Jan. 1699[23]	
Agustín Quintero	Juez de Tixtla	23 Sept. 1710[24]	
Capitán don Francisco Dávila	Justicia mayor	1712[25] 8 Feb. 1714[26]	In 1714 Dávila was stated to be the *teniente general.*
Capitán don Domingo Bisosso de Figueroa	Justicia mayor y capitán de guerra	28 Aug. 1716 7 Oct. 1717 24 Oct. 1717 20 Dec. 1717	In 1716 Bisosso de Figueroa was stated to be *justicia mayor*; in 1717 he was *administrador de justicia* (Oct. 7) and *justicia mayor y capitán de guerra* (Oct. 24 and Dec. 20). Finally, note that in 1719 he was stated to be *notario de Santo Oficio* (AGN-In 777/fjs. 386-392).
Capitán don Baleriano de Barrientos	Justicia mayor y capitán de guerra	7 June 1720[27] 30 June 1723[28] 9 Dec. 1723[29]	In AGN-Cr 695/12, mention that Barrientos was *teniente general* serving under Coronal don Juan Eusebio Gallo, castellano of the Real Fuerza de Acapulco. In the same document Barrientos is also referred to as the *justicia mayor* and also *alcalde mayor.* On Aug. 1, 1737, mention that Barrientos was *notario del Santo Oficio con título para el Partido de Acapulco*; AGN-In 862/fols. 264f-297v.
Don Pedro de Villanueva Terán	Justicia mayor y capitán de guerra	23 July 1725[30] 16 Jan. 1726[31]	
Don Juan Francisco Yansi	Alcalde mayor	27 May 1727[32]	
Don Melchor de Pino	Alcalde mayor	18 Sept. 1736[33]	
Don Miguel del Varrio	Alcalde mayor	25 May 1737[34]	In a document dated 25 Feb. 1738, in which don Pedro Alvarez de Cienfuegos was given possession of the office of *teniente* in Tixtla, mention is made that the previous *teniente* had been don Miguel del Varrio but for reasons given in another document, he had deserted the jurisdiction; AGN-GP 32/172.
Don Juan Eusebio Gallo de Pardiñas	Castellano de la Real Fuerza de San Diego de Acapulco y alcalde mayor de la jurisdicción de	25 Feb. 1738[35] 10 Jan. 1750[36]	In the 1750 document it is mentioned that Gallo de Pardiñas was a *caballero del orden de Santiago*; in Tixtla he had a *teniente.*

	Tixtla		
Capitán don Pedro Joseph Alvarez de Cienfuegos	Teniente	1738[37] 25 Feb. 1738[38] 5 April 1743[39] 13 July 1744[40] 22 Nov. 1749[41] ca. April 1753[42] 3 Sept. 1753[43]	Alvarez de Cienfuegos had been named *teniente* by the castellan of Acapulco and the alcalde mayor of Tixtla, don Juan Eusebio Gallo, and was given possession of this post by Chilapa's *justicia* on 25 Feb. 1738. Note the extremely long period for which Alvarez de Cienfuegos is listed as *justicia* or *teniente.* Given that I have no other documents that mention other officials for these periods, it is possible that Alvarez de Cienfuegos held these positions for close to 20 years; cf. entry for Nicolás Francisco de Rivas for another individual who held office for many years. In 1738 he is stated to be alcalde mayor, in 1743 and 1744 as *teniente de alcalde mayor*, in 1749 as *justicia mayor*, and in 1753 again as alcalde mayor.
Capitán don Bernardo Hurtado de Balmazeda	Justicia mayor	18 May 1757[44] 14 June 1757[45]	
Don Ramos Barrios	Teniente general y justicia mayor	Oct. 1767[46] 27 July 1770[47]	
Capitán don Nicolás Francisco de Rivas	Justicia mayor	1774-5 Aug. 1779[48] 16 April 1779[49] 22 May 1783[50] 13 Jan. 1785[51] 10 April 1786[52]	On 5 Aug. 1779 it is mentioned that Rivas had been *justicia mayor* for 5 years; there is also a complaint that he had treid to place his *criado* (assistant) don Rafael Garzón, as *teniente* in Chilpancingo. In January 1785, Rivas is said to be *capitán comandante de las milicias del sur and justicia mayor*. He first states that he has governed the jurisdiction for 9 years, and then later states that he has been *justicia mayor* for 10–11 years. Finally, in 1786 Rivas is mentioned as *capitán de las milicias del sur . . . justicia mayor de esta jurisdicción.* Note again the long period of office holding (see entry for Alvarez de Cienfuegos).
Don Diego Carrillo	Justicia mayor	13 Oct. 1787[53]	

	interino y ayudante mayor de las milicas del sur		
Don Nicolás Argote	Subdelegado	15 June 1790[54]	Mention that Argote was the subdelegado in 1790 and that he preceeded Rivas.
Don José de Ortega	Subdelegado interino	1790[55]	
Don Juan Antonio de Rivas	Subdelegado	17 Aug. 1791[56] 1792[57] 18 April 1792[58] 4 June 1792[59] 18 Sept. 1792[60] 1793[61] 23 May 1793[62] 6 June 1793[63] 1794[64] 15 April 1795[65]	In 1792 Rivas is stated to be *encargado del camino a Acapulco* and resident in Chilpancingo.
Don José de Avila	Teniente de subdelegado	1792[66] 18 April 1792[67] 4 June 1792[68]	Apparently Avila was *teniente* in Mochitlán.
Don Juan Sánchez	Encargado de justicia en Chilpancingo	1792[69] 23 Oct. 1792[70]	In October 1792, it is mentioned that Sánchez was a *comerciante.*
Francisco Vizoso	Encargado de justicia en Zumpango	23 Oct. 1792[71]	
Don Pedro Antonio Quijano Cordero	Subdelegado	1797[72] 1797-1801[73] 1797-1803[74] 1798[75] 1799[76] 5 March 1800[77] 3 March 1801[78] Nov. 1801[79] 12 Nov. 1802[80]	In 1798 and 1802, Quijano was referred to as "subdelegado de Tixtla y Chilpancingo," clearly indicating the growing importance of Chilpancingo; AGN-Tr 54/21 and AGN-Tr 4/15. On 19 May 1804 Quijano was residing in the Mineral de San Esteban when he was recalled to render accounts of his office-holding period in Tixtla; AGN-AHH 403/6.
Don Josef Sánchez	Teniente del partido de Atenango del Río	April 1800[81]	
Don Vicente Antonio García	Encargado del partido de Quechultenang o	April 1800[82]	
Don José Antonio García del Casal	Subdelegado	1802[83] 1803[84] 12 Oct. 1803[85] 1804[86]	At times the subdelegado is listed as don José García del Casal and at times as don Antonio García del Casal. In 1804 García del

		1805[87]	Casal is stated to have succeeded Quijano as *subdelegado*; AGN-AHH 403/2.
Don José Aniseto Ortega	Encargado general	19 May 1804[88]	
Don Bernardo Tadeo de la Guerra	Subdelegado	1807[89] 15 Nov. 1807[90] 1808[91] 16 May 1808[92] 1809[93] 16 Feb. 1809[94]	Mention that Tadeo de la Guerra entered office on 15 Nov. 1807. On 16 Feb. 1809 he was the *apoderado* of a Mexico City merchant dealing in the Tixtla jurisdiction.
Don Juan Ygnacio Ferano	Subdelegado	30 Dec. 1817[95]	
Don José Marradon	Subdelegado	15 Feb. 1821[96]	
Don José María Rodríguez	Subprefecto	1825[97]	
Cesario Campos	Subprefecto	19 Aug. 1825-May 1826[98]	Followed don José María Rodríguez in office.

Recaudadores de alcabala

Tixtla		
D. Rafael Garzón	1781–84[99]	At this time Tixtla was dependent upon the alcabalatorio of Chilapa
Don José Molina y Castro	Feb. 1790[100] 23 Oct. 1792[101]	Don José Molina y Castro recaudador de alcabalas y administrador de correos.
Don Benito Andrade	????[102]	Andrade served between Grajales and Molina though the precise dates are uncertain.
Don Narciso Grajales	31 Dec. 1791–96[103] 15 Oct. 1800[104]	Grajales was administrador de alcabalas; in 1801 he was being processed for debts owed. The order of 15 October 1800 relieved Grajales of the administration of alcabalas in the jurisdiction of Chilapa and the contiguous ones of Tixtla and Chilpancingo. He was followed in office by don Pedro Nicolás Cadreche "justicia mayor y subdelegado de hacienda y guerra de este partido [Chilapa]."
Don Pedro Nicolás Cadreche	15 Oct. 1800[105]	Administrador de alcabala
Don José Fuentes	16 Feb. 1808[106]	Receptor de alcabalas
Don José Vicente Mastachi	16 Feb. 1808[107]	Receptor interino de alcabalas por las enfermedades y ausencia del receptor Don José Fuentes.
Don Juan Espíritu	1818[108]	Receptor de alcabalas de Tixtla, de la administracíon de Chilpancingo. Note the reference to Chilpancingo, which seems to indicate the growing importance of this ex-sujeto of Zumpango.

Chilpancingo		
Josef Bélez	23 Oct. 1792 June 1794	Bélez was "recaudador de alcabalas y arriero con dos atajos, residente Chilpancingo." In 1794 Bélez was listed as "receptor del partido de Quechultenango."

Other officials

Don Francisco de Figueroa	juez congregador	August 1604[109]	Reference to the fact that don Francisco de Figueroa had congregated, in August 1604, the pueblos of Tistla, Muchitlán, Zumpango, Apango, Atliaca and San Francisco Ozomatlán. A letter of Br. Augustín Aguero, beneficiado of Zumpango, is addressed to "don Francisco de Figueroa juez de las congregaciones de la provincia de Acapulco y Oapan"
Francisco Ortuno de Villena	juez de composiciones	18 Aug. 1643[110]	Capitán y sargento mayor don was commissioned to carry out compositions in Tepecoacuilco, Teloloapan and Tixtla.
Don Juan Pérez de la Vega Cansio	juez de tierras	7 Nov. 1709[111] 1712[112]	
Don José Gómez de Pielago	Administrador de tabaco	1792[113]	
Don Nicolás Rodríguez	Capitán de compañía en Zumpango	23 Oct. 1792[114]	
Don Joseph de Viguri	Administrador de reales rentas	16 Feb. 1808[115]	

Notes

1. AGN-T 2723/34.
2. Ibid.
3. AGN-GP 6/78.
4. AGN-GP 6/993.
5. AGN-M 18/fols. 251v–252v.
6. AGN-T 2754/6.
7. AGN-M 25/fols. 459f–460f.
8. AGN-M 32/fols. 176v.-165f.

9. AGN-T 3395/6.
10. AGN-I 9/206.
11. AGN-GP 7/fols. 28v–29f.
12. AGN-T 2904/1.
13. AGN-I 24/444.
14. AGN-I 25/83.
15. AGN-I 26(1)/71.
16. AGN-I 26(2)/21.
17. AGN-T 2725/21.
18. AGN-T 2772/18.
19. AGN-I 33/281.
20. AGN-I 33/304.
21. AGN-I 34/6.
22. AGN-T 2720/11.
23. AGN-I 34/6.
24. AGN-T 2819/8.
25. Ibid.
26. AGN-T 3603/9.
27. AGN-T 2819/8.
28. AGN-T 3570/10.
29. AGN-Cr 695/12.
30. AGN-T 3570/10.
31. AGN-I 55/5.
32. AGN-I 55/166.
33. AGN-BN 241/6.
34. AGN-In 862/fols. 264f–297v.
35. AGN-GP 32/172.
36. AGN-GP 36/3.
37. AGN-I 76/3.
38. AGN-GP 32/172.
39. AGI Indiferente 107(1)/fols. 141f–149f.
40. AGN-I 55/248.
41. AGN-B Vol. 80, year 1950, exp. 4.
42. AGN-I 56/154.
43. AGN-I 56/176.
44. AGN-T 3213/1.
45. AGN-T 2856/20.
46. AGN-F 4/16.
47. AGN-I 63/62.
48. AGN-I 66/164.
49. AGN-CRS 183/3.
50. Ibid.
51. AGN-T 3330/8.
52. AGN-CRS 183/3.
53. AGN-T 1156/1.
54. AGN-AHH 403/5.
55. AGN-T 3600/5.
56. AGN-H 498/9.
57. AGN-AHH 403/5 and AGN-T 1264/5.
58. AGN-T 1225/1.
59. AGN-I 67/330.

60. AGN-ICom 2/7.
61. AGN-H 578b/fols. 186f–188f. and AGN-ICom 2/8.
62. AGN-H 98/9.
63. AGN-ICom 2/8.
64. AGN-Inq 1358/12.
65. AGN-Cv 326/6.
66. AGN-T 1264/5.
67. AGN-T 1225/1.
68. AGN-I 67/330.
69. AGN-P 17/fols. 14–25.
70. AGN-P 17/fols. 184–284.
71. AGN-P 17/fol. 379.
72. AGN-Con 38/9.
73. AGN-AHH 403/6.
74. AGN-AHH 403/2.
75. AGN-Tr 54/21.
76. AGN-Tr 4/9.
77. AGN-AHH 403/5.
78. AGN-Alc 281/s.n.
79. Indif-Alc Chilapa, caja 4, exp. 15.
80. AGN-Tr 4/15.
81. Indif-Alc Chilapa, caja 4, exp. 15.
82. AGN-Alc Chilapa Caja 4/exp. 15.
83. AGN-AHH 403/7a.
84. AGN-AHH 403/7b.
85. AGN-Al 11/7.
86. AGN-AHH 403/2, AGN-AHH 403/6 and AGN-AHH 403/7.
87. AGN-AHH 403/5.
88. AGN-AHH 403/6.
89. AGN-AHH 403/9.
90. AGN-Cv 214/3.
91. AGN-AHH 403/2 and AGN-ICom 8/18.
92. AGN-ICom 8/18.
93. AGN-AHH 403/3, AGN-AHH 403/4 and AGN-Ay 141/fols. 1-12.
94. AGN-Con 38/8.
95. AGN-I 77/17.
96. AGN-Ay 141/fols. 1–12.
97. AGN-Ay 236.
98. AGN-Ay 236.
99. Various documents.
100. Indif-Alc Chilapa, caja 3, exp. 2.
101. AGN-P 17/fols. 184–284.
102. AGN-Alc 281/s.n.
103. Ibid.
104. Indif-Alc Chilapa, caja 4, exp. 15.
105. Ibid.
106. AGN-Con 38/9.
107. Ibid.
108. Indif-Alc Chilapa, caja 8, exps. 1 and 6.
109. AGN-T 2754/6.
110. AGN-M 45/fols. 161v.-164f.

111. AGN-T 3518/s.n.
112. AGN-T 2958/165.
113. AGN-P 17/fols. 14–25.
114. AGN-P 17/fol. 287f.
115. AGN-Con 38/9.

Appendix 8a

State of Taxco *haciendas de beneficio de plata* (silver refining haciendas) in 1614

Mineowner	Power source	No. of ingenios/ mazos	Metal in existence		Azogue given	Notes
			Piedra and polvo	Incorporado metal qq/ azogue lbs		
Domínguez Mastache, Joan	horse	1 ing. 8 mazos MyCAA[1]	500 cgas piedra 100 qq polvo			
Pérez, Miguel	horse	1 ing. 8 mazos "herrados aderezandose" AA	100 cgas piedra 100 cgas polvo 50 cgas "quemadas en el horno"	100/65	4 qq	Stated that he had no additional azogue (apparently apart from that incorporated)
Ramírez, Joan	horse	1 ing. ? mazos[2] MyCAA	400 cgas piedra 100 qq polvo	100/117	4 qq	
Mora, Diego de	horse	1 ing. 6 mazos MyCAA	50 qq polvo (see comments)	30/c.c.a.[3]	4 qq	In the hacienda of Da. Simona, located in Tenango, Mora had an additional 200 qq of metal "en piedra e polvo."
Méndez de Soto, Nuno	horse	1 ing. 8 mazos MyCAA	200 qq polvo 200 cgas "en piedra y mazamorra" with 15 lbs merrcury		3 qq	
Estella, Antonio de	water	1 ing. 1 cabeza 5 mazos MyCAA	1400 qq polvo & piedra	20/30	4 qq	

Ruiz de Valderrama, Nicolás de[4]	water	1 ing. 2 cabezas 5 mazos/@ Ambas cabezas MyCAA	3000 qq polvo mas o menos 400 cgas "en piedra y mazamorras poco más o menos"	300/c.c.a. lavándose	8 qq	
Martín Domínguez, Pedro[5]	----	not indicated	400 qq polvo & piedra 60 qq of Joan Ramírez in this hda. 300 qq of Pedro Martín in the Hda. of Da. Simona Espinola 100 qq of piedra in the Hda. of Dr. Villanueva	100/c.c.a.		"Y no haber en la dicha hacienda (i.e. apparently of Nicolas Ruiz de Valderrama) metal de otra persona" "Y no haber en la dicha hacienda metal de otra persona"
Ayala, Melchor de	horse	1 ing. 8 mazos MyCAA	200 qq polvo & piedra	50/c.c.a. and 40/c.c.a. "que estaba lavando"	1 qq	
Ruiz de Valderrama, Francisco	horse	1 ing. 8 mazos MyCAA	100 qq polvo	70/70	4 qq	
Cerón Saavedra, Don Jorge	water	1 ing. 1 cabeza 5 mazos MyCAA	150 qq polvo 200 cgas "en piedra y mazamorra"	60/70	4 qq	
Cerón Saavedra, Martín [administer:Joan de Cabcera]	water	2 ing. 1 cabeza/@ 5 mazos/@ "que se estan aderezando con el avio y aderente necesario para su	630 qq polvo 1100 qq en piedra y mazamorra 240 qq en salmuera		8 qq[6]	"cada uno [mazo] que se están aderezando con el avío y aderente necesario para su beneficio"

		beneficio"				
Frayes de Basocaval, Bartolomé	horse	1 ing. 6 mazos MyC	30 qq polvo 80 cgas piedra 40 cgas piedra quemada	40/80	3 qq	
Román, Martín	horse	1 ing. 6 mazos MyC	500 cgas piedra 100 qq polvo 100 qq piedra "para beneficiar en la hacienda de minas de Da. Simona del Real de Tenango"	160 libras "masa de plata"	3 qq	
Utrera Ramos, Martín de	horse	1 ing. 8 mazos MyC	120 cgas piedra	80/80 and 60/40	3.5 qq	
Arco, Sebastián de	water	1 ing. 2 cabezas "la una de 5 mazos" [sic] MyC	1000 cgas piedra 150 qq metal molido 100 qq metal reververado	180/230	6 qq	"declaraba tiene 300 libras y con la dicha cabeza de cinco masos muele entre día y noche 50 qq teniendo decente el servicio"
Zapata, Doña Ana[7]	water	1 ing. 1 cabeza 5 mazos MyC	1000 cgas piedra 200 qq polvo 200 qq salmuera	100/120	6 qq	Lorenzo Machado (apparently administrador) mentions that "entre día y noche muele la causa del dicho ingenio 30 qq del dicho metal y que no tiene más azogue"
Espinola, Doña Simona (administered by Gabriel Ortiz)	water	2 ing. 1 cabeza/@ 5 mazos/@ Un ingenio MyC... and "la rueda del	1000 cgas piedra 400 qq piedra 150 qq metal molido 50 qq cernidos 100 qq reverberados	100/200		"muele entre día y noche teniendo avío decente 50 qq y que demás del azogue referido declaro el dicho Gabriel Ortiz tener 12 qq"

		otro ingenio aderezandose ambos con el avio y aderente necesario para su beneficio"				
Chavarrieta, Martín de "que tiene en arrendamiento Francisco Alvarez e Diego de Oliver"	water	1 ing. 1 cabeza 5 mazos MyC	100 qq piedra 200 qq polvo 500 qq reverberados 100 qq polvo & piedra of Domingo de Samano 200 qq in masamorra of Martín de Chavarrieta	40 lbs azogue of Francisco Alvarez 50 lbs azogue of Domingo de Samano	10 qq to Alvarez and Oliver 1.5 qq to Domingo de Samano	
Villanueva Zapata, Dr. Luis ("que tiene a su cargo Nicolás Arroyo")	water	2 ing. 2 cabezas/@ "2 ingenios de agua de moler metales cada uno de dos cabezas molientes y corrientes con una cabeza cada ingenio aviados con todo lo necesario para su beneficio"	200 qq polvo 300 qq reverberados 800 qq piedra y mazamorra 100 qq piedra 100 qq piedra quemada	200/300 and 200/250	12 qq	
Cerón Saavedra, Martín (heirs of) administered by Joan de Cabrera	water	1 ing. 2 cabezas "la una armada con 5 mazos" MyCAA	500 qq polvo 100 qq reverberados 400 cgas piedra y mazamorra 300 qq en agua sal para beneficiar (de Joan de Cabrera)	100/150		"con el avío necesario para su beneficio... y que no hay más azogue y que se moleran entre día y noche 35 qq poco más o menos lo que declaro Martín Alonso que se hallo en la dicha hacienda"

Cruz Carrillo, Francisco de la	water	1 ing 2 cabezas 5 mazos/@	1000 qq piedra & polvo 500 qq reverberados		4 qq to Fco. de la Cruz 1 qq to Pedro Sar-miento	Francisco de la Cruz Carrillo mentioned that he had 1 qq azogue
		Pedro Sarmiento tiene arrendada una cabeza de este ingenio	300 qq piedra (de Pedro Sarmiento)			
Castilla, Don Luis de (heirs of) adminitered by Joan de Landa	water	2 ing 2 cabezas/@ 5 mazos/cab? "2 ingenios de agua de moler metales el uno de dos cabezas de a 5 mazos ambas molientes y el otro de 2 cabezas asimismo y la una armada con 5 mazos moliente y corrientes"	2600 qq piedra 400 qq polvo reberberados 500 qq polvillo 150 qq metal en sal	360/540	15 qq	"declaró no tener mas azogue"
Méndez, Francisco	water	1 ing 1 cabeza 5 mazos MyCAA	200 qq piedra 300 qq polvo 150 qq reverberados 300 qq polvo que se hallaron en la hacienda de Francisco de la Cruz	100/150	6 qq	"que tiene en todo 200 libras de azogue" (apparently including the 150 lbs incorporados)
Pereyra, Bartolomé	water	1 ing 1 cabeza 5 masos MyCAA	400 qq piedra 100 qq metal en sal	120/187		"que tiene 30 otras libras de azogue"
Aguila, Don Gaspar de	water	1 ing 2 cabezas	1000 qq piedra 500 qq polvo	200/320		"declaró no tener mas azogue"

administered by Joan Márquez de Escobar		"la una armada con 5 masos moliente y corriente con el avio y aderente necesario para su beneficio"	100 qq metal en sal			
Cabrera, Joan de	horse	1 ing 8 mazos MyCAA	700 qq piedra 180 qq polvo 300 qq en salmuera en la hacienda de los herederos de Martín Cerón Saavedra pertenecientes al dicho Joan de Cabrera		2.5 qq	"Joan de Cabrera el mozo que tiene a su cargo la dicha hacienda declaró no tener ningún azogue"
Cabrón de Bosocabal, Pedro	horse	1 ing 8 mazos MyCAA	1000 qq piedra 50 qq polvo	120/120	3 qq	"declaro no tener mas azogue"
Ruiz de Valderrama, Nicolás	horse	1 ing 8 mazos MyCAA	400 qq piedra	60/22		"declaró tener 2 quintales de azogue por todo para ambas haciendas"
Cardoso, Tomás	horse	1 ing 8 mazos	400 cgas metal 150 cgas piedra 100 qq polvo 100 qq polvillo	50/50	6 qq	"en todo tiene 60 libras de azogue" (not clear if this includes the 50 lbs incorporados)
Villalobos, Francisco de	horse	1 ing 8 mazos MyCAA	120 qq piedra 100 qq polvo	60/60	2 qq	"declaró no tener más azogue"
Domínguez de Mastache, Joan	horse	1 ing 8 mazos MyCAA	600 qq piedra 50 qq polvo 150 qq reverberados	100/100		"declaró no tener más azogue"
Soto y Acuña, Pedro	water	1 ing 1 cabeza 4 mazos	100 cgas piedra 60 qq polvo 150 cgas mazamorra	30/20		

		MyCAA				
Angeles, Antonio de los (and heirs) administered by Joseph Carrillo	water	1 ing 2 cabezas "la una armándose de nuevo con todo lo necesario ejecutándose 5 masos para ello con el avío y aderente necesario para su beneficio"	1000 qq piedra 200 qq piedra (en las minas) 300 qq metal en sal		4 qq	"no tiene azogue"
Berrubravo, Antón						"parada y sin beneficio alguna y la rueda del ingenio quebrada y casi descubierta toda la hacienda"
Berrubravo, Antón	water	1 ing 5 mazos				Hacienda named Santa Cruz "e parada la dicha hacienda e toda la mayor parte de ella caída y descubierta y sin beneficio alguno más de que habiía diez montoncillos en polvo que parecía metal de a 4 o 5 quintales cada montoncillo de piedra que parecía asimismo metal de hasta 20 cargas"
"que tienen en arrendamiento los frailes de la Merced"; the mayordomo was Melchór de Escobár	water	1 ing 1 cabeza 5 mazos MyCAA	3000 qq piedra 100 qq polvo 360 qq metal en sal	30/30	6 qq	Hacienda called San Joseph "no [tiene] más azogue"
"que tiene en arrendamiento Diego Jacobo Zunique"[8]	water	1 ing 1 cabeza 5 mazos MyCAA	600 qq piedra 400 qq en salmuerta			"declaro . . . no tener azogue"

Velásquez, Don Rodrigo administered by Joan Pérez de Vueltos	water	1 ing 2 cabezas 5 mazos/@ "al presente se muele con una cabeza con el avío y aderente necesario para su beneficio"	200 qq piedra 150 qq polvo 200 qq metal en sal	420/455	10 qq	"declaró tener más 500 libras de azogue en esperas"
Alvarez Aldrete, Alonso (heirs of) administered by Joan de Masadan	water	1 ing 1 cabeza 5 masos MyCAA	50 qq polvo 200 qq en salmuera	270/c.c.a		"declaró no tener más azogue"
Frailes de la Merced ("que fue de Diego Xuárez Canizares, difunto")						"caída y despoblada"
Montúfar, Don Martín de (heirs of) administered by Don Antonio del Valle	water	1 ing 2 cabezas 5 mazos/@ "de dos cabezas de a cinco mazos la una moliente y corriente con el avío y aderente necesario para su beneficio"	400 qq piedra 100 qq polvo 230 qq metal en sal	90/105		"en todo tiene 200 libras de azogue"
Dávila, Bernando (heirs of)						"está parada y sin beneficio alguno y casi descubierta"
Rodríguez, Gaspar						"caída de todo punto y despoblada"
Sánchez de Gamboa, Joan	water	1 ing 5 mazos MyCAA	100 qq piedra 200 qq polvo		3 qq	"no tiene azogue alguno"

Sánchez, Clemente "que tiene en arrendamiento Alonso Dávila de la Vega"	water	1 ing 5 mazos MyCAA	400 qq piedra 150 qq polvo 80 qq sal	80/70	2 qq	
Hernández, Aistudio	horse	1 ing 8 mazos MyCAA	100 cgas piedra 600 qq polvo y masamorra	150/not mentioned	3 qq	No figure for amount of azogue incorporado

Source: AGN-T 79/7 (16 fols)

Notes

1. Signifying "moliente y corriente con el avío y aderente necesario para su beneficio" or an equivalent phrase.
2. Number of mazos not indicated.
3. Signifying "quintales incorporados con cantidad de azogue."
4. Locena Adame had this hacienda in his charge.
5. Apparently Pedro Martin Dominguez had the following items, listed in this row, in the hacienda de minas de Nicolas Ruiz de Valderrama (cf. above). The text to this present *visita* reads: "Yten declaró el dicho Loreno Adame tener en la dicha hacienda Pedro Martín Domínguez."
6. 8 qq of azogue given for the beneficio of this hacienda and that of Tenango.
7. In AGN-T 2955/142 reference to Da. Ana Zapata y Sandoval vda. de Rodrigo de Zarate e Billegas, in litigation over debts of 15,735 pesos. An inventory of hacienda yielded:

1) en la galera donde está el ingenio y en el dicho ingenio que es de agua de dos cabezas molientes y corrientes;
2) un repasadero de a caballo en que se repasan los metales;
3) un cauadero con sus tinas, dos cedazos con sus tubos;
4) una mula de repasar;
5) 50 quintales de metal en pas;
6) 100 cargas de metal en piedra y mazamora, 6 quintales en polvo;
7) un negro biejo llamado Francisco Cargo;
8) todas las casas de quadrilla, sitio y asiento de la dicha hacienda de minas.

The *remate* was carried out on 1 Oct. 1610, for total of 4,600 pesos.

8. Apparently in this as the previous entry the person listed was the renter.

Appendix 8b

Winter Grazing Land and Property of the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo
Land Grants and Transactions in the Jurisdictions of Chilapa and Tixtla[1]

DATE AND RECIPIENT	DESCRIPTION AND LOCATION	FUTURE HISTORY[2]	SOURCES
5 Feb. 1615[3] Alonso de la Torre	Merced for a sitio de estancia para ganado menor and 4 caballerías given by the marqués de Guadalazar "términos del pueblo de Apango que es en una vega llana sin árboles cuatro leguas poco más o menos del dicho pueblo de Apango sobre la mano izquierda del camino real que sale del dicho pueblo y por el se va un cuarto de legua camino de Acapulco y en una cruz se aparta una vereda a mano izquierda que va a dar a las dichas tierras y el dicho camino que da por lindero y un manantial que se dice Almolonga . . . linda con un cerro que llaman Tesquatepetl."	On 11 Aug. 1618, de la Torre and his wife, María de Bolaños, *vecinos* of Puebla, sell this land, near Amula, subject to Apango, to the *beneficiado* of Tixtla, don Antonio Domínguez.[4] Included in the 500 peso sale (400 for the land) were 15 oxen,40 fanegas of maize and other items and houses. Domínguez then sells this land on 3 December 1619 to the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo for 400 pesos.	AGN-T 3395/6,7; Konrad 1980:357

20 May 1616 Juan de Castro	Merced for four caballerías near Tixtla "en el paraje que llaman Tecolomula un cuarto de legua del dicho pueblo en el camino que va a Mochitlan pasada la última puente por parte del puente linde de un arroyo seco que sale de la quebrada nombrada Tecolomolan." The *naturales* of Tixtla customarily pastured their animals there.	On 2 Aug. 1622, Castro stated that the merced given to him was on land of Br. Antonio Domínguez. On 4 Sept. 1624, Domínguez sold the 4 caballerías and a sitio de ganado menor (the 4 caballerías had belonged to Castro and the sitio to the *governador* of Tixtla) to the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesus. He stated that the land had belonged to the ex-*governador* of Tixtla, don Baltasar de Sandoval, who left it to Domínguez in his will. The sale price paid by the Colegio was 650 pesos.[5] In one document (AGN-T 3395/9 fjs. 12f-13v) there is an unclear reference to a 1619 sale of these same lands (of Amula *sic)* to the Colegio for 400 pesos. The wording is unclear but seems to indicate that Domínguez acquired the land because of a debt. He adds that Hernán Pérez, vecino of Chilapa, had tried to buy the land for Andrés Pérez de la Higuera (of Puebla), but that Domínguez, in his desire to serve the Colegio, instead sold the land to it for 400 pesos (200 in reales and 200 in goats). The document also contains a complaint by Domínguez that a certain Alonso Samudio incited the Indians to level charges against him, Domínguez (but cf. the account of this same land in Konrad 1980:67). These documents were copied in 1690 at the request of the Compañía, indicating that Tecolomula was still Jesuit property at that time. Note that in 1771 the viceroy approved a *remate* (auction) for 110 pesos (the land had been valued at 100 pesos) of a "pedazo de tierra nombrado Tecolomulan" to don Raphael Canales, *vecino* of Tixtla. The money was to be used for church adornments; AGN-I 63/62.	AGN-M 32/fols. 163v–165f; AGN-T 3395/9; AGN-T 3395/22; Konrad 1980:357

7 Nov. 1616 Pedro Alonso Redondo	Merced for three sitios de ganado mayor to be used exclusively for pasture "que ha de comenzar el dicho agostadero desde pocos días antes de pascua de navidad de cada un año que se presupone que los naturales había dejado y cojido sus sementeras de temporal y hasta los primeros de mayo que es el tiempo que se vuelve a sembrar y desde luego le queda denegada otra merced que tenía pedido de otro sitio de estancia por ser en la parte perteneciente al cacicazgo de Joseph Montezuma y de sus antepasados." Redondo was given possession of the three sitios on 11 May 1617; their location was given as the following: - in the llano de Acatlán, bordering on the hills of Mazatepec and Cocosintla and on the river named Acatlán; - at Nexiapa, bordering on the hills named Nexiatepantli and Tlacacintenantli, with a river running through the site; - at Cuaucingo near a hill named Chiautipantepetl	Possession to 3 sitios was given to Redondo on 11 May 1617. On 11 Oct. 1617 Redondo rented out 5 sitios of land (see below, entry for 26 June 1619) to don Andrés Pérez de la Higuera for 3 years at 300 pesos/year. At this time Redondo mentioned that the 5 sitios were contained in 2 mercedes that he had already received. On 15 March 1619 Redondo was about to sell these 5 sitios to don Tristan Luna y Arellano, who was buying the land for the Colegio;[6] the sale was not consumated and then on 3 April 1619 Redondo again rented the land to de la Higuera for 9 years at 100 pesos/year. Later that year the Colegio requested that the sale be carried out and that Redondo return the 900 pesos in rent. On 15 April 1619 the Colegio agreed to pay 1,700 pesos in cash and 300 arrobas of wool as payment for the 5 sitios. On 11 and 12 Sept. 1619 the Compañía de Jesús took possession of the 5 sitios. The names and location of the 5 sitios were:[7] - Cocotzintla ("que está en frente de una laguna que llaman Acateyagualco y dista del pueblo de Acatlan un cuarto de legua yendo hacia el poniente"); - Nexapa; - Chilatl Itempa ("por otro nombre el Rancho de Sancho García"); - Coatzinco ("en términos de Atzacualoya"); - Ocotlacatlatla ("en términos de Atzacualoya")[8] The price paid for the land was 1700 in pesos and 300 pesos in its equivalent of white wool (150 *arrobas* from Santa Lucía). The Jesuits announced plans to move their goats onto this land the following year. The *naturales* of the area objected to the sale, citing the potential damage to their crops. De la Higuera, who was renting the land and had sheep there which he had bought from Sancho García, noted that under the terms of the rental he had the right to buy the land at a matching price. He and the Compañía reached a compromise and the Jesuits sold him half of the three sitios (on 25 April 1619), those which did not border on other lands in the vicinity, for 1000 pesos. The widow of de la Higuera sold these sitios to Sagastibaria (see below, entry under Arratia).	AGN-T 3395/12; AGN-T 3395/13; AGN-T 3395/14; AGN-M 32/fols. 280v–281f; Konrad 1980:358

13 July 1617 Diego Alonso de Alfaro	Merced for 2 sitios de estancia para ganado menor, to be used only for grazing. The location is "el un sitio de estancia en un llano junto al camino que va del dicho pueblo al de Azaqualoya y su subjeto donde está una sabina grande a mano derecha como se va del dicho pueblo de Azaqualoya al de Chilapa y el otro sitio en la loma y cañada que dicen de Acatlan hacia el norte dejando el camino Real que va del dicho pueblo al de Acatlan a mano derecho."	On 17 July 1617 Alfaro stated that the lands belonged to the Colegio.	AGN-M 33/fols. 121f–121v; AGN-T 3380/7–8 Konrad 1980:356
13 July 1617 Hernán Pérez de Luna	Merced for a sitio de estancia de ganado menor *para agostadero*. The location of the land is near Chilapa "en el llano que llaman Quilchilapa que es al principio de la sierra que está por donde va el camino del dicho pueblo al de Mochitlan que es dicho sitio dista dos leguas del dicho pueblo de Chilapa y cuatro de Mochitlan."	On 17 July 1617 Pérez de Luna appeared in Mexico City and stated that the sitio was property of the Compañía de Jesús "porque por parte del dicho Collegio se le dio noticia del y a su costa y mención se hicieron las diligencias y pagó la composición." For this reason he ceded and gave the land to the Colegio, which was given possession on 22 December 1617.	AGN-M 33/fols. 123v–124f; AGN-T 3380/2; AGN-T 3395/10 Konrad 1980:356

26 June 1619 Pedro Alonso Redondo	Petition denied for a merced of two sitios of ganado menor to be used exclusively as *agostadero* "y no en tiempo de aguas y sementeras y no edifique ni resida en los dichos sitios." The land is said to be part of the *cacicazgo* of Joseph Montezuma and his ancestors. Instead, Redondo is allowed, in accord with the pertinent ordinances, to graze his cattle on this land during the dry season. Some documents mention that the merced was granted, others that it was denied, and others that it was in litigation. It appears that a compromise was reached and only grazing rights were allowed. At any rate, the Jesuits apparently did acquire rights to this land some time later. The location of the two sitios is as follows: - half a league beyond Azaqualoya and two and one-half leagues from Chilapa, near a small brook adjoining a hill named Topiltepec; - Chilatl Itempan or Rancho de Sancho García Cano, where García used to keep his sheep ranch, half a league from Chilapa and two from Azaqualoya, bordering on the lands of Azaqualoya and a hill named Chilapantepetl.	The Jesuits acquired both these sitios though it is not clear how. On 5 August 1696 Joseph de Salazar rented Coatzingo for 9 pesos/year in a 10-year contract (AGN-T 3425/1).	AGN-T 3395/12; AGN-T 3395/13; AGN-T 3395/14

1 Jan. 1620 D. Joseph de Moctezuma	On 23 Sept. 1619 don Joseph Moctesuma, "cacique principal del pueblo de Chilapa" stated that an estancia de ganado menor near Atzacualoya had previously belonged to his grandfather, don Agustín de Chilapa. The sitio is named Tlatlauquitepec and is located "en la falda de un monte llamado Xochitepec." Don Agustín de Chilapa had been given these lands by the viceroy Martín Enriquez; the titles had been lost when his house burned down. The lands had then passed to the son-in-law of don Agustín de Chilapa, don Pedro Tlacopan, and then to his son, don Joseph de Moctesuma. D. Joseph de Moctezuma was reissued a title on 1 January 1620.	On 16 Jan. 1620 don Joseph Moctezuma appeared before the corregidor and stated that he had sold this land to the Colegio of the Compañía de Jesús for 350 pesos *de oro común*. The Colegio was given posession on 7 December 1620.	AGN-T 3380/3; Konrad 1980:356
7 July 1620 Gerónimo Martín	*Acordado* given to Martín to have *diligencias* carried out in relation to a merced he had requested for 1 sitio para ganado menor at a place called Ayocintepeque "junto a un camino que va del pueblo de Zitlala al de Apango tomando de norte a sur y tiene por lindero un agueguete grande en un lado llamado Amula que dista de Chilapa dos leguas." The sitio is near Toscaquiquila. No objections were raised by the naturales of neighboring villages and the corregidor recommends that the merced be granted (apparently it was).	The merced is one of the documents copied at the Jesuit's behest in 1690. There is no indication of how this land became property of the Colegio, although it undoubtedly did given that it was copied at their request.	AGN-T 3395/15

26 June 1623 Antonio de Arratia	On 9 January 1621 the corregidor of Chilapa suggests that the 3 sitios de ganado menor *para agostadero* solicited by Arratia may be granted. They are at the following locations: - "en el puesto que llaman Tocacoquila en el camino que va del dicho pueblo al de Apango que linda con tierras de Topiltepeque y con el monte de Apango (valued in 25 pesos); - "en la cañada de Ocoytuco que lindan por la una parte con tierras de don Joseph Montezuma llamados Mimistla y por la otra con tierras de Quamicatitlan (valued in 30 pesos); - "en la cañada llamada Ayosinapa que lindan por una parte el monte de Apango y por la otra la sierra de Tzitlala (valued in 20 pesos)" The prehispanic villages located at Ayotzinapa and Tescaquiquila had been congregated in Zitlala, and that at Ocuytuco, near Mimistla, had been congregated in Chilapa. According to witnesses it had never been cultivated. The merced was granted on 26 June 1623, and possession was given on 25 January 1624.	On 8 May 1630 Arratia sold the three sitios to doña Francisca Díaz Matamoros, widow of don Andrés Pérez de la Higuera, *vecino* of Puebla, for 1000 pesos. Díaz Matamoros and her second husband, the *alferez* don Andrés Arano, both *vecinos* of Puebla de los Angeles, were given possession on 11 and 12 January 1631. They sold this property along with the 1.5 sitios they had acquired from don Andrés de Higuera, and approximately 20,000 head of ganando menor to don Pedro de Sagastibaria, also a *vecino* of Puebla, and his wife Juliana de Galves for 29,181 pesos (from which was to be deducted 3,000 of a *capellanía*). The sale was consumated on 7 August 1632.[9] On 2 September 1645 the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo acquired this land (4.5 sitios) from Sagastibaria for 2,000 pesos.	AGN-T 2717/5; AGN-T 3395/17; Konrad 1980:69, 358

Notes

1. In 1661 the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo was given an *amparo* and then possession of 15 sitios de ganado menor and 8 caballerías de tierra in the area of Chilapa and Tixtla; AGN-T 3395/22. The Colegio also owned lands southwest of Tixtla, past San Juan Osochinapa; AGN-T 2720/11 (dated 1709).

2. The lands had been composed in 1643 for 70 pesos; AGN-T 3427/1).

3. Different dates are given by Konrad (1980:356) and in AGN-T 3395/22, which states that this merced was given on 13 Feb. 1617.

4. The Indians of Tixtla opposed the activities of Domínguez, who apparently was acquiring land for the Colegio. They stated that "los negocios que lleva es que porque ayuda a las cosas de la Compañía, los indios de este pueblo trujeron mandamiento en que le destierran de el"; AGN-T 3395/9 fol. 12f).

5. Konrad (1980:357) gives a slightly different history of this land, and gives its size as 1 sitio de ganado menor and 4 caballerías.

6. The documents are confusing. One (AGN-T 3395/12 fols. 1–3) states that the sale to the Colegio was to be celebrated in Tlaxcala on 15 March 1619, through don Tristan Luna y Arellano, who was buying for the Colegio. But when news of the viceroy's death arrived, Luna y Arellano went to Mexico City. Note, however, that the viceroy at that time, the marqués de Guadalcazar, did not die until 1621. Thus there may be an error in the document.

The rental contract to Pérez de la Higuera is dated 3 April 1619; one condition of the sale is that the land must not be sold without giving him an opportunity to match the price. On 18 May 1619 Pérez de la Higuera, through Hernando Maldonado, *vecino* of Xalapa, is given possession of the 5 rented sitios. On 15 April 1619 the Colegio signed an agreement to deliver 150 arrobas of wool as part payment on the 5 sitios (price agreed upon had been 1,700 pesos and 300 arrobas of white wool). On 11 September 1619 the Colegio brought their land titles to Chilapa and was given possession the following day. De la Higuera objected and demanded that he be allowed to buy the land for the same price as was agreed to in the rental agreement. On 25 April 1620 a compromise agreement between the Colegio and de la Higuera was reached, and the Colegio sold de la Higuera 1.5 sitios for 1,000 pesos. The Colegio and de la Higuera split the 3 mercedes with title and if the other merced were to be approved each party is to pay for half of the costs and value of the land. Apparently the Jesuits obtained these additional two sitios.

Note that Redondo was selling, or renting, 5 sitios even though he had apparently received a merced to only 3 (Konrad 1980:62 notes the same point, that the sale to the Jesuits was made over two months before Redondo's receipt of title. However, note that the title received was limited to grazing and then was in litigation). Nevertheless, in his 11 Oct. 1617 rental agreement with de la Higuera, Redondo mentions that the 5 sitios are contained in 2 mercedes that he had already received. On 26 June 1619 the viceroy denies the merced of 2 sitios near Chilapa to Redondo, only permitting that "valiéndose de las ordenanzas pueda entrar en ellos en el tiempo permitido a agostar con sus ganados y no en tiempo de aguas y sementeras y no edifique no resida en los dichos sitios"; AGN-T 3395/13 fol. 11v). A document of 6 February 1620 mentions that 3 sitios are covered by a merced and 2 are in litigation (*diligencias*).

7. The boundaries of these properties are given in AGN-T 3395/12.

8. This is the name given in AGN-T 3395/13; in AGN-T 3395/12 the name of this sitio appears as Zontecomatlan.

9. For an account of the terms of the sale between Arano and Segastivaria, see AGN-T 3395/17, fols. 12–24. The following items were sold in this transaction:

ITEM	VALUE	NOTES
20,144 adult head of ganado menor (male and female sheep and goats) with 6,818 offspring. From this are to be deducted 690 for the tithe, leaving 19,454 adult sheep and goats, valued at 12 reales/each (at the time of the sale these animals were in Puebla de los Angeles)	29,181	
30 dogs	45	
6 mules	9	
Black slave who works as a shepherd	1½	
Shearing house in Puebla	3½	Plus recognition of a 2,000 peso censo on the property
4.5 sitios de ganado menor for pasture (*para agostadero*) in Chilapa	6 ¾	
Total of above	29,246 ¾	
To be subtracted, recognition of 3,000 pesos of a *capellanía* founded by doña Francisca Díaz Matamoros in 1616	3,000	
Total to be paid	26,246¾	

* Note that the document gives 29,249 pesos and 2 reales (and 26,249 pesos and 2 reales) although this is not in accord with the itemized total. The itemization obviously reflects an adjustment on various items. The sheep and goat offspring are not "included" in the sale price, and the value of the slave and land is undoubtedly underestimated, while the adult sheep and goats are perhaps overvalued.

Also included in the sale, but not given a monetary value, are the following:
1) The rights to rent other lands nearby that belong to a cacique from Chilapa;
2) The debts of Indians present and absent, and rights to their labor;
3) Kettles, metates and other items belonging to the hacienda.

Appendix 8c

Hacienda of Palula
State at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century

(including documentation of objections to the *vista de ojos* promoted by Garay Villavicencio)
(see maps 5f and 5g)

CUADRILLA	1712	1728
Acamac	Objection voiced by Ayala to claim of Garay Villavicencio. Joseph Gómez was recognized as the owner of this land.	
Acayahualco	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of ownership by Garay Villavicencio. Ayala stated that Garay rented Acayahualco from him and that his wife's antecessors had bought this land from Juan García Ponce (father).	Rented by Lic. don Lucas de Garay, *cura beneficiado* of Tepecuacuilco, who kept his cattle here. He testified that he recognized doña Gertrudis de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, widow of don Martín Luzón, as owner. He is not certain how much rent he owes but estimates it to be over 1,000 pesos. He suggested that doña Gertrudis de Rivera would know. The estancia of Acayahualco was embargoed to cover Ayala's debts.
Ahuatetla		Rented by the mestizo Joseph del Balle, who paid no rent because his wife, Juana Pasquala, was Ayala's *comadre*. Ayala permitted del Balle to graze his cattle on this land and until he found a rancher who would rent Ahuatetla. The ranch was embargoed.
Apipilulco	Objection voiced by Ayala to possession given to Cocula at Apipilulco. Eventually Cocula was to sell the adjoining land at Atlixtac, but retained ownership of Apipilulco.	
Ascala	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division among Montúfar's heirs.	
Atetela (near Cocula)	Objection voiced by Ayala to claims of Garay Villavicencio and possession held by the village of	

	Cocula, which had a cattle ranch there. Apparently Cocula retained control of this land throughout the colonial period.	
Atlistac (near Cocula)	Objection voiced by Ayala to claims of Garay Villavicencio and possession held by Cocula. Soon afterward Cocula sold this land to don Juan de Soto y Acuña.	
Carrisal	Uncontested property of Ayala.	The ranch or *venta* at the *paraje* called Carrisal had been rented from Ayala by Pedro Joseph, deceased by 1729. His widow, doña Pasquala de los Reyes González, stated that the rent had been 60 pesos per year. At the time of the inventory 8 months rent was owed. The ranch was embargoed.
Coacoyula	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	To graze his cattle, Diego de Soto y Acuña rented both the ranch of Tonalapa and the estancia of Coacoyula. By 1728 he had been renting these lands for a long time and had recently signed a new lease for 50 pesos/year. He owed no past rents and this year, 1728, had already paid 16 pesos, with anther 34 to be paid by the end of the rental year in June. The rancho was embargoed.
Cuaulotal (or Venta de Cuanaca)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio. Ayala retained control over this land, which remained part of the hacienda of Palula until its division in the late nineteenth century.	Joachin de Astudillo, a castizo over 70 years old in 1728, rented the "rancho o venta de Cuanaca y hazia [sic] alias Quaulotal." During the life of doña Micaela de Ojea he had paid only 25 pesos per year in rent. Now, in 1728, he paid 33 pesos; he owed only 15 pesos in rent at the time of the inventory. The ranch of Cuaulotal was embargoed.
Joya de Atopula	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	
Metlapa	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio over land at Metlapa. Ayala rented this land to the widow of Antonio Román. It remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	Rented by don Pedro de Soto y Acuña, son of doña Isabel Rodríguez de Molina. He did not pay rent because Ayala had pawned this land to Soto y Acuña's mother beginning in 1713 for an unspecified amount of money. The property is here referred to as San Andrés Metlapa, i.e., it probably embraced the adjacent lands of San Andrés and Metlapa. The ranch was embargoed and don Antonio de Ayala is not permitted "uso ni dominio alguno en dicho rancho."

Palula	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	Rented by sixteen "naturales terrasgueros." Eleven were present at the time of the *diligencias* (court case) and five were absent. That was the total population. They paid a flat rent of 2 cargas of maize, irregardless of how much they planted. If the harvest failed they paid 2 pesos in coin, and if because of illness or any other reason an individual could not plant his field he was not charged rent. This had been the case the past year with five Indians (who thus didn't pay rent). This year twelve individuals planted; they owed 24 pesos rent for the year, but none for previous years. The *paraje* of Palula was embargoed.
Pantla	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	The trapiche of Pantla was rented by Diego de Nava, an *español,* who kept his cattle here. He paid 70 pesos per year in rent and owed about 50 pesos for the present year of 1728. The *sitio* of the ranch of Pantla was embargoed.
Pedernales, Rancho de los	Uncontested property of Ayala; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	Rented by Juan Francisco Domínguez, an *español* who kept cattle and horses here. Previously his uncle Juan Baena had rented these lands. Now Domínguez and his first cousin, Miguel Baena, rent the ranch for 12 pesos per year, which he paid in June. The lands of the ranch Los Pedernales were ordered embargoed.
Plantanar (=Tzinacantlan)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio at Plantanar.	
Quetlacochiapan	Claimed by Ayala.	
Rancho de Cortés	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio at Rancho de Cortés. Ayala rented this land to Bernabe Baena. Apparently this was land of García Ponce that he sold separately and previous to his sale of Tepantlan to the Jesuits.	
Sabana Grande	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio at Sabana Grande. This property remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	
San Andrés	Objection voiced by Ayala who rented land at San Andrés to Ana Rodríguez, widow of Joseph de Soto y Acuña. It remained part of the hacienda until	See entry under Metlapa.

	the late nineteenth-century division.	
San Juan	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio at San Juan.	
Sasamulco	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claim of Garay Villavicencio; it remained part of the hacienda until the late nineteenth-century division.	
Tepochica	Located within the area contested by Ayala and Garay Villavicencio. Sasamulco remained part of the hacienda of Palula until the late nineteenth-century division.	Tepochica was rented by José Domínguez who lived on this land, where he kept cattle. Domínguez recognized as owner don Manuel de Yriarte, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, *vecino* of Mexico and widower of doña Ysabel de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada. Previously Domínguez had paid rent to doñ Micaela de Ojea y Miranda; then to her son-in-law don Marcos Montalvo, the first husband of doña Ysabel de Rivera; then to the widowed doña Ysabel; and finally to Yriarte. In 1728 the rent was 50 pesos per year and Domínguez would have owed 150 pesos by coming June, 1728. The ranch was not embargoed given that it did not belong to don Antonio de Ayala.
Tonalapa (del Sur)		See entry under Coacoyula.
Venta (located near Plantanar)	Claimed by Ayala, apparently not contested.	
Venta de Cuanaca		See entry under Cuaulotal.
Xalapilla	Located within the area contested by Ayala and Garay. Xalapilla remained part of the hacienda of Palula until the late nineteenth-century division.	
Zoquiapan (near Cocula)	Objection voiced by Ayala to the claims of Garay Villavicencio and the possession held by Cocula, which had a cattle ranch belonging to a *cofradía* here.	

Objections during *Vista de Ojos* Promoted by Garay Villavicencio

Day 1	
Tepastitlan	Objection by Juan Rodríguez, who stated he had owned these lands at Tepastitlan for over 30 years. Another objection to Garay Villavicencio's claim was voiced by Antonio Román.
[not named; probably an area south of Yancuicapan]	Objection by Bernabe Baena (3514/2 p. 22) [the land in question was located near Tomatal].
[land not named, located ¼ league from Tepecuacuilco]	Objection by the indigenous village of Tepecuacuilco.
Alchichic	Objection by Lorenzo Rodríguez, who stated that he bought this land as *realenga* from the *juez de tierras* Antonio Ortiz de Herrera.
Acayahualco and Tepochica	Objection by Antonio Ayala, who stated that Garay had rented these lands from him.
Day 2	
El Platanal	Objection by Antonio de Ayala who had possession of these lands and who stated he had titles to it.
Venta del Pajarito and La Cieneguilla, part of the venta	Objections by Pedro de Ocampo and Nicolás Mexía Lobo; Ocampo claimed to have title to these lands.
Foot of a hill named San Lucas (*pueblo antiguo*), a dry lake named Atezca, and finally, land close to the village itself	Objection by the indigenous village of Tlaxmalac.
Trapiche named Yestla	Objection by Huitzuco, which claimed that the Jesuits had paid them rent of six rams per year to use this land, although the *governador* would often refuse to rent it out. The village also mentioned that this site was a trapiche until two years ago, when the water dried up. Yestla was then rented out by Huitzuco to Nicolas Gaetán and to the priest of Huitzuco and Tlaxmalaca.
Tlaltocan	First claimed by Garay, whose pretensions were objected to by Joseph Castrejón, who showed that his titles were older by six years than those of Juan Mas, Pedro Millán, Nicolás de Nava, and Juan Baptista Veneciano (*causantes* of Garay V.). Castrejón also had a composición to these lands. Although he first asserted his rights to the land, Garay V. later recognized Castrejon's possession and rights.
Rancho de Cortés	Objection by Antonio González de Tenorio, widow of Manual de Chávez. The objection was apparently for lands near the Rancho de Cortés, which she claimed, but which were being rented by Ayala to Bernabe Baena.
Xolocamotla, Tetelilla, Alseseca, Cauxtla, as	Objection by the indigenous village of Mayanalán.

well as some adjoining lands	
Day 3	
Four suertes of land around El Melonar, including, apparently, Alchichic, Tonalapan, and Necuautla	Objection by the villages of Tuspa and Iguala, as well as by Antonio de Ayala, the heirs of Joseph Soto (Diego and Antonio de Soto), Joseph Gómez (owner of Acamac), and Lorenzo Rodrigues de Molina (owner of a ranch at Achichipa and San Juan).
Ranch of San Andrés	Objection by Ayala, who rented this land to Ana Rodríguez, widow of Joseph de Soto y Acuña. Objection by the indigenous village of Iguala to Garay's claims at San Andrés and other nearby lands.
Agua de Manteca	Objection by Juan de Soto y Acuña, who claimed that he had possessed these lands peacefully for 16 years.
Metlapa	Objection by Antonio de Ayala, who rented this land to the widow of Antonio Román.
Ranch of Ahuehuepa, trapiche of Oculixtlahuacan, and *trapichillo* of Tuxtla	Objection by Jorge de Gama and his nephew Br. don Francisco de Gama, who stated that their ancestors had bought these landa from the Jesuits.
Ranch, apparently named San Juan	Objection Antonio de Ayala, who claimed to be owner and rented this ranch to Lorenzo Rodríguez de Molina.
Small, unnamed ranch or trapichillo	Objection Antonio de Ayala, who claimed to be owner rented this piece of land to Joseph Domínguez.
Day 4	
Llano of San Juan and Atetela, where Cocula had a rancho de vacas	All these lands were possessed by Cocula and claimed by Garay V.
Soquipan where Cocula had another rancho of ganado mayor which belonged to a cofradia	Garia claimed this land, which Antonio de Ayala stated the land belonged to neither Cocula nor Garay, but to him.
Atlistac, Chachamulco, Sabana Grande, El Cuaulotal to Tetelilla and Alseseca	Garay claimed that these lands had belonged to the Colegio; Ayala objected (AGN-T 3514/2 p. 29). Ayala then claimed as his Palula, Acayagualco, Sacamulco, Coacuyula, Soquiapa, San Juan Alpipilulco, Atlistaca, Altetetla, San Andrés, and Metlapa. Cocula requested an *amparo* of the lands at San Juan, Atetetla, Zoquiapa, Apipilulco, Atlistaca, and Tecomatlan where they grazed their cattle. They mentioned litigation over these lands with the heirs of Micaela de Ojea y Miranda, i.e. Juliana de Salazar, who had defended their rights by claiming that these lands were annexes to the hacienda of Palula. When Cocula obtained a composición to their land in 1712, the only objection was voiced by Ayala.

Source: AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 63v ff.
For the state of landholdings during the vista de ojos promoted by Garay V., see map 5f, which accompanied the documents pertaining to the litigation. Map 5g gives a general overview of the Iguala Valley during the eighteenth century.

Appendix 8d

Tenant Farmer Cuadrillas
Hacienda of Palula
(San Miguel, Carrisal and Xochicuetla)
1710–1892

Summary of Cuadrillas and Sources for the Colonial and Independence Periods
(shaded boxes indicate years for which documentation that mentions the cuadrilla has been located)

CUADRILLA	1710	1728	1809	1833	1866	1892	NOTES
Acayahualco	x	x	x	x			In 1728, Lzdo. Don Lucas de Garai Villavisencia, *cura beneficiado* of Tepecuacuilco, kept cattle at the estancia of Acayagualco, which he rented from doña Gertrudis de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada. He owed more than 1000 pesos in back rent. In 1728 Acayahualco was embargoed to pay for Ayala's debts.
*Agua Dulce				x			
*Ahuatetla		x					In 1728, the ranch of Ahuatetla was worked by Joseph del Valle, a mestizo, whose wife, Juana Pasquala, was Ayala's *comadre.* Del Valle grazed his cattle on this land. Ayala lent them the property rent-free while he looked for a renter. Ahuetetla was embargoed this year to pay for Ayala's debts.
Ahuehuepan						x	
Ahuelicán						x	
Apasapa					x		
Ascala	x			x	x	x	

Carrisal	x	x		x			In 1728, it is mentioned that Pedro Joseph, then deceased, had rented the "rancho o venta del Carrisal." His widow, doña Pasquala de los Reyes González, stated that the rent had been 60 pesos/year and that eight months rent were owed at the time. The ranch was embargoed to pay for Ayala's debts.
Ceja Blanca						x	
Cieneguillas	x						Claimed by Ayala ca. 1710, when it was in dispute.
Coacoyula	x	x		x	x	x	In 1728, Diego de Soto y Acuña rented the ranch of Tonalapa and the estancia of Quacoyula, where he grazed his cattle. De Soto y Acuña paid 50 pesos/year in rent and owed no rent, having paid 16 pesos for the current year of 1728. Coacoyula was embargoed in 1728 to pay for Ayala's debts.
Contlalco				x			
*Copanaguasco		x	x				This site is probably the *sujeto* of Tepecuacuilco mentioned as located .5 league south of the *cabecera* (see appendix 1b). It was being rented out in 1728.
Cuaulotal		x		x			In 1728, Joaquín de Astudillo rented the "rancho venta de Cuanaca y hazia [sic] alias Quaulotal." During the life of doña Micaela de Ojea he had paid 25 pesos/yr. in rent but in 1728 was paying 33 pesos/yr. In 1728 he owed 15 pesos for back rent. The ranch was embargoed to pay for Ayala's debts.
* El Tule			x	x			
Estola			x				Mentioned in AGN-Historia 578b as marking the limits between the hacienda of San Miguel and that of Carrisal Xochicuetla to the south.
Joya de Atopula	x					x	Perhaps an early name for Joya de Pantla. In 1892 it was referred to simply as "Joya" and was included in a single property with Ceja Blanca and Pantla (see appendix 8e).

La Mohonera					x	x	
Las Mesas				x	x	x	In 1866 this property's name was given as Las Mesas del Carrizal.
*Los Huajes						x	
Maxela				x	x	x	
Metlapa	x	x		x		x	In the 1728 embargo it was mentioned that don Pedro de Soto y Acuña rented the ranches of Tepochiuca and San Andrés Metlapa (apparently San Andrés and Metlapa are here considered one property). He did not pay rent because Ayala owed money to de Soto y Acuña's mother, doña Ysabel Rodríguez de Molina.
Palula	x	x	x	x	x	x	In 1728, the estancia of Palula was rented by "indios terrasgueros." There were 16 renters, 11 of whom were present at the time of the *diligencias,* and five of whom were absent. They paid rents of 2 pesos or 2 cargas per *milpa:* "dijeron que lo que pagan el año que siembran cada uno de por si sembrado poco o mucho son dos cargas de maís si se logra la cosecha y no lográndose dos pesos por cada uno, y si por cintigencia de enfermedad o otro accidente dexa alguno de sembrar no paga cosa alguna aquel año como ha susedido en el presente año con Juan Melchor, Antonio Juan, Agustín Leonardo, Thomás Santiago y Juan Bernabe el uno por enfermedad y los otros cuatro por que al tiempo de las siembras aún corría por si y se casaron." There were no outstanding debts, only the 24 pesos owed for the present year of 1728. Palula was embargoed along with the other properties of Ayala.
Pantla	x	x				x	In 1728 Diego de Nava *(español)* rented the *trapiche* named Pantla. He kept his cattle there and paid 70 pesos/yr. in rent to Ayala. He owed 50 pesos for 1728. Pantla was embargoed in 1728 to pay for Ayala's debts.
*Pedernales, Rancho de los	x	x					In 1728 this ranch was rented by Juan Francisco Domínguez, a Spaniard, who kept his "ganados y caballadas" there. Previously his uncle, Juan Baena, had rented the lands. Domínguez rented the land with his cousin Miguel Banea. Together they paid 12 pesos/yr. in rent. They owed no money. In 1728 the ranch was embargoed to pay for Ayala's debts.

							On the map this property is referred to as Cerro de los Pedernales.
Plantanar	x						Claimed by Ayala ca. 1710 in a dispute.
*Potrero				x			
*Quetlacochiapan	x						Located west of Plantanar. Claimed by Ayala ca. 1710 in a dispute.
Real del Limón				x	x	x	
Rincón de la Cocina			x	x		x	Usually referred to as simply "El Rincón."
Sabana Grande			x	x	x	x	
*San Andres	x	x					Located north of Metlapa and, apparently, south of Tlayalapa. See entry under Metlapa.
*San Miguel				x			
Santa Teresa			x	x			
Sasamulco			x	x	x	x	
Tecuescontitlan				x	x	x	
Tepehuaje				x		x	
Tepochica	x	x		x		x	In 1728 Tepochica was rented by José Domínguez from don Manuel de Yriarte, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, *vecino* of Mexico and widow of doña Ysabel de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada. He had previously paid rent to doña Micaela de Ojea y Miranda, to don Marcos Montalvo, first husband of doña Ysabel de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, to doña Ysabel de Rivera Ulloa y Taboada, and now to Yriarte. The rent was 50 pesos/yr. and Domínguez owed 150 pesos in back rent. The ranch was not embargoed, apparently because it was not clearly the property of Ayala.
Tierra Colorada				x		x	
Tonalapa		x			x	x	See entry under Coacoyula.

Tlayalapa				x		x	
*Rancho de Cortés	x						The ownership of this property was disputed by Ayala with don Manuel de Chávez, owner of the hacienda of Tlapala. Apparently the Rancho de Cortés later became part of the hacienda of Tlapala.
*Venta	x						Glossed as simply "Venta otro"; located north of Tuxpan and west of Plantanar.
Venta de Palula					x	x	Listed simply as "Venta" although the fact that it is included with Palula and Ahuelicán identifies this *venta* as the Venta de Palula.
*Venta de Cuanaca		x					See entry under Cuaulotal for the 1728 document.
Xalapilla	x					x	
Xalitla				x	x	x	
Xochicuetlan				x			
Zacacoyuca			x		x	x	
Zapotitlan				x	x	x	In 1866 the name of this site was given as Ojo de Agua de Zapotitlan.

* before the name of a cuadrilla indicates that neither the present-day identity nor the location of the settlement has been determined

The dates at the head of each column are those of the major documentary sources on the hacienda, first known as the hacienda de Palula, and then as the lands of San Miguel, Carrizal, and Xochicuetla. The following list is of the documents for each of the years that heads a column.

Sources: 1710 from map, ca. 1710, in AGN-Tierras/3514
1728 from AGN-T 3518/2, 33 unnumbered folios after fol. 196
1809 from AGN-Alhóndigas, vol. 8, exp. 10
1833 from AGN-Bienes Nacionales, leg. 438, exp. 9
1866 from AGN-Bienes Nacionalizados caja 212-101/94
1892 from Libro de Protocolo del Distrito de Hidalgo, 1892, #31, fols. 131–45 (dated 9 April 1892) and from other miscellaneous documents from about this time

Appendix 8e

Division of the Hacienda San Miguel, Carrizal, Xochicuetla in 1892

PROPERTY NAME	RECIPIENT	VALUE (PESOS)	BORDERS	SOURCES**
Ahuehuepan	Clotilde Montúfar de Cuenca	333.33	N: Palula S: Ameyaltepec E: San Juan Tetelcingo W: Xalitla	9 April 1892 #31
*Ameyaltepec	Antonio Lavin	66	N: Ahuehuepan S: Mezcala River E: San Juan Tetelcingo W: Xalitla COMMENTS: Bought by a *tlale:roh* (land caretaker) of Ameyaltepec, Juan García, in the early 1890s and eventually expropriated from his son, Bernardo, for the *ejido* of Ameyaltepec (SRA)	22 April 1892 #43
*Atzala	Leonardo Gómez	1,356.33	N: Coacoyula S: Mezcala River E: Xalitla and Las Mesas W: El Limón	22 April 1892 #41
Ceja Blanca, Joya, and Pantla	Gabriel and Angela Montúfar	4,400	N: Tepochica and Iguala S: Sasamulco E: camino real W: Tlayelapa and land called Del Capulin	9 April 1892 #31
*Coacoyula	Pascual Peralta natural y vecino of Coacoyula	2,405.00	N: Cocula S: Azcala and Las Mesas E: Maxela and Tonalapa del Sur W: La Mohonera and El Limón	16 April 1892 #32

*Maxela	Lorenzo Gómez natural y vecino of Maxela	505.00	N: Tonalapa del Sur S: Xalitla E: Tonalapa del Sur and Xalitla W: Coacoyula and Las Mesas	18 April 1892 #35
*Las Mesas	Crescencio Pérez natural y vecino of Las Mesas	1,220.33	N: Maxela S: Coacoyula E: Maxela W: Atzala	16 April 1892 #34
*El Limón	Leonardo Gómez natural y vecino of Iguala	445.00	N: La Mohonera, S: Coacoyula, and Las Mesas E: Mezcala River W: Atzala and the Cocula River	18 April 1892 #37
*Metlapa	Antonio Lavín	901	N: Tlayelapa S: lands of Don Ysidro Rueda E: Tlayelapa and potrero of Ceja Blanca W: Tonalapa del Río and land of Sr. Daniel Posada	26 April 1892 #45
La Mohonera	Febronia Gómez	895.00	N: terrenos de Don José Jiménez de Atlixtac S: Cerro de la Ganica and the Cocula River E: Point called "El Huamúchil" in the gorge Xolocotla of the place called "Las Azucenas" W: Atlixtac and the Cocula River	9 April 1892 #31
Palula, Venta, and Ahuelicán	Gabriel and Angela Montúfar	2,100	N: Sabana Grande S: Ahuehuepan E: Ahuelicán and Tetelilla W: Tonalapa del Sur	9 April 1892 #31
El Rincón	Miguel Montúfar and Carlos Montúfar	2,642.16	N: Tierra Colorada S: lands of Francisco Cuenca E: lands of Alberto Rivera and Hermenegildo Loriano of Mayanalán, and the estate of Dionicio Velásquez W: Tierra Colorada	9 April 1892 #31

*Sabana Grande	Antonio Lavin	1,189.55	N: S: E: W:	Acayahualco and Sasamulco Tonalapa del Sur and Palula Lands of don Francisco Cuenca and Mayanalán, Sasamulco, Zapotitlan, and Tecuescontitlan	22 April 1892 #42
Sasamulco	Febronia Gómez	1,660.00	N: S: E: W:	Santa Teresa Zapotitlan Sabana Grande Cocula	9 April 1892 #31
Tecuescontitla n	Brígida Montúfar de Roa	882.33	N: S: E: W:	Zapotitlan Tonalapa del Sur Tonalapa del Norte Apipilulco and Coacoyula	9 April 1892 #31
Tepochica, Tepehuaje, and Jalapilla	Brígida Montúfar de Roa	1,804.16	N: S: E: W:	Iguala Ceja Blanca and Sacacoyuca Tierra Colorada Ceja Blanca and Iguala	9 April 1892 #31
Tierra Colorada	Febronia Gómez	4,220.00	N: S: E: W:	Tepecoacuilco Rincón and Santa Teresa Almolonga and the "Terreno de los Pobres: Sacacoyuca, Tepochica, and Tepecoacuilco	9 April 1892 #31
Tlayelapa	Miguel Montúfar and Carlos Montúfar	5,416.00	N: S: E: W:	place called "Los Huajes" and Iguala Metlapa Ceja Blanca Tonalapa del Río	9 April 1892 #31
*Tonalapa del Sur	José Ramírez natural y vecino de la cuadrilla de Tonalapa del Sur	1,445.00	N: S: E: W:	Zapotitlan Xalitla and Maxela Palula Tecuescontitlan	16 April 1892 #33

*Xalitla	Antonio Lavin natural y vecino of Iguala	1,184.33	N: S: E: W:	Tonalapa del Sur, Palula, and Maxela Mezcala River Ahuehuepan, Ameyaltepec, and San Juan Tetelcingo Las Mesas and Maxela COMMENTS: Sold by Lavin (agente de negocios) to Leonardo Gómez (originally from León, Guanajuato, comerciante) for 1,200 pesos on 19 April 1892 (#38)	18 April 1892 #36
Zacacoyuca	Clotilde Montúfar de Cuenca	2,600.00	N: S: E: W:	Tepochica Francisco Cuenca Tierra Colorada camino real	9 April 1892 #31
Zapotitlan	Julia Cervantes de León	706.25	N: S: E: W:	Sasamulco Tecuescontitlan Sabana Grande Cocula COMMENTS: Named Ojo de Agua de Zapotitlan in document #72 of 13 September 1892 at which time is was valued at 463.96 pesos by the Recaudador de Rentas of the Distrito de Hidalgo and sold by Cervantes to Adeliada Cervantes vda. de Cortina.	9 April 1892 #31

* Indicates properties that were not divided up in the agreement among heirs but were instead sold to private citizens to pay for the estate division.

** Sources: Libro de Protocolo, Dto. de Hidalgo (year and number as indicated); Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria Archives (SRA for the village indicated in the penultimate column.

Appendix 8f

Mercedes that Served as the Basis of the Hacienda of Tlapala

FIRST RECEPIENT AND DATE	LOCATION	SITIO S		OTHER LAND	NOTES
		GANADO MAYOR	GANADO MENOR		
Domingo de Salcedo (9 January 1590)	Petlacalco Alpuyeca	1		1 cab.	AGN-M 14/fols. 431f–432v
Br. Agustín de Aguero (2 October 1609)	Pololcingo			3 *suertes*	Acquired from Pablo de Robles, Indian cacique of Huitzuco; AGN-T 3518/1 (fols. 1–16)
Nicolás de Nava (to Br. Agustín de Aguero) (25 May 1610)	Ostotitlan in Pololcingo			2 cabs.	AGN-T 3518/1 (fols. 1–16)
Francisco Zarate (14 June 1610)	Tlilapa Tlalnepantla		1	2 cabs.	AGN-T 3518/1 (fols. 1–16); AGN-T 1667/1
Antonio de Nava (21 August 1610)	Almolonga[1] Miagualtamalco	[1]	1		The *sitio of ganado mayor* was at Almolonga, that of *ganado menor* at Miaguatamalco; AGN-T 3518/1 (fols. 1–16)
Francisco de Zarate (6 September 1616)	Tlalnepantla	1			
Francisco de Zarate (6 September 1616)	Ostotitlan Pololcingo			1 *potrero*	License for *potrero* for land already owned; AGN-T 3518/1 (fols. 1–16); AGN-T 80/4
Francisco de Zarate (10 December 1616)	Cuezcontlan		1	4	AGN-M 31/fol. 130f
Manuela de Famallanes (before 27 July 1626)	Labor de Espíritu Santo			4	Also included were 51 *cascalote* trees; AGN-T 3518/1 (fols. 1–16)

Sources: The major sources for Tlapala are AGN-T 1667/1 and AGN-T 3518/1. See also appendix 5b for mercedes in the jurisdiction of Iguala.

1. Note that when Blas de Toledo Grimaldo's widow, Antonia del Valle, sold the hacienda of Tlapala to Pedro Tenorio Miranda, Almolonga was not included. Instead it passed on to Toledo Grimaldo's heirs.

Appendix 8g

History of *Capellanías* in the Jurisdiction of Iguala

HACIENDA	HISTORY OF *CAPELLANÍAS*	SOURCES
Palula	In 1688: litigation between Capn. don Alonso de Ulloa y Taboada and Tepecuacuilco; the viceroy orders that "dicho plito se siguiese con el Licenciado Don Antonio de Ucaranza presbitero capellano de la *capellanía* ympuesto sobre las tierras de dicho paraxe que dcho naturales pretenden poblar."	AGN-GP 16/109; AGN-I 30/131
	In 1717 Ayala mentioned that a *capellanía* was established on the hacienda of Palula for 2,000 pesos of principal and that he is paying the interest to Lic. don Antonio de Ucaranza.	AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f
	In 1729 mention that the *capellanía* on the had. Palula was ordered founded by da. Petronila Altamirano del Castillo and founded by don Melchor de Tornamira y Mendosa, her husbando, with 2,000 pesos of principal "impuesto sobre haciendas de ganado maior nombrada Palula." Now, in 1729, Br. don Atonio de Ucarranza is propietario of the capellania and has been for 43 years. There interest should be 4,300 pesos (5% of 2,000 x 43) Ocarranza had received 1,130 pesos and is owned 3,170 pesos by Ayala. On 25 Aug. 1728 Ayala is ordered to pay. He cannot and the hda. is embargoed. The rent does not cover the debt and a hosue of Ayala in Taxco is embargoed; it is not embargoed given lack of documentation that it belongs to Ayala.	AGN-T 3518/2 (33 unnumerbered folios after fol. 196)
	In 1806, the lands of Xochicuetla had 3 *capellanías* for 7,000 pesos of principal. When the lands were sold off (*rematadas*) to the *archicofradía*, it recognized 7,000 pesos in 3 *capellanías* and obligated itself to pay the interest. The public auction of these lands in 1806 was an effort to recuperate, for the *consolidación*, the 7,000 pesos of the *capellanias*. There were no offers.	AGN-BN 1814/13
	In 1806 there were 3 *capellanes*: don Jose Benito Alvarez Pacheco (3,000 pesos in principal), don Jose Agustin de Añorga (2,000 principal), and don Ignacio Zalasar y Garnica (2,000 principal). The *mesa* of the *archicofradía* rented the lands in Iguala (of de la Borda and Viedma) to Sañudo for 2,500 pesos per year [note that at 6% this is a value of 41,667.67; at 5% the value would be 50,000 pesos]. The lands of de la Borda were donated along with 2 houses, one of which was occupied by the parish priest and had a *capellanía* of 3,000 pesos whose *capellán* was Br. don Jose Diaz Varela. In regards to the lands of Xochicuelta, there were 7,000 pesos in 3 *capellanías*. The *archicofradía* paid 10,000 pesos for the land (3,000 in pesos and the obligation to pay the interest for the *capellanías*) To pay for the capellanías [i.e. the consolidacion?] Sañudo "sujeto de muy grueso caudal" was approached so that "a buena cuenta de los arrendamietnos de unas y otras tierras supla a esta Parrqouia dicha cantidad y de hecho nos ha ofrecido hacer este gracioso prestamo..."	AGN-BN 1604/1
	Three *capellanías* on lands of Xochicuetla (1816): Br. don Jose Agustin de Añorga (3,000); don Mariano Esteva (2,000) and one vacante because of the death of don Ignacio Patiño (2,000). In 1782 the *capellanía* of 3,000 pesos had been possessed by Br. don Jose Diaz Varela [note, however that in	AGN-BN 435/3

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>AGN-BN 1604/1 mention of a donation by don Manuel de la Borda that included 2 houses in Taxco, with a lien of a capellanía of 3,000 pesos whose capellán in 1806 was Br. don Jose Diaz Varela.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Mention (now in 1820) of a capellanía founded by don Alonso Diez de la Barrera (no principal listed).</td><td>AGN-BN 85/72</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Palula:[1]
(Summary: 2,000 pesos in 1717; 7,000 pesos by 1806)
In 1688, in litigation between Capitán don Alonso de Ulloa y Taboada and the officials of Tepecuacuilco who were claiming the lands of Palula, a viceregal dispatch mentions that the litigation should include Licenciado don Antonio de Ucaranza, the capellán of a capellanía that doña Petronila Altamirano del Castilla had ordered founded on the hacienda of ganado mayor named Palula. Her husband, don Melchor de Tornamira y Mendosa, had actually founded the capellanía. In 1717 there is again mention of a capellanía with 2,000 pesos of principal on the hacienda of Palula. Don Antonio de Ayala stated that he was paying interest to Ucaranza, but in 1728 Ucaranza initiated litigation for payment of interest owed to him. He claims that he had been capellán for 43 years (i.e. since 1685) and that he should have received 4,300 pesos (5% of 2,000 for 43 years). He had only received 1,130 pesos and is therefore owed 3,170 pesos by Ayala. On 25 August 1728 Ayala is ordered to pay. When he is unable to do so, the hacienda is embargoed and the rent is to be paid to Ucaranza. When it is determined that the rent is insufficient a house in Taxco is ordered embargoed, though the embargo is not carried due to doubts that it actually belonged to Ayala.
In 1806, during the process of consolidación, the lands of Xochicuetla and Carrizal (the southern part of the ex-hacienda of Palula, now known as San Miguel, Carrizal, Xochicuetla) were found to have 3 capellanías based on a total principal of 7,000 pesos. The capellanes were don José Benito Alvarez Pacheco (3,000 pesos), don José Augustín de Añorga (2,000 pesos), and don Ignacio Salazar Garnica (2,000 pesos). The Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento had acquired these lands in a public auction from don Martínez de Viedma for 10,000 pesos (3,000 pesos in cash, and 7,000 pesos in the recognition of the 3 capellanías). At this time don Manuel de Sañudo rented the lands donated to the archicofradía by don Manuel de la Borda (the northern part, San Miguel, of the ex-hacienda of Palula) for 2,500 pesos per year, and the lands acquired from the Viedma family (the southern part of the ex-hacienda of Palula) for 500 pesos. Sañudo, "un sujeto de muy grueso caudal" agreed to lend the archicofradía 10,000 pesos against future rent, to pay for the consolidación. In 1816 the three capellanías of Xochicuetla were held by Br. don José Augustín de Añorga (3,000 pesos), don Mariano Esteva (2,000 pesos), and the last (2000 pesos) was vacant because of the death of don Ignacio Patiño. In 1820 it is mentioned that one of the capellanías was founded by don Alonso Diez de la Barrera, although no further information is given.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Teposonalco</td><td>Mention that in 1710 lands to the south of Cococingo (south of Cocula) belong to the capellanía now held by Lcdo. don Pedro de Soto. At this time the capellanía is of Br. don Pedro de Soto y Acuña and was established in the trapiche and land named Teposonalco.</td><td>AGN-BN 670/8 1o. cuaderno</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Approval (1716) and confirmation of a composición given to Br. don Pedro de Soto y Acuña, presbitero vecino of the jurisdiction of Iguala. The composición was for a "potrero nombrado Thomiatlahucan perteneciente al trapiche de Teposonalco" that is his. This same land has established on it a capellanía de misas of 4,000 pesos of principal and of which Soto y Acuña is the capellán propietario.</td><td>AGN-M 67/fols. 274v–275v</td></tr>
</table>

1. Sources for Palula *capellanías*: AGN-BN 85/72; AGN-BN 435/3; AGN-BN 1604/1; AGN-BN 1814/13; AGN-GP 16/109; AGN-I 30/131; AGN-M 71/fols. 26v–31f; AGN-T 3518/2 (33 unnumbered folios following fol. 196).

	This is an iniciativa de justicia from 1737: re that Br. don Pedro de Soto is owed interest on his capellania of 4,000 pesos in the trapiche de Teposonalco which should yield 200 pesos per year of interst. Julian Hortis, vec. Ostotitlan, rents the hacienda but pays only 100 per year. He owes 124 pesos with 100 pesos in addition of "una case que hize y se quedo con ella y tres vestias." Soto y Acuña requests that the justicia of Iguala be ordered to charge and collect the debt.	AGN-GP 31/105
Tepozonalco:[2] **(Summary: *capellanía* de misas of 4,000 pesos)** By the early eighteenth century there was a *capellanía de misas* on the trapiche of Tepozonalco with a principal of 4,000 pesos. In 1716 the *capellán propietario* was Bachiller don Pedro de Soto y Acuña. In 1737 Soto y Acuña is owed interest by Julián Hortis, who rented the hacienda but paid only 100 pesos per year. Soto y Acuña requested that the justice of Iguala be ordered to charge and collect the debt.		
Oculixtlahua-can	Oculixtlahuacan had a *capellanía* founded by don Joseph de la Quintana, although the date of the founding is not given.	AGN-BN 469/6
	The lands of Oculixtlahuacan were bought in the mid–seventeenthcentury by Sebastian Brito Salgado from the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo; by the early eighteenth century they had 3 *capellanías* of which the capellán was Br. don Francisco de Gama.	AGN-T 3514/fols. 146–215
	Mention that "dichos dos trapiches [Oculixtlahuacan and Tustla] y rancho [Ahuehuepan] de vacas posee don Jorge de Gama y su sobrino el Bachiller don Francisco de Gama por tener en ello ciertas *capellanías*."	AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2
	Mention of "las *capellanías* que obtiene el Lic. don Francisco de Gama [i.e. Oculixtlahuacan and anexos].	AGN-T 3518/2 (fols. 143–196)
	Don Eugenio López de Castro, *vecino* of Tepecuacuilco, had acquired the hda. Oculixtlahuacan and Tuxtla, in the jurisdiction of Iguala. It had a *capellanía* founded by don Joseph de la Quintana.	AGN-BN 469/6
	Sale of trapiches Oculixtlahuacan, Tustla and San Antonio Ahuehuepan 15 Sept. 1768. *Capellanías* are 2000 pesos principal "que instituyo y fundo don Sebastian Brito Salgdo de que es capellán propietario Br. don Manuel Francisco Calero." There is another *capellanía* mentioned as follows: "sobre los aperos de dicho trapiche otra *capellanía* perteneciente al Br. don Simón de Gita y Gama con el principal de 1040 pesos 7 tomines que an quedado de la que fundo con el principal de 6,000 pesos Georje de Gama que ambas componen el principal d 3040 pesos y 7 tomines de cuyos reditos asta el presente no deven cantidad algunas." Later it is mentioned that the vacantes of these 2 *capellanías* were of Br. don Josef Calderón. In the late seventeenth-century will of doña María Guadalupe de Ayala, the wife of don Ygnacio Alvarez y Ayala, it is mentioned that there were two *capellanías* established on the hda. Oculixtlahuacan: "2,000 pesos cuyo poceedor no se quien es, y se deben los reditos demas de 20 años; 1040 pesos y sus reditos etan satisfechos asta el dia a el Br. d. Jose de Puebla."	AGN-BN 469/6

2. AGN-BN 670/8 1o. *cuaderno*; AGN-GP 31/105; AGN-M 67/fols. 274v–275v.

Oculixtlahuacan:[3] **(Summary: three *capellanías* in the early 1700s; by late century only two, with a total value of 3040 pesos)** In the early 1700s, when the lands of Oculixtlahuacan were held by don Jorge de Gama and his nephew Br. don Francisco de Gama, there were three *capellanías.* When don Eugenio López de Castro acquired the hacienda during midcentury, it had a *capellanía* founded by don Joseph de Quintana. Perhaps this had been redeemed by 1768. At this time the trapiches of Oculixtlahuacan and Tustla, along with the annexed estancia de ganado mayor named Ahuehuepan, were sold; there were only two *capellanías.* One had been founded by don Sebastián Brito Salgado for 2,000 pesos; its *capellán* in 1768 was Bachiller don Manuel Francisco Calero. Don Jorge de Gama had founded the other *capellanía* with a principal of 6,000 pesos "sobre los aperos de dicho trapiche"; the *capellán* was Bachiller don Simón de Gita y Gama and the principal had been reduced to 1040 pesos and 7 reales. The will of doña María Guadalupe de Ayala mentions these two same *capellanías.* The name of the holder of the 2,000 peso benefice is not mentioned and interest had not been paid for over 20 years; Bachiller don José de Puebla held the 1040 peso benefice on which no interest payments were due.		
Tlapala	Mention (in 1699) of the sale of "tres haciendas de ganado maior con todo lo que les pertenece en el partdo de Sumpango qe otorgó el Licenciado Santiago de Escobar presbitero a favor de Blas de Toledo Grimaldo vecino del Real y Minas de Tasco con mas cuatro esclavos por precio de 10,300 pesos de oro comun los 2,000 sobre una *capellanía* sobre dichas haciendas."	AGN-T 1667/1
	Don Manuel de Chávez Villaseñor complains (1699–1706) that he pays the interest for a *capellanía* on the lands he owns [Tlapala].	AGN-T 1667/1
Venta de Polulapa and Trapiche El Platanal	There are papers of a *capellanía* established by Juan Baptista Beneciano and Juana María his wife, *vecinos* of the jurisdiction of Iguala, with 1,000 pesos "que impusieron sobre las haciendas que llaman La Venta de Polulapa y sitio de gando menor y el puesto que llaman El Plantanal." These papers date to before 1704. The *capellán* had been Br. Linease de Quisos, uncle of Br. don Pedro de Soto y Acuña, who now wishes to collect interest owed given that a mulato had found the papers. The present owners, Francsco Baptista and Alonso Mexia claim that they should not pay given that the document, then 50 years old, is on ordinary paper and interest had never been paid on the alleged *capellanía.* Apparently they won their point and the capellanía was never recognized.	AGN-BN 34/10
	During the period of *consolidación*, in 1810, it is mentioned that El Plantanar had belonged to don Antonio de Ayala and that it had a *capellanía* of 3,000 pesos, which had been established by Capn. don Alnso Adán de los Ríos and his son Br. don Jose Xavier Adan de los Rios. The present possessor of the trapiche El Platanillo was don Manuel Nuñez. Ayala founded the *capellanía* in Taxco on 6 March 1712. The will of doña Ana Mesia Lobo, (Ayala was her executor) requested that a *capellanía* be founded for 4,000 pesos, and that the first capellán be Br. don Jose de Cabrera. On 9 Dec. 1712 Ayala looked for someone to loan him 3,000 pesos because the trapiche was in disrepair. Capn. don Alonso Adán de los Rios, *vecino y mercader* of Taxco and the husband of Ayala's sister, gave him the loan. There were conditions to the loan: the trapiche had to be kept up and could not be sold or divided except with Adan de los Rio's permission; and he, or his heirs, had first right to buy. If Ayala or his heirs wished to redeem the census they could. The	AGN-BN 1545/45

3. Sources: AGN-BN 469/6; AGN-T 3514/fols. 146–215; AGN-T 3514/cuad. 2; AGN-T 3518/2 (fols. 143–196).

	first *capellán* was don Jose Xavier Adán de los Rios. The terms of succession are set out in the document. In 1807 the *capellán* was don José Fulgencio Nuñez de los Ríos, son of don Manuel Nuñez, possessor of the trapiche. In 1808 a public announcement (*pregón*) for the sale of El Plantanillo failed to attract bids for its estimated value of 4,134 pesos.	
Tepantlan	In 1796 there was litigation over a *capellanía* on this hacienda in relation to the *concurso de bienes* of don Francisco Merino y Salinas, the deceased owner of the hacienda of Tepantlan. The property was embargoed and the rents were supposed to go to pay interest on the *capellanía* of don Nicolás Antonio Patiño. The *capellanía* had been founded for 3,000 pesos. The rents from the hacienda went to Patiño until the hacienda was embargoed ca. 1793. Though the hacienda was valued at 3,654 pesos 2 reales, the depositario Orduña offered to pay 2,000 in cash and to take over the interest payments on the censo/*capellanía*. Mention that the *capellañía* had been founded by Br. don Miguel Maza Adán de los Ríos in his capacity as executor of doña Ignacia del Valle; it was founded with 3,000 pesos imposed on the trapiche of Tepantlan. In 1802 the litigation was between Br. don Sebastián de Ocampo and doña María Luisa Rodríguez de Molina for her son don José María de Ascarete Rodríguez de Molina. Later in this document it is mentioned that the *capellanía* was founded on 5 Jan. 1741.	AGN-T 3535/1

Appendix 8h

Iguala: Major Rural Actors 1710–1715

NAME	PROPERTY	SIZE ACCORDING TO 1715 CONFIRMATION OF COMPOSICIÓNES	NOTES
Antonio de Ayala	Owner of the ranch and trapiche Platanal and the hacienda of Palula, including many sites of perhaps some 150,000 to 200,000 hectares.		
Bernabe Baena	Owner of a ranch next to the Tepecuacuilco River; rented Rancho de Cortés from don Antonio de Ayala.		
Joseph Castrejón	Owner of ranch Tlaltocan (or Xalapa)	2 cabs. y las demasias que incluyo en sus linderos	
Nicolás Gaitan	Rented Yetla from Huitzuco		
Jorge de Gama (heirs of Bernardo Martínez)	Owners of Ahuehuepan, Tuxtla, and Oculixtlahuacan	2 sitios de ganado mayor 4 cabs.	Sebastián Brito Salgado had bought this land from the Colegio Máximo in the early 1660s.
Br. Garay Villavicencio	Bought Tepantlan on 2 June 1708 from the Jesuit Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo; rented Acayahualco from doña Micaela Rivera Ulloa y Taboada (wife of don Antonio de Ayala) and one of her sisters.	1 sitio de ganado menor 2 caballerías	After extensive claims by Garay Villavicencio, the composición was reduced to the size of only the merced to Antonio de Nava.
Joseph Gómez with wife Josepha de Soto y Alarcón	Owner of the ranch Acamac, jurisdiction of Taxco	1 sitio de ganado mayor 8 cabs.	

Antonia González Thenorio vda. de Chávez	Owner of Tlapala including the sites of Lagunillas, Palapa, and Pololcingo, as well as the following sites being litigated with Mayanalán: Tlactisapan, Tetelilla, Alseseca, Suchipalistlahuacan	6 sitios de ganado mayor 3 sitios de ganado menor 11 cabs. 1 potrero	For possession given of Tlapala, see AGN-T 3514/2 fols. 213ff.
Alonso Mexía Lobo	Owner of Cieneguilla and Tlaltocopan and, apparently, Venta de la Negra		
Nicolás Mexía Lobo	Owner of the trapiche San Joseph Zacapalco, Venta del Pajarito, Cieneguilla, and, apparently, Venta de la Negra	2 sitios de ganado mayor 2 sitios de venta	
Pedro de Ocampo	Owner of the Venta del Pajarito and Cieneguilla		
Antonio Rodríguez de Molina (and heir, Lorenzo Rodríguez de Molina)	Owner of Alchichica (or Achichipa) and San Juan; Lorenzo Rodríguez de Molina rented Metlapa from don Antonio de Ayala in 1710 (see entry under Pedro de Soto y Acuña)	3.5 cabs. (1 cab. over the 2.5 expressed in the titles)	
Juan Rodríguez	Owner of the ranch Tepetlastitlan	3 cabs. (later changed to 1 sitio de ganado menor)	He stated that he had owned this land for over 30 years.
Antonio Román	Owner of the ranch Yancuipan. His widow rented Metlapa from don Antonio de Ayala		
Diego and Antonio de Soto (heirs of Joseph de Soto)	Owners of the ranches named Acuatla and Tonalapan		On 5 November 1665, Sebastián Brito Salgado rented the trapiche of Oculixtlahuacan, "reservando a Tuxtla, Totoapan y Aguguepan" to Diego de Soto (who owned the adjacent lands of Acuatla and Tonalapan).
Pedro de Soto	Held a *capellanía* to Tepotzonalco. In 1728 he "owned" (i.e., rented) San Andrés Metlapa given that his mother, Isabela Rodríguez de Molina, had lent Antonio de Ayala a sum of money.		

Joseph de Soto y Acuña	His widow, Ana Rodríguez, rented San Andrés from don Antonio de Ayala. In 1693 Joseph de Soto had been granted a merced for 2 caballerías at Acuatla (or Necuatla), later held by his heirs Diego and Antonio de Soto (see above).		
Juan de Soto y Acuña	Owner of Agua de Manteca, obtained in a remate from the juez de tierras Ortiz y Herrera. He also held Apipilulco near Cocula, and later bought Atlixtla and Cocotzingo from this same village.	4 cabs.	He claimed he has possessed Agua de Manteca peacefully for 16 years.

Sources: The major sources for the information presented above are AGN-T 3514/2 and AGN-T 3518.

Appendix 8i

Escritura otorgada por el Sr. Dr. D. Manuel de la Borda, haciendo donación a la Parroquia de Tasco de varios terrenos de que está en posesión

En la Ciudad de México a diez y ocho de mayo de mil setecientos ochenta y dos años: ante mi el Escribano y testigos el Doctor Don Manuel de la Borda clérigo, presbitero, domiciliario de este arzobispado, oriundo del Real de Tasco, residente en esta corte que doy fe conosco dijo: que movido del celo de Diós nuestro Señor su difunto Padre Don José de la Borda que en paz descanse fabricó la Suntuosísima Yglesia Parroquial del citado Real, adornándola magificamente de retablos y sagrados paramentos de lo que resultó ser una de las más hermosas y costosas fábricas que hay en el Reyno; mas no contento con esto el nominado su difunto padre premeditaba enriquecerla con el fin de que se perpetuara su hermosura no se minorara su bellesa, ni les infurias del tiempo la ultrajaran, deseando en cuanto fuera posible que no por falta de reparos, ni fondos para su subsistencia viniera una tan suntuosa y admirable fábrica a decadencia en perjuicio de el culto de Diós omnipotente: que estos tan santos deseos no pudieron tener su cumplimiento en esta parte a causa de que cuando se concluyó la Yglesia adornada a la perfección se hallava en notable deterioro el giro de sus minas y con crecido débito; cuya efectiva satisfacción (que siempre con una fee esperó de Diós y se verificó) le impedían dejar fondos para lo dicho, mas heredando el otorgante sus santas intenciones que ha tenido abrigadas en sus pechos, hasta el tiempo en que oportuna y debidamente las pueda ejecutar, el que ya es llegado, pues se ha dignado el Todopoderoso haber echado sus bendiciones sobre sus heredades negociaciones, de que es prueba estar ya satisfechas aquellos cuantiosos débitos a que estaban gravadas remunerados los servicios de los dependientes, y constar por los estados formados poco ha, tener de fondos más de un millón y cuatrocientos mil pesos, y movido también del amor que conserva el Real de Tasco que es su patria y en el que fue cura y Juez Eclesiástico y de la piedad que reluce en sus vecinos, con que con mucho esmero se dedican en cuanto sus cortas facultades les permiten a todo lo que les dé Diós, ha deliverado asignar a la citada Yglesia unos fondos y puedan prestarle más segura su subsistencia y ponerla a cubierto de que no por las cortedades de las suyas y de aquel vecindario llegue el caso de verse deteriorada su fábrica y paramentos sagrados de que tal vez resulte el menoscabo de el divino culto y poniéndolo en efecto para los sitados fines, por la presente y en aquella via y forma que más firme y valedera sea y haya lugar en derecho: otorga que hace gracia y donación pura, mera, perfecta e irrevocable que el derecho llama intervivos con las mismas acciones y remuneraciones de leyes en derecho necesarias a la nominada Yglesia Parroquial de el Real de Tasco, es saber de una porción de tierras laborias temporales de pan llevar compuestas de varias caballerías y citios de ganado mayor y menor en el Partido de Tepecuacuilco provincia de Yguala las cuales conforme a sus títulos e instrumentos han poseído de inmemorial tiempo a estas parte así su difunto padres como el otorgante y a mayor abundamiento fue reamparado en dicha posesión sin contradicción de persona alguna a los quince de Mayo del año pasado de mil setecientos setenta y ocho y siguientes por ante Don Manuel Ruiz de la Mota, Teniente general de

dicho Provincia, actuando por receptoría con testigos de asistencia constante del testimonio que a los diez y seis de junio del mismo año en treinta y ocho fojas útiles le ligró a que se refiere, bajo los términos y linderos que le circunbalan y se perciben en dicho reamparo de pocesión en el mencionado testimonio, con todas sus aguas, pastos, montes, llanos, aguajes, trojas, casas, entradas, salidas, usos, costumbres, servidumbres, avios, muebles, ganados y todo lo demás que por fuero y derecho les toca y pertenece, bien y cumplidamente sin reservar cosa alguna, en la misma forma y manera que el que otorga; y sus causantes las han tenido, poseído y disfrutado, y así también de dos casas situadas en la Plasa pública del espresado Real con todas sus pertenencias que se evidencian de sus respectivas títulos en que se refieren sus linderos, a los cuales también se remite todo lo que se halla sin más gravamen que el de una capellanía que acabó de imponer con el capital de tres mil pesos a favor de el Br. Don José Días Varela, Médico que fue del propio Real, y el de las fiestas del Dulcísimo nombre de Jesús, la de Señor San José, San Ygnacio de Loyola los siete Principios, Nuestra Señora del Pilar que quiere se continuen haciendo en la Parroquia como hasta la presente, y la de San Andrés Aberlino, que se celebre en la misma conformidad que la de Señor San Ygnacioo. Y en el convento de San Bernardino de Religiosos descalsos de Antonio Serapio Padre Señor San Francisco, la fiesta de San Diego, y la de las tres horas, según y en la forma que se han celebrado en los años pasados, las cuales ahora impone y es su voluntad que con los productos de las ante dichas tierras y casas se costeen y deberán correr en lo sucesivo con la moderación de gastos que hasta aquí a el cargo y desempeño de los individuos y devotos que componen la Mesa de la Archicofradía de el Divísimo Señor Sacramentado, y por falta de estos, los diputados y demás restos de vecinos de distinción a quienes es su voluntad pertenesca presisamente en lo sucesivo la administración, cuidado y govierno de las nominadas tierras y casas para que atiendan a sus adelantamientos, progresos y reparos y recauden todos sus rendamientos y frutos así para que se destinen al relasionado divinos cultos y adornos de la Parroquia, como para el pagamento de los capellanes de la ante dicha capellanía y desempeño y gastos de las funciones y fiestas ya referidas, otorgando los conducentes recibos y cartas de pago y percibiendo lo que a su fabor se hagan, pues todo es su intención corra reunido a la dirección de los citados cuerpos a quienes en sus respectivos tiempos encarga el cuidado, atención y esmero que en su ánimo se perpetue colmando las piadosas intenciones de su difunto Padre y de el otorgante quien declara que sin embargo de que por graves fundamentos tenía destinadas estas fincas a otros fines, están ya libres y hábiles para poder apropiarlas a estos tan piadosos, como aparece de otro documento que corre separado a lo que le mueve también la facilidad con que aquellas se ha destinado otra finca de que es dueño con anuencia y consentimiento de la persona interesada, y a estos les con más proporcionadas las indicadas tierras, y casas por estar tan a la mano y vista de los sujetos a cuyo cuidado quedan y en la propia jurisdicción de Tasco para lo cual les confiere respectivamente el Poder y facultades que necesitan, como también para que jurídicamente y extrajurídicamente o como mejor les paresca tomen y aprehenden la tenensia y posesión formal de las fincas cedidas, y que con sólo el hecho de recibir la copia de esta escritura, y los títulos correspondientes

sea visto haberla tomado y aprehendido real, corporal, vel quasi a nombre de dicho Yglesia Parroquial, en quien cede, renuncia, traspasa y trasfiere el derecho de acción, propiedad, dominio y señorío que ha tenido y tiene a las fincas cedidas de que se desiste y aparta en el todo y la pone en su propio lugar y grado para que las goce y disfruta con justo y derecho título que es la presente. Y quiere que esta donación sea perpetua, y en su conciencia obliga a no rebocarla por testamento, cobdicilo ni otro instrumento o contrato entre vivos y antes si a haberla por firme subsistente y valadera en todo tiempo. Y así también declara que no viene en daño de tercero y que es con la justa razón a más de lo dicho, de quedarle bienes suficientes para su decencia, y aunque exedas de las quinientos sueldos que por derecho dispone les confiere igual poder para que insinuen y revaliden ate Juez competente, haciéndola aprobar e interponer su autoridad y judicial decreto; y desde luego la da por insinuada y es también su voluntad se supla cualesquiera defecto de el consular por que las que fueren necesarias las de por incierta en esta donación que formaliza con los requisitos presisos, y reuncia las Leyes de donaciones. Y al cumplimiento de lo espresado obliga sus bienes presentes y futuros y con ellos se somete al fuero y Jurisdicción de los Señores Prelados y Jueces de su fuero y que de sus causas puedan y deban conocer conforme a derecho, renuncia su domicilio y vecindad el capítulo suan de por mi caballerato de San Pedro la Ley si convenerit, y demás de su fabor con la general de derecho; para que a ello le compelan, como por sentencia pasada en autoridad de cosa Jusgada. Y estando presente Don Antonioo Villanueba Diputado de el Real e importante cuerpo de Minería; e Mayordomo de dicha Archicofradía de Tasco, Don Vicente Móxica Diputado, Don Juan Dorremos Rector y Don José vicente de Ansa contador recidente en esta ciudad que igualmente conosco, habiendo oido y entendido el tenor de esta escritura, otorgan por si y a nombre de los que les sucedieren en los respectivos cargos y demás sujetos que componen la Mesa de la misma Archicofradía, que la aceptan según se contiene y que se dan por contentos y entregados a su voluntad de los títulos de las tierras y casas que se enuncian, sobre que renuncian las leyes de el no entrego, en prueba y demás del caso y otorgan recibo en formañ que firmaron siendo testigos Don Pedro Rodríguez Calvo, Don José y Don Pablo Bernad, vecinos de esta corte = Don Manuel de la Borda = Antonio de Villanueba = Juan Martín de Dorremos = Vicente de los Covos Móxica = José Vicente de Ansa = Ante mi, José García de las Prietas, Escribano Real = Escritura de Donación; Di copia al tercero día de su otorgamiento, doy fe.

Note: a copy of this document was proportioned to me by the Domínguez Islas family in Taxco, whom I gratefully acknowledge and thank for their help and kindness in permitting me unlimited access to their collection of papers.

Appendix 8j

Contributions of Tribute to the Taxco Mines

Data from the *Libro de las tasaciones*[1]

VLLAGES AND ENCOMENDEROS	CONTRIBUTION TO TAXCO MINES
Araro and Zinapecaro; Gonzalo Rioboz de Sotomayor	On 13 March 1535, commutation of tribute obligations in response to a petition by the Indians and the encomendero: "en que le den sesenta hombres en las minas de Tasco para que sirvan de leña y agua, y han de llevar los bastimentos que son obligados a dar por esta tasación a las dichas minas, que es lo que solían llevar a las otras minas [de la Trinidad]. Quitóseles la ropa y los pelejos de gato, y la ración de maíz por ello" (p. 49).
Asuchitlán; escheated	In 1536, mention that Asuchitlán "da de tributo a su magestad en cada un año xc cargas de ropa que vendidos en esta ciudad valen cclxx pesos. Yten da dos myll hanegas de maiz y c de frisoles que vendidas en las mynas vale dii pesos, yten da lxxii cargas de ropa menuda que vendida vale ccl pesos vale lo que da en un año iUccxx pesos de oro." ("Tributos de los indios de la Nueva España, 1536" p. 200). On 18 February 1537, commutation of 2,000 fanegas that had been taken to the Coyuca mines, 5 leagues from Asuchitlán: "y que en las dichas minas no tiene precio el maíz, mandó que den mil hanegas puestas en las minas de Tasco, porque allí, según la razón de los oficiales, valdrían más que las dos mil en Coyuca." On 26 July 1542 a further change was ordered, and in accord with the Indians: "se conmutó la ropa en que por ella den cuarenta indios en Tasco, y a que solamente den el bastimento y servicio de cuarenta hombres." In response to a petition by the Indians, on 12 April 1549 "[se] conmutaron los cuarenta indios de servicio que daban a Su Majestad en las minas de Tasco, en mil pesos de oro común cada año, para que en este tiempo se puedan reformar, el cual cumplido tornen a dar lo contenido en la tasación" (pp. 60–61).
Cuzamala; Francisco Vázquez de Coronado	On 8 September 1538, in response to a petition by the Indians of Cuzamala, "se conmutó en que por razón de doce cargas de ropa mediana que son obligados a dar, den a Francisco Vázquez Coronado, cuarenta indios de servicio en las minas de Tasco."

1. All data from the *Libro de las tasaciones* except that from "Tributo de los indios de la Nueva España, 1536" published by France V. Scholes in the *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, Mexico City.

	Then, on 11 February 1544, the Indians were required to give another 40 Indians in service to the Taxco mines "por razón de lo cual se les quita siete cargas de ropa en cada tributo e mill cargas de maíz e çien de frijoles e doscientos beneques de ají e seiscientas mantillas de esclavos e tres cargas de sal de las que habían de dar cada semana e cien jícaras e la loza que solían dar e cuarenta cargas de chia e la sementera de melones con que asimismo han de dar demás del servicio de los indios, dos gallinas de la tierra, al Calpisque en el pueblo cada día e una carga de maía e ochenta tamales. Item han de ser obligados a llevar a las minas quinientas hanegas de maíz de lo cual se cogiere en las sementeras que hacen a su amo, el cual servicio de los indios dijeron quererlo dar de su voluntad, y cuando no le dieren han de cumplir lo que se les quita por razón de él" (p. 158).
Coatepec; Serván Bejarano (for his wife)	On 29 May 1539 the Indians of Coatepec and their encomendero, Bejarano, appeared and requested that "por razón de veinte y cinco naguas y veinte y cinco camisas que se les quita de las cuarenta, que son obligados a darle a su amo cada ochenta días, le quieren dar diez indios de servicio en las dichas minas de Taxco." Then, on 26 May 1543, the cacique and principals of Coatepec said that "el maíz que cogen de las sementeras que hacen al dicho Serván Bejarano, siempre lo han llevado a las minas de Taxco o Zultepeque y que ahora lo quieren hacer así de su voluntad." (pp. 200–1).
Huitzuco; Isidro Moreno	The tribute of Huitzuco was first fixed so that every 80 days they gave "ocho tejuelos de oro delgados de los que suelen dar, y veinte jarros de miel y cuarenta cargas de maíz y veinte petaquillas de copal, y sesenta naguas y veinte piernas de mantas labradas y veinte y cinco panes de cera de los que suelen dar, y que le hagan una simentera, de dos que le hacían para los esclavos que trae en las minas, y les den sal y ají y frijoles y cada día una gallina y dos cargas de leña y yerba y ocote y que den de comer al esclavo que guarda las ovjeas y su manta y mástil. "Quitóseles cuatro tejuelos de oro y seis panes de cera y el servicio de casa porque den veinte indios que sirvan en las minas de la plata." On 3 January 1538, the Indians and Moreno changed "los jarros de miel y los cuatro tejuelos de oro y los diez y nueve panes de cera y los sesenta naguas en esta tasación contenidos en que den por ello otros diez indios de servicio demás de los que da y que le hagan dos sementeras, la una de doscientas y sesenta brazas en cuadra y la otra de doscientas, todo de maíz para que coman sus esclavos en las minas." Then on 15 April 1550, both parties agreed that from February 8 onward Moreno would receive the following: "Cada ochenta días doscientos y veinte pesos de oro común en tomines, veinte piernas de manta para sábanas, lo cual traerán a esta ciudad. Item, cada quince días le han de dar seis cargas de frijoles y cinco de ají y seis panes de sal puesto en las minas de Taxco. Item, que cuando el dicho Isidro Moreno estuviese en el pueblo le darán dos gallinas y maíz y yerba para dos caballos y queda en su fuerza la tasación en lo tocante a las sementeras y lo procedido de ellas se lo han de poner en las dichas minas" (p. 210). Note that in 1580, those of Huitzuco complained that they were required to take 150 fanegas of *maíz de repartimiento* to Taxco. They had taken half but were told they would not be paid until the rest was delivered. The viceroy ordered the alcalde

	mayor to see to it that payment was made "al precio o precios que ellos lo quisieren voluntariamente dar"; AGN-GP 2/766.
Iguala; Crown	In 1536 Iguala gave in tribute "cierto servicio en las minas de la plata de Tasco que por lo menos valdrá dcc pesos de oro común. "Páganse al corregidor ccxx pesos y al alguazil cx pesos. Es todo cccxxx pesos. "Restan para su magestad ccclxx pesos de oro en cada un año." ("Tributos de los indios de la Nueva España," p. 193) The first tribute obligation recorded in the *Libro de las tasaciónes* was for every 80 days, "quince tejuelos de oro de a peso y medio cada uno poco más o menos y tres cargas de naguas y tres de camisas, una carga de toldillos, listados, veinte jarros de miel, han de sembrar cada año cinco pedazos de tierra de maíz que cada uno tenga sesenta brazas en largo y cuarenta en ancho." On 28 February 1547 the tribute obligation (except for the fields) was commuted to 100 pesos of *tipuzque* every 80 days. Then, on 25 September 1553, the tribute obligation was commuted to 700 pesos de oro común per year "y asimismo den en cada un año en el dicho pueblo, mil y cuatrocientas hanegas de maíz y que a este respecto paguen el tributo rezago que pareciere deber después que se cumplieronn los cinco años que les fueron dados..." To meet the monetary obligation each married tributary should pay 2 reales every 90 days and the widow or widower 1 real. Finally, on 7 December 1565, after a *visita* and census "atento lo que por ella consta y parece y la cantidad de gente que hay en el dicho pueblo, estando presentes los oficiales de su Majestad, dijeron que mandaban y mandaron que los dichos indios de aquí adelante den por todo tributo en cada un año, mil y doscientos y ochenta pesos y dos tomines de oro común por los tercios del año y más quinientos y cuarenta y seis hanegas demaíz al tiempo de la cosecha puesto en la cabecera del dicho pueblo, de lo cual haya y lleve su Majestad los mil y noventa y dos pesos del dicho oro y todo el dicho maíz por entero y los ciento y noventa y dos pesos y dos tomines restantes queden y sean para la comunidad del dicho pueblo." The tribute should be distributed so that each married tributary pay 9.5 reales de plata per year and a *hanega* of maize, and the widow or widower, or single men or women living separately from their parents, and with land should pay half that amount (pp. 572–73).
Ixcateopan and Atenango	In 1536, mention that Ixcateopan gave "xii cargas e media de ropa e ccclx piezas de ropa menuda e miel e cera e cierto mahiz en mynas que todo vale cc pesos de oro común." There is no specific mention that Atenango gave maize to any mines ("Tributos de los indios de la Nueva España, 1536" pp. 190–91). According to the *Libro de las tasaciones* the *corregimiento* of Ixcateupa included Atenango and Mizquitlán. By 1552 there is no mention of any tribute being taken to the mines (pp. 63–65; 595–96).
Jacona; Pedro Almíndez Chirinos (up to 23 April 1544 when it	"Están tasados que den cada treinta días trescientas y sesenta cargas de maíz de la simentera que cojen para el Vedor, y ha de ser la simentera de ochocientas brazas en largo y quinientas en ancho y otra simentera de riego de trescientas brazas en largo y cuarenta en ancho, que son las que acostumbran hacer, y lleven las dichas cargas de maíz a las minas [probably of Taxco or Amatepec], guardando las ordenanzas, y en los treinta días han de llevar treinta cargas de frijoles y cinco de ají quince panes

escheated to the crown)	de sal y viente y cinco xiquipilicos de pinol y sesenta pares de cutaras y cien jícaras y la loza qu fuere menester y tres cargas de pescado, y más han de dar cada día diez cargas de maíz para los puercos de las dichas simenteras, y cada ciento y veinte días sesenta tejuelos de oro de cuatro para cinco pesos, y cuatro gallinas cada día para el calpisque y porquero y minero y doscientos tamales, y ají y pescado y huevos los días que no son de carne y no gallinas y cada ciento y veinte días, doscientas piezas de ropa de mástiles y mantas y camisas para los esclavos. "Conmútose el oro y la ropa en cuarenta indios de servicio en las minas de plata en Amatepeque, que corre esto desde veinte y abril de treinta y siete años. On 27 April 1540 Almíndez Chirinos and the cacique and officials of Jacona requested that "se les quitase todo ecepto las simenteras y servicio de la esancia le querían dar ciento y veinte hombres de servicio de las minas de la plata de Taxco y otros diez que estén de respecto para suplir las faltas que se hicieren por indisposiciones, o por otra causa porque esto les estaba a ellos mejor." They were also to given each month "veinte panes de sal y que los indios que fueren al servicio de las minas lo lleven a ellas." (pp. 213–14) On 14 May 1544 the tribute assigned to Jacona, held by the crown, was changed, "en que den sesenta indios de servicio en las minas de Cultepeque, desde seis días del mes de junio en adelante, en el entretanto que se visite este pueblo, y se sepa la posibilidad de él, porque los indios que se quejaron, que aún esto no podían dar, y que lleven a las dichas minas cada mes veinte panes de sal, y que hagan las simenteras que suelen hacer, y el maíz de ellas sean obligados a lo poner diez leguas en torno del pueblo hacia la parte a que el corregidor, o los Oficiales de su Majestad les dijeren y esto han de dar y no otra cosa alguna." On 14 May 1546, the tribute obligation was modified to 45 Indians to be given in service, but only half of the field was to be planted. This change was extended for another year on 22 December 1547. "En primero de febrero de mil quinientos cincuenta y dos años, visto en acuerdo lo pedido por los indios del pueblo de Jacona, por los Señores Presidente y Oidores, mandaron por un auto que de aquí adelante, no den el servicio personal que daban en las minas de Cultepeque." C. Contreras, *oidor* and alcalde mayor of Nueva Galicia, was commissioned to draw up a new tribute obligation. On 12 June 1552 this was set at 1,219 pesos de oro común each year, "y que demás de esto hagan las simenteras que eran obligados a hacer por la tasación porque estos mil y doscientos y diez y nueve pesos son solamente por el servicio de los cuarenta y cinco indios que eran obligados a dar en las minas." Finally, starting on 1 January 1558 and to continue for eight years, the tribute was reduced to 800 pesos de oro común and 800 fanegas of maize. On 15 January 1566 the tribute was increased (pp. 213–17).
Metepec and Tepamachalco; Lic. Juan Altamirano	On 30 September 1550 the officiales of Metepec and Xilotepec, along with Lic. Juan Altamirano, appeared and stated that the Indians gave Altamirano "veinte y siete indios en las minas de Tasco, y ahora porque no es su voluntad de dar el dicho servicio se han concertado de le dar de aquí adelante de tributo por razón del dicho servicio, mil y doscientos y quince pesos de oro común en reales cada año, cada tres meses trescientos y tres pesos y seis tomines, y que le harán las simenteras de maíz que estaban tasados que son de cuatrocientas brazas en cuadra, y que de lo procedido de ellas llevaran cada mes ciento y cuarenta cargas de maiz, que son setenta hanegas a las dichas minas de Tasco, y que le darán en su estancia de Atengo cada día, dos cargas de maíz, y cada domingo, una gallina de la tierra como estaban tasados, y que asimismo le han de dar en cada

	un año, ochenta pesos de oro común por razón de las dos gallinas y yerba y leña en que estaban tasados que le diesen cada día, y atento que el dicho concierto fue de conformidad de partes y que los indios lo trajeron así pintado." In regards to Tepamachalco, on 19 June 1543 the Indians of this village and their encomendero Lic. Juan Altamirano appeared; the Indians stated that at the time they were given in encomienda they were ordered to give him "quince indios de servicio en las minas de Tasco, por razón de cinco cargas de ropa que le había de dar, y más que los doce indios de servicio que le daban en su caso, los diesen en las dichas minas de manera que eran veinte y siete, y en una simentera de maíz de cuatrocientas varas de dos brazas cada vara, y en dos gallinas más cada día y carga y media de leña y otra tanta yerba y servicio de agua en esta ciudad cada día, y que asimismo fueron tasados, a que llevasen el maíz que cogiesen de la dicha simentera a la misma de Tasco, y que diesen seiscientos tamemes cada treinta días para lo llevar, y cada día en la estancia del ganado dos cargas de maíz, y que ahora no se halla la tasación de lo susodicho, y ellos han cumplido lo que dicho es, y de llevar las dichas trescientas cargas de maíz, cada treinta días a las dichas minas, han recibido y reciben much vejación y no lo pueden hacer, de manera que de una conformidad vinieron a dar lo que dicho es, y ecepto que como solían llevar trescientas cargas de maíz cada treinta días, no han de llevar más de ciento y ochenta cargas cada treinta días, y hanle de dar al estanciero, una gallina cada domingo, por razón de cinco codornices en que fueron tasados." On 3 October 1550, the officials of Tepamachalco and Lic. Altamirano, their encomendero, appeared and stated that "ellos daban al dicho Licenciado Altamirano, veinte y siete indios de servicio en las minas, y que porque ahora no les estaba bien de dar el dicho servicio se han concertado con él de le dar de aquí adelante, un tributo por razón del dicho servicio en cada un año, ochocientos pesos de oro común en reales, . . . y que asimismo . . . cada un día una carga de maíz de las dos en que estaban tasados, y que como le eran obligados por la tasación a le llevar cada teinta días, ciento y ochenta cargas de maíz a las minas de Tasco, de las sementeras en que están tasados, solamente le han de llevar de aquí adelante cien cargas cada mes, y que por la leña, agua, yerba y gallinas contenidas en la tasación le han de dar cada año ochenta pesos de oro común, y atento que el dicho concierto fue conformidad de partes y que los indios lo trajeron así pintado." On 9 August 1553 "se conmutaron la llevada del maíz que los naturales del dicho pueblo, solían llevar a las minas en doscientos y veinte y cinco pesos de oro común, los cuales le den de aquí adelante en cada un año por los tercios de él o en defecto de ello le hagan cada un año, una simentera donde coja hasta cuatrocientas hanegas de maíz, las cuales con los demás tributos le pongan en la cabecera del dicho pueblo, y que los ocho indios, que daban en lugar de las dos gallinas que eran obligados a le dar cada un día, no se los den de aquí adelante, y le den los dichos ochenta pesos, y que para la simentera que han de hacer el dicho Licenciado dé a los indios el maíz necesario para la sembrar, y que el dicho Licenciado no les lleve más..." Finally, on 20 February 1554, the tribute was reduced for ten years to *2,000 hanegas de maíz* and 900 *gallinas de la tierra* brought only to Metepec (pp. 235–39).
Nochtepeque (Nochtepec); Juan de Cabra and then his wife and widow	The first recorded tribute obligation was that they maintain a *cuadrilla de esclavos* in the mines, later commuted to 20 *indios de servicio* in the Tasco mines "conforme a las ordenanzas" and "que hagan sus simenteras de que se cojerán mil cargas de maíz poco más o menos."

María de Herrera	On 23 February 1547 the caciques and principals of Nochtepec appeared with their encomendero Juan de Cabra and before the viceroy stated that they had agreed to change their obligation from 20 Indians: "que sean treinta indios cada día en las minas porque no han de hacer cada día al monte, sino un camino como solían hacer dos." Finally, on 7 May 1558 the Indians of Nochtepec and Pilcaya and their subject villages appeared in regard to a dispute with their encomendera, María de Herrera, widow of Juan de Cabra, and stated that they agreed with the terms of an *auto* of 29 October 1557, whereby their tribute obligations were changed to 846 pesos and 4 tomines of common gold, and 450 *hanegas* of maize, 250 from Nochtepec and 200 from Pilcayan, "de los cuales dichos pesos de oro hayan los naturales de los dichos pueblos, para su comunidad cien pesos y cien hanegas de maíz por mitad, y todo lo demás restante quede y sea para la dicha Encomendera." (pp. 272–73).
Taimeo; Gaspar Dávila and his wife, and then his son Pedro Dávila. When his encomienda was reduced to half the village, the other half went to Francisco Quintero, who traded it for another with Francosco Rodríguez. Upon Rodríguez's death, his half escheated.	On 5 October 1548 the Indians of Taimeo appeared with the consent of Gaspar Dávila and the wife and children of Francisco Rodríguez de Zacatula and agreed on the following tribute obligation: "Primeramente, han de dar cuarenta indios de servicio en las Minas de Tasco, conforme a las ordenanzas, veinte a cada uno, y un naguatato y dos principales a cada uno, que tengan cargo de mandar los dichos indios y ellos no han de servir. Item, les han de dar a cada uno, cada treinta días que es cuando se muda el servicio: cinco cargas de frijoles y cinco fardos de ají de media hanega y cinco jícaras y cinco pares de alparagatas y cinco panes de sal y diez cestillas para lavar metal y no otra cosa alguna y la tasación que estaba hecha antes de ésta, se incluye todo en este concierto y su Señoría atento que fué de consentimiento de partes, mandó que se asiente por tasación y que se guarde so las penas de las ordenanzas." On 26 January 1553, given their difficulty in meeting the tribute obligation, the preceding was reduced to 600 *hanegas* of wheat and 1000 *hanegas* of maize, 12 *hanegas* of *frijoles gruesos,* 12 *hanegas* of *ají,* and 12 *cargas* of salt of 10 *panes* per *carga*, and 300 pesos of *oro común* per year to the encomendero and the crown. The tribute was to be transported to the city of Michoacán. These obligations were reduced over the following years, but no further labor was required in the Taxco mines. (pp. 315–18)
Tarimbaro; Cristóbal de Valderrama, his daughter Leonor de Valderrama y Moctezuma and then her husband Diego Arias de Sotelo	On 8 September 1542 the tribute assessment of Tarímbaro was commuted. Up to that time they had given to their *encomendero* 1000 *hanegas* of maize, 140 *petates de ají,* 100 *cargas* of salt, 80 *mantas pares de alpargatas,* a field of *ají* and another of beans. This was changed to 30 *indios de servicio* each day in the Taxco mines "conforme a las ordenanzas." On 6 September 1546, the Indians complained that they couldn't and didn't want to give this mine service and wished to give 600 pesos of *oro común* each year, 100 pesos every two months. (pp. 589-592)
Taxco; Crown	On 1 September 1553 the Indians of Taxco stated that they could not meet their tribute obligations. This was changed for the eight following years to 1000 pesos of *oro común* and 500 *hanegas* of maize. Previously, those of Tlamacazapa had complained that they contributed more than their share to the cabecera of Taxco's tribute obligation. On 22 January 1550 the

	Real Audiencia reduced Tlamacazapa's tribute to 232 pesos of *oro común* and 100 *hanegas* of maize. Problems continued between Taxco and its subject villages of Tlamacazapa and Atzala over their respective obligations to the total tribute, and on 30 April 1555 the Real Audiencia ordered that Tlamacazapa pay 100 *fanegas* of maize and 232 pesos of *oro común,* and that Atzala pay 100 *hanegas* of maize and 200 pesos of *oro común.* The rest, 300 *hanegas* and 568 pesos, are to be paid by the cabecera, Taxco (pp. 357–59).
Teulistaca (Huistac); Crown	The first tribute assessment was that they give "cada sesenta días doce cargas de ropa de henequén de la que suelen dar, y veinte jarros de miel y cuatro petacas de cera y cinco petaquillas de copal, y cada día una gallina y cuatro codornices y dos cargas de leña y cuatro de yerba y dos manojos de ocote, y que le siembren cuarenta cargas de maíz, y lo que cogieren de esta sementera, lo lleven cada cincuenta días a las minas con tanto que no excedan de las ordenanzas, y cincuenta cargas de maíz y diez de frisoles y diez de ají y diez de sal, y las ollas y comales que le suelen dar, y que no les lleve otra cosa. Moderáronse estos indios en que den veinte indios de servicio en las minas de Tasco, conforme a las ordenanzas, y que hagan una sementera de maíz de cuatrocientas brazas en cuadra, y no han de hacer ni dar otra cosa." On 23 May 1551 the tribute was commuted, except in regard to the planted fields, to 81 pesos and 6 tomines of *oro común* every 60 days. The harvest was still to be transported to Taxco (pp. 449–50).
Tuzantla (prov. de Maravatio); Br. Ortega was the first *encomendero,* escheatment occurred on 2 Aug. 1546 with his death.	The first tribute assessment was that "hagan las sementeras de maíz y ají y frijoles que suelen y se lo cojan y que lleven a las minas de diez en diez días de lo que cogieren, ciento y veinte cargas de maíz y veinte cargas de frijoles y veinte de ají y una carga de jícaras y cuatrocientos pares de cutaras y seis panes de sal y cuatro cargas de ollas y comales y chicovites y dos cargas de melones y cada ochenta días cuatrocientas mantas como las de Cuernavaca, no han de ser más de trecientas mantas y dos cargas de pescado y que lo lleven a México con el algodón que cogieren de la sementera que le han de hacer, y que den de comer al calpisque dos gallinas cada día y pescado y huevos, los días que no son de carne y sal y ají y tortillas y que no les lleve otra cosa, so pena de perderlos." Later the 120 cargas of maize given every ten days and transported to the mines was communted to 40 "indios de servicio en las minas de Conatepeque, y que el ají y frijoles que daban cada diez días, lo den cada treinta." On 12 Sept. 1545, Br. Ortega reduced the tribute to only thirteen cargas of clothes and 40 *indios de servicio* in the mines. After Ortega's death, the tribute was changed to 80 pesos every 80 days. Then, on 27 June 1547, it was noted that "los oficiales arrienden el servicio de minas conforme a las ordenanzas, de manera que los indios sean mantenidos por la persona que los arrendare." The tribute obligation was further modified over the next couple of decades, with no further mention of any obligations to mines that, in the first tribute assessment probably did not refer to the Taxco mines (pp. 553–55).
Zaqualpa and Xagualzingo; First *encomendero* was Juan de Saucedo; escheatment occurred	The first tribute assessment was "que mantengan en las minas, ciento y treinta esclavos de maíz, ají y frijoles y sal y ollas y comales, y para cada esclavo una manta y mástil cada ochenta días." Then, on 8 June 1537, the tribute was to be "treinta indios en las minas de Tasco y cada veinte días sesenta cargas de maíz y veinte gallinas y diez panes de sal y cuatro jarros de miel y una sementera de dos pedazos cada uno de doscientas brazas de

but on 12 January 1547 it was given to his son, Pedro de Salcedo, son of the governador and vecino of Mexico, in accordance with a royal order.	largo y veinte de ancho y diez cargas de frijoles y cuatro petates de ají y diez cargas de sal y ciento y cuarenta hueevos y veinte piezas de loza, todo en las minas." On 28 September 1555 the tribute was commuted to 1000 pesos of *oro común* and 1000 *hanegas* of maize. The tribute was further reduced later, but there is no further mention of any obligation concerning mining (pp. 615–17).
Zicapuzlaco; Juan de Manzanilla and then his son. Then given to a *fulano de Caraballa*, *vecino* of Puebla de los Angeles.	The first tribute assessment was "que le den el mantenimiento de una cuadrilla de sesenta esclavos puesta en las minas conforme a lo que sobre esto está ordenado, y que le hagan las sementeras que suelen y los bastimentos que han de dar, en las minas han de ser de estas sementeras que hacen para su amo. Iten, le han de dar cada cinco días una gallina buena y cada sesenta días cinco jarrillos de miel, y mandóse que no les lleven otra cosa, so pena de perderlos, conmutóse esta tasación en catorce de dicimbre de treinta y seis, a consentimiento y voluntad de las partes, que den veinte indios de servicio conforme a las ordenanzas en las minas de Tasco, y de cuatrocientas hasta quinientas cargas de maíz. "En seis de septiembre, mil quinientos treinta (y) dos años, este dicho día el señor licenciado Maldonado, Oidor de esta Real Audiencia, tasó el pueblo de Zicapuzalco, en que den a su amo, Juan de Manzanilla el mantenimiento de una cuadrilla de setenta esclavos, puesto el bastimento en las minas, conforme a lo que sobre esto está ordenando, y que le hagan sus sementeras las que solían hacer, y que estos bastimentos que han de dar a la cuadrilla sean de las sementeras que hicieron al dicho su amo, y no de lo suyo de sus casas, y que le den de cinco en cinco días una gallina buena y de sesenta en sesenta días cinco jarrillos de miel, y mandóse que no lleve más a los indios, so pena de los perder, y los principales se obligaron de lo así cumplir, y asimismo se mandó al dicho su amo que no les lleve más. "Declaróse por su Señoría que el bastimento que se ha de dar de maíz a cada esclavo es un cuartillo de maíz cada día, de manera que son setenta cuartillos, y que le pongan para este efecto de las sementeras que se declara en esta tasación, le ponga en las minas quinientas y cincuenta hanegas de maíz cada año, y que esta tasación de suso contenida, guarde Manzanilla, y no otra cosa alguna, so pena de privación de ellos." Finally, on 14 May 1555, the tribute was changed to 250 *hanegas* of maize, 127 pesos of *oro común,* and 127 *gallinas,* all to be handed over in the village of Zicapuzalco (pp. 633–34).

NOTE TO USERS

Oversize maps and charts are microfilmed in sections in the following manner:

LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM, WITH SMALL OVERLAPS

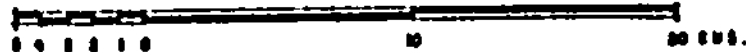
UMI

L E G E N D

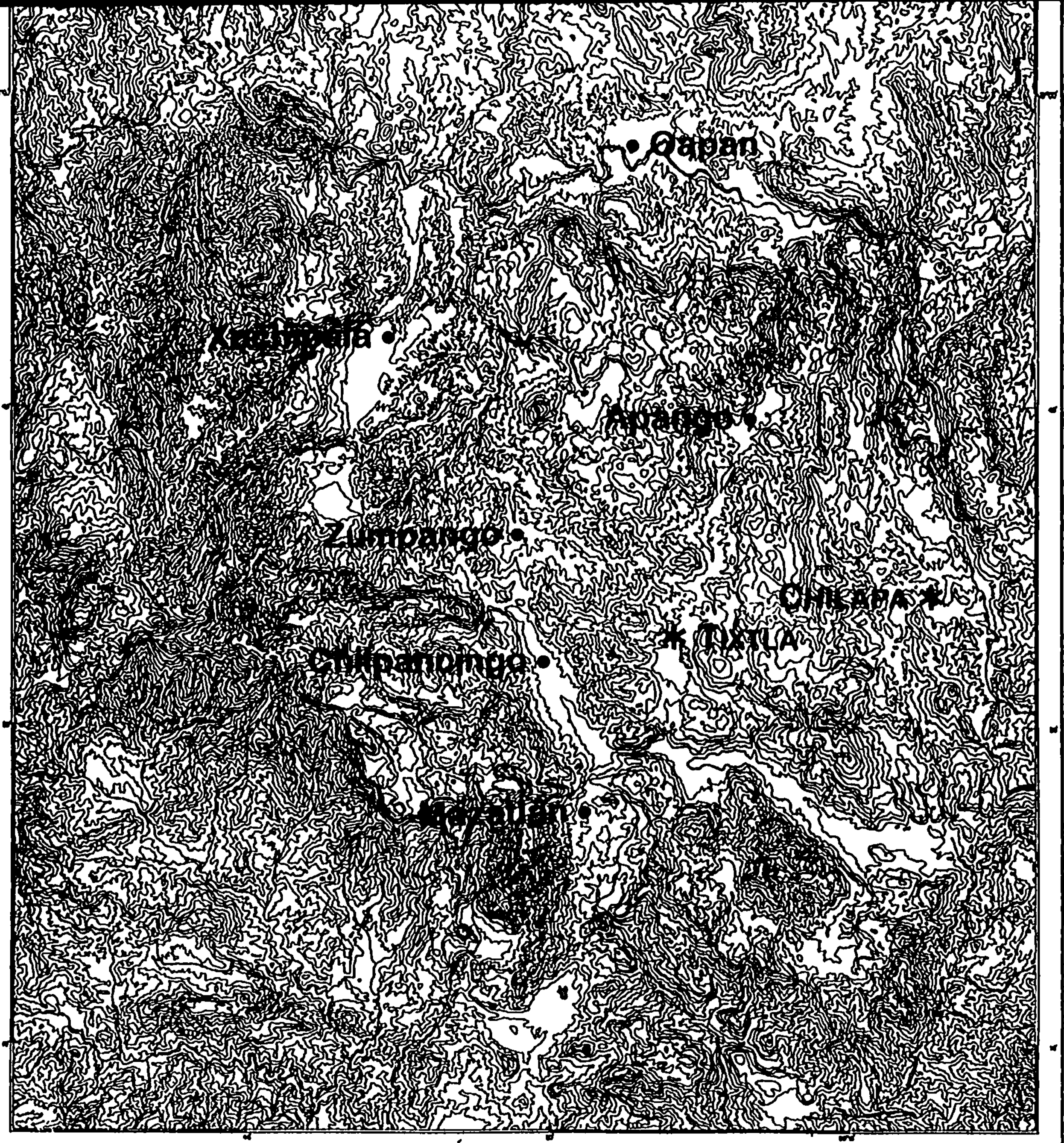
CONTOUR LINES

100 METER INTERVALS
500 METER INTERVALS
RIVERS AND STREAMS
LAKES

SCALE IN KILOMETER



REAL Y MINAS DE TAXCO
Cozcatlan
Huistac
IGUALA
Tepecuacuilco
Cocula
Mayanalan
Palula
Oapan



Map 5a: Topographical map of central Guerrero

NOTE TO USERS

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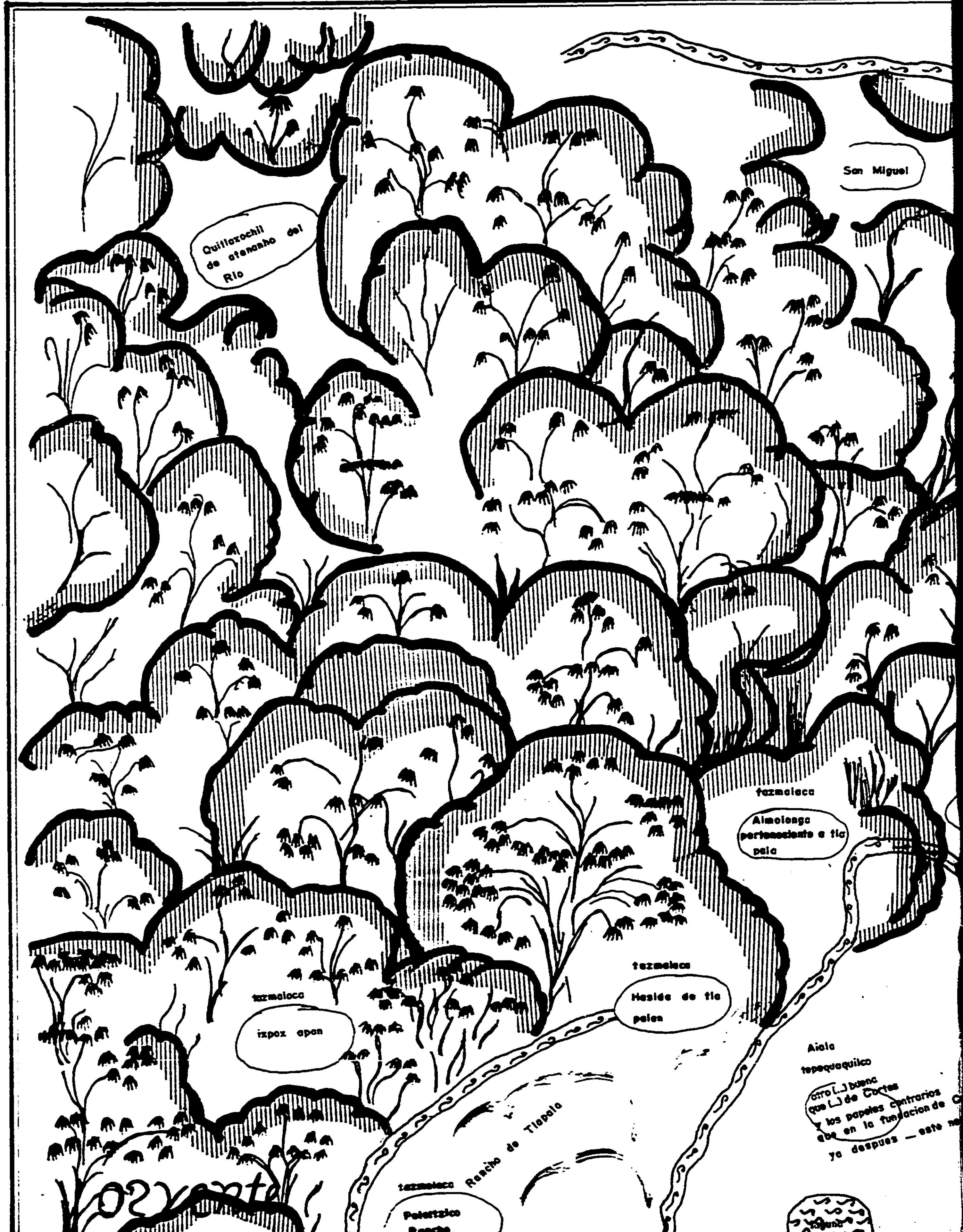

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pala
tazmelaca
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Rancho

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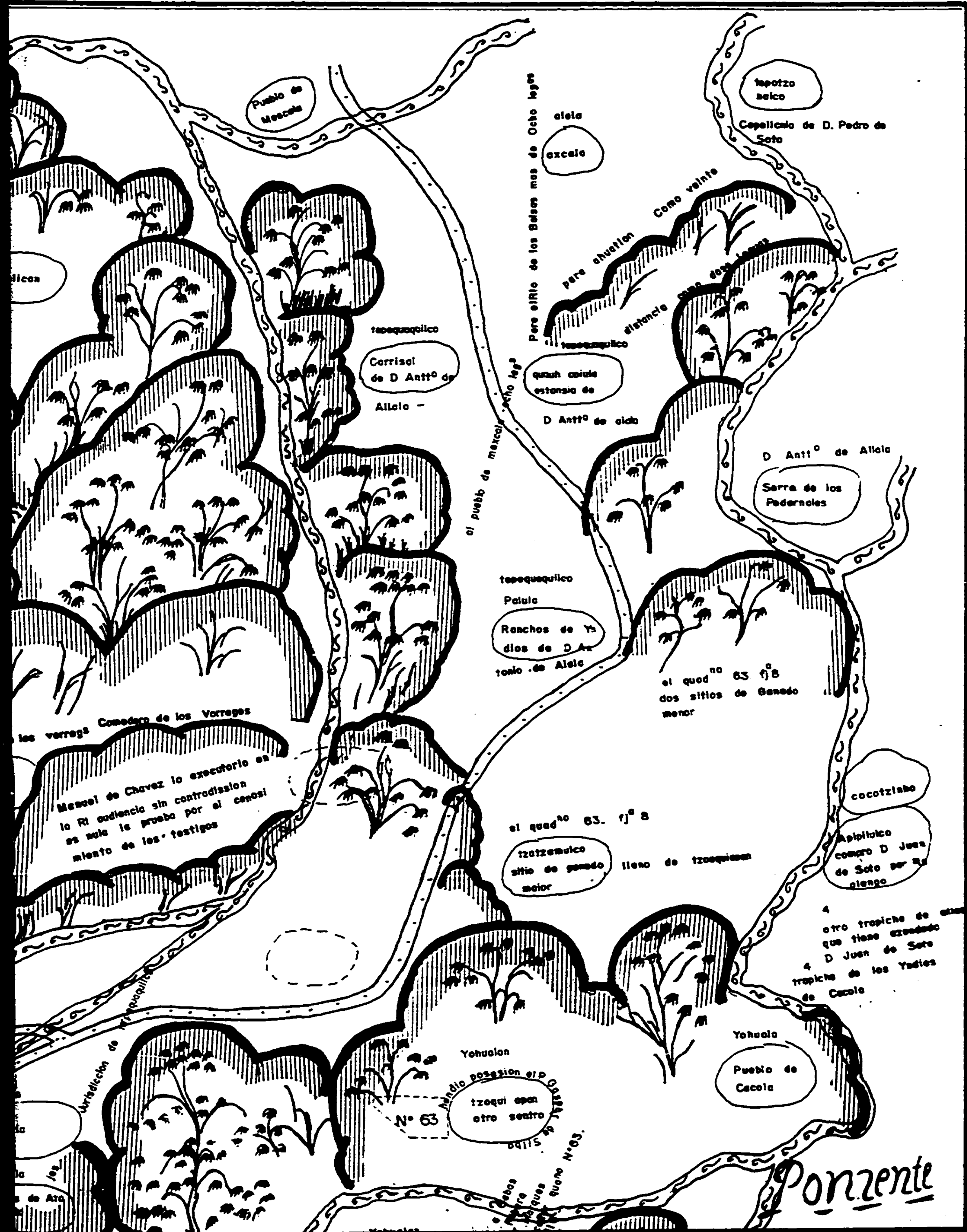
Fantla
Aiala
Jaia de Ara



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D Antt° de alala
el puebo de mexcala ocho leg^s
D Antt° de Allala
Serra de los Padernales
tepequaquilco
Palula
Ranchos de Ys dios de D Antonio de Alala
el quad^no 63 fj°8
dos sitios de Ganado menor
Comedero de los Vorregos
los verregs
Manuel de Chavez lo executorio en la Rl audiencia sin contradission es sola la prueba por el conosimiento de los testigos
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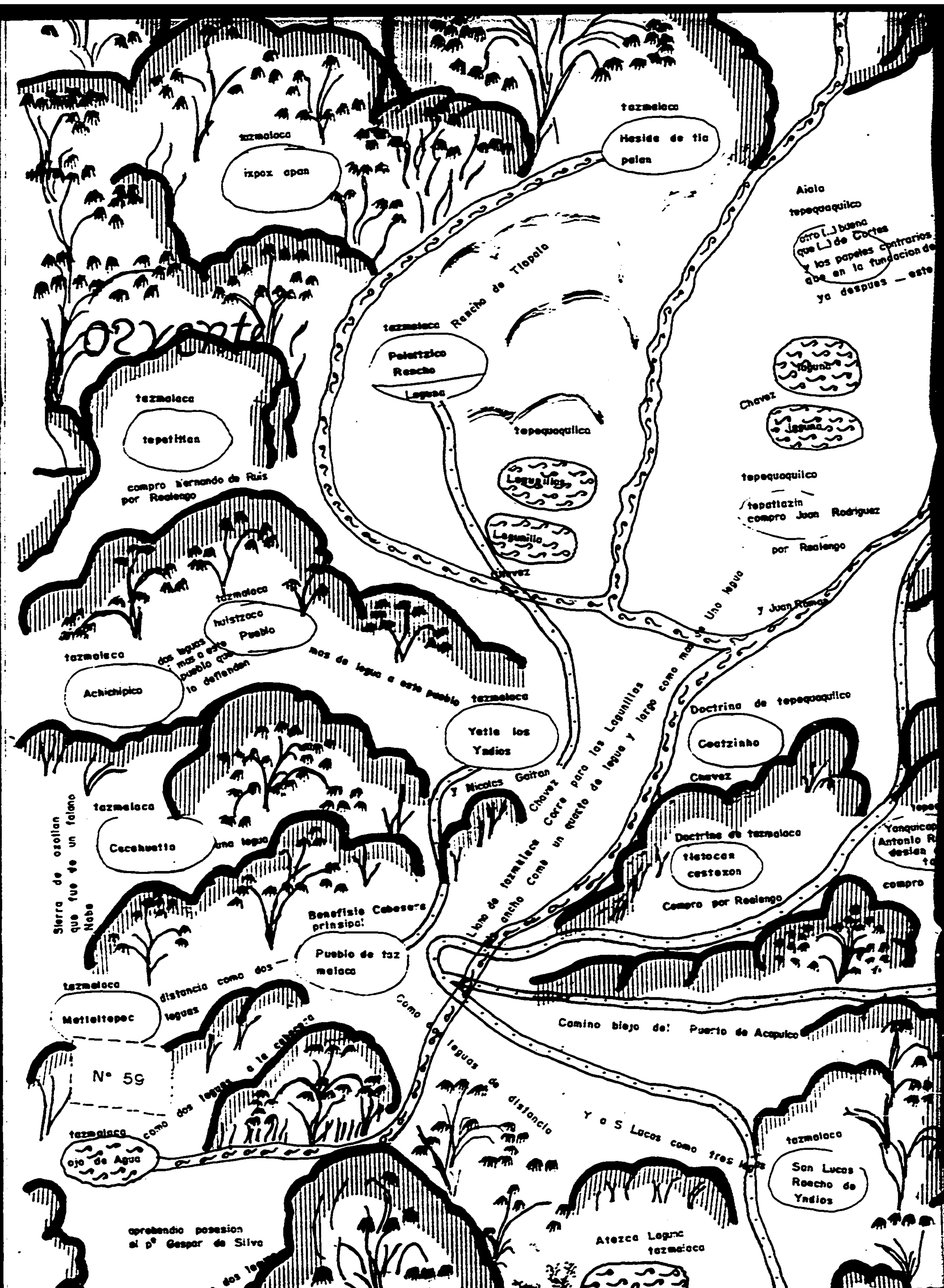
N° 63
Yohuala
Pueblo de Cacola
Ponzente



tazmalaca
ixpox opan
tazmalaca
Heside de tla palan
Aiola
tepequaquilco
Reacho de Tlapala
tazmalaca
Palaltzico Reacho
Laguna
tepequaquilca
Lagunillas
Lagunilla
Chavez
laguna
laguna
tepequaquilco
tepatlazin
compro Joan Rodriguez
por Realengo
tazmalaca
tepetitlan
compro hernando de Ruis
por Realengo
tazmalaca
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lo defienden
mas de legua a este pueblo
tazmalaca
Achichipico
tazmalaca
Yetla los Yndios
Uno legua
y Juan Ramos
Doctrina de tepequaquilco
Coatzinho
Chavez
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y ancho Como un quarto de legua y largo como ma
Chavez
y Nicolas Gaitan
tazmalaca
Cecahuatla
una legua
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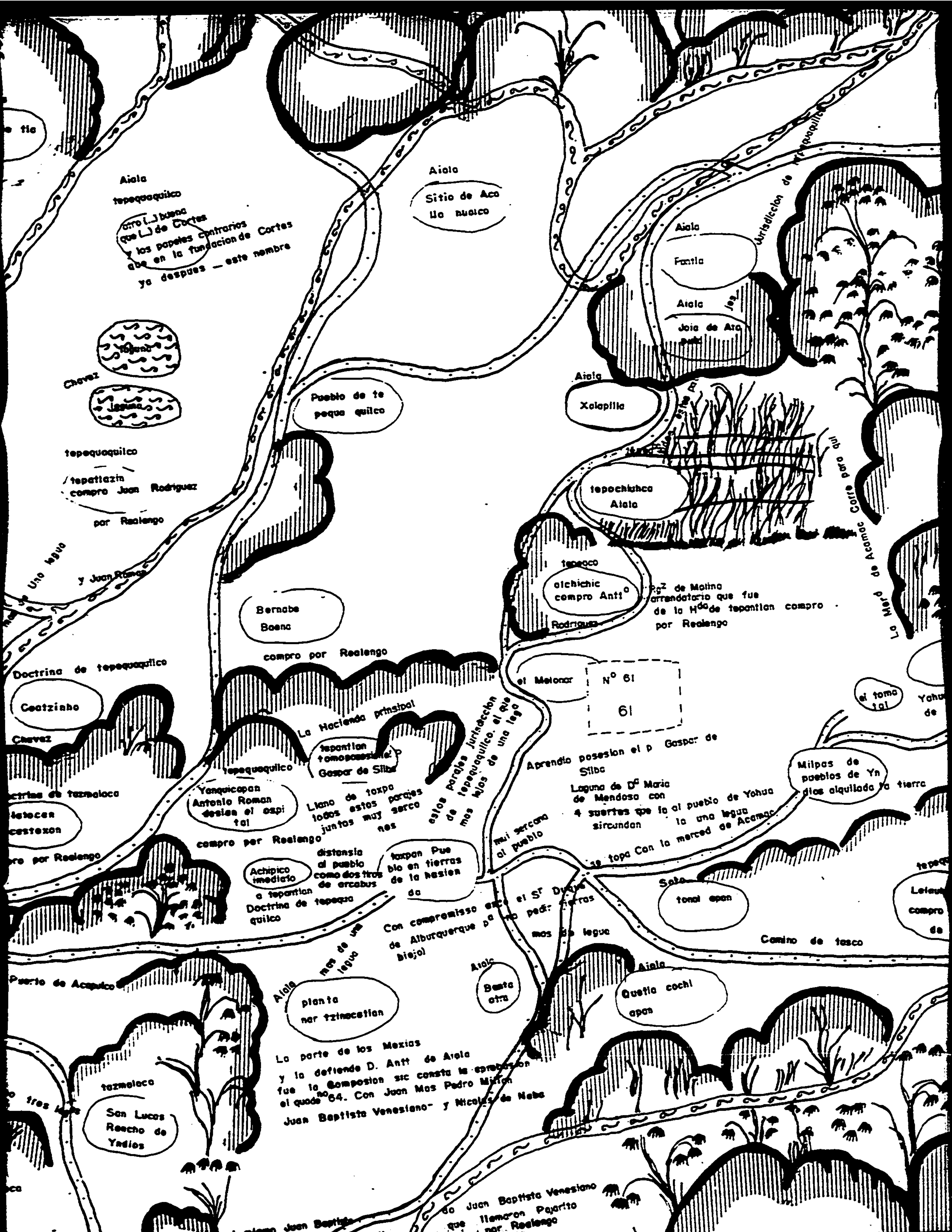
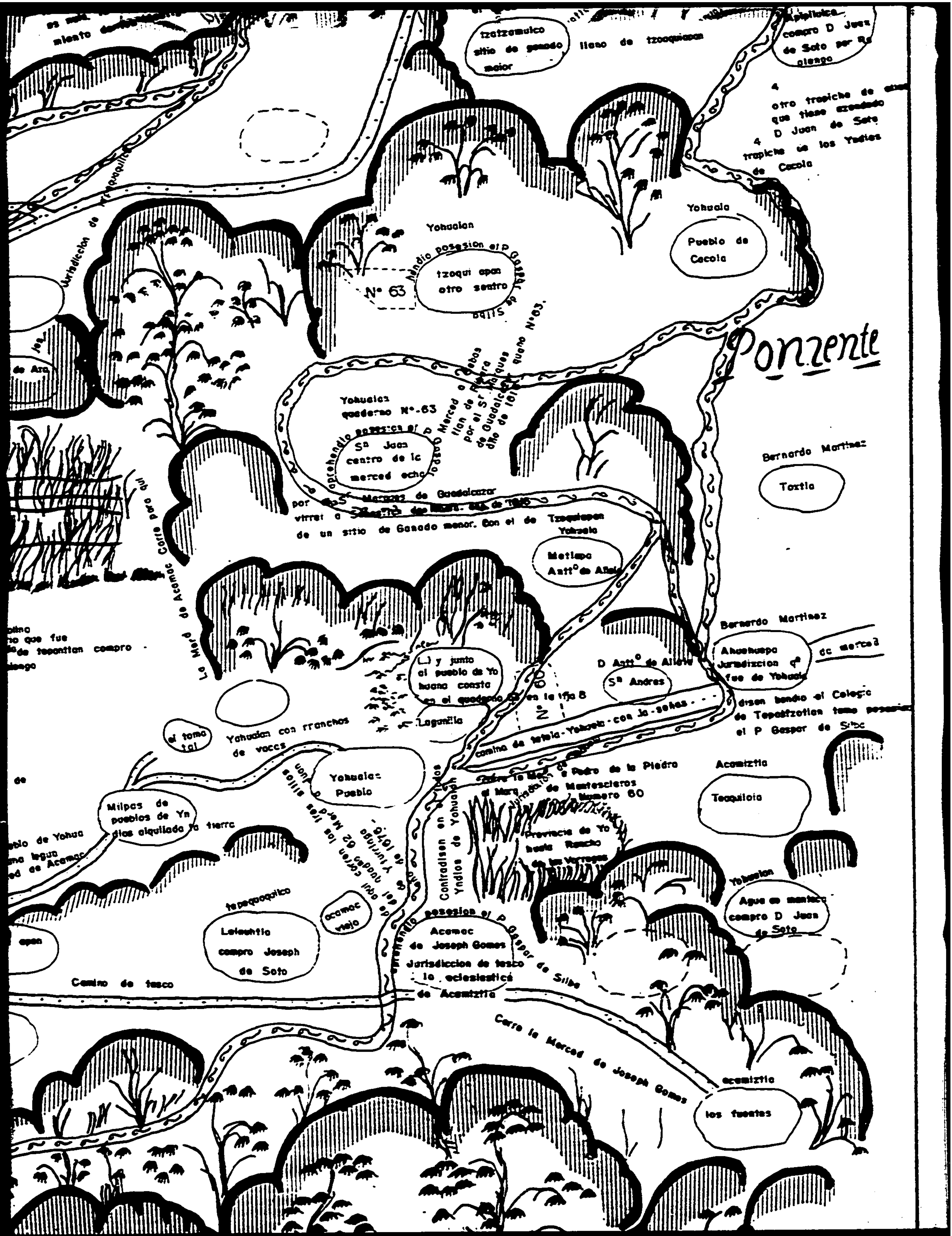
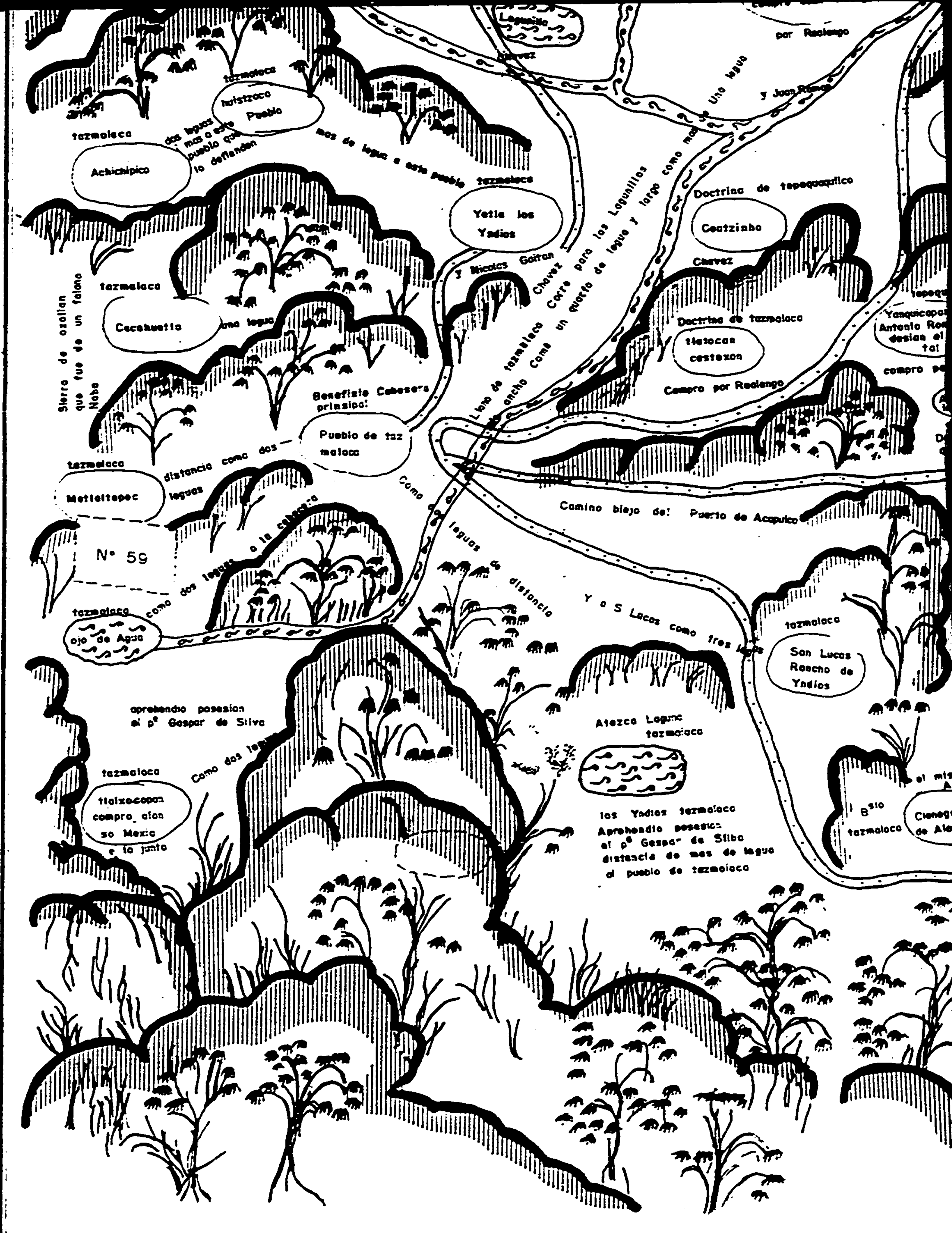
Compro por Realengo
Benefisio Cabesera prinsipal
Pueblo de taz malaca
tazmalaca
Metlaltepec
distancia como dos leguas
Como dos leguas a la cabesera
Como dos leguas de distancia
Camino biejo del Puerto de Acapulco
Nº 59
tazmalaca
ojo de Agua
Y a S Lucas como tres leguas
tazmalaca
San Lucas Reacho de Yndios
aprehendio posesion
el pº Gaspar de Silva
Atezca Laguna
tazmalaca
Yanquicap
Antonio R
compro


Aiala
tepequaquilco
Aiala
Sitio de Aco
lla nualco
Aiala
Fontla
Aiala
Joia de Aca
Chavez
Aiala
Xolapilla
Pueblo de te
peque quilco
tepequaquilco
compro Juan Rodriguez
por Realengo
tepochichica
Aiala
y Juan Roman
tepeoco
alchichic
compro Antt°
Rodriguez
de Molina
arrendatario que fue
de la Hda de tepantlan compro
por Realengo
Bernabe
Baena
compro por Realengo
Doctrina de tepequaquilco
Ceatzinho
Chavez
el Melonar
N° 61
61
La Hacienda prinsipal
tepantlan
Gaspar de Silba
tepequaquilco
Yanquicapan
Antonio Roman
compro por Realengo
Llano de toxpa
todos estos parajes
juntos muy serca
nes
estos parajes jurisdiccion de tepequaquilco el que mas lejos de una legua
Aprendio posesion el p Gaspar de
Silba
Laguna de Dª Maria
de Mendosa con
4 suertes que la al pueblo de Yohua
sircundan la una legua
se topa Con la merced de Acamac
mui sercano
al pueblo
Milpas de
pueblos de Yn
dios alquilada ya tierra
el tomo
tal
Doctrina de tazmalaca
ro por Realengo
Achipico
imediato
a tepantlan
Doctrina de tepequa
quilco
distansia
al pueblo
como dos tiros
de arcabus
toxpan Pue
blo en tierras
de la hasien
da
Con comeremisso el Sr Duque
de Alburquerque pa no pedir tierras
biejo)
mas de legua
Soto
tonal apan
Camino de tasco
Puerto de Acapulco
Aiala
mas de una
legua
planta
nar tzinacatlan
Aiala
Benta
otra
Aiala
Quetla cochi
apan
La parte de los Mexias
y la defiende D. Antt de Aiala
fue la Composision sic consta la
el quade no 64. Con Juan Mas Pedro
Juan Baptista Venesiano- y Nicolas de Neba
tazmalaca
San Lucas
Reecho de
Yndios
Juan Baptista Venesiano
que llamaron Pajarito
por Realengo
mismo Juan Baptista
La Merd de Acamac Corre para qui
Jurisdiccion de tepequaquilco



tzatzemulco
sitio de ganado maior
llano de tzoaquiapan
compro D Juan de Soto por Realengo
4
otro trapiche de
que tiene arrendado
D Juan de Soto
4
trapiche de los Yndios de Cocola
Yohuala
Pueblo de Cocola
Yohualan
tzoqui apan otro sentro
Nº 63
Ponzente
Yohualan quaderno Nº. 63
Sª Juan centro de la merced echa
aprehendio posesion el P
por el Sr Marques de Guadalcazar
virrei
de un sitio de Ganado menor. Con el de Tzoquiapan
Bernardo Martinez
Toxtla
Yohuala
Metlapa Antº de Alleba
de Acamac Corre para
La Merd de Acamac
Bernardo Martinez
Ahuehuepa Jurisdiccion que fue de Yohuala
de merced
D Antº de Alleba
Sª Andres
aprehendio posesion el P Gaspar de Silba
Lagunilla
el tomatal
Yohualan con rranchos de vacas
camino de tetela
Yohualan Pueblo
Acamiztla
el Marq. de Montesclaros
Numero 60
Teoquiloia
Milpas de pueblos de Yndios alquilada la tierra
Contradisen en Yohualan Yndios de Yohualan
Provincia de Yohuala Rancho
Yohualan
Agua en manteca compro D Juan de Soto
de aqui corren los tres sitios
tepequaqilco
Lalauhtla compro Joseph de Soto
acamac viejo
Acamac de Joseph Gomes
Jurisdiccion de tesco
la eclesiastica de Acamiztla
posesion el P Gaspar de Silba
Camino de tesco
Corre la Merced de Joseph Gomes
acamiztla
los fuentes



Lagunilla
por Realengo
Una legua
y Juan Ramos
tazmalaca
huiztzoco Pueblo
tazmalaca
dos leguas y mas a este pueblo que lo defienden
Achichipico
mas de legua a este pueblo
tazmalaca
Yetla los Yndios
Doctrina de tepequaquilco
Coatzinho
Chavez
Y Nicolas Gaitan
Chavez para las Lagunillas
Llano de tazmalaca Corre de ancho Como un quarto de legua y largo como mas
Sierra de ozollan que fue de un fulano Nabe
tazmalaca
Cacahuatla
una legua
Doctrina de tazmalaca
tlatocan cestezon
Compro por Realengo
Beneficio Cabesera prinsipal
Pueblo de taz malaca
tazmalaca
Metlaltepec
distancia como dos leguas
Como dos leguas de distancia
como dos leguas a la cabesera
N° 59
tazmalaca
ojo de Agua
Camino biejo del Puerto de Acapulco
Y a S Lucas como tres leguas
tazmalaca
San Lucas Rancho de Yndios
aprehendio posesion el pe Gaspar de Silva
Como dos leguas
Atezca Laguna tazmalaca
tazmalaca
tlalxocapan compro alonso Mexia e lo junto
los Yndios tazmalaca Aprehendio posesion el pe Gaspar de Silba distancia de mas de legua al pueblo de tazmalaca
tazmalaca

compro Juan Rodriguez
por Realengo
Uno legua
y Juan Roman
Bernabe
Baena
compro por Realengo
Doctrina de tepequaquilco
Coatzinho
Chavez
Doctrina de tazmalaca
tlatocan
costezon
compro por Realengo
tepochichco
Aiala
tepeaco
alchichic
compro Antt°
Rodriguez
Rgz de Molino
arrendatario que fue
de la Hda de tepantlan compro
por Realengo
La Merd de Acamac Coffe
el Meloncar
Nº 61
61
La Hacienda principal
tepantlan
tomoposesion el D
Gaspar de Silba
tepequaquilco
Yenquicapan
Antonio Roman
desian el ospi
tal
Llano de toxpa
todos estos parajes
juntos muy serca
nes
estos parajes jurisdiccion
de tepequaquilco, el que
mas lejos de una legua
Aprendio posesion el D Gaspar de
Silba
Laguna de Dª Maria
de Mendosa con
4 suertes que la al pueblo de Yohua
sircundan la una legua
mui sercano
al pueblo
se topa Con la merced de Acamac
el toma
tal
Milpas de
pueblos de Yn
dios alquilada la tierra
compro por Realengo
Achipico
imediato
distansia
al pueblo
como dos tiros
de arcabus
a tepantlan
Doctrina de tepequa
quilco
toxpan Pue
blo en tierras
de la hasien
da
Soto
tonal apan
Con compromisso esto el Sr Duque
de Alburquerque pª no pedir tierras
biejo)
mas de legua
Camino de tasco
Puerto de Acapulco
Aiala
mas de una legua
planta
nar tzinocatlan
Aiala
Benta
otra
Aiala
Quetla cochi
apan
La parte de los Mexias
y la defiende D. Antt de Aiala
fue la Composicion sic consta la aprobacion
el quadºº64. Con Juan Mas Pedro Millan
Juan Baptista Venesiano y Nicolas de Neba
como tres leguas
tazmalaca
San Lucas
Rancho de
Yndios
tazmalaca
posesion
de Silba
mas de legua
de tazmalaca
el mismo Juan Baptista
Aiala
Bsio
tazmalaca
Cieneguilla
de Alonso Mesia
Acamiztla
Primera
Benta
Vieja
Dº Juan Baptista Venesiano
que llamaron Pajarito
por Realengo
Pajarito
Administracion
de Acamiztla
camino real al puerto de Acapulco
cañada
se bendio por Realengo
por D Juan Perez Cansio Juez
Benta de la
Negra
administracion
del Bsio de Acamiztla
Y compraron los mexias
que antes estaban por dueños
Norte

La Merd de Acamac

Metlapa
Azt°de Alfaro

o que fue
de tepantlan compro

L..) y junto
al pueblo de Yo
huaca consta
en el quaderno ... a la foja 8

Laguna

el toma
tal

Yahualan con rranchos
de vaccs

Yahualan
Pueblo

Milpas de
pueblos de Yn
dios alquilada la tierra

blo de Yohua
na legua
d de Acamac

D Azt° de Alfaro
Sª Andres

Bernardo Martinez

Ahuehuepa
Jurisdiccion q°
fue de Yohuala

de merced

camino de tetela - Yohuala - con la - señas

dasen bendio el Colegio
de Tepotzotlan tomo posesion
el P Gaspar de Silbc

sobre la Merd de Pedro de la Piedra
el Merd Jurisdiccion de Montesclaros
Numero 60

Acamiztla

Teoquiloia

Contradisen en todos
Yndios de Yohuala

los tres sitios un
Merd 62 corren
y turlngo nadas del agui
de 1676.

Provincia de Yo
huala Rancho
de las Vorragas

Yohuala
Agua ... compro D Juan
de Soto

tepequaquilco

Leiauhtla
compro Joseph
de Soto

acamac
viejo

apropiando posesion el P Gaspar de Silbo

Acamac
de Joseph Gomes
Jurisdiccion de tasco
la eclesiastica
de Acamiztla

epan

Camino de tasco

Corre la Merced de Joseph Gomes

acamiztla
los fuentes

acamiztla
tlal Amaico

Sierra

Norma Vargas 90

Map 5f
"Títulos de siete sitios y ocho cavallerías de tierra y quatro suertes pertenecientes al Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo de La Compañía de Jesús de México, en las jurisdicciones de: Yguala, Cocula y Tepequaquilco" [ca. 1690]
Source: AGN-T 3514, exp. 1, fol. 254
Artistic rendition (from photograph): Norma Vargas